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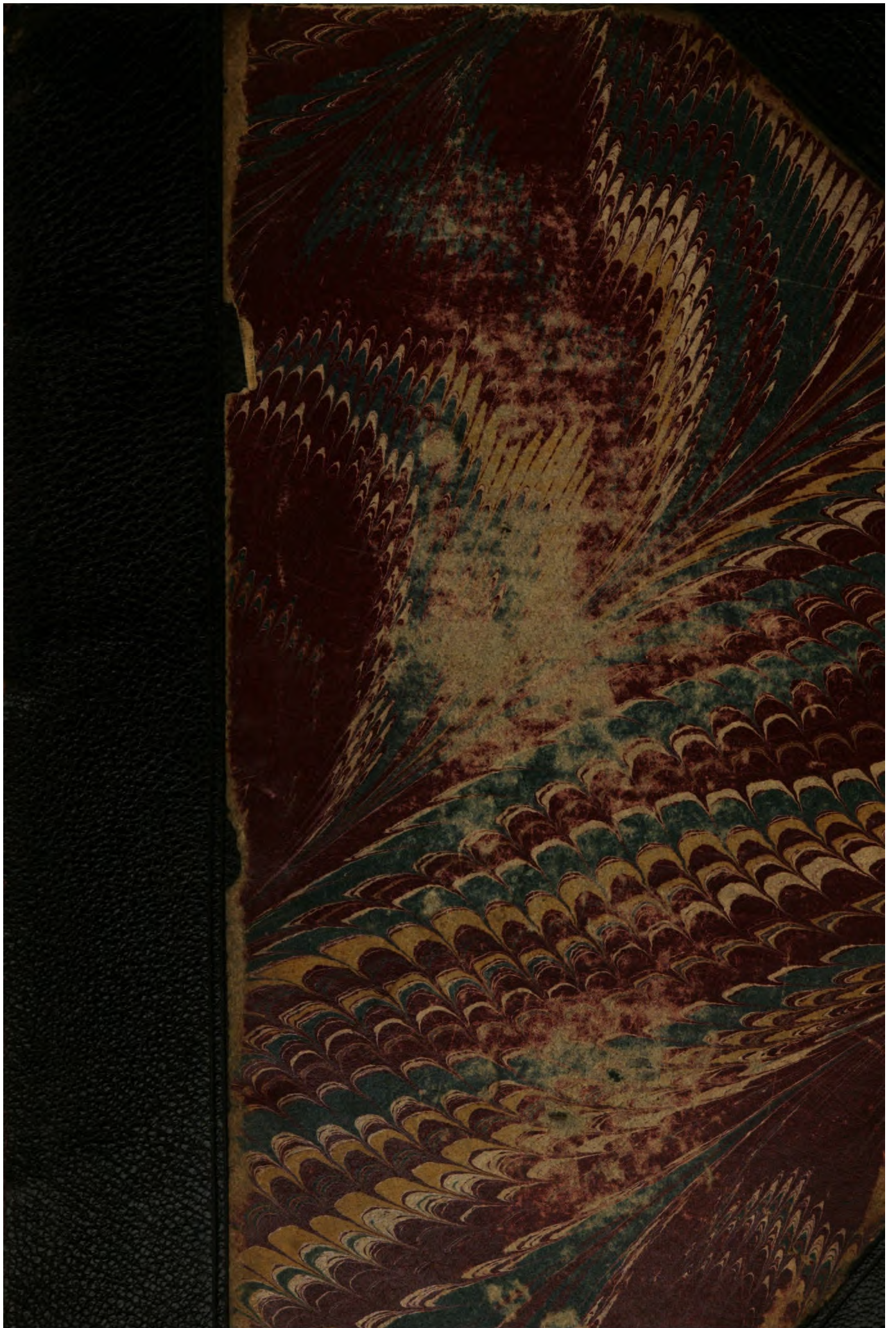
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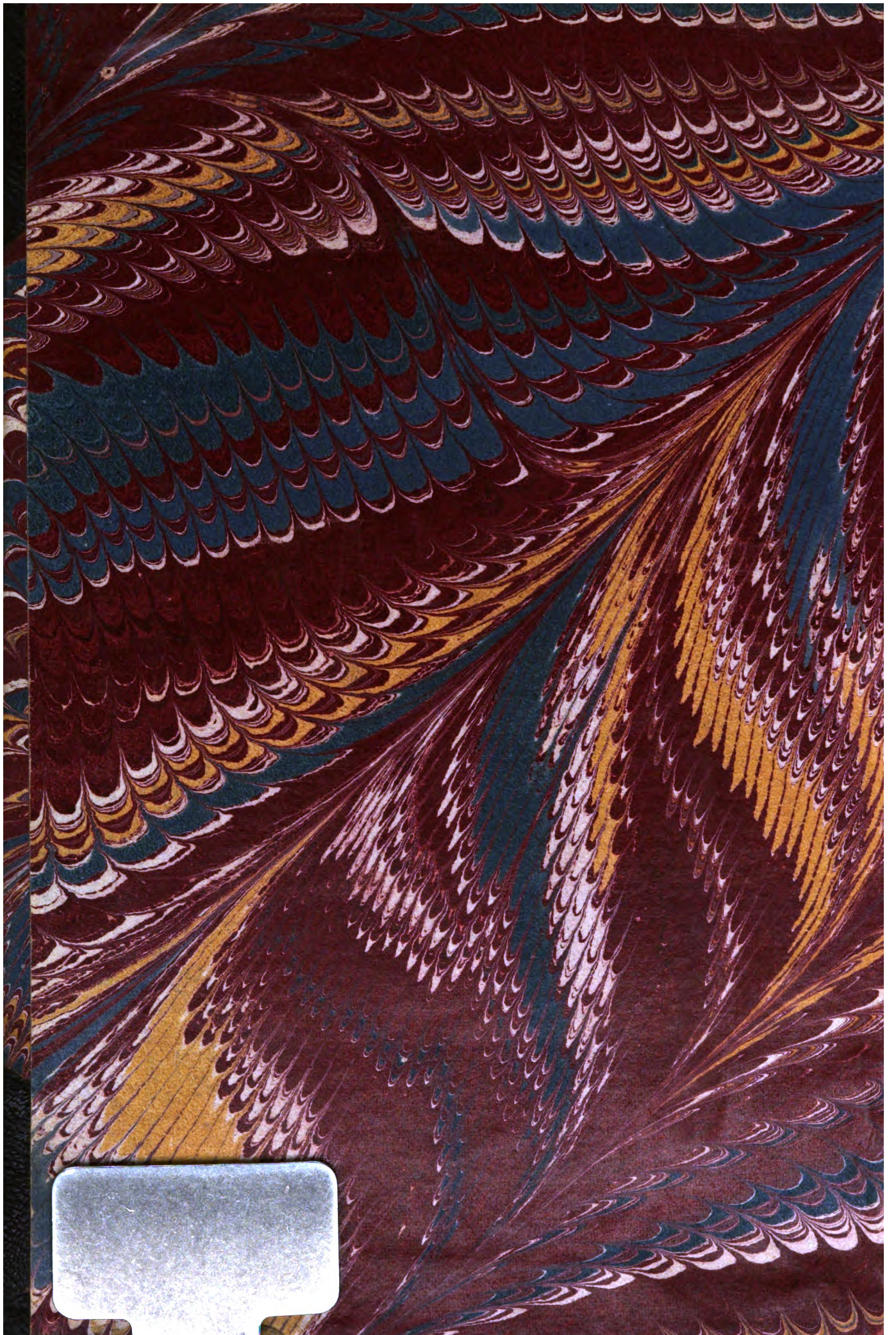
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Edward Russell



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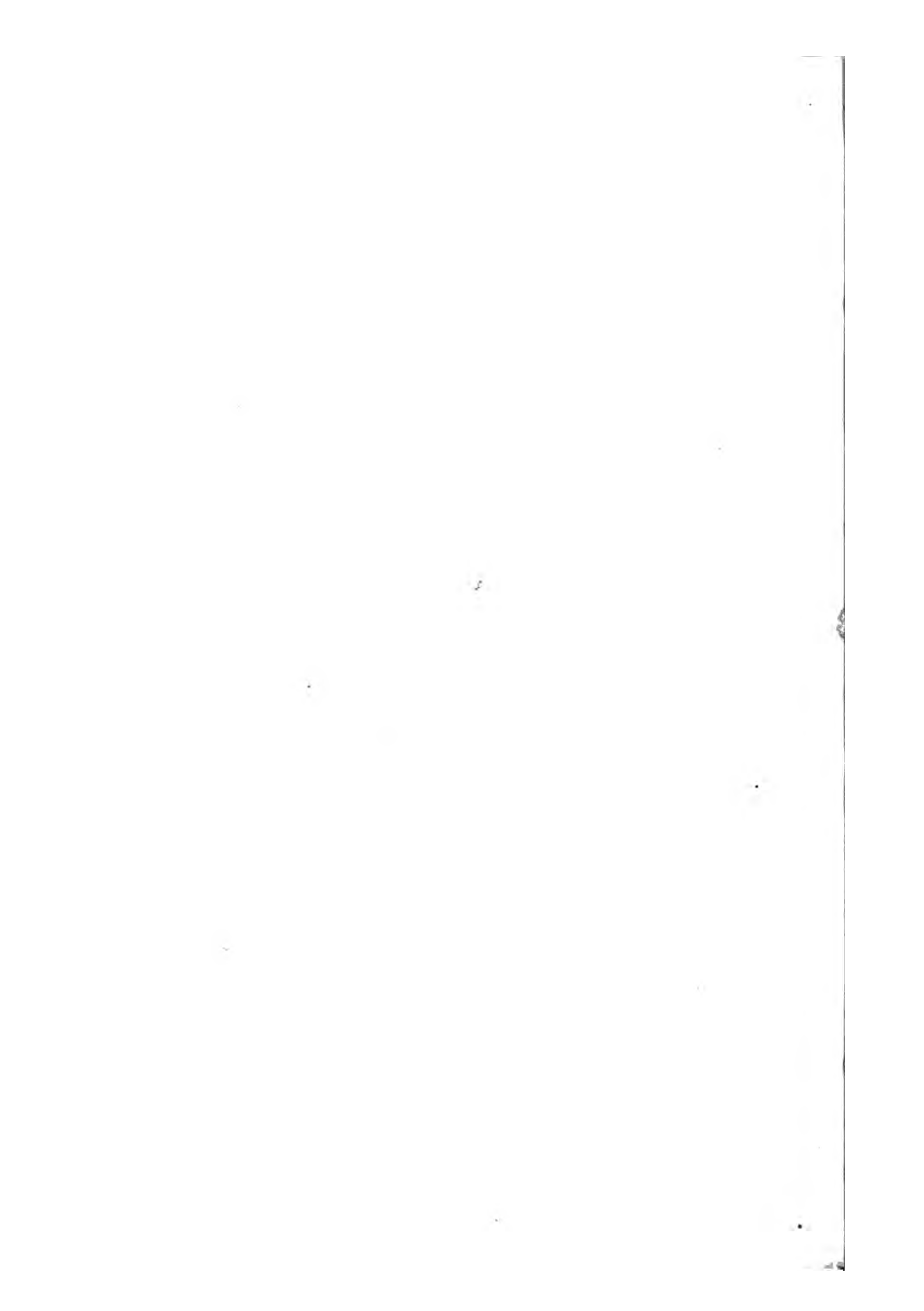
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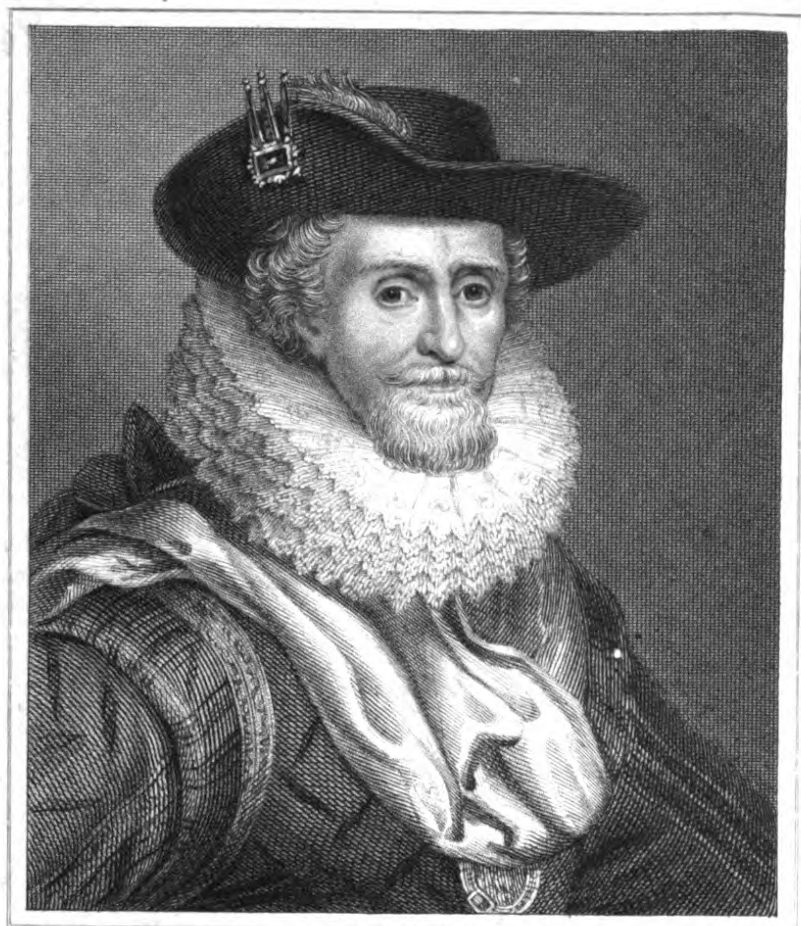
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Edward Russell

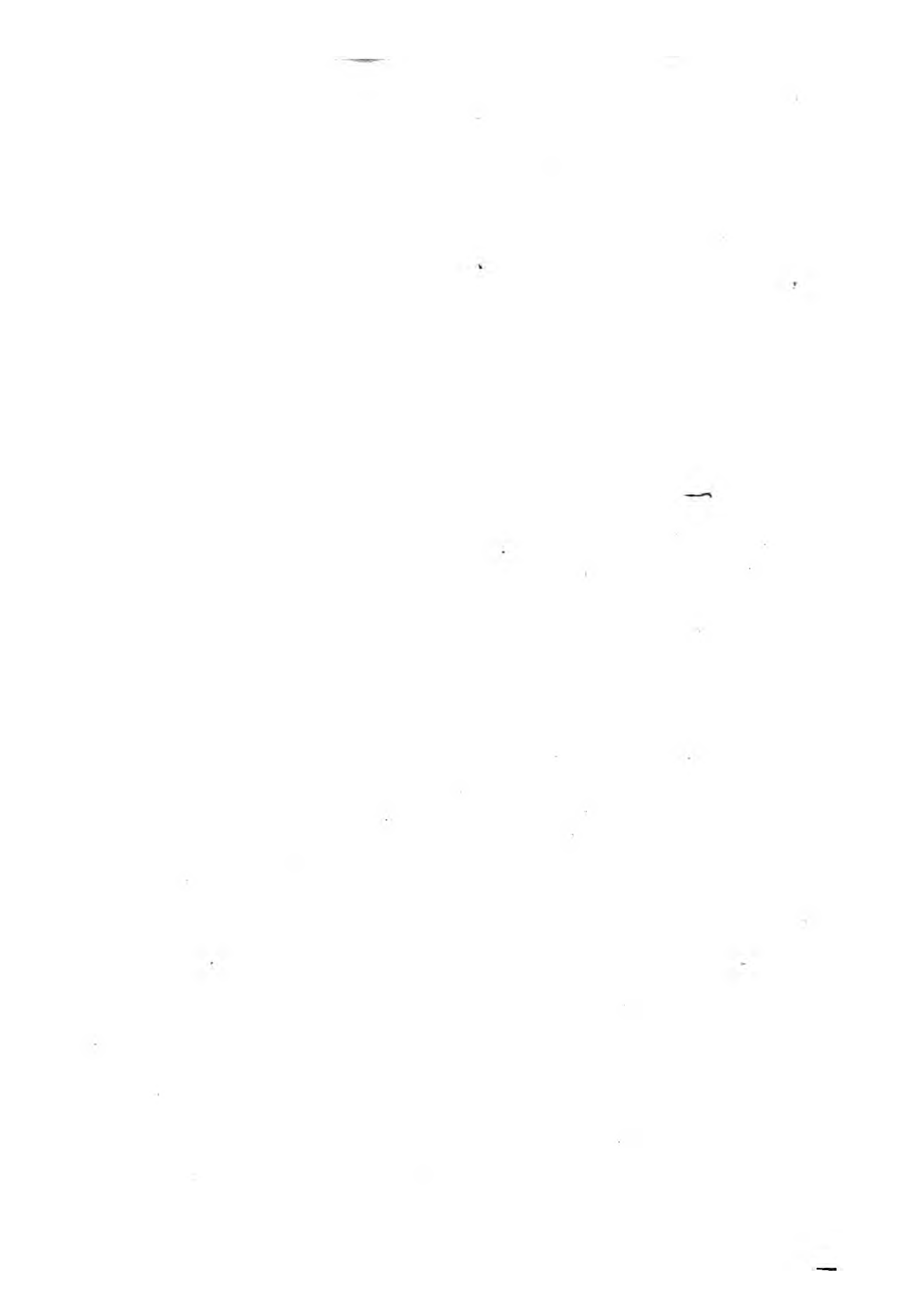






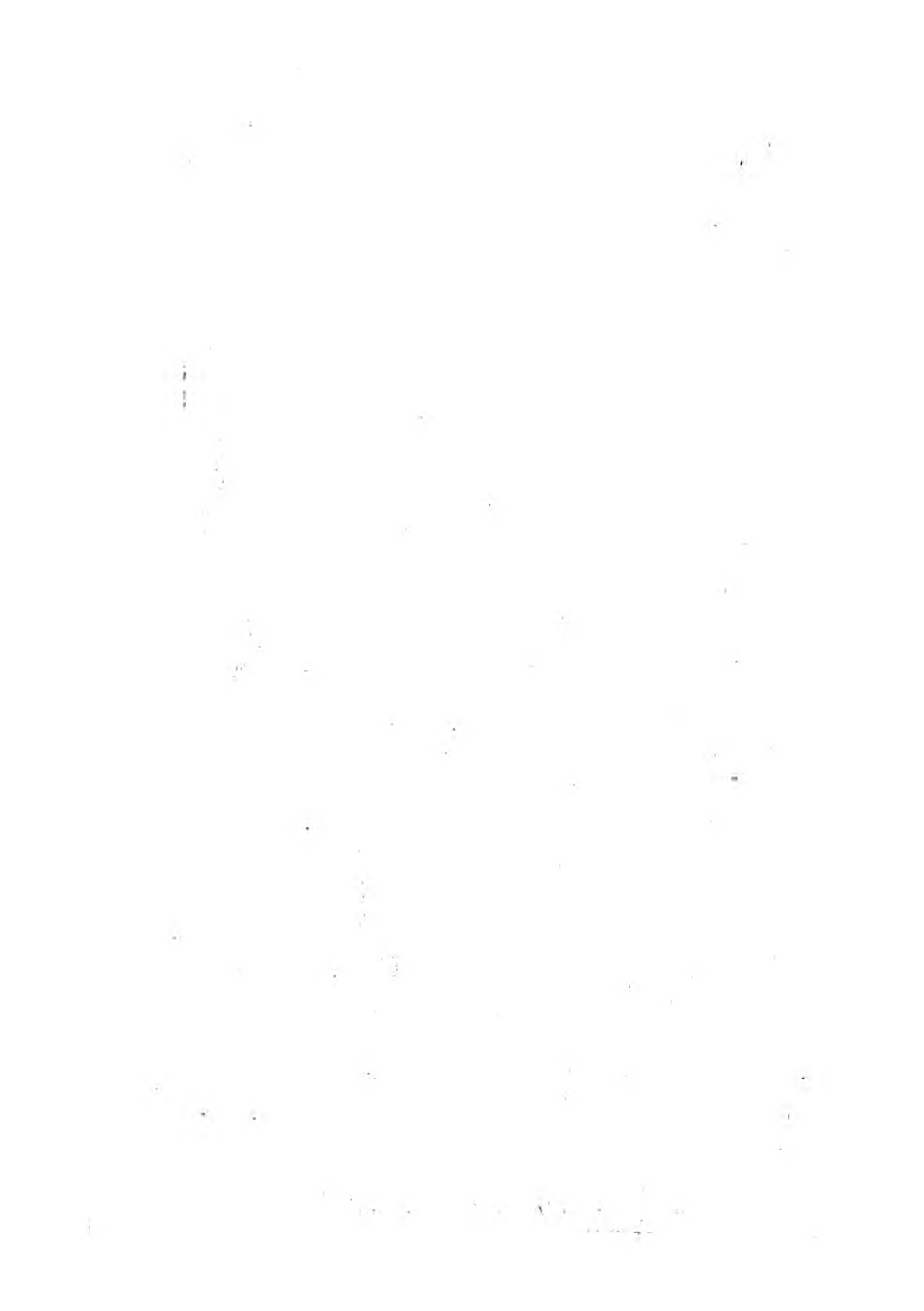
Engraved by B. Doper. from a scarce print by Paf's.

JAMES I.





ANNE of DENMARK QUEEN of KING JAMES 1.st






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M. V. de Gucht scul.

*JAMES I. King of Great Britain,
France, & Ireland, &c*

A N
HISTORICAL and CRITICAL

ACCOUNT
OF THE
LIFE and WRITINGS

OF
JAMES the FIRST,
King of *Great Britain*.

After the Manner of Mr. BAYLE.

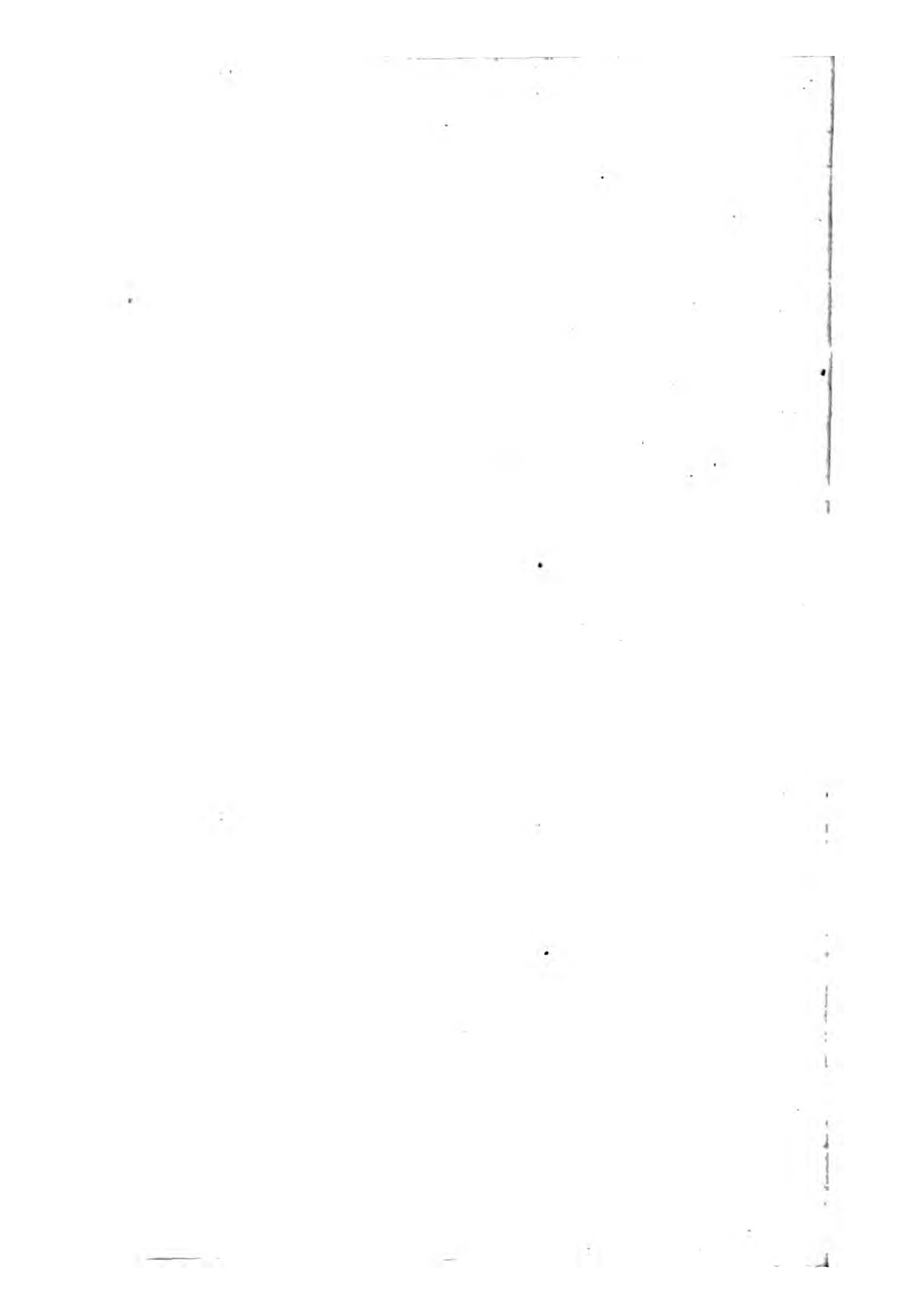
Drawn from
Original Writers and State-Papers.

By WILLIAM HARRIS.

*Ne quid Falsi dicere audeat, ne quid veri non
audeat.* CICERO.

L O N D O N:

Printed for JAMES WAUGH, at the *Turk's-Head*,
in *Lombard-Street*. 1753.



E R R A T A.

PAGE	Line	
5.	29.	<i>for asperitions, read assertions.</i>
7.	8.	<i>for foul, read foul.</i>
25.	15.	<i>for detached, read detected.</i>
26.	23.	<i>for purity, read parity.</i>
27.	25.	<i>dele in.</i>
38.	24.	<i>for wierns, read wierus.</i>
44.	17.	<i>for procopins, read procopius.</i>
58.	4.	<i>for and when, read or not.</i>
96.	3.	<i>in the note for Peter, read pater.</i>
104.	32.	<i>for fuanez, read suarez.</i>
111.	26.	<i>for spalasto, read spalatto.</i>
118.	2.	<i>for feliatione, read filiatione.</i>
136.	28.	<i>dele one.</i>
138.	19.	<i>for Mr. read Dr.</i>
149.	9.	<i>for this, read they.</i>
151.	15.	<i>for amfiador, read ambaffador.</i>
179.	29.	<i>for mamrice, read maurice.</i>
182.	14.	<i>for heredithry, read hereditary.</i>
195.	1.	<i>for ta, read to.</i>
215.	28.	<i>for lawleis, read lawless.</i>
216.	3.	<i>for possibly, read possible.</i>
241.	23.	<i>for subsect, read subject.</i>
247.	21.	<i>for coutd, read could.</i>





P R E F A C E.

TH E design of the following sheets is to give a fuller and more distinct view of the character of king James the first, than has ever yet been exhibited by any writer. It is readily acknowledged that this character is in itself, a very mean and despicable subject; but as it was attended with very extensive and important consequences both in his and the succeeding reigns; so it is humbly presumed that an attempt to illustrate that period of English history which falls within the plan of this subject, will meet with a favourable acceptance from the public.

There are inserted in these papers a great number of curious and interesting facts, entirely omitted by our historians, who seem to have very little consulted those original writers, and state papers from whence the following account is chiefly compiled.

The author does not think it necessary to make any apology for the freedom of his reflections; but only to declare that they were not made for

the sake of pleasing or displeasing any sect or party in church or state ; but wholly intended to serve the cause of liberty and truth. He professes himself inviolably attach'd to the civil and religious liberties of mankind ; and therefore hopes the reader will indulge him in that warmth of his resentment, that honest indignation, that is naturally raised by every instance of persecution, tyranny, and oppression ; provided he has not any where expressed himself in a manner unworthy of the character of a gentleman or a christian.

For the rest it is hoped that the curious will find some entertaintment, if not information, in this account ; and that they will pardon the faults and imperfections of it, for the sake of its general tendency and design.

One thing the judicious and impartial reader will, at least, not be displeas'd with, viz. that as the authorities here quoted are the most authentic in themselves, so the manner of quoting them is the most unexceptionable and just, that is in the very words, letters and points of the respective author, by which the reader may be infallibly certain that their sense is rightly represented.



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A N
HISTORICAL and CRITICAL
A C C O U N T
O F T H E
L I F E and W R I T I N G S
O F
J A M E S I.
King of *Great-Britain.*



JAMES STUART, the sixth of that name in Scotland, and first in England, was born June 19, 1566. He was the son of Henry Lord *Darnley* (son to Matthew earl of *Lennox*, by Margaret *Dowglas* daughter to the widow of *James* the fourth, who was the eldest daughter to *Henry* the seventh of England,) and *Mary* queen
B of

The LIFE of JAMES I.

of Scots, the only child of *James* the fifth, king of Scots, who was son of *James* the fourth and *Margaret* his queen, the said eldest daughter of *Henry* the seventh of England. The murder of a favourite secretary (A) when she was great with child, in her

(A) A favourite secretary, &c.] This was the famous “ *David Rixio*, or *Riscio*, an Italian, a merry fellow and good musician, who was taken notice of first of all on account of his voice. He was drawn in (says *Melvil*) to sing sometimes with the rest, and afterwards, when the queen’s French secretary retired himself to France, he obtained the said office. And as he thereby entered in greater credit, so he had not the prudence *how* to manage the same rightly. For frequently in presence of the nobility, he would be publickly speaking to her, even when there were the greatest conventions of the states. Which made him to be much envied and hated, especially when he became so great, that he presented all signatours to be subscribed by her majesty. So that some of the nobility would frown upon him, others would shoulder him and shut him by, when they entered the queen’s chamber, and found him always speaking with her. For those who had great actions of law, new indentments to be taken, or who desired to prevail against their enemies at court, or in law suits before the session, addressed themselves to him, and depended upon him, whereby in short time he became very rich.” (a) Here was great familiarity we see, and such as could not be much to the credit of a sovereign princess. For ’tis expected that such a one should maintain her rank, and scorn to stoop to those who have neither birth nor breeding. But *Mary* gave herself up to *David*, and was advised by him in things of the utmost importance. This appears from *Melvil*, who knew them well, and likewise from *Spotswood*.
For

(a) Memoirs of Sir James Melvil, p. 54. Fol. Lond. 1683. See likewise the history of the church of Scotland by archbp.

her presence, had such an effect on this her son, that even through his life he could not bear the sight of a drawn sword. He was placed in the throne after his mother's forced resignation, July 25, 1567, being but little above a year old. He had the famous George

B 2

Buchanan

For both these assure us, he was the person, the only person who prevailed on the queen to marry Henry lord *Darnley*. She at first disrelished the proposal, but thro' means of *Rixio*, "she took ay the longer the better liking of him, and at length determined to marry "him." (b). No wonder then common fame was not favourable in her reports of *Mary*, and that the envious and ill-natured hinted things reproachful to her virtue, I pretend not to say any thing criminal passed between the queen and her secretary (though her affair, after her husband's death, with *Bothwell*, would induce one to suspect her not incapable of a familiarity so dishonourable); but I think, all men must allow that things were not so decently managed between them as they ought. Persons of an elevated rank, should strive not only to be good, but to appear so; and careful to act in so pure and unexceptionable a manner, that envy itself may not be able to blast their reputation.—However *Mary* had little regard to what the world said. She continued her favour to her fiddling secretary, 'till a violent death put an end to it, to her great horror and amazement. *Rixio*, though he had procured the queen for *Darnley*, could not long continue in his favour; suspicions being put into his head, he consented to his murder, which was perpetrated in the following manner, "At six o'clock "at night, when the queen was at supper in her closet, "a number of armed men entered within the court, "and going up into the closet (where the king was "leaning on the queen's chair) overthrew the table, "candles, meat and dishes. *Rixio* took the queen about the waste, crying for mercy, but George *Dowglas*

Spotswood,
p. 189, 193.
edit. 3d. Fol.
Lond. 1668.

(b) Melvil,
p. 55. and
Spotswood,
p. 189.

"las

The LIFE of JAMES I.

Buchanan for his tutor, by whom he seems to have profited little, and towards whose memory he had a great averfion (B). During

“ *las* plucked out the king’s dagger, and struck *Rixio* first with it, leaving it sticking in him. He making great shrieks and cries, was rudely snatched from the queen, who could not prevail either with threats or entreaties to save him. But he was forcibly drawn forth of the closet, and slain in the outer hall, and her majesty kept as a captive.” (c)——But they had

(c) Melvil,
p. 64.

no commandment from the contrivers so to kill him, but to bring him to public execution. “ And good it had been for them so to have done, or then to have taken him in another place, and at another time than in the queen’s presence. For besides the great peril of abortion which her fear might have caused, the false aspersions cast upon her fame and honour by that occasion, were such as she could never digest, and drew on all the pitiful accidents that afterwards ensued.” (d) The fright and terror the queen

(d) Spotswood, p.
195.

was in at the sight of the drawn sword, so far influenced the child in her womb, that “ Sir Kenelm *Digby* assures us, he had such an averfion to a naked sword all his life-time, that he could not see one without a great emotion of spirits; and though otherwise courageous enough, he could not over-maſter his paſſions in this particular. I remember, adds he, when he dub’d me knight, in the ceremony of putting a naked sword upon my ſhoulder, he could not endure to look upon it, but turned his face another way; infomuch that in lieu of touching my ſhoulder, he

(e) Digby of the power of sympathy, p. 188. at the end of his diſcourſe on bodies. 4to. Lond. 1669.

had almoſt thruſt the point into my eyes, had not the duke of *Buckingham* guided his hand aright.” (e)

(B) The famous George Buchanan for his tutor, by whom he ſeems to have profited little, and towards whose memory he had a great averfion] *Buchanan’s* merit needs not to be celebrated by me. His fame as a polite

ring his minority the kingdom had several regents, viz. his uncle the earl of *Murray*, his grandfather the earl of *Lennox*, and the earls of *Mar* and *Morton*; with the latter of whom the nobility being dissatisfied, he

B 3

was

polite writer, and a man of deep learning and solid judgment, is establish'd on the most lasting foundations (a). Even those who dislike most of all his principles, refuse not to give him his due praise. And I need not be afraid to assert that his writings will be read and admired as long as learning in this part of the world shall live. *Melvil* says, he "was a man of notable endowments for his learning and knowledge in Latin
"poesie, much honoured in other countries, pleasant
"in conversation, rehearsing at all occasions moralities
"short and instructive, whereof he had abundance,
"inventing where he wanted." (b) A tutor this, worthy a great prince, and fit to form the mind to virtue and politeness! for I doubt not but he discharged with honour the duty of his trust, and did what in him lay to inspire his pupil with just opinions, and elegant sentiments. But his labour was in vain. For it does not appear that *James* improved any thing by his master, or studied at all to copy after him, for his writings are wholly pedantic; his stile low and mean; his arguments taken from those barbarians the school men; and his method of treating his adversaries was after the manner of your country controvertists, inspired with the most fervent zeal. Abundant proof of these aspersions will be found in the extracts I shall give of some of his writings in the ensuing notes. However not contented to disgrace his tutor by his want of improvement, he treated him with contempt also and reproach. Thus for instance, when the authority of *Buchanan*, for resisting kings, was alledged by cardinal *Perron*, *James* replies, "*Buchanan* I reckon and rank among poets,
"not among divines, classical or common. If the man
"hath

(a) See *Thuanus's* judgment of him in *Bayle's* Dictionary, article *Buchanan*, note (H)

(b) *Melvil*, p. 125. See also *Spotwood*, p. 325.

was obliged to quit the regency, and James entered upon the government March 12, 1578. Too soon, it may easily be supposed,

“ hath burst out here and there into some terms of
 “ excess, or speech of bad temper; that must be im-
 “ puted to the violence of his humour, and heat of his
 “ spirit.” (c)——What a contemptible way of speaking
 of a tutor is this, more especially of so great a man as
Buchanan? Had *Buchanan* been ever so wrong in his o-
 pinion, the least sense of decency or gratitude should
 have restrained his pupil from speaking of him after such
 a manner. Next to parents, tutors (if they have dis-
 charged their parts well) have always been thought to
 have deserved honour*; and those who have refused
 to give it, have been branded with baseness and ingrati-
 tude. For to form the mind to knowledge and virtue,
 to teach youth prudence, self-government, and proper
 behaviour, is a work of labour and merit; and such as
 perform it are entitled to gratitude and respect.——But
 in another place *James* plainly discovers his hatred and
 aversion to the memory of his instructor; for he stiles
 his *History an infamous invective*. “ I would have you,
 “ says he, to his son prince *Henry*, to be well versed
 “ in authentick histories, and especially in our own
 “ histories:——I mean not of such infamous invectives
 “ as *Buchanan’s* or *Knox’s* chronicles: and if any of
 “ these infamous libels remain unto your days, use the
 “ law upon the keepers thereof.” (d) I will leave the
 reader

(c) The Works of the most high and mighty prince James, by the grace of God, &c. published by James bishop of Winton, 1616. Lond. Fol. p. 480.

(d) Id. p. 176.

* Dii majorum umbris tenuem & sine pondere terram,
 Spirantesque crocos, & in urna perpetuum ver,
 Qui præceptorem sancti voluere parentis
 Esse loco Juv. Sat. VII. v. 207.

In peace, ye shades of our great grandfathers rest,
 No heavy earth your sacred bones molest:
 Eternal spring, and rising flowers adorn
 The relics of each venerable urn,
 Who pious reverence to their tutors paid,
 As parents honour'd and as Gods obey'd.

CHARLES DRYDEN.

fed for his own honour, or the welfare of his Subjects. He was greatly in the power of his favourites the duke of *Lennox*, and the earl of *Arran*, through whose instigations he performed many unpopular actions (C). Whereupon being seized by the

B 4

earls

reader to make his own remarks on the baseness of this passage, and the littleness of that soul that was capable of writing it concerning a preceptor. I will conclude this note by observing that the probable causes of this hatred of the memory of *Buchanan* were the part he had acted against his mother; the principles of his history, which were opposite to the notions of regal power entertained by James; and the great awe in which he held him in his youth, according to Melvil (e). I would have it carefully observed, that this history stiled by *James* an infamous invective, is said by archbishop *Spotswood* to be "penned with such judgment and eloquence as no country can shew a better." (f).

(e) Melvil,
p. 125.

(f) Spotswood, p.

325.

(C) He was greatly in the power of his favourites, the duke of *Lennox* and the earl of *Arran*, &c.] The duke of *Lennox* was cousin-german to *James's* father; the earl of *Arran* was captain *James Stuart*, promoted to that dignity at the expence of the house of *Hamilton*, unjustly deprived of it. "The duke of *Lennox* " was led by evil council and wrong informations, " whereby he was moved to meddle in such hurtful " and dangerous courses, that the rest of the nobility " became jealous of his intentions, and feared their " estates. As for the earl of *Arran*, they detested his " proceedings, and esteemed him the worst and most " insolent instrument that could be found out, to " wrack king, kirk and country. The duke had been " tolerable, had he happened upon as honest counsellors, as he was well inclined of himself: but " he wanted experience, and was no ways vers'd in the

the

earls of *Mar* and *Gowry*, with others of the nobility as he returned from hunting, and conveyed to *Ruthven* castle, they obtained a charge for the duke of *Lennox* to depart the country, and for the confinement of the earl of *Arran* (D). This was followed by a proclamation

“ the state of the country, nor brought up in our religion, which by time he might have been brought to have embraced. But the earl of *Arran* was a scorner of religion, presumptuous, ambitious, covetous, careless of the commonwealth, a despiser of the nobility and of all honest men.” (a) Hopeful counsellors these for a young king! and admirably fit for governing a kingdom. And yet these were the men who carried all before them, and obtained honours and estates by wholesale. *Arran* from a “ private gentleman was made gentleman of the bed-chamber, knighted, made a privy counsellor, and tutor of *Arran*. A few weeks after he was made captain of his majesty’s guards, and created earl of *Arran*.” (b) *Lennox* in a few days after his appearance at court, had a grant of the lordship of *Arbroath*, then he was created earl of *Lennox*, governor of *Dumbarton* castle, captain of the guard, first gentleman of the bed-chamber, and great chamberlain of Scotland, and duke of *Lennox*.” (c).—These sudden promotions to honour, and places of profit to such men, must necessarily have been very unpopular and distasteful, and could not but be highly resented. However ’tis but justice to *James*, to acquaint the reader that he was very young, and consequently most easily drawn aside by those who had influence over him; and therefore more excusable than he was in misplacing his favours afterwards, as he almost always did.

(a) Melvil,
p. 131.

(b) Lives and characters of the officers of the crown and state of Scotland, by George Crawford, Esq; p. 137. Fol. Lond. 1736.

(c) Id. p. 331.

(D) Being seized by the earls of *Mar*, &c. they obtained a charge for the duke of *Lennox* to depart the country

clamation from the king, discharging the commissions which he had formerly given them, and declaring that in so doing he acted not by compulsion. However having regained his liberty, he turned out of place those who had been enemies to his favorites, and insisted on such of the nobilities asking pardon as had been concerned in the affair of *Ruthven*; which causing a confederacy and a rising,

country, and for the confinement of the earl of *Arran*, &c.] “ As the king was returning from stag-hunting
 “ in *Athole*, in his way towards *Dumferling*, he was
 “ invited by the earl of *Gowry* to his house of *Ruthven*
 “ near *Perth*. The earl, who was at the head of the
 “ conspiracy, instantly sent to advertise his friends of
 “ what had happened. Whereupon several of the dis-
 “ contented nobility, and all those that were in the
 “ English Interest at hand, repaired to *Ruthven*, where
 “ without any ceremony they resolved to detain the
 “ king, and keep him prisoner. The next day when August 23,
 “ the king was essaying to get out, they stopt him; 1582.
 “ wherefore growing into a passion and weeping, Sir
 “ *Thomas Lyon* boldly, though rudely told him, it was
 “ no matter for his tears, *better that bairns greet than*
 “ *bearded men.*” (a) After they had him in custody (a) Craw-
 they presented a supplication to him, “ representing furd, p.
 “ the false accusations, calumnies, oppressions and per- 332. Spots-
 “ secutions they had suffered for two years, by means wood, p.
 “ of the duke of *Lennox*, and the earl of *Arran*, the 320. See al-
 “ like whereof were never heretofore borne in Scot- so Melvil,
 “ land.” Upon this representation, the king, fore P. 129, &c.
 against his will, sent orders to the duke to leave the king-
 dom, who obeying, died soon after at *Paris*, and the
 earl was confined for a time. Before this a Proclama-
 tion had been issued forth, “ declaring that it was his
 “ own voluntary act to abide at *Perth*; and that the
 “ noble-

The LIFE of JAMES I.

a rising, issued in the death of the earl of Gowry (E), in revenge of which, as was said, his son engaged in the conspiracy so much talked

(b) Spotswood, p. 321.

“ noblemen and others that attended him, had done
 “ nothing but what their duties obliged them unto,
 “ and which he took for a good service performed both
 “ to himself and the commonwealth.” (b) But all this was a mere act of dissimulation, and the effect of constraint. As soon as he was at liberty he returned to the same courses, and behaved after his wonted manner. For favourites he must have, and so their pleasure was consulted, no matter how the kingdom was pleased.

(a) Melvil, p. 183.

(E) Having obtained his liberty, he insisted on such of the nobility's asking pardon as were concerned in the affair of Ruthven, &c.] *James* was never a man of his word. We see just now, that by proclamation, he had allowed what was done at *Ruthven* to be good service, and he moreover had desired the kirk “ to find it
 “ good for their parts, and to ordain the ministers and
 “ commissioners of every shire to publish the same to
 “ their parishioners, and to get the principal gentlemen's subscription to maintain the same.” (a) But no sooner had he got his liberty, but he acted quite differently from what he had declared to be his sentiments. *Arran* was introduced again into court, “ was made
 “ Chancellor, captain of the castles of *Edinburgh* and
 “ *Stirling*, and ruled so as to make the whole subjects
 “ to tremble under him, and every man to depend upon him, daily inventing and seeking out new faults
 “ against diverse, to get their escheats, lands, benefices.” He wrought so far with the king, that a proclamation was published, “ condemning the detaining his majesty's
 “ person at *Ruthven* as a *fact most treasonable*. Yet his
 “ majesty declared, that he was resolved to forget and
 “ forgive that offence, providing the actors and assisters do shew themselves penitent for the same, ask
 “ pardon in due time, and do not provoke him by their
 “ unlawful

talked of, and variously censured; which terminated in the ruin of his family.

Mary,

“ unlawful actions hereafter, to remember that at-
 tempt!” (b) Whereupon divers noblemen and others (b) Craw-
 ford, p. 139.
 Spotswood,
 p. 326. withdrew from the court, for fear, to some place of
 security; for they well knew that their destruction was
 aimed at. Whereupon the principal of them were or-
 dered to confinement, which they not obeying, were
 denounced rebels (c). This was shocking behaviour, (c) Id. ib.
 and enough to provoke the most patient men to take a
 severe revenge; for the king’s word was no security,
 his promise could not be relied on, and no man was safe
 who affronted his favourite, who made a mere dupe of
 his master, and sacrificed his honour on all occasions.
 A sure proof this of *James’s* weakness, and a sufficient
 indication of what the world was to expect from him
 hereafter; for the tempers and dispositions of men are
 pretty much the same through life. As they are in
 youth, so are they in reality in age, though they may
 know better how to gloss and disguise.—By this treat-
 ment of those concerned in the Ruthven affair, several
 of the nobility were induced to enter into an association,
 for reforming abuses, securing religion, and the preser-
 vation of the king’s person and estate, among whom
 was the earl of *Gowry*, who being taken, tried and
 condemned, was executed for treason. “ His majesty
 “ (says *Melvil*) had no intention of taking his life, but
 “ the earl of *Arran* was fully resolved to have his lands,
 “ and therefore to make a party to assist him in that de-
 “ sign, he engaged to divide them with several others,
 “ upon condition that they would assist him in the de-
 “ sign of ruining him; which afterwards he did, ha-
 “ ving by this means procured their consent and votes.”
 (d) What weakness and feebleness of government was (d) Melvil,
 p. 156.
 Spotswood,
 p. 332.
 Crawford,
 p. 390. this! *Arran* was in effect king, whilst *James* bore the
 name, and under the royal authority committed the
 most unjust actions; for all agree that *Gowry* had hard
 measure dealt him.—In time the *Gowry* family was
 restored

Mary, queen of Scots, having sentence of death pronounced on her, Oct. 11, 1586, at Fotheringhay, by the commissioners of
 queen

restored to honour and estate, but, as historians tell us, nothing could allay the revenge of the two eldest sons, for their father's blood, but the death of the king, which they attempted to have taken away at the earl's own house, August 5, 1600 (*e*)—But they both lost their lives in the attempt, and ruined thereby their family; for their houses were demolished, their estates confiscated, and the whole family, by act of parliament prohibited to carry the name of *Ruthven*. The 5th of August was likewise ordered to be kept yearly in remembrance of this deliverance.—Whether there was any such conspiracy of the *Gowries* against the king, or whether it was only a pretence, in order to palliate the murder of them, has been very much debated. *Spotswood* believed it: it was generally received as truth by the courtiers at the time it happened; and the assisters of the king received honours and rewards. (*f*) *Burnet* (no way prejudiced in favour of the king) gives credit to it; and *Mr. Crawford* tells us, that after what the earl of *Cromarty* hath lain together in his *historical account of the conspiracies by the earls of Gowry* against king *James*, he hopes few or none will suspect, far less doubt its truth and reality. (*g*) I hope I shall not be thought to be “maliciously set against the royal family, or the (*b*) “*great king* who was more immediately concerned in “this affair,” if I give the reasons that may be assigned for the doubting concerning the truth of the king's narration. I could not act the part of a faithful historian without it, and therefore must beg the reader's pardon for detaining him a little longer on this subject.

1. We are to observe, that the next day after this happened, the ministers were called together at Edinburgh, and desired to convene their people, and give thanks unto God for the king's deliverance: but they by no persuasion could be moved to do it. (*i*)

2. Though

(*e*) *Crawford*, p. 390. *Spotswood*, p. 458.

(*f*) *Burnet's* history of his own times, Vol. I. p. 22. dutch edit. 12mo.

(*g*) *Crawford*, p. 390.

(*b*) *Crawford's* epithet and expressions.

(*i*) *Spotswood*, p. 460. *Calderwood*, p. 444.

queen *Elizabeth*, notwithstanding her refusing to answer and be tried; and the sentence being confirmed by the English parliament, and their desire moreover added, that it might be put in execution; *James* ordered it to be represented to queen *Elizabeth* how unjust he held that proceeding against his mother,

2. Though most of the ministers being hereupon commanded to leave the city in 24 hours, and forbid to preach in his majesty's dominions, on pain of death, complied, owning themselves convinced of the truth of the conspiracy; Yet we find Mr. Robert *Bruce* saying he would reverence his majesty's reports of that accident, but could not say he was perswaded of the truth of it. (k)

(k) Spotswood, p. 461.

3. *Osborn* tells us, no Scotchman you could meet beyond sea but did laugh at it, and the peripatetick politicians said, the relation in print did murder all possibility of credit. But I will not (adds he) wade farther in this business, not knowing how dangerous the bottom may prove, being by all mens relations foul and bloody, having nothing to palliate it but jealousy on the one side, and fear of the other. (l) And indeed the relation of this affair in *Spotswood* is confused and marvellous. The drawing the king to *Perth*, the getting him from dinner to examine a stranger; the discourse of *Gowry's* brother with him; and his stout and gallant behaviour (which in no other part of his life appeared); and his causing the two brothers to be killed, when he might with the same ease have secured them; the denials of *Gowry's* servants of their knowledge of the affair; and the tale of the earl's girdle, are circumstances which are not easily to be swallowed by the inquisitive or sceptical.

(l) Works of Francis Osborn, Esq; p. 535. 8vo. Lond. 1673. See also Calderwood, p. 451.

4. *Burnet* himself allows, that this conspiracy was charged at that time by the puritans in Scotland on the king, as a contrivance of his to get rid of that earl, who

mother, and that it did neither agree with the will of God, who prohibited to touch his anointed ones; nor with the law of nations, that an absolute prince should be sentenced and judged by subjects; that if she would be the first to give that pernicious example of profaning her own and other princes diadems, she should remember that both in nature and honour it concerned him to be

(m) Burnet, p. 22. See a very honourable character of Gowry, from Sir Henry Neville, to secretary Cecyll, in Winwood's state papers, Vol. I. p. 156.

who was then held in great esteem. (m) And afterwards he says, it was not easy to persuade the nation of the truth of this conspiracy: for eight years before that time, king *James* on a secret jealousy of the earl of *Murray*, then esteemed the handsomest man in Scotland, set on the marquis of *Huntley*, who was his mortal enemy, to murder him; and by a writing all in his own hand, he promised to save him harmless for it. He set the house in which he was on fire, and the earl flying away, was followed and murdered, and *Huntley* sent *Gordon of Buckey* with the news to the king. Soon after, all who were concerned in that vile fact were pardoned, which laid the king open to much censure: and this made the matter of *Gowry* to be less believed.

5. Sir Henry Neville, in a letter to Mr. Winwood, dated Nov. 15, 1600, from London, writes, "Out of Scotland we hear there is no good agreement between the king of Scots and his wife, and many are of opinion, that the discovery of some affection between her and the earl *Gowry's* brother, (who was killed with him) was the truest cause and motive of all that tragedy." (n)

(n) Winwood's memorials of affairs of state in the reigns of Elizabeth and king James I. Vol. I. p. 274. Fol. Lond. 1725.

And Mr. *Winwood*, in a letter to secretary *Cecyll*, from Paris, dated 17 May, 1601, O. S. says, "The ambassador of Scotland hath been advertized of a dangerous practice against the Scots king; that lately one called *Glarnet*, hath been sent out of Scotland,

be revenged of so great an indignity ; which if he should not do, he should peril his credit both at home and abroad (*a*).—But these threats were not regarded by *Elizabeth*, nor were they of any service to his mother ; for she was executed in pursuance to a warrant

(*a*) Spots-wood, p. 351.

“ land, with letters to *Bothwel*, to hasten home with
“ diligence, where he should find sufficient assistance.
“ The principal party, who employed this party is the
“ *Queen of Scetland*.—And letters have been inter-
“ cepted out of England from master *Gray*, that the
“ death of *Gowry* should shortly be revenged.” (*o*) (*o*) Id. p.
These passages compared, may possibly give the reader some light in this affair. A gallant, or a supposed one slain, was cause sufficient to induce a lady to give her husband trouble, and nothing so likely as this to excite her to revenge.—These are the reasons which may induce some persons to doubt about the truth of *Gowry*'s conspiracy ; whether they are sufficient the considerate reader will determine. However, one reflection naturally arises from this subject, viz. that the people entertained but a very poor opinion of *James*'s veracity and honesty. The ministers, we see could not be induced to give thanks for his deliverance, out of a distrust of his account, till fear of their own safety brought them to a compliance ; and the general belief of the people of that nation both at home and abroad, was, that 'twas mere contrivance in order to screen himself from the guilt and infamy he must otherwise have lain under. Unhappy situation this ! truly worthy of commiseration. For a prince believed false, treacherous, and bloody, must be despised, hated and contemned, and can expect nothing but unwilling obedience from his subjects. And it must be confessed, *James* had given but too much reason to them, to view him in these lights.

warrant directed to secretary *Davidson* (F), the seventh of February following: though *Elizabeth* pretended it was quite contrary to her

(F) She was executed in pursuance of a warrant, &c.] The sentence passed on her was approved by the English parliament, and earnestly pressed by it to be put in execution. Nor was any one more earnest in the matter than *Elizabeth* herself; for she deemed *Mary's* life incompatible with her own safety, and therefore determined to shorten it. But it was a matter of much delicacy, and what she would have been glad to have been excused from appearing in. She would fain therefore have had her put out of the way by Sir *Amias Pawlet*, and Sir *Drue Drury*, and had it hinted to them by the secretaries *Davidson* and *Walsingham*. But they were too wise to be caught, and too honest to execute so barbarous a deed, and therefore boldly refused, to the queen's no small mortification. Mr. *Tindal* seems to intimate something of a doubt about the genuineness of the letters here referred to (a), but I think without reason. For to me they have all the marks of genuineness, and are perfectly agreeable to that dexterity and management for which *Elizabeth* was so famous.—When these arts failed, the warrant in the hands of *Davidson*, signed by the queen, was made use of by the council, the queen being not openly acquainted with it, and *Mary*, by means of it, had her head severed from her body.—So that *James's* conduct could not save his mother, nor could *Henry III.* of *France*, by his ambassador, respite the execution of her sentence, but a violent death was her fate. But, if what historians tell us is true, 'tis no wonder *Elizabeth* payed so little regard to the solicitations in the behalf of the unfortunate *Mary*. For 'tis affirmed, that *Bellievre*, the French ambassador, whatever in public he pretended, had private orders to solicit the death of the queen (b). And *Gray*, the Scotch envoy, on this occasion, is said likewise in private, to advise the making her away, saying, a dead woman bites not (c).

(a) Rapin's history of England, translated by Tindal, Vol. II. p. 134. in the notes. Fol. Lond. 1733.

(b) Id. Vol. II. p. 122.

(c) Id. p. 131. Winwood's state paper, Vol. I. p. 11.

her intentions, seemed greatly grieved at it, and turned out, and fined the secretary by reason of it (G).

Indeed,

(G) Though *Elizabeth* pretended it was contrary to her intentions, and turned out and fined the secretary by reason of it.] The execution of *Mary* could not be concealed, nor was it thought proper by *Elizabeth* to justify it. She therefore threw the blame upon poor *Davidson*, and made him suffer for being an instrument in bringing about what she most of all desired. She denied not, but she commanded him to draw a warrant under the great seal for the queen of Scots execution; but after it was done, she seemed angry: however she left it in his hands, without telling him what he should do with it. Whereupon the council being consulted by *Davidson*, it was unanimously resolved to execute the warrant, and accordingly it was carried to Fotheringay, and produced the desired effect. *Elizabeth*, in the meantime, pretended she had changed her mind; but none of her counsellors talked to her upon the subject, or attempted to hinder the execution, as they certainly would have done, had they not been satisfied in her intentions. But when the wished for event took place, then *Elizabeth* pretended great sorrow, and professed her disinclination towards it; and to convince the world thereof, she wrote to the Scotch king, by a cousin of hers, and had *Davidson* cited into the Star-chamber, where he was fined 10000 *l.* and imprisoned during the queen's pleasure. Though "she herself
" could not deny, but that which she laid to his charge
" was done without hope, fear, malice, envy, or any
" respect of his own, but merely for her safety both
" of state and person." (a) This sentence on *Davidson* was very severe, and carried the dissimulation to a great pitch, for the man lost his post, and lay'd long in prison. So hard and difficult is the service of princes! So dangerous complying with their inclinations, for

(a) Cabala,
P. 232. Fol.
Lond. 1663.

The LIFE of JAMES I.

Indeed, *Elizabeth* and her ministers managed *James* as they pleased; they fully understanding his temper, councils, and designs:

there is no laying obligations upon them; and after you have done all to please and oblige them, to serve a turn, or even gratify a present humour, they will discard or ruin you: for they think their subjects made for them; that 'tis a favour to employ them; and that they are of no worth, any farther than they promote their designs. If people therefore knew when they were well, they would be thankful for a peaceable retreat, and strive not to mix in counsels with those whose aim it is to outwit and mischief each other; nor would they be desirous of climbing up so high, as that a fall is fatal. But the ambitious in vain are cautioned to check their career. Nothing but some sad miscarriage, disappointment or disgrace, will teach them the needful lessons of humility and moderation, or cause them to enjoy contentedly the blessings of private life. Before I take my leave of this affair, I will observe that from the proceedings against *Mary*, it appears, that the queen and her parliament had no notion of such a sacredness in the persons of princes, as to render them unaccountable to any earthly tribunal. For here is a sovereign princess, tried, condemned, and executed, with the approbation, yea in pursuance of the request of the parliament; and though *Elizabeth*, to save appearances, feigned sorrow and indignation at the execution, yet no one has been so hardy as to put into her mouth a sentence tending to condemn the lawfulness of it. For she was too wise and understanding to have done it; nor could any who knew her character suppose her capable of it. This doctrine was left to her successor, who had weakness enough to declare expressly, "that kings were accountable to God only." (b) A doctrine big with mischief, and fit for nothing but to make tyrants. But of this I shall have occasion to speak more hereafter.

(b) King
James's
works, p.
529.

signs (H): so that they acted as they thought fit, without any regard to him, any farther than

(H) *Elizabeth* and her ministers managed *James* as they pleased, and understood his temper, councils and designs.] It appears from *Melvil*, that the English were thoroughly acquainted with the temper and behaviour of the king, and had those about him who took every opportunity to insinuate those notions into him, which were most acceptable to *Elizabeth*. “*Wooton* the ambassador became one of his most familiar minions, “waiting upon him at all fixed pastimes.” (a) And Sir Richard *Wigmore* “was particularly instructed by *Wal-* “*singham*, in all the proper methods to gain upon the “king’s confidence, and to observe and give an ac- “count of all he saw in him; which he did very faith- “fully.” (b) And though *James* little thought it, his most secret actions were known to the English ministry, and all his transactions abroad, how privately soever they were carried. For *Elizabeth*’s ambassadors had a very watchful eye over the Scotch; and what by address, what by considerations of religion, but chiefly by money, they became acquainted with every thing *James* was negotiating every where. Thus for instance, Sir Henry *Neville*, though at Paris, had a watchful eye over the transactions of the Scotch king at *Rome*, and made himself master of them, though they were managed with the greatest caution: (c) and he was apprized also of the negotiation of baron *Ogilby* in *Spain*, who offered in the name of “*James* to be reconciled to the “apostolic see, and to enter into a confederacy with “that crown, in order to rescue himself from the dan- “gers he was exposed to from *Elizabeth*, on whom he “offered, (upon condition of being assisted with twelve “thousand men armed and paid all the time the war “should last, and five hundred thousand ducats to be- “gin it) to make war immediately, and declare him- “self her enemy (d). So that from hence it appears that *Elizabeth* had him fast, and could have exposed

(a) *Melvil*, p. 161.

(b) *Burnet*, Vol. I. p. 5. and *Welwood*’s memoirs, p. 9. 8vo. Lond. 1710.

(c) *Winwood*’s state paper, p. 145, 146. the letters are well worth reading at large.

(d) *Winwood*, Vol. I. p. 5, 6, 7.

than mere compliments. For the fear of losing the succession to the English crown, and the pension he enjoyed from *Elizabeth*,
made

him to the resentments of the English and Scottish nations whenever she pleased. For as *Walsingham*, *Burnet* says, “thought the king was either inclined to turn “ papist, or to be of no religion;” (e) so these negotiations, had they been published, would have brought over multitudes of others to the same opinion; the consequence of which to him might have been fatal. No wonder then *James’s* threatnings were little heeded: he was well known by the English court, and to know him was to stand in no awe of him; for big as he would talk on occasion, fighting was his known aversion. Indeed, after he came into England, he was weak enough to pretend that he had the direction of the English affairs during his predecessor’s reign: had this been so, they would have been managed like his own in *Scotland*, and as matters afterwards were by him in *England*. Whereas every body knows, never councils were better conducted, never more glory by any administration acquired, than by *Elizabeth’s*, and therefore he could have had no hand in the direction. That in the latter part of that queen’s reign, he cultivated a correspondence with some of her courtiers, and endeavoured by means of them to secure the succession is true; and he was successful in his applications. But still he guided not, but was guided, and as carefully watched as could be; and, perhaps, a knowledge of his weakness, love of ease, and aversion to business, did not a little contribute to engage some of the great ones in his favour; who hoped that under him they might acquire honors, power, and wealth, in which they were not much mistaken. For a prince of great abilities, how valuable soever to a nation, is not the delight of self-interested statesmen. He will see with his own eyes, will judge of men as they deserve, and reward only the wise and good; and therefore under such an one little is to be hoped for by them.

(e) Burnet,
Vol. I. p. 6.

made him in all things obedient to her will (I).

He

(I) The fear of losing the succession to the English crown, and the pension he enjoyed from *Elizabeth*, made him in all things obedient to her will.] *James* loved not *Elizabeth*, for she kept him under restraint; protected his nobility against him; fomented divisions in his kingdom; and had caused his mother to be put to death. In short, he looked on her as the cause of all his troubles. These things he strongly complains of in his reasons for his reconciliation with Rome, and confederacy with Spain (a). But yet notwithstanding the grudge he bore her, he refused her nothing, nor dared to contradict her. For he had a yearly pension from the queen, I think, ten thousand pounds, the loss of which he could not well bear; which was increased in the year 1601, two thousand more upon his request. “ Her majesty (says *Cecyll*) promising to continue it, as long as he shall make it appear to the world, that he is willing to deserve her extraordinary care and kindness towards him.” (b) This was a good round sum at that time of day in *Scotland*, and therefore it behoved *James* to make it appear that he deserved it, by complying with her, whose bounty he so largely shared in. But that which kept *James* most in awe was the fear of losing the succession to the English crown. His being next in blood (though afterwards much talked of by him) was no security; had he behaved displeasingly to *Elizabeth*, and once made her heartily angry, 'tis more than probable he would have died in his own country. For by a statute of the 13th year of her reign, it was made high treason for any person to affirm, “ that the reigning prince with the authority of the parliament, is not able to limit and bind the crown, and the descent and inheritance thereof.” This was the rod which was held over *James*, and made him fear and tremble. For he could never get himself declared by *Elizabeth* her successor, and he knew full well what she

(a) Win-wood, Vol. I. p. 2.

(b) Id. p. 325.

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He was not much regarded in Scotland by his nobility, which was owing, perhaps, as much to their restless temper, as his weakness (K);
nor

was capable of doing when provoked. He therefore stifled his anger, dissembled his resentments, and did not publicly do any thing disobliging to *Elizabeth*. His private behaviour in his negotiations with *Rome* and *Spain*, could not but be unacceptable. But she probably despised them, and took care to frustrate them, and contented herself with letting the whole world see that she was mistress of the Scotch king, and stood in no fear of what he might do. So that the passion with which he received the news of his mother's death, and the threats he uttered were but mere words, and he was cool'd down presently by *Walsingham's* letter, "representing how
" much his pretending to revenge it, would prejudice
" him in the eyes of the antient nobility, by the greatest
" part of whom she was condemned, and of principal
" part of the gentlemen of the realm, who confirmed
" the same in parliament; who would never submit to
" his government, if he shewed so vindictive a mind."

(c) Spotswood, p. 360.

(d) Melvil, p. 173.

(c) Those Scotch and English therefore were in the right, who assured the English council, it would soon be forgot; and "that the blood was already fallen from
" his majesty's heart." (d) For he was afraid of consequences, and therefore durst not attempt to fulfil his threats.

(K) He was not much regarded by his nobility, &c.] He makes it a reason for his joining with Spain, that
" queen *Elizabeth* had always protected his enemies and
" rebels, and that by their means she had caused him
" to be three or four times taken into custody." (a)
Whether or no *Elizabeth* was at the bottom of all the attempts of the nobility against *James*, is not my business to determine. But 'tis very certain they paid him but little regard, and scrupled not to bring him to terms, even by rough methods. The affair of *Ruthven* has
been

(a) Winwood, Vol. I. p. 4.

nor had he power to govern his clergy, who behaved, as he thought, disobediently towards him (L).

For

been already mentioned: besides which we find the banished Lords surprized him at *Stirling*, and caused him once more to dismiss *Arran*, and deprive him of his honours; and *Bothwell* took the same course with him to obtain his pardon, and hinder his adversaries from returning to court (b).

(b) Spott-
wood, p. 34.
394.

These were instances of disrespect and disregard, and could arise from nothing but an opinion of the weakness of the prince to whom they were offered. Though it must be confessed that the Scotch nobility in those days were of a bold, restless temper, and were seldom quiet any longer than things went just as they pleased; and therefore were unlikely to stand in much awe of one, whose irresolution and want of courage had been from his childhood so very remarkable.

(L) His clergy behaved disobediently, as he thought, towards him.] “ The king perceiving that the death
“ of his mother was determined, gave orders to the
“ ministers to remember her in their publick prayers;
“ which they denied to do. Upon their denial, charges
“ were directed to command all bishops, ministers, and
“ other office-bearers in the church, to make mention
“ of her distress in their publick prayers, and commend
“ her to God. But of all the number, Mr. *David*
“ *Lindesay* at *Leith*, and the king’s own ministers, gave
“ obedience. At *Edinburgh*, where the disobedience
“ was most public, the king purposing to have their
“ fault amended, did appoint the third of February
“ for solemn prayers to be made in her behalf, com-
“ manding the bishop of *St. Andrew’s* to prepare him-
“ self for that day; which when the ministers under-
“ stood, they stirred up Mr. *John Cowper*, a young
“ man not entered as yet in the function, to take the
“ pulpit before the time, and exclude the bishop. The

The LIFE of JAMES I.

For this he hated them most heartily ;
but dissembled his resentment, till he could
show

“ king coming at the hour appointed, and seeing him
“ in the place, called to him from his seat, and said,
“ Mr. *John*, that place was destinate for another ; yet
“ since you are there, if you will obey the charge that
“ is given, and remember my mother in your prayers,
“ you shall go on. He replying, *he would do as the*
“ *spirit of God should direct him*, was commanded to
“ leave the place ; and making as though he would
“ stay, the captain of the guard went to pull him out ;
“ whereupon he burst forth in these speeches, *this day*
“ *shall be a witness against the king, in the great day of*
“ *the Lord* ; and then denouncing a woe to the inhabi-
“ tants of Edinburgh, he went down.” (a) This be-
haviour seems to favour much of indecency and disobe-
dience, and I doubt not but the reader is inclined to
censure it accordingly. But let us not be too hasty, lest
we judge unrighteous judgment. The ministers, I
think, failed more in breeding than any thing else ;
for what was required of them, was to pray that *God*
would illuminate her (Mary) with the light of his truth,
and save her from the apparent danger in which she was
cast. Now this latter they could not in conscience do :
for they looked upon her in the most detestable light,
and wished not for her preservation, believing it incon-
sistent with the good of the state and religion. And
therefore, says secretary *Walsingham*, “ it was wonder-
“ ed by all wise and religious men in England, that
“ the king should be so earnest in the cause of his mo-
“ ther, seeing all the papists in Europe that affected the
“ change of religion in both realms, did build their
“ hopes altogether upon her.” (b) If therefore the
Scots ministers thought as all the wise and religious men
in England did, about this matter, they could not con-
sistently, with sincerity, have prayed for her deliverance.
The king therefore should have forborne pressing them
to do what was contrary to their judgments, and they
should

(a) Spotsf-
wood, p. 354.

(b) Id.

show it with safety; when he let all men know how much their conduct galled him, and what ill will he bare unto them (M).

Though

should have used civil and respectful terms of refusal; which, if they had done, I apprehend, they would have been free from blame. But this was not the only affair in which the clergy of Scotland, behaved disobediently and irreverently towards *James*.

For Mr. *Robert Bruce*, finding the king willing that *Huntley* should return into Scotland, boldly told him, “ I see, Sir, that your resolution is to take *Huntley* in-
“ to favour, which if you do, I will oppose, and you
“ shall chuse whether you will lose *Huntley* or *me*; for
“ both you cannot keep.” (c) Mr. *Blake* was likewise (c) Spett-
charged by him with saying, “ that he had detached wood, p. 417.
“ the treachery of his heart; that all kings were the
“ devil’s barns; and that the devil was in the court,
“ and in the guiders of it.” (d) — And Mr. *John* (d) Id. p. 423.
Welch, in the high church of Edinburgh, said “ the
“ king was possessed with a devil, and one devil being
“ put out, seven worse were entered in his place.” (e) (e) Id. p. 430.
This was strange talking, and what could not but be very displeasing to *James*, though he had not power enough to curb and restrain those who were guilty of it.

(M) He dissembled with them, till with safety he could shew his resentment, &c.] Notwithstanding all the rudeness with which he had been treated by his clergy in the general assembly at Edinburgh, 1590, he stood
“ up with his bonnet off, and his hands lifted up to
“ heaven, and said, he praised God, that he was born,
“ in the time of the light of the gospel, and in such a
“ place, as to be king of such a church, the sincerest
“ [purest] kirk in the world. The church of *Geneva*
“ keep pasche and yule [Easter and Christmas] what
“ have they for them? they have no institution. As
“ for our neighbour kirk of England, their service
“ is an evil said mass in English; they want nothing
“ of

The LIFE of JAMES I.

Though we are not to suppose, however it has been otherwise represented, either through

(a) Calderwood's church history of Scotland, p. 256. Fol. Edinb. 1680.
 (b) Id. p. 418.
 (c) Spotswood, p. 468.

“ of the mass but the listings. I charge you my good
 “ ministers, doctors, elders, nobles, gentlemen and
 “ barons, to stand to your purity, and to exhort the
 “ people to do the same; and I, forsooth, as long as I
 “ brook my life, shall maintain the same.” (a) And
 in his speech to the parliament 1598, he tells them, “ he
 “ minded not to bring in papistical or anglicane bi-
 “ shops.” (b) And in 1602, he assured the general
 assembly, “ that he would stand for the church and be
 “ an advocate for the ministry.” (c) A man would
 think by this, that *James* had a very great regard for
 his *clergy*, and an high esteem of them; and doubtless
 he himself intended they should think so too. But this
 was mere artifice and dissimulation; for at bottom he
 hated them heartily, and could not bear the thoughts
 of them. This will appear to a demonstration from his
 writings. “ Some fiery spirited men in the ministry,
 “ he says, oftentimes calumniated him in their popular
 “ sermons, not for any evil or vice in him, but be-
 “ cause he was a king, which they thought the highest
 “ evil.” This was the effect he thought of purity in
 the church. Therefore he advises his son [prince *Henry*]
 “ to take heed to such puritans, very pests in the church
 “ and commonwealth, whom no deserts can oblige,
 “ neither oaths or promises bind, breathing nothing
 “ but sedition and calumnies, aspiring without measure,
 “ railing without reason, and making their own ima-
 “ ginations (without any warrant of the word) the
 “ square of their conscience. I protest before the great
 “ God, and since I am here upon my testament, it is
 “ no place for me to lye in, that ye shall never find
 “ with any hie-land or border thieves, greater ingrati-
 “ tude, and more lies and vile perjuries, than with
 “ these phanatick spirits, and suffer not the principal of
 “ them to brook your land, if ye list to set at rest;
 “ except

through ignorance or prejudice to the then
Scotish

“ except ye would keep them for trying your patience,
“ as *Socrates* did an evil wife.” (d)

And in his *premonition to all christian monarchs, &c.* he tells us, “ he was ever an enemy to the confused
“ anarchy or parity of the puritans, as well appeareth
“ in his ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΟΝ ΔΩΡΟΝ.” And therefore, adds
he, “ I cannot enough wonder with what brazen face
“ this answerer (*Bellarmino*) could say, that *I was a*
“ *puritan in Scotland, and an enemy to protestants: I*
“ that was persecuted by puritans there, not from my
“ birth only, but even since four months before my
“ birth? I that in the year of God 84, erected bishops,
“ and depressed all their popular parity. I then not be-
“ ing 18 years of age, [this was the year in which the
earl of *Gowry* was executed, and *Arran* committed the
vilest acts of injustice.] “ I that in my said book to my
“ son, do speak ten times more bitterly of them than
“ of the papists; having in my second edition thereof
“ affixed a long apologetick preface, only in *odium pu-*
“ *ritanorum.*” (e) This was written in England when

(d) King
James's
works, p.
160.

(e) Id. p. 305.

the king could speak his mind, and therefore, we may
be sure we have his real sentiments, especially as all his
actions were correspondent unto them. So that I had
reason to say, that *James* dissembled in his hatred and
resentment till a proper opportunity. But how worthy
this was of a king is not hard to judge. For nothing is
more unbecoming the rank and character of such an one,
than dissimulation, especially towards his own subjects.
It is setting an ill example unto them, which may be
of the most fatal consequences; and depriving princes
of that love, trust and confidence, in which their safety,
strength and reputation most of all consist. But to dissemble
in the affairs of religion, is vile hypocrisy; which yet 'tis
plain from the king's own speeches and writings he did.
But *James* was a weak prince, and lord *Bacon* has finely
observed, “ that the weaker sort of politicks are the
“ great dissemblers.”——“ For, adds he, if a man
“ have

Scottish clergy, but that they had received
pro-

(f) Lord
Bacon's essay
on simulation
and dis-
simulation.

“ have that penetration of judgment, as he can discern
“ what things are to be laid open, and what to be se-
“ creted, and what to be shewed at half lights, and to
“ whom and when, (which indeed are arts of state, and
“ arts of life, as *Tacitus* well calleth them) to him a
“ habit of dissimulation is an hindrance and a poorness.
“ But if a man cannot attain to that judgment, then
“ it is left to him generally to be a dissembler.” (f) I
will conclude this note with a passage from honest
Montaigne, which I dare say every reader of like cha-
racter will applaud. “ As to this virtue of dissimula-
“ tion, I mortally hate it; and of all vices find none
“ that does evidence so much baseness and meanness of
“ spirit. ’Tis a cowardly and servile humour to hide
“ and disguise a man’s self under a vizard, and not to
“ dare to shew himself what he is. By that our fol-
“ lowers are trained up to treachery. Being brought
“ up to speak what is not true, they make no consci-
“ ence of a lye. A generous heart ought not to belye its
“ own thoughts, but will make itself seen within, all
“ there is good, or at least manly. *Aristotle* reputes it
“ the office of magnanimity, openly and professedly to
“ love and hate, to judge and speak with all freedom;
“ and not to value the approbation or dislike of others
“ in comparison of truth. *Apollonius* said, it was for
“ slaves to lye, and for free men to speak truth. ’Tis
“ the chief and fundamental part of *virtue*, we must
“ love it for itself.—A man must not always tell
“ all, for that were folly; but what a man says, should
“ be what he thinks, otherwise ’tis knavery. I do not
“ know what advantage men pretend to by eternally
“ counterfeiting and dissembling, if not, never to be
“ believed when they speak the truth. This may once
“ or twice pass upon men; but to profess concealing
“ their thoughts, and to brag, as some of our princes
“ have done, that *they would burn their shirts if they*
“ *knew their intentions, and that who knows not how to*
dissemble,

provocations by the king's actions, to behave towards him as they did (N).

How-

“ *dissemble, knows not how to rule*: is to give warning
 “ to all who have any thing to do with them, that all
 “ they say is nothing but lying and deceit.” (g)

(g) Montaigne's essays by Cotton, Vol. II. p. 507. 8vo. Lond. 1686.

(N) The clergy had received provocations to behave towards him as they did.] I have given an account of the undutiful behaviour of the clergy towards James from Spotswood: but bishop Burnet tells us, “ there is
 “ a great defect runs through archbishop Spotswood's
 “ history, where much of the rude opposition the king
 “ met with, particularly from the assemblies of the
 “ kirk, is set forth; but the true ground of all the
 “ jealousies they were possessed with, is suppressed by
 “ him.” (a) These jealousies were of his being in his
 heart a papist, founded on facts delivered to them by the English ministry, and from his favouring and employing those of that religion: *Walsingham*, as I have already observed, “ thought *James* was either inclined
 “ to turn papist, or to be of no religion. And when the
 “ English court saw that they could not depend on
 “ him, they raised all possible opposition to him in Scot-
 “ land, infusing strong jealousies into those who were
 “ enough inclined to receive them.” (b) Dr. *Birch*

(a) Burnet. Vol. I. p. 5.

(b) Id. ib.

says, “ the king of Scots was indeed, at this time [1599]
 “ much suspected of inclining to popery; and a copy
 “ of a letter, offering obedience to the *pope*, signed
 “ by that king, was brought from Rome by the *master*
 “ of *Gray*, and shewn to queen Elizabeth; who sent
 “ Sir *William Bowes* ambassador to him, to advertise
 “ him not to build on the friendship of Rome.” (c)

(c) Birch's historical view of the negotiations between the courts of England, France, and Bruffels, p. 177. 8vo. Lond. 1749. Spotswood, p. 455. Burnet, p. 6. and note

—[This was the letter for which lord *Balmerino* was condemned, but pardoned, in the year 1609; it being said he surreptitiously got the king's hand thereto, which he himself confessed.] And we find, in 1596, the ministers complaining to the king of “ the favour grant-

“ ed to the popish Lords; the countenance given to
 “ the [TT]

However, I am far enough from defending their whole behaviour (O). In 1589, *James* married a daughter of Denmark, (after

(d) Spott-wood, p. 419.

“ the lady *Huntley*, and her invitation to the baptism
 “ of the princess; the putting her in the hands of the
 “ lady *Levingstone*, an avowed and obstinate papist; and
 “ the alienation of his majesty’s heart from the mini-
 “ sters, as appeared by all his speeches publick and pri-
 “ vate.” (d)——In short, the ministers were jealous of
 his majesty’s intentions; they suspected his behaviour,
 and were afraid that he only wanted an opportunity to
 crush them, and the religion they professed. ’Twas the
 belief of this, that made them break out into such inde-
 cent expressions, and undutiful behaviour; and the
 knowledge of their own power and influence over the
 people, which inspired them with courage and boldness.
 And, I think, all impartial persons must allow, that if
 ever ’tis excusable to go beyond bounds in any thing, it
 is in defence of religion and liberty, in opposition to
 popery and tyranny. Most of these men remembered
 the fires which popish zeal had lighted; they had seen
 the blood spilt by it, and therefore it is not to be won-
 dered at, that they were more than ordinarily moved at
 every thing which had the least tendency to bring them
 back into so deplorable a state.

(O) I am far enough from defending their whole be-
 haviour.] The behaviour of the clergy was very rough,
 and bordering upon rudeness. They treated majesty
 with too much familiarity. They prostituted their pul-
 pits to affairs of state, and rebuked after such a manner
 as tended more to provoke, than to reclaim. In these
 things they were blame-worthy. But I should not do
 them justice, were I to omit their zeal for what they
 thought truth; their labour and diligence in the business
 of the ministry, and their speaking the truth with all
 boldness. These were virtues for which *James’s* clergy
 were eminent; and therefore they were held in high
 esteem

ter having objected against the dignity of that royal house, merely through ignorance about it:) (P) and the lady being driven by a tempest

esteem by the major part of that kingdom, as will all of that profession every where be, who imitate them herein, for they are things praise-worthy, and of good report.

(P) He married a daughter of Denmark, after having objected against the dignity of that royal house, through mere ignorance about it.] *James*, notwithstanding all his boasted learning, was defective in history, the knowledge of which is most necessary for princes. He had so little skill in this, that he knew not the state and condition of so near a country to him as Denmark; nor was he acquainted with the rank the kings of it bare in Christendom. “He was informed, “he said, that the king of Denmark was descended “but of merchants, and that few made account of “him or his country, but such as spoke the Dutch “tongue (a).” ’Tis amazing that any one of *James’s* elevated station should be so grossly ignorant. Had he never read of the power of the Danes, their ravages and conquests both in England and Scotland? was he never informed that marriage had been contracted between his own family and that of Denmark? nor that in the year 1468 *Christian I.* king of Norway and Denmark, renounced all right and title for himself and his successors to *James III.* king of Scotland, to the *isles of Orkney*, upon a marriage between him and his daughter (b)? ’Tis plain he knew none of these things, and therefore was miserably qualified to contract alliances, or enter into treaties.—However *Melvil* informed him of these matters, which made him so exceeding glad, “that he said he would not for his head but “that he had shewn the verity unto him.” “Some- “time after, as said is, he called his council together in “his cabinet, and told them how he had been advising “about

(a) *Melvil*,
p. 164.

(b) *Camb-*
den’s Bri-
tannia, by
Gibson, e-
dit. 2. p.
1470. Lond.
1722.

into Norway, he, impatient of the detention of his bride, went thither and consummated the marriage. From whence, upon invitation,

(c) Melvil,
p. 177.

(d) Spott-
wood, p.
540. and
Wilson's life
of king
James. p.
129. Fol.
Lond. 1653.

(e) Memoirs
of the duke
of Sully, p.
211, 213.
Vol. I. 12mo.
Lond. 1751.

(f) Id. Vol.
II. p. 179.

“ about his marriage fifteen days, and asked counsel of
 “ God by devout prayer thereon, and that he was now
 “ resolved to marry in *Denmark*.” (c) The lady whom
 James took to wife was *Ann*, second daughter of *Fredere-
 rick* king of *Denmark*. Our historians give her the cha-
 racter of a courteous and humane princess, and one in
 whom there was much goodness (d). It will not perhaps be
 unacceptable to the reader if I give the character she bore
 among foreigners, who, oftentimes, speak more justly
 than subjects. “ She was naturally, says the duke of
 “ *Sully*, bold and enterprising: she loved pomp and
 “ grandeur, tumult and intrigue. She was acquainted
 “ with all the civil factions, not only in Scotland, oc-
 “ casioned by the catholicks, whom she supported, and
 “ had even first encouraged; but also in England where
 “ the discontented, whose numbers were not inconfi-
 “ derable, were not sorry to be supported by a princess
 “ destined to become their queen.—In public she affect-
 “ ed absolutely to govern her son (prince *Henry*) whom
 “ it was said she thought to inspire with sentiments in
 “ favour of Spain: for none doubted but she was in-
 “ clined to declare herself absolutely on that side (e).
 “ Afterwards, he tells us, he received letters from
 “ *Beaumont*, (the French resident) informing him, that
 “ the queen was disposed to pleasures and amusements,
 “ and seemed wholly engaged in them, and nothing
 “ else. She so entirely neglected, or forgot the Spanish
 “ politics, as gave reason to believe she had in reality
 “ only pretended to be attached to them, through the
 “ necessity of eventual conjunctures.” (f) Whoever
 knows the rank of *Sully*, as favourite and prime mi-
 nister to *Henry* the great of France, and ambassador
 extraordinary to *James*, will pay great deference to
 his account; for it cannot but be supposed he had the
 best informations. And indeed from *Winwood's* state
 papers

tion, he proceeded into Denmark, where being royally entertained, he spent the winter,

papers the character of queen *Ann* will be found nearly as *Sully* has given it, but different with regard to her inclinations to Spain, from what *Beaumont* informed him. I have before observed, that while in *Scotland* she employed a person to *Bothwell*, to hasten him home, assuring him of assistance, in order that *Gowry's* death might be revenged (f).

(f) See note

And Mr. *Winwood*, in a letter to the lord *Cranborne*, [E] Sept. 12, 1604, O. S. says, "the followers of the " constable (of *Castile*) in their relation of England, " gave forth, that the queen was wholly theirs." (g) Mr. *Levinus Muncke* (secretary to the earl of *Salisbury*, in a letter to Mr. *Winwood*, Oct. 29, 1605; tells him, " monf. *Caron* (the Dutch ambassador) with much ado " spake first with the queen, and afterward with the prince. " I was glad, adds he, I was made an instrument, under " my lord, of his access; for otherwise, without his " assistance, I fear me, he had never spoken with her; " for let me tell you in your ear without offence, she " is merely Spanish, and had promised *Arenberg* (ambassador from the arch-dukes) not to speak with *Caron*. But the best is, she carrieth no sway in state " matters, and præter rem uxoriam hath no great reach " in other affairs." (h) However, the Spaniards valued her friendship, and upon a letter from her to the queen of Spain, " a large pension was granted to one " *Carre*, a *Scott*." (i) Sir *Charles Cornwallis*, ambassador in Spain, in a letter to the earl of *Salisbury*, April 13, 1609. writes, that " the [Spanish] ambassador " hath advertised that the queen should say unto him, " he might one day peradventure see the prince on a " pilgrimage at *St. Jago*. Whereupon, tho' doubtless " she spake in merriment, they here much infer, and " seem to hope that his majesty will be contented to " send him hither to receive the rest of his education " here, yf the inclination of alliance continues." (k)

(g) Winwood, Vol. II. p. 31.

(h) Id. p.

(i) Id. p.

149.

(k) Vol. III. p. 12.

ter, and returned not into Scotland till May 20, 1590.

During the remainder of his reign in Scotland, he was engaged in troubles with his

So that from these passages 'tis plain *Sully* did not misrepresent this queen, in saying, "no one doubted but she was inclined to declare herself absolutely on the Spanish side." As to pomp and grandeur, pleasures and amusements, whoever will take the trouble of consulting the pages referred to in the margin, will see abundant proof of it (*m*). For from these it appears that her inclinations were much towards masques and revels, state and grandeur, which probably ran her in debt, and made her melancholy, 'till the king augmented her jointure, and paid her debts (*n*). Sir Edward *Peyton*

(*m*) Win-wood, Vol. II. p. 44. Vol. III. p. 117. and 454.

(*n*) Id. p. 117.

(*o*) *Peyton's* divine catastrophe of the house of Stuarts, p. 10, 11. Lond. 1731. 8vo.

(*p*) *Osborn*, p. 496.

(*q*) *Rushworth's* historical collections, Vol. I. p. 456. Fol. Lond. 1659.

represents her indeed in a much worse light. According to him, besides *Gowry*, [it should be *Gowry's* brother] she had a great number of gallants, both in Scotland and England (*o*). But what he says on this head, is to me so very improbable, that I will not trouble the reader with it.——She died of a dropsy March 1, 1618-19, at Hampton Court, without much lamentation from the king, though she was not unbeloved by the people. *Osborn* observes, that he himself saw "James one evening parting from the queen, and taking his leave at her coach side, by kissing her sufficiently to the middle of the shoulders; for so low, says he, she went bare all the days I had the fortune to know her; having a *skin* far more amiable than the features it covered, though not the disposition, in which report rendered her very debonair." (*p*) But notwithstanding the debonairness of her disposition, she could not influence her husband, who weakly permitted his favourites to ill treat her (*q*). This probably might in time alter her disposition, and cause her to act with wisdom and prudence, and avoid feastings, revels and factions. For archbishop *Abbot*, (a worthy venerable prelate) many years after her death, speaks of her with great

his nobility; in quarrels with his clergy; and in writing his paraphrase on the revelations (Q). His dæmonologie, stiled

D 2

a rare

great respect, and as of one whose virtue he had not the least doubt of, which, I dare say, he would not have done, had her character, in his eye, been upon the whole faulty (r). I have been the longer upon the character of this princess, because it has been little known; our historians contenting themselves to speak one after the other, without examination, whereby, for the most part, it cometh to pass, that they tend little to improve or instruct; and, which is worse, fix such ideas of things and persons as are difficult to be eradicated, tho' ever so false. (r) *Id. ib.*

(Q) In writing his paraphrase on the revelations.]
 "This paraphrase (says Dr. *Mountague*) was written by his majesty before he was twenty years of age." (a) And *James*, at the end of his epistle to the church militant, prefixed to this paraphrase, desires "that what was found amiss in it might be imputed to his lack of years and learning." (b) A strange work this for a youth to undertake, and an argument of very great weakness. For who knows not that this book has exercised the wits of the most learned and understanding men, from the beginning of the christian church; and who is there ignorant that the world has been little the wiser for their lucubrations? Great learning, industry, and piety have been discovered, it must be owned, in several commentators on this book, but still it remains in many parts obscure, as at the beginning (c). What then must we think of a raw young man who shall wade so far out of his depth, and set up for an expounder of the deepest mysteries? Ought we not to censure his temerity, and condemn his boldness? And much more reasonable will this appear when we consider that *James* was a prince, and consequently a person whose business it was to apply himself to affairs of government, and

(a) Preface to king James's works.

(b) Works, p. 31

(c) See *Mede*, *More*, *Newton*, *Lowman*, &c.

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a rare piece for many precepts and experiments

and consult the welfare of his people. This was his proper business; the other was out of his province, and answered no end, either to himself or others. Indeed, if *Montague* is right, these reflections are ill founded. “ He tells us kings have a kind of interest in this book [the Revelations] beyond any other; for as the execution of the most part of the prophecies of that book is committed unto them, so it may be, that the interpretation of it may more happily be made by them; and since they are the principal instruments that God hath described in that book to destroy the kingdom of antichrist, to consume his state and city; I see not but it may stand with the wisdom of God to inspire their hearts to expound it.” (d) This is admirable! and well worthy of a court chaplain who had still hopes of preferment. But, with this bishop’s good leave, I will take on me to affirm, that *James’s* work is far enough from being a proof that the Revelations may be more happily interpreted by kings than by others; or that God puts it into their royal hearts at any time to expound it. For to speak in the softest manner of this performance, it must be said to be poor, low, and mean, and incapable of bringing any honour to the composer. Subjoined to this paraphrase is a “ *fruitful meditation*, containing a plain and easy exposition, or laying open of the seventh, eighth, ninth and tenth verses of the twentieth chapter of the revelation, in form and manner of a sermon.” Here he plainly intimates his opinion that the church of Rome is Antichrist. When this was first printed at Edinburgh it had this title.—“ Ane fruitful meditation containing ane plaine and facile exposition of the 7, 8, 9 and 10 verses of the XX. chap. of the revelation in forme of ane sermone. Set down by the maist christiane king and syncier professour and cheif defender of the faith, James the 6th king of Scottis. 2 Thess. i. 6, 7, 8. For it is ane righteous thing with God. Im-
“ premit

(d) Preface
to James’s
works.

ments in divinity and natural philosophy;

“ premit at Edinburgh be Henrie Charteris, 1588.” (e) (e) Lewis's history of the English translations of the bible, p. 296.
 — James was fond of meditations on select portions of scripture. After the destruction of the Spanish armada in 1588, he wrote a “ meditation upon the 25, 26, 27, 28 and 29th verses of the xvth chapter of the first book of Chronicles of the kings:” in which he compares the protestants to the “ Israelites, and the catholicks to the Philistines, adorers of legions of gods, and ruled by the foolish traditions of men.” (f) (f) James's works, p. 87.
 And long afterwards [1619] he wrote a “ meditation on the Lord's prayer, of which I shall speak more hereafter; and a meditation upon the 27, 28, 29th verses of the xxviith chapter of St. Matthew, or a pattern for a king's inauguration.” This was dedicated to prince *Charles*. Among several other things we have the following passage, “ telling *Buckingham* my intention, [of writing this meditation] and that I thought you the fittest person to whom I could dedicate it, for divers reasons following, he humbly and earnestly desired me, that he might have the honour to be my *amanuensis* in this work. First, because it would free me from the pain of writing, by sparing the labour both of mine eyes and hands; and next, that he might do you some piece of service thereby; protesting that his natural obligation to you (next me) is redoubled by the many favours that you daily heap upon him. And indeed I must ingenuously confess to my comfort, that in making your affections to follow and second thus your fathers, you shew what reverent love you carry towards me in your heart. And indeed my granting this request to *Buckingham* hath much eased my labour, considering the slowness, illness, and uncorrectness of my hand.”
 (g) Many of my readers, I doubt not, will be pleased with such like passages as this; for they shew the man more than any thing besides. However, I must ask pardon for running away from the Revelations, of which

(a) Preface
to James's
works.

phy (a) (R); his trew law of free mo-
narchy;

James was a paraphrast, to these meditations; but the connexion between that annexed to that book, and the rest, I hope will be deemed a sufficient excuse.

(R) His Dæmonologie.] This was printed at Edinburgh, cum privil. reg. 4to. 1597. It is in form of a dialogue, divided into three books. The occasion and end of this piece, to do *James* justice, I shall give in his own words. “ The fearful abounding (says he) “ at this time, in this country, of these detestable slaves “ of the devil, the witches or enchanterers, hath moved “ me, beloved reader, to dispatch in post this following “ treatise of mine, not in any wise (as I protest) to “ serve for a shew of my learning and ingene, but on- “ ly (moved of conscience) to pres by thereby so far as I “ can, to resolve the doubting hearts of many; both “ that such assaults of Satan are most certainly prac- “ tised, and that the instrument thereof, merits most “ severely to be punished, against the damnable opini- “ nions of two principally in our age, whereof the one “ called *Scot*, an Englishman, is not ashamed in pub- “ lick print to deny, that there can be such a thing as “ witchcraft; and so maintains the old errors of the “ Sadducees in denying of spirits; the other called *Wi- “ erns*, a German physician, sets out a publick apology “ for all these crafts-folks, whereby, procuring for their “ impunity, he plainly bewrays himself to have been one “ of that profession. And for to make this treatise “ the more pleasant and facile, I have put it in form of “ a dialogue, which I have divided into three books; “ the first speaking of magic in general, and necro- “ mancie in special: the second of forcerie and witch- “ craft: and the third contains a discourse of all these “ kinds of spirits, and spectres that appear and trouble “ persons: together with a conclusion of the whole “ work.” (a) From this account 'tis plain *James* be-
lieved that there were witches, &c. and that they
deserved

(a) Works,
p. 91.

deserved a most severe punishment. And afterwards he tells us, “ that witches ought to be put to death according to the law of God, the civil and imperial law, and the municipal law of all christian nations. Yea, he declares, that to spare the life, and not to strike when God bids strike, and so severely punish in so odious a fault and treason against God, it is not only unlawful, but doubtless no less sin in the magistrate, nor it was in *Saul's* sparing *Agag*.” (b) Yea so zealous was he for punishing these poor wretches, that he declares it to be his opinion, “ that barnes or wives, or never so defamed persons, may serve for sufficient witnesses against them.” (c) But lest innocent persons should be accused, and suffer falsely, he tells us there are two good helps that may be used for their trial: the one is the finding of their mark, and the trying the insensibleness thereof: the other is their fleeing on the water: for, as in a secret murder, if the dead carcass be at any time thereafter handled by the murderer, it will gush out of blood, as if the blood were crying to the heaven for revenge of the murderer; God having appointed that secret supernatural sign, for trial of that secret unnatural crime: so that it appears that God hath appointed (for a supernatural sign of the monstrous Impiety of witches) that the water shall refuse to receive them in her bosom, that have shaken off them the sacred water of baptism, and wilfully refused the benefit thereof: no, not so much as their eyes are able to shed tears (threaten and torture them as you please) while first they repent (God not permitting them to dissemble their obstinacie in so horrible a crime). Albeit the women-kind especially, be able otherwise to shed tears at every light occasion when they will, yea, although it were dissembling like the crocodiles.” (d)

James, we see, was well qualified for a witch-finder; he knew their marks, and could discover them by swimming, and refraining tears. And accordingly, he permitted persons to be executed who were found guilty thereof. In 1597, “ there was a great business in the trial of witches; amongst others, one Margaret At-

(b) Works, p. 134.

(c) Id. p. 135.

(d) Id. p. 136.

“ *kings*, being apprehended upon suspicion, and threat-
 “ ened with torture, did confess herself guilty. Being
 “ examined concerning her associates in that trade, she
 “ named a few, and finding she gained credit, made
 “ offer to detect all of that sort, and to purge the
 “ country of them, so she might have her life granted.
 “ For the reason of her knowledge, she said, that they
 “ had a secret mark, all of that sort, in their eyes,
 “ whereby she could surely tell, how soon she looked
 “ upon any, whether they were witches or not. In this
 “ she was so readily believed, that for the space of three
 “ or four months she was carried from town to town,
 “ to make discoveries in that kind. She accused many,
 “ and many innocent women were put to death. In
 “ the end she was found to be a mere deceiver.” (e)
 “ And most of the winter of the year 1591, was spent
 “ in the discovery and examination of witches and
 “ forcerers.” “ In this year the famous Agnes *Samson*
 “ (commonly called the wife wife of Keith) was exa-
 “ mined, who confessed she had a familiar spirit,
 “ who had no power over the king, but said, as she
 “ took the words to be, *il est homme de Dieu.*” (f)
 This speech, I doubt not, flattered James’s vanity, and
 made him the more stedfast in the belief of the doc-
 trine of witches. For believe it, I suppose, he did, or
 otherwise he would not have passed such a bloody sta-
 tute, formed out of compliment (as has been well con-
 jectured) (g) to him, by both houses of parliament, soon
 after his accession to the English throne. By this statute
 it was enacted, “ that if any person or persons shall use,
 “ practice, or exercise any invocation, or conjuration
 “ of any evil and wicked spirit, or shall consult, co-
 “ venant with, entertain, imploy, feed or reward any
 “ evil and wicked spirit, to or for any intent and pur-
 “ pose; or take up any dead man, woman, or child,
 “ out of his, her, or their grave, or any other place
 “ where the dead body resteth, or the skin, bone, or
 “ any part of any dead person, to be employed or used
 “ in any manner of witchcraft, sorcery, charm, or in-
 “ chantment; or shall use, practise, or exercise any
 “ witchcraft, enchantment, charm, or sorcery, where-
 by

(e) Spots-
wood, p. 448.

(f) Id. p.
383.

(g) Hutch-
inson’s his-
torical essay
concerning
witchcraft,
p. 180. Lond.
1713, 8vo.

“ by any person shall be killed, destroyed, wasted, con-
 “ sumed, pined or lamed in his or her body, or any
 “ part thereof; that then every such offender or of-
 “ fenders, their aiders, abettors, and counsellors, being
 “ of any the said offences duly and lawfully convicted
 “ and attainted, shall suffer pains of death as a felon or
 “ felons; and shall lose the priviledge and benefit of
 “ clergy and sanctuary.” (b) Upon this statute great
 numbers have been condemned and executed, to the
 reproach of common sense and humanity. And even
 great and good men have been the instruments hereby
 of condemning miserable innocent creatures.

(b) Stat. an-
 no primo Ja-
 cobi regis, c.
 12. sect. 2.

A caution to law-makers this, not (in order to please
 a prince) to enact statutes, especially on the penalty of
 death, unless upon the most solid, weighty reasons.—
 For though the general opinion then was, that there
 were witches, and that they did much hurt and da-
 mage, yet ought the parliament to have weighed well
 the foundation on which it was built, and the conse-
 quences of it. Whereas they took the opinion on trust,
 and enacted a most dreadful punishment for an imagi-
 nary crime.—James tells us, “ that witches ought
 “ to be put to death, according to the municipal law
 “ of all christian nations.” He spoke as he knew;
 but had his learning been as universal as it was proclaim-
 ed, he could not with truth have said so. For Dr.
 Hutchinson assures us, that ’tis so far from being true,
 that all nations have always had such laws as ours, that
 he had some reason to doubt, whether any nation in the
 world hath, unless it be *Scotland* (i). And with great
 pleasure I find that there “ was a law in *Ethiopia*,
 “ which prohibited the people to believe that there is
 “ any such thing as witches; the belief whereof, they
 “ say, is founded upon the error of the Manichees,
 “ that there are two independent gods, a good one,
 “ and a bad one.” (k) But I will leave this subject,
 after having observed that we have reason to be thank-
 ful to almighty God, and to acknowledge the wisdom
 and goodness of our government, for repealing the sta-
 tute aforesaid, and “ enacting, that no prosecution,
 “ suit, or proceeding shall be commenced, or carried
 “ on

(i) Historical
 discourse of
 witchcraft,
 p. 158.

(k) Geddes
 church his-
 tory of Ethi-
 opia, p. 361.
 8vo. Lond.
 1696.

narchy (s) ; but especially his piece so highly extolled, entituled ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΟΝ ΔΩΡΟΝ (T),
for

(l) Stat.anno
nono Georgii
II. regis, c.
5, sect. 3.

“ on against any person or persons for witchcraft, for-
“ cery, inchantment, or conjuration, in any court
“ whatsoever in Great Britain.” (l) This is a statute as
much in honour to our legislators as any ever enacted,
and will transmit their fame down to posterity ; it be-
ing founded on reason and justice, and productive of
the safety of the people, whose welfare is the end of all
government. I have said above, that I supposed *James*
did believe the doctrine of witches. But, in justice to
his character, I must here add, that after his being in
England, having met with a number of forgeries and
cheats, they wrought such an alteration upon his judg-
ment, that at first he grew diffident of, and then flatly
denied the workings of witches and devils (m).

(m) Fuller's
church hist.
cent. 17.
book 10. p.
74. and Os-
born's
works, p.
551.
(a) Calder-
wood's
church hist.
p. 426.

(s) His trew law of free monarchy.] This was
printed in September 1598, without his name. “ The
“ bent of it, says Calderwood, was directed against the
“ course of God's work, in the reformation of our
“ kirk, and elsewhere, as rebellious to kings.” (a) And
it must be confessed, if the doctrine contained in this
treatise is true, the Scotch and many other of the re-
formers, will with difficulty be cleared from rebellion.
For he asserts the regal power strongly ; allows resist-
ance or disobedience to it upon no account whatsoever ;
and reflects on the “ seditious preachers of whatsoever
“ religion, either in Scotland or in France, that had
“ busied themselves most to stir up rebellion under cloke
“ of religion.” (b) In short, he plainly says, “ the
“ king is above the law, and that he is not bound
“ thereto, but of his good will, and for good example-
“ giving to his subjects.” (c) This is the doctrine
contained in the law of free monarchy, than which
nothing can be more vile and abominable.

(b) James's
works, F.
199.

(c) Id. p. 203.

(T) ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΟΝ ΔΩΡΟΝ.] This book is dedicated
to his dearest son and natural successor, prince *Henry*.

'T is

for the use of his son prince Henry; which being published (though censured by the synod of St. Andrews) was well accepted in England,

'Tis divided into three parts. "The first teacheth your
" duty towards God as a christian; the next your duty
" in your office as a king; and the third informeth you
" how to behave yourself in indifferent things, says he
" to the prince (a). It was wrote for an exercise of his (a) Works,
" own ingenie and instruction of him, who, he hoped, P. 139.
" was appointed of God to sit on his throne after him."

—"Seven copies only were permitted to be printed,
" the printer being first sworn to secrecie; but, con-
" trary to his intention and expectation, the book was
" vented, and set forth to publick view." (b) This (b) Id. p. 142.
was in the year 1599. This book contains some tole-
rable things, but intermixed with strange passages:

those relating to the clergy, whom he opprobriously
terms puritans, I have had occasion before to mention
(c): what follows, I think, is not less remarkable. (c) See note

"Suffer not your princes and your parents to be disho- (M)
"noured by any: the infaming and making odious of
"the parent, is the readiest way to bring the son into
"contempt.—I never yet found a constant biding

"by me in all my streights, by any that were of perfit
"age in my parents days, but only by such as constant-
"ly bode by them; I mean, specially by them that
"served the queen my mother." (d) So that princes, (d) Works,
even after their death, are not to have much truth P. 158.

spoken concerning them, if they have children to
reign after them; and all their tyrannies, oppre-
ssions, and vices are to be buried in oblivion, or concealed at
least from the eyes of the vulgar. What monstrous
doctrine is this! how does it take off all awe and re-
straint from princes, and give them hope of reputation
after death, how ill soever they may behave! How
much more sensible and judicious were the sentiments of
the virtuous and amiable "Queen Mary, who when
"reflections were once made before her, of the sharp-

"ness

England, and raised an admiration in all men's hearts, says Spotswood, of his piety and wisdom. Certain 'tis, adds the same writer, that all the discourses that came forth at that time for maintaining his right to the crown

“ nefs of some historians, who had left heavy imputa-
 “ tions on the memory of some princes; answered, that
 “ if those princes were truly such, as the historians re-
 “ presented them, they had well deserved that treat-
 “ ment; and others who tread their steps might look
 “ for the same; for truth would be told at last, and
 “ that with the more acrimony of stile, for being so
 “ long restrained it was a gentle suffering (added she)
 “ to be exposed to the world in their true colours,
 “ much below what others had suffered at their hands.
 “ She thought also that all sovereigns ought to read such
 “ histories as *Procopius*; for how much soever he may
 “ have aggravated matters, and how unbecomingly
 “ soever he may have writ, yet by such books they
 “ might see what would be probably said of themselves,
 “ when all terrors and restraints should fall off with
 “ their lives.” (e) These reflections are solid and just,
 and could proceed only from a mind conscious of its
 own innocency and integrity; whereas the advice of
James has the appearance of a sense of guilt, and dread
 of shame. But the praise of his mother's servants, and
 the acknowledgment of their singular fidelity to him
 is most amazing: for who were they but most bigotted
 papists, and enemies to the reformation? who but they
 who justified her and defended her, even in the most in-
 iquitous and shameful actions? who were they but
 men enemies to the constitution of Scotland, and foes
 to law and liberty? 'Tis no wonder therefore, that the
 synod of St. *Andrews* took fire at a book containing
 these and like passages, and asked “ what censure should
 “ be inflicted upon him that had given such instructi-
 “ ons to the prince, and if he could be thought well
 “ affected

(e) Burnet's
 essay on the
 memory of
 queen Mary,
 p. 113.
 12mo. Lond.
 1696.

crown of England, prevailed nothing so much as did this treatise.

However, *James* was not so much taken up with these matters, as to neglect making interest

“ affected to religion, that delivered such precepts
 “ of government?” (f) ——— These things be- (f) Spott-
 ing considered, I fancy the judicious reader will not wood, p. 456.
 think the judgment of the learned *Gataker* of this book
 much amiss; which being contained in a piece very
 difficult to be got, I will transcribe at large, and with
 it conclude the note. “ King *James*, a prince of more
 “ policy than puissance, while he was yet king of Scot-
 “ land, penned, or owned (g) at least, a book entituled (g) Dr. Bal-
 “ *Δωρον Βασιλικον*, which who so shal advisedly read, canqual (who
 “ though of no very sharp eye-sight or deep reach, yet was at the
 “ may easily descry a design carried all along in it to synod of
 “ ingratiate himself with the *popish side*, by commend- Dort, and
 “ the fidelity of his mother’s servants, as to her, so to afterwards
 “ himself, with the *prelatical* party, by giving them Dean of Ro-
 “ hope of continuing that government that he should chester) is
 “ find here established; with the *common people*, by al- said to have
 “ lowing them their may-games, and the like sports; helped king
 “ only he had bitterly expressed himself in high terms James to
 “ against the poor *puritans*, whom he least feared, and write his
 “ deemed generally disaffected by those other three par- Basilicon
 “ ties. Howbeit, when the time drew near of queen Deron.
 “ *Elizabeth*’s departure, that his quiet coming in might Jonrneythro’
 “ not meet with any disturbance from that party, he Scotland, p.
 “ prefixed a preface to his book then reprinted, where 70.
 “ in on his honour he protesteth, that by the name of
 “ puritans he meant not all preachers in general, or o-
 “ thers, that misliked the ceremonies as badges of po-
 “ pery, and the episcopacie as smelling of a papal su-
 “ premacie, but did equally love the learned and grave
 “ on either side; intended only such brainsick and
 “ heady preachers, that leaned too much to their own
 “ dreams, contemned all authority, counted all pro-
 “ fane

interest with the great men at the English court (u), to secure to him the right of succeeding-

(b) Thomas Gataker, B. D. his vindication of his annotations, against the scurrilous aspersions of that grand impostor Mr. William Lillie, p. 75. 4to, Lond. 1653.

“fane that would not swear to all their fantasies.” (b) The reader will be pleased to compare this with what *James* says, note (M) of his having written a long apologetick preface to the second edition of this book, only in *odium puritanorum*, and then judge what stress is to be laid on his word.

(u) *James* was not so much taken up with these matters, as to neglect making interest with the great men at the English court.] “He was careful, says *Burnet*, to secure to himself the body of the English nation. *Cecil*, afterwards earl of *Salisbury*, secretary to queen *Elizabeth*, entered into a particular confidence with him; and this was managed by his ambassador *Bruce*, who carried the matter with such address and secrecy, that all the great men of *England*, without knowing of one another’s doing it, and without the queen’s suspecting any thing concerning it, signed in writing an engagement to assert and stand by the king of *Scots* right of succession.”

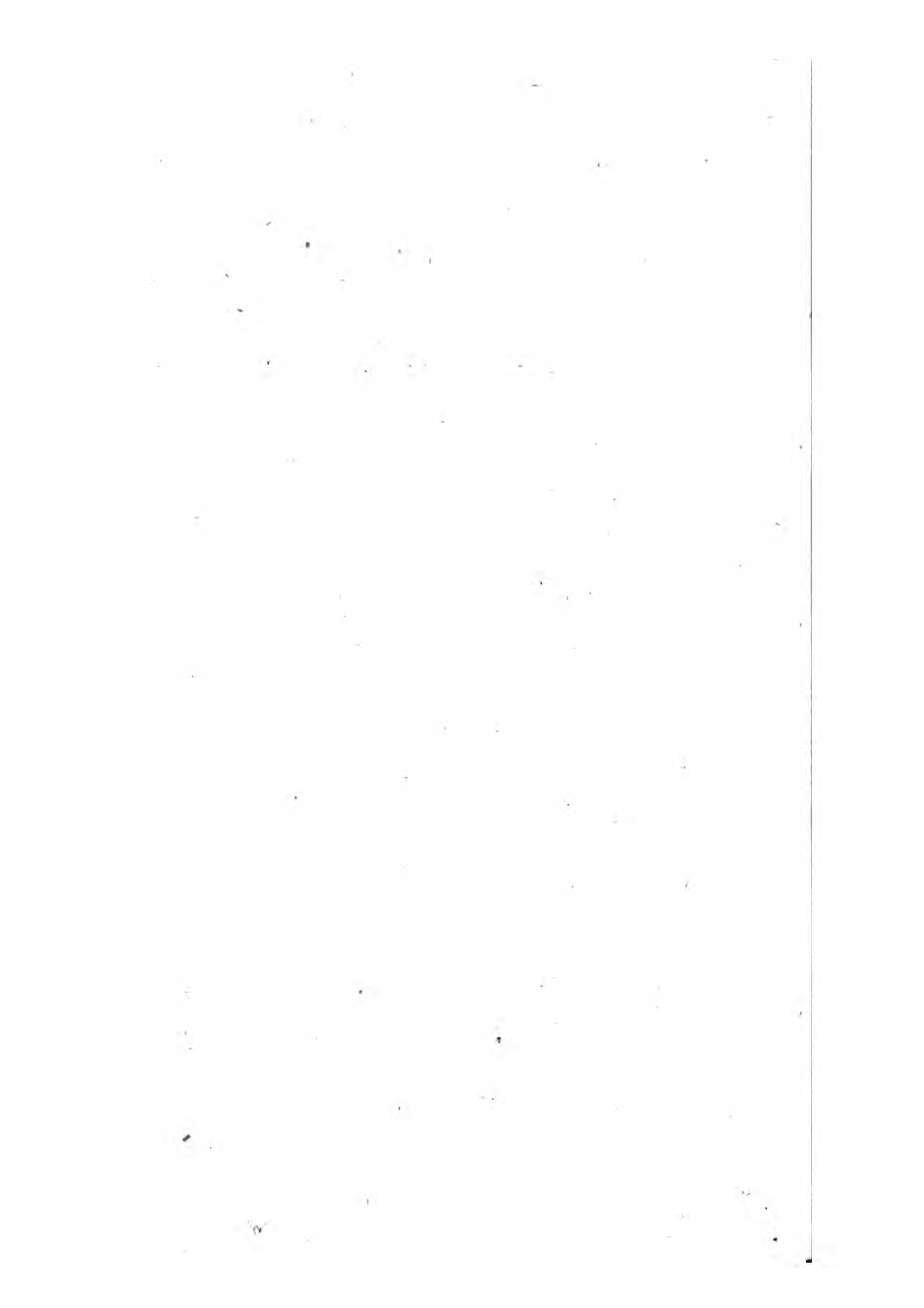
(a) *Burnet*, p. 6.

(a) A pleasant story or two from Sir Henry *Wotton*, whose testimony in this affair is indisputable, will convince us of the probability of what *Burnet* has here asserted, and confirm the truth of the text.

“There were in court [queen *Elizabeth*’s] two names of power, and almost of faction, the *Effexian* and the *Cecilian*, with their adherents, both well enough enjoying the present, and yet both looking to the future, and therefore both holding correspondency with some of the principal in *Scotland*, and had received advertisements and instructions, either from them, or immediately from the king. But lest they might detect one another, this was mysteriously carried by several instruments and conducts, and on the *Effexian* side, in truth with infinite hazard; for Sir *Robert Cecil*, who (as secretary of state) did dispose
“ the



CECIL Earl of SALISBURY.



succeeding *Elizabeth*, in which he was successful, as the event shewed; though how wife,

“ the public addressees, had prompter and safer convey-
“ ance; whereupon I cannot but relate a memorable
“ passage on either party, as the story following shall
“ declare. The earl of *Essex* had accommodated mas-
“ ter *Anthony Bacon* in a partition of his house, and had
“ assigned him a noble entertainment. This was a
“ gentleman of impotent feet, but a nimble head, and
“ through his hand ran all the intelligences with *Scot-*
“ *land*, who being of a provident nature (contrary to
“ his brother the lord viscount *St. Albans*) and well
“ knowing the advantage of a dangerous secret, would
“ many times cunningly let fall some words, as if he
“ could much amend his fortunes under the *Cecilians*,
“ (to whom he was near of alliance, and in blood also)
“ and who had made (as he was not unwilling should
“ be believed) some great proffers to win him away;
“ which once or twice he pressed so far, and with such
“ tokens and signs of apparent discontent to my lord
“ *Henry Howard*, afterwards earl of *Northampton*,
“ (who was of the party, and stood himself in much
“ umbrage with the queen) that he flies presently to my
“ lord of *Essex* (with whom he was commonly primæ
“ admissionis, by his bed-side in the morning) and tells
“ him, that unless that gentleman were presently sa-
“ tisfied with some round sum, all would be vented.
“ This took the earl at that time ill provided (as indeed
“ oftentimes his coffers were low) whereupon he was
“ fain suddenly to give him *Essex* house, which the
“ good old lady *Walsingham* did afterwards disengage
“ out of her own store with 2500 pounds: and be-
“ fore he had distilled 1500 pounds at another time
“ by the same skill. So as we may rate this one
“ secret, as it was finely carried, at 4000 pounds in
“ present money, besides at the least a 1000 pounds of
“ annual pension to a private and bed-rid gentleman:
“ what would he have gotten if he could have gone a-
“ bout his own business? There was another accident
“ of

wife, or rather honest, those were who admitted him without any limitations, or restrictions, is not over difficult to guess (w).

Elizabeth

“ of the same nature on the *Cecilian* side, much more
 “ pleasant but less chargeable, for it cost nothing but
 “ wit. The queen having for a good while not heard
 “ any thing from *Scotland*, and being thirsty of news,
 “ it fell out that her majesty going to take the air to-
 “ wards the heath, (the court being then at Greenwich)
 “ and master secretary *Cecil* then attending her, a post
 “ came crossing by, and blew his horn; the queen out
 “ of curiosity asked him from whence the dispatch
 “ came; and being answered from *Scotland*, she stops
 “ the coach, and calleth for the packet. The secreta-
 “ ry, though he knew there were in it some letters
 “ from his correspondents, which to discover were as
 “ so many serpents; yet made more shew of diligence,
 “ than of doubt to obey; and asks some that stood by
 “ (forsooth in great haste) for a knife to cut up the
 “ packet (for otherwise perhaps he might have awaked
 “ a little apprehension) but in the mean time approach-
 “ ing with the packet in his hand, at a pretty distance
 “ from the queen, he telleth her, it looked and smel-
 “ led ill favouredly, coming out of a filthy budget,
 “ and that it should be fit first to open and air it, be-
 “ cause he knew she was averse from ill scents. And
 “ so being dismissed home, he got leisure by this sea-
 “ sonable shift, to sever what he would not have seen.”

(b) Reliquiæ (b)

Wottonia-
 nae, p. 168.
 8vo. Lond.
 1672. See
 also Birch's
 introduction
 to his histo-
 rical view,

^{21.}
 p.

(w) How wise, or rather how honest, those were who admitted him without any limitations or restrictions, is not over difficult to guess.] No time can be so proper for a people to claim their just rights and privileges, and curb the regal power within proper bounds, as the accession of a stranger king, who, it may naturally be supposed, at such a time will do any thing reasonable, rather than disgust those whom he is about to rule

Elizabeth, after having reigned with the highest glory more than forty four years, at length submitted to the stroke of death, March 24, 1603, in the seventieth year

rule over, or impede his own advancement; for the desire of rule is so very natural, that few will stand upon trifles in order to enjoy it; nor will any refuse to grant the just conditions of it. A people therefore when about to place a foreign prince on the throne, ought well to consider what grievances they have laboured under, what exorbitances have been committed, and what restrictions of the regal power, prone always to extend itself, are necessary in order to secure the happiness of the society. By these considerations proper laws might be formed, which will be as a rule to a prince how to behave, and restrain him within the bounds of equity. Nor will the most ambitious prince, who has a regard to his own safety, dare break through what he has consented to, as the terms of his admission. And therefore the lords and commons, February 13, 1688, with great wisdom presented to the then prince and princess of *Orange*, a declaration of the rights and liberties of the subject, previous to the setting the crown on their heads; the several articles of which they “claimed, demanded and insisted upon as their undoubted rights and priviledges; and it was declared and enacted, that all and singular the rights and priviledges asserted and claimed in the said declaration, are the true, antient, and undubitable rights and liberties of the people of this kingdom, and so shall be esteemed, allowed, adjudged, deemed and taken to be; and that all and every the particulars therein contained, shall be firmly and strictly holden and observed; and all officers and ministers whatsoever, shall serve their majesties and their successors, according to the same in all times to come.” (c) And the event shewed how wisely this was enacted; for it produced a reign

(c) Vid. stat. self secund. anno primo Gulielmi & Mariæ, cap. 2. per totum.

year of her age, and thereby made way for *James*, to the incredible joy of his Scottish subjects, and to the no less pleasure of his English ones, who in such crouds hastened to see him, that he issued out a proclamation against their thronging about him.

In

(d) July 30,
1700.

(e) Statutes
anno duode-
cimo & de-
cimo tertio
Guljelmi
III. regis,
c. 2. sect. 3.
(f) Burnet.
Vol. V. p.
523.

most happy to the subject, and laid a foundation for all the blessings we now enjoy. But when the death of the duke of Gloucester (d) rendered it necessary to provide for the succession to the crown, in order to prevent all imaginable inconveniencies, it was thought proper still farther to pass an act for the better securing the rights and liberties of the subject; and accordingly many excellent conditions were laid down on which the stranger prince was to succeed (e). I call them excellent conditions, though *Burnet* tells us, “King *William* was not pleased with them, supposing they implied a reflection on him and his administration.” (f) ’Tis not improbable the knowledge of the persons who proposed these conditions, and the opposition he had many times undeservedly met with from them, might make that truly good prince have no favourable opinion of this act enacted by them. But, whatever were the motives of the framers of this act, I think all impartial persons must allow that it was a good one in itself, productive of much happiness to these kingdoms. Every particular I approve not, but, in general, highly applaud it.

These were instances of wisdom, prudence and discretion, and as such they will be admired and praised through all generations.——But *James* had no limitations or restrictions laid on him; he without any ceremony was proclaimed king, and by that title thought he had a right to do as he pleased. Whatever had been done by the prerogative royal in aforesaid times, whatever the most enterprising princes had attempted on the liberties of the subject, he had liberty to do likewise; and accordingly exerted himself in a very extraordinary manner,

In his coming to London he displayed something of his arbitrary disposition, by ordering (a) a *cutpurse* to be hanged without any legal process; as quickly afterwards he did his revenge on one (x) Valentine *Thomas*, who

(a) Coke's
detection,
Vol. I. p.
5. 8vo.
Lond. 1696.

manner, as I shall hereafter shew. Whereas had he been tied up, whatever had been his weakness, whatever his depravity of heart, he could have done but little mischief; and the miseries brought on the people by his successors, might have been prevented. This Sir *Walter Raleigh*, Lord *Cobham*, Sir *John Fortescue*, &c. were sensible of, and therefore desired he might be obliged to articles; but *Cecil*, *Northumberland*, and others over-ruled them, and permitted him to enter untrouled (g).

(g) Osborn,
p. 470.

To these men then, the nation in a good part owed the calamities it suffered from the *Stuart* race. They might easily have prevented them, but they would not attempt it; doubtless hoping hereby to make their court to *James*, and enjoy his favour, from whence what they wished for must flow. Wretched meanness of spirit this! inexcusable disregard for the public! 'Tis allowable for ministers to avail themselves of their own services, and their prince's favour; but the man who sacrifices the interest of his country, or neglects taking those steps which are necessary to establish its happiness, when he has it in his power, deserves to be treated with hatred and contempt, let his abilities be ever so great. The good of the people is the supreme law. By this the actions of all ministers are to be tried, and he, who, to please a prince or obtain wealth and honour for himself, shall act inconsistent therewith, merits the highest punishments; for he must be lost to liberty, virtue, and his country.

(x) Valentine *Thomas*, &c.] " In the year 1598,
" this man being in custody for theft, charged the Scots
E 2 " king

who had many years before accused him of having ill designs against *Elizabeth*; hereby making good the observation that cowards never forgive.

He

“ king with ill designs against the queen. But her ma-
 “ jesty (says secretary *Cecil*, in a letter to Mr. *Ed-*
 “ *mond*) deferred his arraignment, and suppresseth
 “ the matter, to avoid offence to the king of Scots,
 “ who hath very vehemently denied it with detestation.
 “ The king of Scots had wrote to the queen on the
 “ 30th of July 1598, upon this affair, in these terms :
 “ my suit only is, that, while ye hear further from
 “ me (which shall be with all diligence) ye would fa-
 “ vour me so far as to delay the fellow’s execution, if
 “ he be yet alive, to the effect, that by some honour-
 “ able means, wherein I am to deal with you, my un-
 “ deserved slander may be removed from the minds of
 “ men.” The queen, on the other hand, sent in-
 “ structions to Sir *William Bowes*, her embassador at
 “ *Edinburg*, to assure king *James*, that she had stayed
 “ *Thomas*’s arraignment, and would do so as long as
 “ the king should give no cause to the contrary.—
 “ But that king kept a severe memory of the accusa-
 “ tion cast upon him by *Valentine Thomas*; and upon
 “ his accession to the crown of England, and within a
 “ month after his arrival in London, in the beginning
 “ of June 1603, ordered him to be brought to his
 “ trial and executed.” (a) This every one will easily
 “ see was revenge, and a very mean revenge too. After
 “ five years to take away a fellow’s life for an accusa-
 “ tion against himself, (for that ’tis easily seen was the
 “ cause, though the former theft was the pretence) could
 “ proceed from nothing but so cowardly a principle. I
 “ say cowardly; for *James* himself tells us, “ rancor
 “ and revenge proceeds from baseness and want of cou-
 “ rage in men, and even amongst beasts and creeping
 “ things, it proceeds of a defect and want of courage

(a) Birch’s
 negotiations
 between,
 England,
 France, and
 Bruffels, p.
 177—179.

He was attended by great numbers of Scots in his coming into England, who were advanced to great honours (Y), and shared largely

“ in them.—And it is a known and undeniable
 “ truth, that cowards are much more cruel and vindic-
 “ tive than men of courage are: for a coward can
 “ never enough secure himself of his enemy; insomuch
 “ as when he is lying dead at his feet, he is yet afraid.”

(b) Never was the truth of this doctrine better exem-
 plified than in the execution of *Thomas*; and there-
 fore I had reason to say, that *James* thereby made good
 the observation, that cowards never forgive.—How
 much more amiable is the character of those princes
 who have forgot, on their accession to the throne, per-
 sonal injuries? how deservedly famous is the saying of
Lewis XII. of France, in answer to those who would
 have persuaded him to shew severity to *La Tremouille*:
 “ God forbid that *Lewis XII.* should revenge the quarrels
 “ of the duke of *Orleans* (c). This was truly great and
 magnanimous. But *James’s* conduct was wholly mean,
 and betrayed the pormels of his soul.

(b) King
 James’s
 works, p.
 587.

(c) See Bo-
 lingbroke’s
 letter on the
 spirit of pa-
 triotism, p.
 248. 8vo.
 Lond. 1749.
 (d) Juvenal,
 Sat. 13. v.
 182.

—————Quippe minuti
 Semper & infirmi est animi exiguique voluptas
 Ultio (d).—

——Revenge, which still we find
 The weakest frailty of a feeble mind. CREECH.

(Y) He was attended by a large number of Scots,
 who were advanced to great honours.] “ The persons
 “ who attended him were the duke of *Lennox*, the earls
 “ of *Marr*, *Murray*, and *Argile*, the lord *Hume*, Sir
 “ *George Hume*, Mr. *James Elphinston*, Sir *David*
 “ *Murray*, Sir *Robert Ker*, with the ordinary gentle-
 “ men of the chamber, besides several of the clergy.”

(a) But besides these, there were a great multitude
 who came in with him, and reaped the benefit of his
 favour.

(a) Spott-
 wood, p. 476.

largely in his bounty, at the expence and much to the regret of the English nation to

favour. *Lennox*, *Marr*, *Hume*, and *Elphinston* were made privy counsellors of England, and many of the Scots became afterwards adorned with some of the highest English titles. Sir Robert Ker (*b*) was advanced to the earldom of *Somerfet*, *Lennox* was made duke of *Richmond*, *Efme Stuart*, his younger brother was created earl of *March*, the marquis of *Hamilton* earl of *Cambridge*, Sir John *Ramsfey* viscount *Haddington* of Scotland, earl of *Holderness*, and James *Hay* earl of *Carlisle* (*c*). Nor were they bare honours which the Scots got, for they had also large lucrative posts, and uncommon donations, as will appear bye and bye. So that there seems some reason for the following lines of a fatyrical writer, tho' they are much too severe.

(*b*) Thus his name is always written by the Scottish-writers, and not Carr, as by the English.
(*c*) Baker's chronicle, p 448. Lond. 1684. Fol.

(*d*) King James.

“ The (*d*) royal branch from Piotland did succeed,
 “ With troops of Scots and scabs from north by Tweed.
 “ The seven first years of his pacifick reign,
 “ Made him and half his nation Englishmen.
 “ Scots from the *northern* frozen banks of Tay,
 “ With packs and plods came whigging all away.
 “ Thick as the locusts which in Egypt swarm'd,
 “ With pride and hungry hopes compleatly arm'd:
 “ With native truth, diseases, and no money,
 “ Plunder'd our Canaan of the milk and honey.
 “ Here they grew quickly lords and gentlemen,
 “ And all their race are true-born Englishmen (*e*).

(*e*) State poems, Vol. II. p. 21. Lond. 1703. 8vo.

Had there been then an union of the two kingdoms, this had, doubtless, been good policy; but as there was not, these promotions could serve no other end, but to create jealousies among the English, and excite complaints. For why should men of another country have the power of legislation? why should they whose property lay elsewhere, and whose connexions were at a distance,

(z), to whom it is, with some good degree of

distance, have a power of enacting laws which they themselves might easily get out of the reach of, and their families be wholly free from? But such was the will of *James*, who, though he seldom considered himself, cared not to be counselled, and therefore generally acted unwisely.

(z) Shared largely in his bounty at the expence, and much to the regret of the English.] Osborn observes, that the “exactions rose on the English were spent upon the Scots, by whom nothing was unasked, and to whom nothing was denied; who for want of honest traffick did extract gold out of the faults of the English, whose pardons they begged, and sold at intolerable rates, murder itself not being excepted (a).” (a) Osborn’s works, p. 495.

The same writer tells us, “that the earl of *Dunbar* swallowed at one gulp, together with the chancellorship of the exchequer, all the standing wardrobe, wherein were more jewels, pearl, rich robes, and princely apparel, than ever any king of Scotland (if all of them put together) could call his own before; all which I have since heard rated by the officers at an incredible sum, whose servants did use to shew them for money, it appearing none of the least rarities in London before this great dissolution.” (b) Lord Clarendon assures us, “that *James Hay*, earl of *Carlisle*, spent in a very jovial life, above four hundred thousand pounds, which, upon a strict calculation, he received from the crown.” (c)——Robert *Ker*, earl of *Somerset*, had such vast favours bestowed upon him, that even at the time of his fall, his estate was rated to the crown at three hundred thousand pounds (d). And Sir *John Ramsay*, when made a viscount, had a thousand pounds land given him to support the title (e). Again, says Osborn, “the Scots hung on James like horse-leeches, till they could get no more, falling then off by retiring into their own country, “ or

of probability, said, that they behaved with much rudeness and insolency (AA).

However

(f) Osborn,
p. 532.

(g) Annals
of King
James, p.
10. Lond.
1681. Fol.

“ or living at ease, leaving all chargeable attendance on
“ the English.” (f) This is likewise confirmed by
Frankland. The king’s gifts in lands to the Scots, un-
thankfully and unfittingly, they sold (says he) convey-
ing that treasure into Scotland (g). These passages suf-
ficiently shew how much of the wealth of England was
bestowed on the Scots, and how much cause the English
had to be displeas’d at it; for there was not one of
these men that was any way useful to the English na-
tion, though *Dunbar* and *Carlisle* were men of great
abilities; and therefore there could be no cause for these
excessive donations.—The king himself was sensible
that his liberality to the Scots was very distastful, and
therefore apologizes for it in a speech to the parliament,
and promises for the future to be more sparing. Let
us hear his words. “ Had I been over-sparing to them,
“ they might have thought Joseph had forgotten his
“ brethren, or that the king had been drunk with his
“ new kingdom. If I did respect the English when I
“ came first, — what might the Scottish have justly
“ said, if I had not in some measure dealt bountifully
“ with them that so long had served me, so far ad-
“ ventured themselves with me, and been so faithful
“ to me? — Such particular persons of the Scottish
“ nation, as might claim any extraordinary merit at
“ my hands, I have already reasonably rewarded; and
“ I can assure you, that there is none left whom for I
“ mean extraordinary to strain myself further.” (b)
This was spoken Anno 1607, a little before his majesty
received *Ker* as a favourite, and heaped on him such
immense treasures and large possessions as I have just
mentioned. Well therefore might the English grumble,
despise the king, and hate his countrymen, by whom
they were thus fleeced.

(b) King
James’s
works, p.
515. See
also p. 542.

(AA) To whom they behaved with much insolency
and

However the English were not neglected
by

and rudeness.] This is attested by the following homely lines, which were every where posted.

“ They *beg* our lands, our goods, our lives,
“ They *switch* our nobles, and lie with their wives;
“ They *pinch* our gentry, and send for our benchers;
“ They *stab* our serjeants, and pistol our fencers.

Mr. *Osborn* has explained these in a very entertaining manner, to whose works I refer the inquisitive reader (a).——Not contented to drain the kingdom of its wealth, and snatch its honours, they moreover claimed precedence of the English nobility of the same rank. ——“ At a supper made by the lady Elizabeth *Hatton*, “ there grew a question between the earls of *Argile* and “ *Pembroke*, about place, which the Scot maintained to “ be his by seniority, as being now become all Britons: “ at which our nobility began to startle.” (b). And no wonder, for whatever might be the antiquity of many of the Scotch nobility, on which probably they valued themselves; yet that could entitle them to no place in England, any farther than what courtesy and civility might require. To set up a claim of right to superiority by reason of it, could be looked on as nothing but an insult, and as such, doubtless, was resented. Indeed the Scots seemed so unable to bear their good fortune, and the English were so provoked at their insolent behaviour, that it was almost a miracle it had not issued in torrents of blood (c).——A lesson this to princes not to be too bountiful to persons used to low circumstances; seeing it will only tend to inspire them with pride and haughtiness, and excite envy and contempt in standers-by; much more not to enrich aliens at the expence of the natives, and cause them to lift too high their heads. There may indeed be exceptions to this rule, as when distinguished merit and great abilities are possessed, and these exerted for the good of a country; but

(a) *Osborn*,
P. 504. p.
452. of the
edition in
1682.

(b) *Win-*
wood's me-
morials,
Vol. III.
p. 117.

(c) See *Os-*
born, p. .
595.

by *James*, for on them also he heaped honours in abundance (BB); and 'tis certain, that a great many particular persons obtained
 great

but where these are not, and when in a most eminent degree it is weakness and imprudence to heap favours, which will not fail to bring on complaints, uneasinesses, and distresses on the conferrors.

(BB) Honours in abundance were heaped on the English also.] *James* in his speech to the parliament, anno 1609, owns that they saw him at his entrance into England, "make knights by hundreths, and barons in great number." (a) This account is not beyond the truth. For Sir Richard *Baker*, who had the honour of knighthood from him at that time, tells us, that "before his first year went about, he made God "knows how many hundred knights." (b) And if a certain author is to be credited, in the two first years of *James's* reign, no less than one thousand twenty two knights were made by him (c) A prodigious number this! and such as almost exceeds belief. But the authorities already quoted in this remark, may possibly reconcile us unto it. For when knights were made by hundreds, a large sum total must run up in a comparatively short space of time.—But *James* contented not himself with dubbing knights; he made barons also, and enlarged the peerage to a great degree. In the first year of his reign he made four earls and nine barons, among whom were Henry *Howard*, created earl of *Northampton*, Thomas *Howard* earl of *Suffolk*, and the famous Sir Robert *Cecil*, lord *Cecil*, afterwards earl of *Salisbury*. These were persons who had dexterity enough to insinuate themselves into *James's* favour, and obtain almost whatever they had a-mind to, for themselves or dependants; these were the persons who transacted most of the business of state during their lives, and reaped very great rewards by reason of it, as will soon appear. So that though *James* was lavish of his honours on his
 own

(a) King *James's* works, P. 542.

(b) *Baker's* chronicle, P. 402.

(c) Vid. *Osborn's* catalogue of the library of *Webb*, &c. p. 66. 1751.

great wealth, and large possessions from him

own countrymen, the English could not say they were slighted; for he created so great a number of them peers, that, with the Scots already mentioned, no less than 62 were added to that illustrious body by him (d). This occasioned a "pasquil to be pasted up in St. Paul's, wherein was pretended an art to help weak memories to a competent knowledge of the names of the nobility." (e) Had these great dignities been conferred only on the deserving, there would have been little room for complaint. But "the honours James bestowed were in so lavish a manner, and with so little distinction, that they ceased in some sense to be honours." (f)—This was highly injurious to the character of the conferrer, and a contempt cast on those whose birth and great virtues intitled them to such distinctions. It shewed a want of judgment in James, and tended to take off that reverence which ought to be kept up in the minds of the people towards the English nobility. For what must men think of the understanding of that prince, who could place among the great council of the nation, John Villiers, Christopher Villiers, and Lyonel Cranfield? In how contemptible a light must the peerage be viewed by those who knew that these men had no pretence to such an honour, but as related to George Villiers, the insolent prime minister?—'Twere to be wished that the greatest care at all times was taken not to debase so illustrious an order of men by undeserved creations, and that nothing but real merit was the occasion of them. Then would the prince be applauded, the dignity of the peers be preserved, and all due deference paid to their decisions. But when it is known publicly, that undeserving men are advanced to this elevated rank in order to serve a party or please a favourite, then do men murmur at the crown, and pay little respect to those thus distinguished by it. For the public will judge of persons as they

(d) Tor-
buck's par-
liamentary
debates, Vol.
VII. p. 135.
8vo. Lond.

1741.
(e) Wilson,
p. 7.

(f) Remarks
on the his-
tory of Eng-
land, by
Humphrey
Oldcastle,
Esq; p. 235.
8vo. Lond.
1743.

him (cc), to the impoverishing of the crown, and the reducing himself in a few years to great want. He soon shewed his gratitude to

they are ; titles and coronets cannot bias its judgment, or cause it to applaud the ignorant or unworthy.

(cc) Many persons obtained great wealth, and large possessions from him.] “ They that then lived at court, and
 “ were curious observers of every man’s actions, could
 “ have affirmed, that *Salisbury*, *Suffolk*, and *Northamp-*
 “ *ton*, and their friends, did get more than the whole
 “ nation of Scotland (*Dunbar* excepted).——All the
 “ Scots in general scarce got the tythe of those English
 “ getters, that can be said did stick by them, or
 “ their posterity. Besides *Salisbury* had one trick to
 “ get the kernel, and leave the Scots but the shell, yet
 “ cast all the envy upon them ; he would make them
 “ buy books of fee-farms, some one hundred pounds
 “ per annum, some one hundred marks, and he would
 “ compound with them for a thousand pounds, which
 “ they were willing to embrace, because they were sure
 “ to have them paid without any controul or charge,
 “ and one thousand pounds appeared to them that ne-
 “ ver saw ten pounds before, an inexhaustible treasure ;
 “ then would *Salisbury* fill up this book with such prime
 “ land as should be worth ten or twenty thousand pounds,
 “ which was easy for him, being treasurer, so to do ;
 “ and by this means *Salisbury* enriched himself infi-
 “ nitely, yet cast the envy on the Scots, in whose
 “ names these books appeared, and are still upon record
 “ to all posterity ; though *Salisbury* had the honey,
 “ they, poor gentlemen, but part of the wax.” (a)—
Wilson tells us, “ that James being one day in his gal-
 “ lery at *Whitehall*, and none with him but Sir Henry
 “ *Rich* (afterwards earl of Holland) and James *Max-*
 “ *well*, some porters past by them, with three thousand
 “ pounds going to the privy purse: *Rich* whispering
 “ *Maxwell*, the king turned upon them, and asked *Max-*
 “ he

(a) Sir Anthony Wel-
 don’s court
 and charac-
 ter of king
 James, p.
 54, 55.
 12mo. Lond.
 1651. See
 also Ra-
 leigh’s
 works, Vol.
 I. p. 201.
 8vo. Lond.
 1751.

to *Elizabeth* for the crown she had left him, by permitting no one to appear in mourning for her (DD) before him, and even

“ well what says he? what says he? *Maxwell* told him,
 “ he wished he had so much money; *Marry shalt thou*
 “ *Harry* (saith the king) and presently commanded
 “ the porters to carry it to his lodging, with this ex-
 “ pression, you think now you have a great purchase,
 “ but I am more delighted to think how much I have
 “ pleased you in giving this money, than you can be
 “ in receiving it.” (b). And Sir Philip *Herbert* (after- (b) *Wilson*,
 wards earl of *Pembroke*) on his marriage with the lady p. 76.
Susan Vere, had a gift of the king of 500 l. land for the
 bride’s jointure (c).—In short, *James* himself assures (c) *Win-*
 us, “ that he had dealt twice as much amongst English- wood, Vol.
 “ men as he had done to Scotchmen.” (d) — The II. 4. 43.
 truth is, those of the English who had the king’s ear, (d) *King*
 and could fall readily into his humours, and contribute James’s
 to his pleasures and amusements, were sure of being works, p.
 enriched by him. The true courtier in this reign had a 542.
 good time of it, for *James* was thoughtless and incon-
 siderate, and never knew the value of money till he
 was in want of it. But merit, as such, was always
 neglected or overlooked by him; he knew it not, or
 regarded it not, but preferred his flatterers to all
 others.

(DD) He shewed his gratitude to *Elizabeth*, by per-
 mitting no one to appear in mourning for her before
 him.] For this curious particular we are indebted to
 the duke of *Sully*, whose account cannot but be look-
 ed on as most authentic. “ One part of the orders I
 “ had given, (says he, speaking of his English embaf-
 “ sage) in regard to the ceremony of my audience,
 “ was, that all my retinue shall appear in mourning;
 “ whereby I should execute the first part of my com-
 “ mission, which consisted in complimenting the new
 “ king on the death of *Elizabeth*; though I had been
 “ informed at *Calais*, that no one, whether ambassa-
 “ dor,

even speaking himself not only without
gratitude,

“ dor, foreigner or *English*, was admitted into the
 “ presence of the new king in black: and *Beaumont*
 “ (the French resident) had since represented to me,
 “ that what I intended would most certainly be highly
 “ disagreeable to the court, where so strong an affect-
 “ tion prevailed to obliterate the memory of that
 “ great queen, that she was never spoke of, and even
 “ the mention of her name industriously avoided. I
 “ should have been very glad not to have been sensible
 “ of the necessity under which I was of appearing in a
 “ garb, which would seem to cast a reproach on the
 “ king and all *England*; but my orders were hereupon
 “ positive, not to mention that they were also most
 “ laudable: and this was the reason I paid no regard to
 “ *Beaumont*, who intreated me to defer putting myself
 “ to this trouble and expence, till he had wrote about
 “ it to *Erskine*, and some others, who were best ac-
 “ quainted with the court ceremonial. He wrote ac-
 “ cordingly, but received no answer on *Thursday*, *Fri-*
 “ *day*, nor even all day on *Saturday*; and I still persisted
 “ in my resolution, notwithstanding the reasons which
 “ he continually gave me to the contrary. On *Sa-*
 “ *turday* night, which was the evening of the day pre-
 “ ceding my audience, and so late that I was in bed,
 “ *Beaumont* came to tell me, that *Erskine* had sent to
 “ acquaint him, that the whole court considered my
 “ intention as a premeditated affront; and that I had
 “ so offended the king by it, that nothing could more
 “ effectually prevent the success of my negotiation from
 “ its very commencement. This information agreeing
 “ with that of my lord *Sidney*, &c. it was impossible
 “ for me to be in doubt about it: and through fear lest
 “ a greater evil might ensue, I caused all my retinue to
 “ change their apparel, and provide themselves others
 “ as well as they could. *Leukoner* (master of the cere-
 “ monies) being come the next morning to inform me,
 “ that I should be presented to the king at three o’clock
 “ in

gratitude, respect, or regard of her; but also with contempt, to the amazement of stand-
ers

“ clock in the afternoon; I perceived from the satis-
“ faction which he expressed at the new orders which
“ I had given, that it was indispensably necessary to
“ vanquish my repugnance: nevertheless, it publickly
“ gained me as much honour as if I had persisted in
“ it throughout, because none were ignorant I had
“ complied only through absolute necessity.” (a) I
make no apology for the length of this quotation; readers of taste will be glad to find it here, and will not fail of remarking on the unaccountable ingratitude and weakness of *James*. His obligations to *Elizabeth* were great; she had supplied him constantly with money when in Scotland, and though she had a power, with consent of parliament, she gave not away the crown of England from him; on her death-bed she declared him her heir, and in consequence thereof he took peaceable possession of the throne. Ought he not then to have retained a respect for her memory, and treated her name with honour? should he not have owned his obligations, and celebrated her fame? should he have forbid his subjects mourning for the loss of so excellent a princess, or refused compliments of condolance from foreigners on the account of it? What! should the memory of such a princess be obliterated in a few months, even in her own court, and the glory of all her great actions be forgotten? must her humbling Spain, her supporting the Protestant interest abroad, and establishing it at home; her attention to the national interest and honour, and raising the English crown to be the envy and admiration of Europe; must these be unspoken, uncelebrated? such was the intention of *James*. But posterity more grateful, more just than that court, has mentioned her name with honour, and sounded forth the glories of her reign. To resemble her has been thought honourable to princes, and her government has been set forth as a model for their imitation.—So that
envy,

(a) Sully's
memoirs,
Vol. II. p. 19.

ers by (EE). He was excessively addicted to ease

envy, ignorance, spite, revenge and malice, with their united force, avail little against the reputations founded on great and beneficent actions; and the true hero, the patriot prince, may despise their efforts, and rest secure that in the annals of after-ages, their characters shall shine with the greatest lustre, and their actions be celebrated as they deserve. A noble motive this to generous minds to pursue the publick good with earnestness! and a motive, which, if well considered, will cause them to be unwearied, and persevering in the pursuit.

(EE) He spoke with contempt of her.] *Sully* giving an account of his first audience at court, tells us, that after *James* had spoken several things to him, “the late queen (*Elizabeth*) was mentioned, but without one word in her praise.” (a) In another conversation he had with the king, he observes, “that an opportunity presenting for the king to speak of the late queen of England, he did it, and, to my great regret, adds he, with some sort of contempt. He even went so far as to say, that in *Scotland*, long before the death of that princess, he had directed her whole council, and governed all her ministers, by whom he had been better served and obeyed than her.” (b) I doubt not *Sully* smiled inwardly at the vanity of *James*, and heartily detested his baseness with regard to the memory of *Elizabeth*; for no one better knew her worth than this ambassador, no one set a greater value on it. With what indignation then may we suppose him filled, when he heard her name thus treated by her successor? and what a despicable opinion must he entertain of him? but he suppressed his sentiments on this head, and set himself to please him, of whom ’tis plain from his memorials, he had but a poor opinion. I shall only add here, that the highest merit cannot escape the tongues of the ignorant and malicious, though, for the most part, it is unhurt by them.

(a) *Sully*,
Vol. II. p.
26.

(c) *Id.* p. 89.
compare this
with what is
said in note
(h).

ease and pleasure (FF), and indulged himself in drinking, even so far as to render himself

(FF) He was excessively given to ease and pleasure.] Sully relates, that “James quitted the company to go to bed, where he usually passed part of the afternoon, sometimes the whole of it (a).” ——— “And his thoughts were intent on ease and pleasure, says Osborn (b).” This would have been far enough from a virtue in a private man, but in a prince it must be looked on as a vice. For the love of ease and pleasure enervates the mind, and tends to render it incapable of what is great. And there are but few princes who have indulged this disposition, that have made any greater figure in history than the prince of whom we are discoursing. Alexander, Cæsar, and Henry IV. of France, loved pleasure as well as any men; but then they had nothing indolent in their temper, and had so much ambition, that they could not possibly abstain from striving to render their names glorious. But James not only loved pleasure, but ease, and therefore was incapable of being more significant in life, than are the generality of eastern princes, immured in seraglios, and strangers to every thing but what their viziers or eunuchs please to inform them of, for their entertainment or amusement. So that princes of this indolent disposition neglect the affairs of government, and are ruled by ministers and favourites, and the people are left to be fleeced and oppressed, to supply the calls of luxury and pleasure. Unhappy princes! unhappy people! the former destitute of true worth, the latter groaning under vile bondage.— How much then does it concern those who are advanced to dominion, to exert themselves, and employ their time and talents in examining the state of those under them, and promoting their welfare? how much does it behove them to be diligent in business, skilful in affairs, and attentive to the representations and complaints of their subjects? By these means alone can they answer the end of their advancement, obtain reputation, procure

(a) Sully,
Vol. II.

p. 92.

(b) Osborn,
p. 470.

himself sometimes contemptible (GG). And
from

cure success, and have the love and affection of those over whom they bear rule. To which let me add, that indolent princes are very insecure; they become victims frequently to the ambition of their own servants, and fall, though not unpitied, yet quite unlamented. For the people have sense enough to know, that a life devoted to ease and pleasure, is of no importance to them, and therefore, with indifference, see it destroyed, though by those who ought to have defended it.

(GG) Indulged himself in drinking, &c.] *Weldon* observes, that “*James* was not intemperate in his drinking;” but he adds, “however in his old age, and “*Buckingham’s* jovial suppers, when he had any turn “to do with him, made him sometimes overtaken, “which he would the very next day remember, and “repent with tears: it is true, he drank very often, “which was rather out of a custom than any delight, “and his drinks were of that kind for strength, as “frontiniack, canary, high-country wine, tent wine, “and Scotch ale, that had he not had a very strong brain, “might have daily been overtaken, although he seldom drank at any one time above four spoonfuls, “many times not above one or two (a).” — This is very modest in *Weldon*. But other authors go a little farther, and make *James* shew himself beneath a man by his intemperance. “The king was excessively addicted to hunting and drinking (says *Coke*) not ordinary French and Spanish wines, but strong Greek wines; and though he would divide his hunting from drinking these wines, yet he would compound his hunting with drinking these wines, and to that purpose he was attended with a special officer, who was as much as could be always at hand, to fill the king’s cup in his hunting, when he called for it. I have heard my father say, that being hunting with the
“king,

(a) *Weldon*,
p. 166.

from his known love of masculine beauty,
his excessive favour to such as were pos-
sessed

“ king, after the king had drank of the wine, he also
“ drank of it, and though he was young and of an
“ healthful constitution, it so disordered his head, that
“ it spoiled his pleasure, and disordered him for three
“ days after. Whether it was from drinking these
“ wines, or from some other cause, the king became
“ so lazy and unweildy, that he was *truff* on horse-
“ back, and as he was set, so would he ride, without
“ otherwise poisoning himself on his saddle; nay, when
“ his hat was set on his head, he would not take the
“ pains to alter it, but it sat as it was upon him (b).” (b) Coke’s
detection,
Vol. I. p. 42.
I doubt not but this account is true, *Sully* taking no-
tice, that “ *James’s* custom was never to mix water
“ with his wine (c).” And therefore, though Sir Edward (c) Sully,
Vol. II. p.
90. *Peyton* be a partial writer, and prejudiced much against
the *Stuart* race, yet I believe the following story from
him will not be deemed improbable. “ When the king (d) Peyton’s
divine cata-
strophe of
the kingly
family of the
house of
Stuarts, p.
30. 8vo.
London, 1731.
These quo-
tations from
Weldon,
Coke, and
Peyton, are
very oddly
and inaccu-
rately ex-
pressed; but
the reader
must take
them as they
are, and not
expect them
to be altered
in order to
please.
“ of Denmark [brother-in-law to *James*] was first of
“ all in England, both kings were so drunk at *Theo-*
“ *bald’s*, as our king was carried in the arms of the
“ courtiers, when one cheated another of the bed-
“ chamber, for getting a grant from king *James*, for
“ that he would give him the best jewel in England for
“ a jewel of a hundred pound he promised him; and
“ so put king *James* in his arms, and carried him to
“ his lodging, and defrauded the bed-chamber man,
“ who had much ado to get the king into his bed.
“ And *Denmark* was so disguised, as he would have
“ lain with the countess of *Nottingham*, making horns
“ in derision at her husband, the high admiral of Eng-
“ land (d).” I said just now, this story, I believed,
would not be thought improbable; and I doubt not the
reader by the following letter of the countess of *Not-*
tingham to the Danish ambassador, will readily assent to
it, seeing it confirms so chief a part of it as the rude
behaviour of the Danish king to that lady. ’Tis wrote

fed of it, and unfeemly Careffes of them,
one

with fpirit, and worthy perufal, which therefore I infert
at large.

“ S I R,

“ I am very forry this occafion fhould have been of-
“ fered me by the king your mafter, which makes me
“ troublefome to you for the prefent. It is reported to
“ me by men of honour, the great wrong the king of
“ Danes hath done me, when I was not by to answer
“ for myfelf; for if I had been prefent, I would have
“ letten him know how much I fcorn to receive that
“ wrong at his hands. I need not to urge the particu-
“ lar of it, for the king himfelf knows it beft. I pro-
“ teft to you, Sir, I did think as honourably of the
“ king your mafter, as I did of my own prince; but
“ now I perfuade myfelf there is as much baseness in
“ him as can be in any man; for although he be a
“ prince by birth, it feems not to me that there har-
“ bours any princely thought in his breaft; for either
“ in prince or fubject, it is the beft that can be to
“ wrong any woman of honour. I deferve as little
“ that name he gave me, as either the mother of him-
“ felf, or of his children; and if ever I come to know
“ what man hath informed your mafter fo wrongfully
“ of me, I fhall do my beft for putting him from do-
“ ing the like to any other: but if it hath come by the
“ tongue of any woman, I dare fay ſhe would be glad
“ to have companions. So leaving to trouble you any
“ further, I reft

“ your friend,

“ M. NOTTINGHAM (e).”

(e) Supple-
ment to the
Cabala, p.
96. 4to.
Lond. 1654.

There can, I think, remain no doubt but that *Pey-
ton*'s account is true; and confequently, when confider-
ed with what *Weldon* and *Coke* relate, it muft be be-
lieved, that *James* addicted himfelf to drinking in ſuch
a manner,

one would be tempted to think, that he was not wholly free from a vice most unnatural (HH).

He

a manner, as to render himself sometimes contemptible. “ For it is not for kings to drink wine, nor for princes strong drink; lest they drink and forget the law, and pervert the judgment of any of the afflicted (f).” (f) Prov. Drunkenness throws princes off their guard, and exposes those weaknesses which it most of all behoves them to conceal; and it takes off that reverence for their persons, which is necessary to make their subjects stand in a proper awe of them, and pay a submission to their commands. It debases the man, sinks the prince, spoils the politician, and reveals those secrets which are most necessary to be concealed. “ Drunkenness, says *Montaigne*, seems to me to be a gross and brutish vice. “ The soul has the greatest interest in all the rest, and there are some vices that have something, if a man may so say, of generous in them. There are vices wherein there is a mixture of knowledge, diligence, valour, prudence, dexterity, and cunning: this is totally corporeal and earthly, and the thickest skulled nation [the Germans] this day in Europe, is that where it is most in fashion. Other vices discompose the understanding, this totally overthrows it, and renders the body stupid (g).” These reflections seem just and obvious, but they occurred not to the mind of *James*, or made little impression on him; for he seems to have been guided in his whole behaviour more by will and humour, by passion and inclination, than by wisdom, prudence, or discretion. So that his knowledge was of little service to him, and seldom caused him to act as a wise man, or an understanding king. It enabled him to talk, but was wholly insufficient to regulate his actions; and so, in effect, was no better than ignorance.

xxxii. 4.

(g) *Montaigne*, Vol. II. p. 15.

(HH) From his known love of masculine beauty,
F 3 &c.]

He used cursing and swearing in his common

&c.] I shall give my authorities, and leave the reader to judge what conclusion is to be drawn from them. —
 “ As no other reason appeared in favour of their [the
 “ favourites of *James*] choice but handsomeness, so
 “ the love the king shewed, was as amorously convey-
 “ ed as if he had mistaken their sex, and thought them
 “ ladies; which I have seen *Somerset* and *Buckingham*
 “ labour to resemble in the effeminateness of their dres-
 “ sings; though in w—— looks, and wanton gestures,
 “ they exceeded any part of woman-kind my conver-
 “ sation did ever cope withal. Nor was his love, or
 “ whatever else posterity will please to call it, (who
 “ must be the judges of all that history shall inform)
 “ carried on with a discretion sufficient to cover a less
 “ scandalous behaviour; for the king’s kissing them
 “ after so lascivious a mode in public, and upon the
 “ theatre as it were of the world, prompted many to
 “ imagine some things done in the tiring-house, that
 “ exceed my expressions no less than they do my expe-
 “ rience; and therefore left floating on the waves of
 “ conjecture, which hath in my hearing tossed them
 “ from one side to another. I have heard that Sir Hen-
 “ ry *Rich*, since earl of *Holland*, and some others, re-
 “ fused his majesty’s favour upon those conditions they
 “ subscribed to, who filled that place in his affection:
 “ *Rich* losing that opportunity his curious face and com-
 “ plexion afforded him, by turning aside and spitting
 “ after the king had slabbered his mouth (a).” — “ *Wel-*
 “ *don*, who saw *James*’s parting with *Somerset*, just be-
 “ fore his commitment for *Overbury*’s murther, says,
 “ that had you seen that seeming affection, you would
 “ rather have believed he was in his rising than set-
 “ ting. The earl when he kissed his hand, the king
 “ hung about his neck, slabbering his cheeks, saying,
 “ for God’s sake when shall I see thee again? on my
 “ soul I shall neither eat nor sleep until you come again;
 “ the earl told him on Monday (this being on the Fri-
 “ day)

(a) Osborn,
P. 534.

“ day) for God’s sake let me, said the king; shall I?
 “ shall I? then lolled about his neck; then for God’s
 “ sake give thy lady this kifs for me: in the same
 “ manner at the stairs-head, at the middle of the stairs,
 “ and at the stairs-foot (b).” The same writer observes, (b) Weldon,
 that “ he was not very uxorious, for he was ever best P. 95.
 “ when farthest from his queen (c).” And in another (c) Id. p. 168.
 place he says, “ that James naturally hated women (d).” (d) p. 125.
 Peyton writes, that “ James was more addicted to love
 “ males than females; and that though for compli-
 “ ment he visited queen Anne, yet he never lodged
 “ with her a night for many years (e).” — The fol- (e) Peyton’s
 lowing satyr, said to be left on his cupboard, will shew divine ca-
 us the sense those times had of this matter. tastrofhe,
 p. 14.

Aula prophana, religione vana,
 Spreta uxore, Ganymedis amore,
 Lege sublata, prerogativa inflata.
 Tolle libertatem, incende civitatem,
 Ducas spadonem
 &
 Superafti Neronem (f).

I know not well the authority of the book from which I quote these lines; ’tis very bitter against the Stuart race, and written with great partiality. I am informed by a learned friend, that ’tis thought to be written by the above-cited Peyton: But I am of a different opinion. Peyton’s *divine catastrophe*, tho’ partial enough, has many true passages in it; but the *Nonefuch Charles* seems chiefly invention, in order to blacken and defame. Besides, such was the zeal of Peyton against Charles and his house, that I fancy he would have thought it a merit to have been the author of any work tending to its disgrace, and therefore have set his name to it; for he who had been afraid of after-resentment, would never have publicly owned the *divine catastrophe*. Add to this, that Wood, in reckoning up Peyton’s writings, mentions nothing of this piece, which if it had been his ’tis difficult to account for (g). However, as the insinuation in this satyr is supported by other authorities,

(f) The Nonefuch Charles, his character, p. 17. 12mo. Lond. 1651.

(g) Wood’s Arhenæ Oxonienses, Vol. II. c. 156. edit. 2 Lond. 1721. Folio.

'tis of little importance whether the author who gives it us be of any great account, or no.—Let us now return to our subject.—The authors above quoted may be deemed by some not quite so favourable to the character of *James* as could be wished, and therefore not so much to be relied on. But what shall we say to *Clarendon*, who owns, that the “ first introduction of *George Villiers* into favour, was purely from the handsomeness of his person (*b*): and that the king’s natural disposition was very flowing in affection towards persons so adorned.” Dr. *Birch* observes of this same *Villiers*, that “ he had scarce any other advantages to recommend him to his majesty, than those of a most graceful person. Upon what terms of familiarity, adds he, he was with his royal master is evident, not much to the honour of either of them, from two volumes of original letters which passed between them, still extant in the *Harleian* library, full of the obscenest expressions in our language, and such as Dr. *Welwood*, who has given some extracts from those letters, says, *might make a bawd to blush to repeat*. So impure a correspondence is an amazing inconsistency with those theological and devotional tracts which the king gave the world with so much pomp among his works, and which he caused to be translated into and published in both the Latin and French tongues (*i*).”

(*b*) *Clarendon*, Vol. I, p. 9, 10.

(*i*) *Birch*’s view of the negotiations, &c. p. 384.

That the reader may have as much light as possible in this matter, I will transcribe Dr. *Welwood*’s account of the letters which passed between *James* and *Buckingham*, to which Dr. *Birch* refers. “ The letters, says he, which passed between the king and *Buckingham*, are wrote in a peculiar stile of familiarity, the king for the most part calling him his *dear child* and *gossip*, and his *dear child and gossip Steiny*; and subscribing himself his *dear dad and gossip*, and sometimes his *dear dad* and *Stuart*; and once, when he sends him partridges, his *dear dad and purveyor*. *Buckingham* calls the king, for the most part, *dear dad and gossip*, and sometimes, *dear dad, gossip*, and *Stuart*, and subscribes

“ scribes always, *your majesty's most humble slave and*
 “ *dog, Steiny.*

“ Not to blot these papers with the bawdy that is in
 “ some of these letters of king *James*, I shall only ob-
 “ serve, that such was the familiarity and friendship be-
 “ tween him and *Buckingham*, that in one of them he
 “ tells *Buckingham*, *he wears Steiny's picture under his*
 “ *waiscoat, next his heart*; and in another, *he bids*
 “ *him, his only sweet and dear child, hasten to him to*
 “ *Birely that night, that his white teeth might shine upon*
 “ *him.* But the reader may better judge of the rest of
 “ king *James's* familiar letters to the duke of *Bucking-*
 “ *ham*, by the following short one, which runs thus
 “ *verbatim*, and is without date.

“ My only sweet and dear child,
 “ Blessing, blessing, blessing on thy heart's roots, and
 “ all thine, this thursday morning. Here is great store
 “ of game as they say, partridges and stoncorleurs: I
 “ know who shall get their part of them; and here is
 “ the finest company of young hounds that ever was
 “ seen. God bless the sweet master of my harriers,
 “ that made them to be so well kept all summer; I
 “ mean *Tom Badger*. I assure myself thou wilt punc-
 “ tually observe the dyet and journey I set thee down
 “ in my first letter from *Theobald's*. God bless thee,
 “ and my sweet *Kate*, and *Mall*, to the comfort of
 “ thy

“ dear Dad,

“ JAMES R.

“ P. S. Let my last compliment settle to thy heart,
 “ till we have a sweet and comfortable meeting, which
 “ God send, and give thee grace to bid the drogues adieu
 “ this day.

“ Now the reason why *James* gave *Buckingham* the
 “ name of *Steiny*, was for his handsomeness, it being
 “ the diminutive of St. Stephen, who is always painted
 “ with a glory about his face (*k*).”

(*k*) Compleat
 history of
 England,
 Vol. II. p.
 697. Folio.
 Lond. 1706.

I have

mon conversation (11); and stuck not, on occasion,

I have now given my authorities for the assertion in the text, the inference I leave to the reader, being unwilling to say more on a subject so disagreeable to the ears of the chaste and virtuous. I have added nothing, nor suppressed any thing; and therefore, as a meer relator, am liable, I think, to no censure. Had I met with any thing favourable to *James* in this matter, I would have declared it with great pleasure; but I cannot allow myself to invent, in order to vindicate.

(11) He used cursing and swearing.] Here follow my proofs.—“ He would make a great deal too bold
 “ with God in his passion, both in cursing and swear-
 “ ing, and one strain higher, verging on blasphemy;
 “ but would in his better temper say, he hoped God
 “ would not impute them as sins, and lay them to his
 “ charge, seeing they proceeded from passion. (a).”
 An excellent reason this! and an admirable excuse for an acknowledged crime. *James*, weak as he was, would have seen the folly of this plea in others, and would have censured them for making use of it. But any thing will serve for an excuse to those who chuse to do as they have been accustomed, and will not be at the pains to reform.—That *James* was a swearer, appears from Lord *Clarendon*, who says “ he renounced
 “ with many oaths the having communicated the prince’s
 “ journey into Spain (b).” Oaths are highly indecent in princes: they are greatly impolitic also, as lessening the regard which ought to be payed unto them in courts of judicature, and leading thereby to perjury. Princes therefore shew the greatest reverence to oaths, in order thereby to keep up their sacredness, and secure the truth and fidelity of their subjects. Those of them who will not thus behave, pay generally very dear for their liberty; for their servants and subjects taking example by them, run into the same excess, whereby they receive the greatest damage. So that interest alone, if well

(a) Weldon,
p. 172.

(b) Clarendon,
Vol. I.
p. 16.

occasion, to utter the most bitter imprecations (κκ) on himself, and on his posterity. And

well understood and considered, will engage those who bear rule, to set before men good examples, and abstain from the appearance of evil; and such of them as are not induced hereunto by a sense of it, have no great reason to boast of their understanding.

(κκ) He stuck not to utter the most bitter imprecations on himself, and on his posterity.] When the trial of the murderers of Sir Thomas *Overbury* was going forwards, the king went from *Whitehall* to *Theobald's*, and so to *Royston*, and having sent for all the judges, he kneeled down in the midst of his lords and servants, and used these words to the judges. “ My lords, I charge
 “ you, as you will answer it at that great and dreadful
 “ day of judgment, that you examine it [the poisoning
 “ of *Overbury*] strictly without favour, affection, or
 “ partiality; and if you spare any guilty of this crime,
 “ God’s curse light upon you and your posterity; and
 “ if I spare any that are found guilty, God’s curse
 “ light on me and my posterity for ever (a).” And in (a) *Weldon*,
 the second year of his reign “ several lords having de- P. 93.
 “ clared in the star-chamber, that some of the puri-
 “ tans had raised a false rumour of the king, how he
 “ intended to grant a toleration to papists; the lords
 “ severally declared, how the king was discontented
 “ with the said false rumour, and had made but the
 “ day before a protestation unto them, that he never
 “ intended it, and that he would spend the last drop of
 “ his blood before he would do it; and prayed, that
 “ before any of his issue should maintain any other re-
 “ ligion than what he truly professed and maintained, that
 “ God would take them out of the world (b).” These (b) *Croke’s*
 are deep and horrible imprecations, and enough to make reports, part
 a man tremble to think on the profaneness of the mouth 2. p. 38.
 that could utter them; especially when it is known Lond. 1683.
 (that notwithstanding there were so many witnesses to Folio.
 these

And yet notwithstanding, upon times, he gave himself great airs of religion (LL), and talked

these his words) he spared *Somerſet* and his lady, the principal actors in *Overbury's* tragedy; and that he not only intended, but did grant a toleration to papists, as will be shewn hereafter. How far his imprecations have affected his posterity, is not, I think, for man to say. But, without breach of charity, we may assert, that *James* was very rash and inconsiderate, and guilty of a great fault in calling down the judgments of heaven thus on himself and his family. 'Tis good advice which the wise man gives, and which was worthy of the regard of this British *Solomon*, in the following words, "Be not rash with thy mouth, and let not thy heart be hasty to utter any thing before God; for God is in heaven, and thou upon earth; therefore let thy words be few (c)." A sense of the omnipotence, power, wisdom, and majesty of the superintending mind, would have restrained *James* from these rash and horrible wishes; but he seems to have had little notion of any of these things, but rather to have been one of those who deal in holy things without any feeling. These, in lord *Bacon's* opinion, are "the great atheists, who must, says he, be needs cauterized in the end (d)." Deplorable state! dismal condition! happy those, who by an uniform course of virtuous actions, can look on the almighty being as their friend! who are careful at all times to do what they themselves think right, and agreeable to him: the religion of such is real, and their happiness certain.

(c) Ecclef.
v. 2.

(d) Bacon's
essay on a-
theism.

(LL) He gave himself airs of religion, &c.] Here follows a passage from *Sully*, tending to verify the text. "James asked me, says he, whether I went to the protestant church in *London*? upon my replying that I did, then, said he, you are not resolved, as I have been informed, to quit our religion, after the example of *Sancy*, who thought thereby to make his fortune

talked after such a manner, as to lead those
who

“ fortune, but, by God’s permission, did just the con-
“ trary. I treated this report as a calumny, and said,
“ that my living in *France* in friendship with so many
“ ecclesiasticks, and being so frequently visited by the
“ pope’s nuncio, might, perhaps, have given rise to it.
“ Do you give the pope the title of holiness? said
“ *James*. I replied, that, to conform to the custom
“ established in *France*, I did. He was then for prov-
“ ing to me, that this custom was an offence against
“ God, to whom alone this title could justly belong. I
“ replied, that I supposed a greater crime was not here-
“ by committed, than by so frequently giving to prin-
“ ces such titles as they were well known not to de-
“ serve (a).” Let us add the following memorandum ^{(a) Sully’s}
of the illustrious archbishop *Usher* to *Sully*, and we shall ^{memoirs,}
need nothing more to convince us of the solemn airs of ^{Vol. II. p.}
religion *James*, at some times, could put on. “ I was ³³
“ appointed by the lower house of parliament, to preach
“ at *St. Maagaret’s, Westminster*, Feb. 7, 1620. Feb.
“ 13, being *Shrove Tuesday*, I dined at court, and be-
“ twixt four and five kissed the king’s hand, and had
“ conference with him touching my sermon. He said,
“ *I had charge of an unruly flock to look nnto the next Sun-*
“ *day*. He asked me how I thought it could stand with
“ true divinity, that so many hundred should be tied (up-
“ on so short warning) to receive the communion upon
“ a day, all could not be in charity, after so late con-
“ tentions in the house: many must needs come with-
“ out preparation, and eat their own condemnation:
“ that himself required all his whole household to receive
“ the communion, but not all the same day, unless at
“ *Easter*, when the whole Lent was a time of prepa-
“ ration. He bad me to tell them, I hoped they were
“ all prepared, but wished they might be better; to
“ exhort them to unity and concord; to love God
“ first, and then their prince and country; to look to
“ the urgent necessities of the times, and the miserable
“ state

who were unacquainted with him, to believe that he had a more than ordinary degree

(b) Usher's life and letters by Parr, p. 17, 18. Lond. 1686. Folio.

“state of Christendom, with *bis dat qui citò dat (b).*”
 ——This kind of talk would have suited well enough the mouth of some honest, well-meaning ecclesiastic, and edified, no doubt, very much those who heard it. But it sounds strange from *James*, who was addicted to so many vices, and whose oaths and imprecations were so common. Shall we suppose him wholly hypocritical in these speeches, and intirely unconcerned about the things he talked of; though from other parts of his behaviour, one might be led to make this conclusion, yet, perhaps, we should be mistaken in so doing. For, however, it be, men's characters are too often inconsistent, and they strangely blend what they call religion, with the practice of the most odious and detestable vices. By a concern for the one, they excuse to themselves the other, and so come at length to imagine, that they are acceptable to the deity, though they break the most sacred of his laws. Thus we read of *John Basilides*, great duke of Muscovy, the most wicked of men, the most detestable of tyrants, that he would pray and fast in a most extraordinary manner, and be as devout as possible himself, and make others so too (c). And, in the same manner, numbers of cruel persecutors, and ambitious, selfish, avaritious wretches, are exceedingly zealous and exact in their devotions, and come not behind, in these things, the most sincere and virtuous persons. So that 'tis not improbable *James* might be in earnest when he talked in these strains, and please himself to think, that he was both so wise and so religious a king. Amazing delusion! terrible deceit! To the all-piercing eye of heaven all is naked and open, no disguises can conceal from, no artifices impose on it; and therefore men should look well to it, that they are what they would seem to be.—A prince openly vicious and profane, only hurts the interest of religion, by appearing, on occasion, its votary. Standers-by will look with ridicule

(c) See Ca-faubon of enthusiasm, p. 279, 8vo. Lond. 1696.

gree of sanctity. Hunting (MM) was a favourite

dicule and abhorrence on his interesting himself in its affairs, and will not be prevailed on to believe that he is in earnest about it.—Hence possibly it has come to pass, that courts have been so little famed for the practice of religion. For the manners of the generality of princes being not over good, those about them think they shall pay their court to them more by conforming to their example, than by obeying their edict. When they speak therefore of religion, they are not listened unto; when they command, by those about them, they are not obeyed: for they are considered as only acting a part, and therefore having no real concern about what they seem to engage in.

(MM) Hunting was a favourite diversion with him, &c.] Let us hear *Sully*. “From this subject [the insincerity of the Spaniards] the king of England passed to that of the chace, for which he shewed me an extraordinary passion. He said he knew very well that I was no great lover of the chace; that he had attributed the late success of his sport to me, not as marquis of *Rosny*, but as ambassador from a king, who was not only the greatest prince, but the greatest hunter in the world; to which, with the greatest politeness, he added, that *Henry* was in the right not to carry me to the chace, because I was of greater service to him elsewhere; and that if I pursued the chace, the king of *France* could not. I replied, that *Henry* loved all the exercises; but that none of them ever made him neglect the care of his affairs, nor prevented him from a close inspection into the proceedings of his ministers (a).” (a) *Sully*, Vol. II. p. 29.
Had *James* imitated his brother of *France* in attending his affairs, and inspecting the proceeding of his ministers, he might have enjoyed the pleasure of hunting without censure. For'tis but reasonable that princes should have a relaxation from business as well as other men.

But,

favourite diversion with him, which he practised

But says Mr. Chamberlaine to Mr. *Winwood*, in a letter dated Jan. 26, 1604, “the king finds that felicity
“ in that hunting life, that he hath written to the council, that it is the only means to maintain his health,
“ which being the health and welfare of us all, *he desires them to take the charge and burden of affairs,*
“ *and foresee that he be not interrupted nor troubled with too much business (b).*” A man who preferred hunting to the affairs of state, was unworthy of the crown he wore, and undeserving the regard of his people. For such a one neglected the end of his appointment, and therefore merited the contempt he met with.—

(b) *Winwood*, Vol. II: p. 46.

James never loved business. In Scotland, says *Melvil*, “the earl of *Arran* desired him to recreate himself at
“ hunting, and he would attend the council, and report again at his majesty’s return, all our opinions
“ and conclusions (c).” He hearkened to his advice, or rather followed his own inclinations, and thereby numberless mischiefs ensued. He was never the wiser for this we see; for his aversion to business was the same, and so was his passion for hunting: so that he had lived to no purpose, and was incapable of being taught by experience.

(c) *Melvil*, p. 139.

Osborn tells us, he saw “him dressed in colours green
“ as the grass he trod on, with a feather in his cap, and
“ a horn instead of a sword by his side (d). A pretty picture this of a prince, and tending to excite much reverence in the beholders. But when men’s minds are bent on diversions, they care for nothing more than their own pleasure and amusement, and are thoughtless of what *Standers-by* think or say of them.—I will give the reader some fine observations on this subject of hunting, from a writer whose great genius and elevated rank entitle him to be heard with deference and respect, and with them conclude the note. “Hunting is one
“ of those sensual pleasures which exercise the body,
“ without affecting the mind; it is an ardent desire of
“ pursuing

(d) *Osborn*, p. 495.

tised so much, as to neglect the great and weighty business of state, and leave every thing

“ pursuing some wild beast, for the cruel satisfaction of
“ destroying it; an amusement which renders the body
“ robust and active, and leaves the mind fallow and
“ uncultivated. Sportsmen, perhaps, will reproach me
“ here with gravity and preaching, and alledge, that I
“ assume the prerogative of a priest in his pulpit, who
“ may assert whatever he pleases, without being afraid
“ of contradiction.” Hunting, say they, is the noblest
“ and most antient of all amusements; the patriarchs
“ and many other eminent men were hunters; and by
“ this we continue to exercise that dominion over the
“ beasts, which God vouchsafed to give *Adam*. But
“ no folly is the better for being antient, especially
“ if it is carried to extravagance: many great men, I
“ own, have been passionately fond of this diversion;
“ but these had their weaknesses as well as perfections:
“ Let us imitate their great qualities, without copying
“ after their little and idle occupations. The same pa-
“ triarchs were not only given to hunting, but to po-
“ lygamy, nay, would marry their own sisters, and
“ had many other customs which favoured of the bar-
“ barous ages wherein they lived. They were rude, ig-
“ norant, and uncultivated idle men, who, to kill time,
“ employed it in hunting, and threw away those mo-
“ ments in useless amusements, which they had no ca-
“ pacity to employ in the company and conversation of
“ men of understanding. Let me now ask whether
“ these are examples to be imitated; whether these bar-
“ barous ages, or others that were more refined, ought
“ to be the model of the present? To enquire whether
“ *Adam* received dominion over the beasts, would be
“ foreign to my subject; but it is well known, that
“ men have been always more cruel and ravenous than
“ the beasts themselves, and make the most tyrannical
“ use of that dominion they pretend to. If any thing
“ gives us advantage over these animals, it is certainly

thing of consequence to be transacted by his council, to his no small dishonour.

He

“ our reason ; but professed hunters, for the most part,
 “ have their heads furnished with nothing but horses,
 “ dogs, boars, stags, and the like. They are some-
 “ time as wild and savage themselves as the beasts they
 “ pursue ; and it may well be feared lest they should be-
 “ come as inhuman to their fellow-creatures, as they
 “ are to their fellow-animals, or at least that the cruel
 “ custom of persecuting and destroying these, may take
 “ away their sympathy for the misfortunes of the o-
 “ thers. And is this so noble an occupation, so worthy
 “ of a thinking being ? It may be objected that hunt-
 “ ing is an healthful exercise, and that those who are
 “ given to it live to a great age, as appears by experi-
 “ ence ; that it is a harmless amusement, and very pro-
 “ per for sovereigns, as it displays their magnificence,
 “ dissipates their cares, and in times of peace presents
 “ them with an image of war. I would be far from
 “ condemning a moderate use of this exercise, but let
 “ it be remembered, that exercise in general is hardly
 “ necessary to any but the intemperate. Never prince
 “ lived longer than cardinal *Fleury*, cardinal *Ximenes*,
 “ or the late pope, and yet neither of the three was a
 “ hunter. But is it necessary to chuse an employment
 “ which has no other merit but that of promising long
 “ life ? *Monks* commonly live longer than other men ;
 “ must a man therefore become a monk ? there is no
 “ need of leading an indolent and useles life, as long as
 “ that of *Methusalem* : the more a man improves his
 “ understanding, and the more great and useful actions
 “ he performs, the longer he lives. Hunting, besides,
 “ is of all amusements that which is least proper for a
 “ prince : he may display his magnificence a thousand
 “ ways, that are all more useful to his subjects : and if
 “ it should be found, that the peasants were ruined by
 “ the too great number of wild beasts, the care of de-
 “ stroying these might be committed to professed hunt-
 “ ers

He had a vehement desire to be thought learned, and master of the controversies then on foot, which made him expose himself much in the conference at Hampton-Court (NN), between the episcopals and the puritans,

“ ers hired for that purpose. The proper employment
“ of a prince is that of improving his own mind, and
“ governing his people, in order to acquire more know-
“ ledge, and consequently be able to accommodate his
“ government to their interest. It must not be omitted,
“ that to be a great general, there is no need of being
“ a hunter. *Gustavus Adolphus*, marshal *Turenne*, the
“ duke of *Marlborough*, and prince *Eugene*, whose
“ characters as able generals and illustrious men, will
“ not be questioned, were not hunters; nor do we read
“ of the huntings of *Alexander*, *Cæsar*, or *Scipio*.—
“ I conclude therefore, that it is excusable in a prince
“ to go a hunting, if it is but seldom, and to refresh
“ him after his serious and often melancholy employ-
“ ments. I say once more, I object to no honest plea-
“ sure; but the care of rendring a state flourishing and
“ happy, and of protecting and encouraging arts and
“ sciences, is unquestionably a much superior pleasure,
“ and much fitter employment for a prince; and who-
“ ever betakes himself to any other, neither consults
“ his pleasure nor his interest (a).”

(a) Anti-
Machiavel,
p. 155—164.
8vo. Lond.
1741.

(NN) Which made him expose himself much in the conference at Hampton Court, &c.] This conference was begun Jan. 14, 1603. in pursuance of a proclamation for that purpose, dated Oct. 24, of the same year. The professed design of it was to examine into the objections of the puritans, against the doctrine, government, and discipline of the established church, and rectify abuses crept into it. But the king had little of this at heart; his design was to shew his learning, and mortify the puritans, which he did as well as he could.

the puritans, where he set up for a disputant,

He talked therefore of the name and use of confirmation, and the occasion of its being first brought in; of absolution, private baptism, and excommunication; points well worthy the study of a king, and coming with great propriety from his mouth. "Absolution, he declared, was apostolical, and a very good ordinance, in that it was given in the name of Christ to one that desired it, and upon the clearing of his conscience. (a)." He maintained "the necessity of baptism, where it might be lawfully had, id est, ministred by lawful ministers, by whom alone, and by no private person, he thought it might not in any case be administred. After which he learnedly observed, that though the minister be not of the essence of the sacrament [of baptism] yet he is of the essence of the right and lawful ministry of the sacrament (b)." These discourses passed between the king and bishops alone on the first day, greatly, I dare say, to their rejoicing. On the second day, the ministers who were to propose the demands of the puritans being called in, viz. Reynolds, Sparks, Knewstubbs, and Chadderton, together with Patrick Galloway, sometime minister of Perth in Scotland; and their objections being all reduced into four heads, the king took on him to dispute the matters contained in them, with the ministers. It would be endless to relate all he said, for he loved speaking, and was in his element whilst disputing. Two or three instances of his ostentatious pedantry shall therefore suffice. "His majesty taxed St. Jerom for his assertion, that a bishop was not *divinæ ordinationis*; which opinion he much distasted, approving their calling and use in the church, and closed it up with this short aphorism, *no bishop, no king* (c)." "Dr. Reynolds having made it an objection against the Apocrypha (ordered by the Common Prayer to be read) that the author of the book of Ecclesiasticus, chap. xlviii. 10. held the same opinion with the

(a) Barlow's account of the conference at Hampton-Court, in Vol. I. of the Phenix, p. 145. 8vo. Lond. 1707.

(b) Id. p. 147.

(c) Id. p. 153.

" Jews

tant, and behaved with a great and visible partiality.

“ Jews at this day, namely, that *Elias* in person was
 “ to come before Christ; and therefore as yet Christ,
 “ by that reason, not come in the flesh: I say Dr. *Reynolds*
 “ having made this objection, his majesty calling
 “ for a bible, first shewed the author of that book,
 “ who he was, then the cause why he wrote that book;
 “ next analyzed the chapter itself, shewing the precedents
 “ and consequences thereof; lastly, unfolded the
 “ sum of that place, arguing and demonstrating that
 “ whatsoever Ben Sirach had said there of *Elias*, *Elias*
 “ had in his own person while he lived, performed
 “ and accomplished (*d*).” He moreover declared, “ that ^{(d) Id. p. 162, 163.}
 “ he had never seen a bible well translated into English;
 “ that the translation of Geneva was the worst of all;
 “ that pains should be taken about an uniform translation
 “ of it, under certain restrictions, and more especially
 “ that no marginal notes should be added, having found,
 “ said he, in them which are annexed to the Geneva
 “ translation, some notes very partial, untrue, seditious,
 “ and favouring too much of dangerous and traitorous
 “ conceits (*e*).” Thus *James* shewed his ^{(e) Id. p. 157.}
 learning in the midst of the lords of the council, and
 the bishops and deans who attended. I doubt not, tho’
Reynolds was awed by the presence, and made not the
 figure he was capable of, that he heartily despised the
 prince who could talk after this rate, and dictate in
 matters out of his province.—Let us now see how
 his majesty endeavoured to mortify the puritans.

After expounding the chapter of Ecclesiasticus just
 mentioned, he addressed himself to the lords, and said,
 “ what, trow ye, make these men so angry with *Ecclesiasticus*?
 “ by my soul I think he was a bishop, or
 “ else they would never use him so (*f*).” —In answer ^{(f) Id. p. 163.}
 to a question started how far an ordinance of the church
 was to bind, without impeaching christian liberty?
James said, “ he would not argue that point, but answer
 “ therein as kings are wont to do in parliament,

partiality. Indeed, his conduct in this affair
was

“ *le roy s’avisera* ; adding withal, that it smelled very
“ rankly of anabaptism, comparing it to the usage of
“ a beardless boy (one Mr. John *Black*) who the last
“ conference his majesty had with the ministers of
“ Scotland, in Dec. 1602, told him, that he would
“ hold conformity with his majesty’s ordinances for
“ matters of doctrine ; but for matters of ceremony,
“ they were to be left in christian liberty to every man,
“ as he received more and more light from the illumina-
“ tion of God’s spirit, even till they go mad, quoth
“ the king, with their own light. But I will none of
“ that, I will have one doctrine, and one discipline,
“ one religion in substance and in ceremony ; and
“ therefore I charge you never to speak more to that
“ point (how far you are bound to obey) when the
“ church hath ordained it (g).” Afterwards speaking
to the lords and bishops, he said, “ I will tell you, I
“ have lived among this sort of men ever since I was
“ ten years old ; but I may say of myself, as Christ
“ said of himself, though I lived among them, yet, since
“ I had ability to judge, I was never of them (h).”—
thinking by somewhat Dr. *Reynolds* said, that the puri-
tans aimed at a Scotch presbytery, the king observed,
“ that it agreed with a monarchy, as God and the de-
“ vil. Then *Jack* and *Tom*, and *Will* and *Dick* shall
“ meet, added he, and at their pleasure censure me and
“ my council, and all our proceedings. Then *Will*
“ shall stand up and say, it must be thus ; then *Dick*
“ shall reply, and say, nay, marry, but we will have
“ it thus (i).” Afterwards asking if they had any thing
further to object ? and being answered no, he said, “ if
“ this was all, he would make them conform, or would
“ hurry them out of the land, or else do worse (k).”
—This was the behaviour of *James* in this celebrated
conference ; a behaviour contemptible and ridiculous,
and such as must expose him to standers-by.—

What then must we think of archbishop *Whitgift*, who
said

(g) Id. p.
166.

(b) Compare
this with the
notes (M)
and (s)

(i) Id. p. 169.

(k) Id. p. 170.

was such, as has been severely censured on almost all hands (oo), as it well deserved. In

said “that undoubtedly his majesty spake by the special assistance of God’s spirit?” What of bishop *Bancroft*, who on his knee protested “that his heart melted with joy, and made haste to acknowledge unto almighty God, the singular mercy in given them such a king, as, since Christ’s time, the like had not been (l).” Or what of the temporal lords, who (l) Id. p. 174. could applaud his majesty’s speeches as “proceeding from the spirit of God, and from an understanding heart (m).” May we not say, that they knew well (m) Id. p. 170. how to dissemble, and to maintain the character of good courtiers better than of honest men?——*Barlow* thought he had done a great piece of service to *James*, by publishing this conference, but a worse office; in reality, could not have been done him. Posterity, by his account, see *James*’s pedantry; and to see it, is to despise it. The puritans, therefore, needed not to have complained so much as they have done of *Barlow* (n). (n) See Fuller’s church hist. book 10. cent. 17. p. 21. Lond. 1655. Folio. If he has not represented their arguments in as just a light, nor related what was done by the ministers as advantageously as truth required, he has abundantly made it up to them by shewing, that the bishops, their adversaries, were gross flatterers, and had no regard to their sacred characters; and that their mortal foe *James* had but a low understanding, and was undeserving of the rank he assumed in the republic of learning. This he has done effectually, and therefore, whatever was his intention, the puritans should have applauded his performance, and appealed to it for proof of the insufficiency of him who set himself up as a decider of their controversies.

(oo) His conduct was such, as has been severely censured, &c.] I say nothing of the puritans; they were too much parties to be looked on as impartial judges; and *James*’s conduct towards them was such,

In the year 1605, on the fifth day of Nov.
was

as must necessarily give them but a poor opinion of his understanding and justice. Nor will I give the opinion of *Barlow* or *Heylin*: the first had his court to make, the other was a bigot in the greatest degree a man of sense (for such he was) could be; and therefore the judgment of neither of them is much to be regarded. I will give the sentiments of a clergyman, zealous enough for the church; and a statesman, who cannot be thought partial to the puritans, when 'tis known that he most zealously promoted the *occasional conformity*, and *schism bills*.
 “ Had there not been too stiff an adherence (says the
 “ reverend writer) to some few things at this confer-
 “ ence at *Hampton-Court*, which, without danger,
 “ might have been altered, had not the bishops then
 “ had such an ascendant throughout the whole con-
 “ ference over the king, which he was well pleased
 “ withal, having by the contrary party in *Scotland*
 “ been so roughly handled all his time; I say, certainly
 “ that conference had terminated in a great advantage
 “ to the church of *England*; for the puritan party was
 “ not so numerous, nor consequently so strong as after-
 “ wards; nor yet their disaffections so great as they
 “ have been since, a very little and easy condescension
 “ had spoiled the market of the designing men, both
 “ gentry and ministers too (a).”——“ Learning, says
 “ the other writer, was the part upon which *James* va-
 “ lued himself; this he affected more than became a
 “ king, and broached, on every occasion, in such a
 “ manner as would have misbecome a schoolmaster.
 “ His pedantry was too much even for the age in which
 “ he lived. It would be tedious to quote the part he
 “ took in the conference at *Hampton-Court*.——Let us
 “ only observe that the *ridicule* which arose from hence,
 “ and which fixed on him was just, because the merit
 “ of a chief governor is wisely to superintend the
 “ whole, and not to shine in any inferior class, because
 “ different, and in some cases perhaps, opposite talents,
 “ both

(a) A vindication of their majesties wisdom in the nomination to the vacant bishopricks, p. 7. 4to. Lond. 1691.

was that most detestable conspiracy against
the

“ both natural and acquired, are necessary to move, and
 “ to regulate the movements of the *machine* of govern-
 “ *ment*; in short, because as a good *adjutant* may make
 “ a very bad *general*; so a great reader, and a writer
 “ too, may be a very ignorant king (b).” And in an- (b) Old-
 other place the same fine writer observes, “ that in haste castle’s re-
 “ to shew his parts, he had a conference between the marks, p.
 “ bishops and the puritan ministers at *Hampton-Court*, 237.
 “ where he made himself a principal party in the dis-
 “ pute.—But surely such a conference, however it
 “ might frighten and silence, could neither instruct nor
 “ persuade, and the king was so far from trusting, like
 “ his predecessor, to the *force of truth and aid of time*,
 “ that in this very conference he threatned to employ
 “ another kind of force, if he did not meet with
 “ compliance in a time to be limited. The bishops
 “ were at first to admonish paternally, and to confer a-
 “ micably; but lest they should not succeed by preach-
 “ ing, writing, living men into conformity, (the sole
 “ means they ought to desire, or, if they desired o-
 “ thers, the sole means they ought to be suffered to em-
 “ ploy) they were to have recourse to compulsion after-
 “ wards.—On these principles he proceeded, and the
 “ consequence of this conduct was, that those *sects*
 “ who were not dangerous at first, became so at last.
 “ They became so, in some degree, from the very mo-
 “ ment the declarations we have mentioned were made;
 “ for nothing is found more true in nature and experi-
 “ ence than this, that they who are oppressed by go-
 “ vernments, will endeavour to change them; and
 “ that he who makes himself terrible to multitudes,
 “ will have multitudes to fear (c).” —“ If those of (c) Id. p.
 “ them [the puritans] who were friends to order, had 278, 279.
 “ been once incorporated with the *established church*,
 “ the remaining *sectaries* would have been but of little
 “ moment, either for numbers or reputation; and the
 “ very means which were proper to gain these, were
 “ likewise

the protestant religion, known by the name of the powder plot discovered; which, tho' disowned

“ likewise the most effectual to hinder the increase of
 “ *them*, and of the other *sectaries* in the mean time.
 “ Upon the whole matter we think it plain, that king
 “ *James* I. had an easy and secure opportunity of pre-
 “ venting any bad consequences, which might be ap-
 “ prehended from the divisions of his protestant sub-
 “ jects; and that the improvement of that opportunity
 “ consisted in giving neither alarm to the *well affected*,
 (d) *Id.* p. 217. “ nor pretence to the factious (d).” That the reader
 may the better be able to judge of the justness of these
 censures, I will add what was requested by the puritans
 at this conference: and this was,

1. That the doctrine of the church might be preserv-
 ed in purity, according to God's word.

2. That good pastors might be planted in all churches
 to preach the same.

3. That church government might be sincerely mi-
 nistred, according to God's word.

(e) Barlow,
 P. 149. 4. That the book of Common Prayer might be fitted
 to more increase of piety (e). This was all that was
 asked, and one would have thought, as the difference
 in doctrine was little, that it had been a very easy mat-
 ter to have reconciled things. But *James's* hatred of
 the puritans, the stiffness of the bishops, and their un-
 willingness to own any thing in the constitution of the
 hierarchy to be wrong, though seen to be such by all
 indifferent observers, hindered a coalition of parties,
 and produced the troubles and persecutions of a great
 number of honest, well-meaning men. May the same
 temper never again prevail! but may it be the ambition
 of princes and prelates, to reform whatever is amiss in
 the church; that it may be so pure and spotless that e-
 very honest and sincere christian may be looked on as a
 member of it, and entitled to all its privileges. Then
 will our church indeed be the bulwark of the reforma-
 tion, the glory of the nation, the promoter of truth
 and

disowned and disbelieved by many, yet cannot, I think, reasonably be (PP) doubted of. Every body knows, that in consequence of

and virtue. Infidelity will fail; schism and heresy, those ecclesiastical scarecrows (*f*), be no more heard of among us, but peace, unity, and love flourish and prevail among all those who profess the religion of the meek and holy *Jesus*.

(*f*) See Hales of Schism.

(PP) The powder plot—cannot, I think, reasonably be doubted of.] The history of this is so well known, that 'tis needless to relate it in this place. I will only observe, that the writers of the narratives of this affair, pay a compliment to *James's* understanding at the expence of truth; for it was not *he* that guessed from the expression in the letter to lord *Monteagle*, “ that they should receive a terrible blow this parliament, and yet they should not see who hurts them.” I say, it was not he who guessed that it should be some sudden danger by blowing up of powder, but the earl of *Suffolk*, lord chamberlain, and the earl of *Salisbury*, as the latter himself relates in a letter to Sir Charles *Cornwallis*, dated Nov. 9, 1605. (a) However, the writers on this subject are excusable, having authority to rely on. For such was the flattery of *James's* courtiers, that they got it inserted into the preamble of the act for a public thanksgiving to almighty God, every year on the fifth of November, that “ the conspiracy would have “ turned to the utter ruin of this whole kingdom, had “ it not pleased almighty God, by inspiring the king’s “ most excellent majesty with a divine spirit, to interpret some dark phrases of a letter shewed to his majesty, above and beyond all ordinary construction, “ thereby miraculously discovering this hidden treason.” This appears to be gross flattery, and 'tis amazing how any man, who knew it to be such, could thus publicly receive it, much more the most great, learned, and religious king that ever reigned in this kingdom, as in the

(a) Winwood, Vol. II, p. 171.

of the discovery, several of the chief conspirators were executed, and an annual thanksgiving ordained. And in order the better

the said preamble *James* is filed. But the drawers of this act, I dare say, knew his taste, and were willing to gratify it, though thereby they exposed him to the laughter of those who were in the secret, as great numbers must have been. However, by the way, it ought never to be permitted to recite falsehoods for truths in statutes; for these being enacted by the highest authority, the facts in them declared should be strictly true; otherwise whatever obedience may be yielded, the enactors will have little esteem or regard from the people, to whom the dealers in untruths seldom appear in an amiable light.—'Tis well known, that many of the papists then and now have denied the fact, and imputed the whole of the affair to the artifice of *Salisbury*; and we are told, that others of opposite principles have confidently asserted, “ that there never was any such thing
 “ really as the gunpowder plot, but that it was a plot
 “ of king *James's* contriving, to endear himself unto
 “ the people (*b*).” But whether this is not all idle talk will appear, if we consider a few confessions of Roman catholics themselves. That worthy good-natured man, Dr. *Tillotson*, speaking of this horrid affair, says, “ Sir
 “ *Everard Digby*, whose very original papers and letters are now in my hands, after he was in prison, and knew he must suffer, calls it the *best cause*; and was extremely troubled to hear it censured by catholics and priests, contrary to his expectation, for a great sin. Let me tell you (says he) what a grief it is, to hear *that* so much condemned which I did believe would have been otherwise thought of by catholics. And yet he concludes that letter in these words: in how full of joy should I die, if I could do any thing for the cause which I love more than my life. And in another letter he says, he could have said something to have mitigated the odium of
 “ this

(*b*) Casaubon of credulity and incredulity, Vol. I. p. 202. 8vo. Lond. 1668.

better to secure the obedience of the catho-
 lics, the oath of allegiance (a), by authority
 of parliament, was enacted, whereby the
 power

(a) Stat. an-
 no tertio Ja-
 cobi regis, c.
 4. sect. 15.

“ this business, as to that point of involving those of
 “ his own religion in the common ruin. I dare not,
 “ says he, take that course that I could, to make it ap-
 “ pear less odious; for divers were to have been brought
 “ out of danger, who now would rather hurt them
 “ than otherwise. I do not think that there would
 “ have been three worth the saving, that should have
 “ been lost. And as to the rest that were to have been
 “ swallowed up in that destruction, he seems not to
 “ have the least relenting in his mind about them (c).”

Dr. Burnet tells us, he had the same papers in his pos-
 session, and gives the like account from them (d).—

(c) Tillot-
 son's sermon
 before the
 house of
 commons,
 Nov. 5. 1678.
 (d) Burnet,
 Vol. I. p. 10.

But to put the matter beyond all dispute, I will give
 part of a speech of lord *Stafford*, at the bar of the
 house of lords, Dec. 1, 1680. which, as far as I know,
 has never been quoted by any writer. Every body al-
 most knows that this unfortunate nobleman was strong-
 ly attached to the Romish religion; and that upon the
 evidence of those times he was convicted and executed
 for the popish plot. It may well enough therefore be
 supposed, that he would not blacken his own side on
 this occasion, or endeavour to render his prosecutors
 more apprehensive of the enterprising spirit of the ca-
 tholics, than the truth compelled him to do. His evi-
 dence therefore being unexceptionable, let us attend
 unto it. “ My lords, said he, I have heard very much
 “ of a thing that was named by these gentlemen of the
 “ house of commons, and that very properly too, to
 “ wit, of the gunpowder treason. My lords, I was
 “ not born then, but some years after heard very much
 “ discourse of it, and very various reports; and I
 “ made a particular enquiry, perhaps more than any one
 “ person did else, both of my father, who was alive
 “ then, and my uncle, and others; and I am satisfied,
 “ and do clearly believe, by the evidence I have receiv-

“ ed,

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power of the pope to depose the king, or dispose of any of his majesty's dominions, was to be disowned, and true faith and allegiance

“ ed, that that thing called the gunpowder treason,
 “ was a wicked and horrid design (among the rest) of
 “ some of the jesuits, and I think the malice of the
 “ jesuits, or the wit of man, cannot offer an excuse
 “ for it, it was so execrable a thing. Besides, my
 “ lords, I was acquainted with one of them that was
 “ concerned in it, who had his pardon, and lived ma-
 “ ny years after: I discoursed with him about it, and
 “ he confessed it, and said, he was sorry for it then;
 “ and I here declare to your lordships, that I never
 “ heard any one of the church of Rome speak a good
 “ word of it: it was so horrid a thing it cannot be ex-
 “ pressed nor excused. And God almighty shewed his
 “ judgments upon them for their wickedness; for
 “ hardly any of the persons or their posterity are left
 “ that were concerned in it; and even a very great fa-
 “ mily too [*Peircy, earl of Northumberland, I suppose*]
 “ that had collaterally something to do in it, is in the
 “ male line extinct totally; and I do think God al-
 “ mighty always shews his judgments upon such vile
 “ actions (e).” What will any one say to this? needs
 there any further witnesses, when a popish lord declares
 the thing to be fact, and that he himself was acquaint-
 ed with one concerned in it, who confessed it? must
 not those be past conviction who will still dispute it, or
 obstinately deny it? I will add, that it appears from
 Dr. *Birch's* view of the negotiations between England,
 France, and Bruffels, that many catholics abroad were
 acquainted with it, and that the English regiment in the
 arch-duke's service, was designed to be transported upon
 the execution of it (f). Indeed, says Sir Thomas *Edmonds*,
 ambassador with the arch-duke, in a letter to Sir Charles
Cornwallis, dated Dec. 27, 1605, O. S. “ It was long
 “ 'ere I could persuade them here to believe the truth
 “ of the said conspiracy, because the catholiques were
 “ interested

(e) Lord
 Stafford's
 trial, p. 53.
 Lond.
 1680-1. Fol.

(f) See
 Birch's ne-
 gotiations,
 p. 235, 256.

legiance to him promised, notwithstanding any excommunication or deprivation made by the pope. This oath the catholics, for the most part, complied with, as thinking it lawful, and among the rest the arch-priest
Black-

“ interested therein ; but sometimes they would have it
 “ to be an artifice of the puritans against those sancti-
 “ fied persons, and then a design of the Hollanders
 “ (which are enemies to monarchy) to have reduced
 “ our estate to the same condition as theirs is of a com-
 “ monwealth. But now lastly, when they see they can
 “ no longer dispute the doubtfulness and uncertaintie
 “ thereof, they report to this consideration, that it is a
 “ work of the devil’s, expressly to banish and extirpate
 “ the catholique religion out of England. For my own
 “ part, adds he, I will freely confess, that I do effectu-
 “ ally desire (whatsoever judgment they make thereof)
 “ that we make that use of it, as we have just cause so
 “ to do (g).” These things considered, I believe the (g) Win-
 reader will think with Dr. Birch, “ that the papists of wood, Vol.
 “ later times afford an instance of amazing scepticism, II. p. 183.
 “ and equal assurance, who affect, without the least
 “ shadow of probability, to represent so complicated
 “ and deep laid a conspiracy, as a meer ministerial and
 “ political contrivance, formed by the earl of *Salisbury*,
 “ for the disgrace and ruin of the *Roman* catholic re-
 “ ligion in England (b).” However though their scep- (b) Negoti-
 ticism ations, p.
 255. *

* *Calendarium Catholicum*, for the year 1686. Among the memorable observations is the following.

Since the horrid powder plot, suspected to be politickly contrived }
 by *Cecil*, but known to be acted by a few desperadoes of a religion } years
 that detests such treasons, though ambition and discontent made } 0081
 them traytors.

Consult bishop Barlow’s genuine remains, p. 388. Lond. 1693. 8vo. where is a censure of a passage of a like nature in the *Calendarium Catholicum*, or *Universal Almanack* for the year 1662, which the bishop says, was writ by a man of some parts and quality.

Blackwell. At this the pope was alarmed, and on the 10th of the kalends of October 1606. issued out a brief, forbidding the taking the oath; but the catholics apprehending it a forgery, payed little regard to it, whereupon the next year his holiness sent them another (QQ), in which he plainly told them, that

ticism and assurance are thus amazing, yet it is not to be wondred at, that they are unwilling to avow a fact, which admitted, must cast the greatest odium on a church whose ministers not only counselled it, but were actors in it; and though by the judgment of their country pronounced conspirators and traytors, and as such treated; yet have been deemed by her infallible self, saints and martyrs, and reckoned among their miracle-workers (i). A proof this, that zeal for mother church will sanctify the greatest villanies, and raise men to the highest honours, though ever so unworthy. May all men have in abhorrence this spirit! may they guard against all attempts to revive it, and look upon it as their greatest happiness, that they are not under the rule of those, who are actuated by it.

(i) See Ofborn, p. 485. Fuller's church hist. cent. 17. book 10. p. 40. and Winwood, Vol. II, p. 300. *

(QQ) His holiness sent them another brief, &c.] In his first brief the pope [Paul V.] tells the English catholics, "that the *oath of allegiance* could not be taken " without hurting the catholic faith, and the salvation " of

* Monsieur S. *Amour* tells us, that among the several pourtraits of Jesuits, publickly sold at Rome with permission of the superiour, he saw one of *Garnet*, with this inscription, Peter Henricus Garnettus Anglus, Londini pro fide catholicâ suspensus & sectus, 3 Maii 1606. Father Henry *Garnet* hanged and quartered at London, for the catholic faith; by which we see that treason and catholic faith are all one at *Rome*; for nothing can be more notorious, than that *Garnet* suffered only on the account of the gunpowder treason, of which, as M. S. *Amour* observes, he acknowledged himself guilty before he died. *Stillington's idolotry of the church of Rome*, p. 345. 8vo. Lond. 1676.

that they were bound fully to observe the things contained in the former, and to reject all interpretations persuading to the contrary.

Bellar-

“ of their souls, seeing it contains many things flat
 “ contrary to faith and salvation; and therefore he ad-
 “ monishes them utterly to abstain from taking this and
 “ the like oaths (a).” Mr. *Rapin* therefore should have
 said, that the pope in this first brief, plainly told the
 catholics, “ if they took the oath they forfeited all hopes
 “ of salvation (b): I say, he should have said this of the
 first, and not the second brief, as he has done; though
 forfeiting all hopes of salvation, is very different, in my
 opinion, from hurting the salvation of their souls, which
 are the words of the brief.—But his holiness’s com-
 mands were not obeyed. The catholics pretended that
 “ his brief was issued not of his own proper will, but
 “ rather for the respect and instigation of other men.”
 This he assures them was false in his second brief, dated
 the 10th of the Calends of Sept. 1607. and lets them
 know “ that his former letters concerning the prohibi-
 “ tion of the oath, were written not only upon his
 “ own proper motion, and of his certain knowledge,
 “ but also after long and weighty deliberation used con-
 “ cerning all those things which were contained in
 “ them; and that for that cause they were bound fully
 “ to observe them, rejecting all interpretation per-
 “ suading to the contrary (c).” Strange sort of mor-
 tals these popes! who pretending to be vicars of *Jesus*
Christ, who owned his kingdom was not of this world,
 intrude into the affairs of foreign nations, and prescribe
 laws to the subjects of them. This *Paul V.* was pos-
 sessed of the true spirit of *Hildebrand*. He laid the Ve-
 netians under an interdict, raised *Ignatius Loyola* to be a
 saint, and talked and acted in such a manner, as if he
 had indeed thought himself superior to all that “ is cal-
 “ led God, or is worshipped.” And had he happened
 to have lived in those ages, when the spirit of croisading
 for the sake of what was called religion, prevailed, I

(a) King
 James's
 works, p.
 251.

(b) Rapin,
 Vol. II. p.
 174.

(c) King
 James's
 works, p.
 258.

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Bellarmino also writ a letter to *Blackwell*, against the oath, and exhorted him to repair the fault he had committed, by taking of it, even though (RR) death should be the consequence.

doubt not but he would have made as vile work as the worst, and most enterprizing of his predecessors. But the times in which he lived permitted him not to act agreeably to his wishes. Princes had more wisdom than to become his dupes, and excommunications were of little significancy, for learning and good sense now began to prevail, and where these are, ecclesiastical authority will be little regarded. However, this pope, we see, talked big; his briefs have an air of authority, and he did what in him lay to dispose the English catholics to behave contrary to their own interest and the laws of their country, and consequently to keep up a party dependent on himself, and subservient to his will, a thing of the worst consequence, and therefore loudly complained of by *James*, as we shall soon see.

(RR) *Bellarmino* also writ a letter to *Blackwell* against the oath, &c.] This letter begins with remembering *Blackwell* of the long friendship that had been between them; expresses his grief for *Blackwell's* sufferings; but more especially for his having, as it was feared, taken the oath, which he says tends to this end, that the authority of the head of the church in England may be transferred from the successor of St. *Peter* to the successor of king *Henry VIII*. He declares that for this one head of doctrine, *Fisher* and *More* led the way to martyrdom to many others, to the exceeding glory of the English nation. And then he concludes with desiring him “not to prefer a temporal liberty to the liberty of
 “the glory of the sons of God: neither for escaping a
 “light and momentary tribulation, lose an eternal
 “weight of glory, which tribulation itself doth work
 “in you. You have fought a good fight a long time;
 “you

quence. Hereupon *James* drew his pen, and published his apology for the oath of allegiance,

“ have well near finished your course ; so many years
 “ have you kept the faith ; do not therefore lose the re-
 “ ward of such labours ; do not deprive yourself of that
 “ crown of righteousness, which so long ago is prepa-
 “ red for you ; do not make the faces of so many yours
 “ both brethren and children, ashamed ; upon you at
 “ this time are fixed the eyes of all the church ; yea also
 “ you are made a spectacle to the world, to angels, to
 “ men ; do not so carry yourself in this your last act, that
 “ you leave nothing but laments to your friends, and
 “ joy to your enemies : but rather on the contrary,
 “ which we assuredly hope, and for which we conti-
 “ nually pour forth prayers to God, display gloriously
 “ the banner of faith, and make to rejoice the church,
 “ which you have made heavy ; so shall you not only
 “ merit pardon at God’s hands, but a crown. Fare-
 “ wel ; quit you like a man, and let your heart be
 “ strengthened. This letter is dated from Rome, Sept.
 “ 28, 1607 (a).” *Bellarmino* mistook the sense of the
 oath about which he writes, as we shall see by *James’s*
 answer. But not to insist on this, for the present, I
 would ask whether there is not something very odd in
 this persuading men to undergo martyrdom, when we
 ourselves are in ease, and like to continue so ? does it
 come with a good grace from the mouth of a rich car-
 dinal, who had aspired to the papacy, and even now
 enjoyed the greatest plenty of all things. When we see
 men under sufferings, triumph and rejoice in them, and
 contentedly bear them themselves, and exhort others to
 do so likewise, their exhortations will have great force
 and efficacy ; their propriety is seen and acknowledged,
 and all virtuous men are edified. But to persuade others
 to submit to what we ourselves are strangers to, and
 which, probably, we should shrink at the undergoing,
 is not quite so well in the eyes of the world. But *Bel-
 larmine* was at a distance ; *Blackwell’s* reproaches could

(a) King
 James’s
 works, p.
 261.

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ance against the two briefs of pope *Paulus Quintus* (ss), and the letter of cardinal *Bel-larmine*

not have made him blush; and so the authority of the pope was maintained, it mattered not who suffered. Modest man! good friend! happy for him to whom he writ, that he knew what was right, and for his own interest, or else probably tribulation would have been his portion.—One would be apt to wonder how it comes to pass, that those men who were so forward to send others on dangerous expeditions, to promote the interest of the church, and make men profelytes among infidels and heretics, and encourage them so much with the prospects of the highest rewards hereafter: I say one would be apt to wonder why hardly any of these persons ever set out on these expeditions themselves, and strive to obtain those glorious crowns they set before the eyes of others. We see they chuse themselves that part of the vineyard where is the richest soil, and the least work to be done. In this they take their ease, and enjoy themselves comfortably, and never change unless it be for the better. What are we to conclude from hence? do not they believe what they teach to others? are they disposed to procure their own advantage by the sweat, labour, and blood of the honest, the simple, the credulous? the unbelieving race would say so; and those who belong not to that tribe of men, would yet be glad to know how, on this head, to confute them.

(ss) *James* published his apology for the oath of allegiance against the two briefs, &c.] Take the following account of the occasion of this apology from bishop *Mountague*, *James's* preface. “ After the pope had put
 “ forth his briefs, and the cardinal had sent his letters to
 “ the arch-priest; the one to enjoin the people not to
 “ take the oath of allegiance, affirming that they could
 “ not take it with safety of their salvation: the other
 “ to reprove the arch-priest for that he had taken it, and
 “ to

larmine to G. Blackwell the arch-priest.
 Though

“ to draw him to a penitency for so foul a lapse. His
 “ majesty, like as became a prudent and religious prince,
 “ thought it not meet, that these things should pass for
 “ current, but that it was expedient his people should
 “ know, that the taking this oath was so far from en-
 “ dangering their souls, as that it intended nothing but
 “ civil obedience, and without touching any point of
 “ their conscience, made the state secure of their alle-
 “ giance. To perform this work, his majesty thought
 “ the bishop of *Winchester* * [Dr. *Bilson*, if I rightly
 “ remember] that then was, a very fit man, both for his
 “ singular learning, as for that he had long laboured in
 “ an argument, not much of a diverse nature from
 “ this; whereupon his majesty calling for pen and ink,
 “ to give my lord of *Winchester* directions how and in
 “ what manner to proceed in this argument, I know
 “ not how it came to pass, but it fell out true that the
 “ poet saith,

“ ————— *Amphora cœpit*
 “ *Institui, currente rota, post urceus exit.*

“ for the king’s pen ran so fast, that in the compass of
 “ six days, his majesty had accomplished that which
 “ he now calleth his apology; which when my lord of
 “ *Canterbury* [*Bancroft*] that then was, and my lord of
 “ *Ely* [*Andrews*] had perused, being indeed delivered by
 “ his majesty but as brief notes, and in the nature of a

H 3

“ minute

* This bishop was Dr. T. *Bilson*, who was advanced to that see in 1597, and died in 1616. The book of his referred to by bishop *Montague*, was probably that printed at Oxford 1585. in 4to, and intitled, *The true difference betweene christian subjection and anticristian rebellion; wherein the princes lawfull power and command for trueth, and indeprivable right to beare the sword are defended against the pope’s censures, and the jesuits sophismes uttered in their apologie and defence of English catholikes with a demonstration, that the things reformed in the church of England by the lawes of this realme are truly catholike, notwithstanding the vaine shew made to the contrary in their late Rhemish Testament, by Thomas Bilson, warden of Winchester.* Perused and allowed by publike authoritie.

Though *James* had not set his name to this
piece,

“ minute to be explicated by the bishops in a larger vo-
“ lume; yet they thought it so sufficient an answer
“ both to the pope and cardinal, as there needed no o-
“ ther. Whereupon his majesty was persuaded to give
“ way to the coming of it forth, but was pleased to
“ conceal his name; and so have we the apology be-
“ yond his majesty’s own purpose or determination (a).”

(a) Prefaceto
king James’s
works.

The reader is welcome to believe as much or as little of
all this as he pleases. For my own part, I doubt not,
but *James* was well enough pleased to engage in a con-
troversy in which he was almost sure of success. For
the pope, with all his infallibility, had urged nothing
material against the oath of allegiance, and the cardinal
had quite mistook the sense of it; as every one upon
comparing the briefs of the one, and the letter of the
other with the oath, will plainly see, as *James* in this
piece has fully shewn. Indeed all objections of the
latter are pointed against the oath of supremacy, which
is a very different thing from the oath of allegiance. In
this piece *James*, after mentioning the powder plot,
takes notice of the intention of the oath, which he
says, “ was specially to make a separation between so
“ many of his subjects, who although popishly affect-
“ ed, yet retained in their hearts the prints of their
“ natural duty to their sovereign; and those who being
“ carried away with the like fanatical zeal that the
“ powder-traytors were, could not contain themselves
“ within the bounds of their natural allegiance, but
“ thought diversity of religion a safe pretext for all
“ kinds of treasons and rebellions against their sove-
“ reign (b).” He then mentions the good effects the
oath had produced; the mischiefs of the pope’s briefs;
the incivility of the pope in condemning him unheard;
and after that proceeds to a formal examination of them.
In this part of his work he sets forth his great favour
to the catholics, in admitting them to his presence,
dubbing many of them knights, freeing recusants from
their

(b) King
James’s
works, p.
248.

piece, no one doubted but he was the author of it. It remained not long without replies (TT), containing such things as highly

their ordinary payments, and bestowing favours and honours equally on them with the protestants. He then formally enters into the discussion of the pope's briefs, and by scripture, fathers, and councils, attempts to confute them. He proceeds to attack *Bellarmino*; and shews that he had mistook the oath of supremacy for the oath of allegiance, and on this mistake had proceeded in his letter to *Blackwell*. He asserts the oath of allegiance to be confirmed by the authority of antient councils; shews that no decision of any point of religion is contained in it; that *Bellarmino* had contradicted his former writings; and that his authorities from the fathers were insufficient. This is the substance of this apology, in which, though there is nothing in it of great merit, we may justly say *James* came off conqueror. However, we may remark, that though his favours to the catholics might manifest them guilty of ingratitude towards him, yet could they be no great recommendation of him to his protestant subjects. They shewed an indifferency with respect to the two religions, which, I suppose, was not so well digested by them. But *James* was not one of those who foresaw consequences. What made for his present purpose he caught hold of, without reflecting that one day or other it might be made to serve against himself, An imprudence which controvertists frequently are guilty of. The least shadow of an argument they make use of; weaken, or endeavour to invalidate the most important doctrines which at any time stand in their way; and blab out those things which it is most their interest to conceal, and which hereafter they bitterly repent of, when they find the uses made of them by able or artful opponents.

(TT) It remained not long without replies, containing such things as highly displeased him.] Tho' *James's*

ly displeas'd him. Whereupon he writ his
pre-

name was not prefixed to the first edition of his apology, yet he made presents of it to the foreign embassadors in his own name, and his arms were put in the frontispiece thereof, as himself tells us (a). This was sufficient to put the author out of doubt. But notwithstanding his adversaries treated him without ceremony. The famous Robert *Parsons* began the attack, in a book called the Judgment of a Catholic Gentleman, concerning king James's apology for the oath of allegiance.

(a) Works,
p. 290.

(b) Wood's
Arhenæ Ox-
onienses,
Vol. I. c.
362.

(c) King
James's
works, p.
294.

Qu. S. Omers, 1608. (b) — *Bellarmino* continued it, under the feigned name of *Mattheus Tortus*, and gave his majesty the lye in exprefs terms, and seven times charged him with falshood, which was thought by him equivalent to a lye (c). The king is here told, that pope *Clement* thought him to be inclined to their religion; that he was a puritan in Scotland, and a persecutor of the protestants; that he was a heretic and no christian. His majesty was also let know, “ that some
“ of his officers of estate put the pope and cardinals in
“ hope that he would profess himself a catholic, when
“ he came to the crown of England; yea, that he him-
“ self had written letters full of courtesie to the two
“ cardinals *Aldo-brandino* and *Bellarmino*, wherein he

(d) Calder-
wood, p. 605.
See the let-
ter itself in
the same
writer, p.
427. It is
addressed to
the pope;
but there are
instructions
afterwards
added, for
applying to
the cardinals.
See also
Rushworth,
Vol. I. p. 162.

“ craved, that one of the Scottish nation might be cre-
“ ated cardinal; that by him, as an agent, he might
“ the more easily and safely do his business with the
“ pope (d) ” — This must have vexed *James* pretty
much, I suppose, as the reader, by comparing what is
contained in notes (H) and (N), will be apt to think
there was some truth in it. A third answerer of this a-
pology was *Francis Suanex*, well known in the learned
world. Sir *Henry Saville*, whose edition of *St. Chry-*
soptom has perpetuated his fame, being prevailed on, I
know not by what motive, to help translate *James's* book
into Latin; it soon got to Rome; from thence *Suanex*
was commanded to answer it, who performing his task,
it was published, and as soon as the copies came into
England,

premonition (UU) to all most mighty monarchs,

England, one of them was burnt (e).——Nicolaus ^(e) Wood, *Cœffetau*, bishop of *Dardanie*, preacher to *Henry IV.* Vol. I. c. 458. of France, answered *James*, as is said, very moderately and modestly. “But the king was nothing pleased with his fawning, nor took it in better part than if (as he said) he should have bid a t—d in his teeth, and then cry Sir reverence (f).” Let us observe here by the way, a mistake of Mr. *Perrault*, in speaking of *Cœffeteau*, says he, “the king (*Henry the great*) committed to him, at the sollicitation of *Perron*, the answering of the king of England’s book on the eucharist, which he did with a great deal of cogency.” ^(f) Winwood, Vol. III. p. 117.

(g) Now *James* never writ on the eucharist. The book *Cœffeteau* answered, was his apology; consequently *Perrault* is mistaken. Nor can I persuade myself he speaks truly, when he says, the then French king committed to him the answering *James’s* book. The doctrine contained in it could not be displeasing to *Henry*, and I believe he would have been sorry it should have been subverted. I know of no more answers to *James’s* apology; and whether I am as exact as I should be in my account of these, I cannot well determine; being far removed from libraries, from which help might be expected (b). ^(g) Characters historical and penegyrical, Vol. II. p. 11. 8vo. Lond. 1705.

(b) Vid. Appendix.

(UU) Whereupon he writ his premonition to all most mighty monarchs, &c.] “After the apology was out, says Dr. *Mountague*, his majesty divers times would be pleased to utter a resolution of his, that if the pope and cardinal would not rest in his answer, and fit down by it, take the oath as it was intended for a point of allegiance and civil obedience, he would publish the apology in his own name, with a preface to all the princes in Christendom; wherein he would publish such a confession of his faith, persuade the princes so to vindicate their own power, discover so much of the mystery of iniquity unto them, as the “ pope’s

narchs, kings, free princes, and states of Christen-

(a) Preface to James's works.

(b) James's works, p. 288.

(c) *Id.* p. 289.

(d) *Id.* p. 293.

“ pope’s *bulls* should pull in their horns, and himself
 “ wish he had never meddled with this matter. The
 “ cardinal contending against the apology, his majesty
 “ confirmed his resolution, and with the like celerity in
 “ the compass of one week, wrote his monitory pre-
 “ face; and being so written, published it and the apo-
 “ logy in his own name, and made good his word, sent
 “ it to the emperor, and all the kings and free princes
 “ in Christendom (a).” Great dispatch this! but as we
 have a bishop’s word for it, we cannot refuse to sub-
 scribe to the truth of it. In his dedication to the em-
 peror *Rodolph II.* and the princes and states of Christen-
 dom, he styles himself professor, maintainer, and de-
 fender of the true, christian, catholic, and apostolic
 faith, professed by the antient and primitive church,
 and sealed with the blood of so many holy bishops, and
 other faithful crowned with the glory of martyrdom (b).
 —He then in a particular manner addresses himself
 unto them, and tells them, “ that the cause in which
 “ he is engaged is general, and concerneth the autho-
 “ rity and privilege of kings in general, and all su-
 “ per-eminent temporal powers (c).” He proceeds to
 give reasons for printing the apology without his name;
 shews why he thought now proper to avow it, and
 goes on to shew the occasion of it. He lets them know,
 that the publishing his book had brought such two an-
 swerers, or rather railers, upon him, as all the world
 might wonder at. He then falls foul on *Parsons*, for
 whom he says a rope is the fittest answer; and proceeds
 to *Mattheus Tortus*, who called himself *Bellarmino’s*
 chaplain. “ An obscure author, says he, utterly un-
 “ known to me, being yet little known to the world
 “ for any other of his works; and therefore must be a
 “ very desperate fellow in beginning his *apprentisage*,
 “ not only to refute, but to rail upon a king (d).” One
 would think by this *James* knew not that in the repub-
 lic of letters no man holds any other rank than what he
 can

Christendom, published it, and the apology
in

can procure by his own industry and abilities. For which reason if the greatest prince commences a member of it, he is to expect, in justice, no other regard than what his fellow-members shall judge he really merits. If he would not be treated like an author, he should not commence author. The moment he acts publicly in that character, he is liable to be refuted, ridiculed, or exposed; nor has he any body but himself to thank for it. —But let us go on with our subject. *James*, from some passages, concludes that *Bellarmino* was his real answerer, under the feigned name of *Tortus*, and as such he speaks of him. After mentioning the epithets bestowed on himself by his answerer, he asks the princes whether this be mannerly dealing with a king? and he doubts not but that they will resent such indignities done to one of their quality. He then shews the insufficiency of the cardinal's reply to his apology, aggravates the power he gives to the popes, shews that they formerly were in subjection to christian emperors, and that their assent was necessary to their elections, and that they had been deposed by them. Kings also, he says, have denied the temporal superiority of the popes, more especially his own predecessors. Apostate he shews he is none, and heretic that he cannot be, as believing all the three creeds, and as “acknowledging for orthodox all “those other forms of creeds, that either were devised “by councils or particular fathers, against such particular “heresies as most reigned in their times (e).” He then (e) Works, gives a long-winded confession of faith, with reasons, p. 302. such as they are, of his belief; and afterwards spends no less than twenty folio pages on the subject of *Antichrist*, which he thus concludes, “Thus has the cardinals shameless wresting two of those places of scripture, *pasce oves meas, & tibi dabo claves*, for proving “the pope's temporal authority over princes, animated me “to prove the pope to be the antichrist out of the book “of scripture; so to pay him his own money again. And “this

in his own name, and sent it to the emperor,
and

(f) Works,
p. 328.

“ this opinion no pope can ever make me to recant,
“ except they first renounce any farther meddling with
“ princes, in any thing belonging to their temporal ju-
“ risdiction (f).” Returning then to *Bellarmino's* re-
ply, he complains loudly of the lies contained in it, and
of the ill manners wherewith it abounds; and after a
great deal of heavy stuff about the powder-plot, oath of
allegiance, the villany of *Garnet*, &c. he addresseth him-
self to the kings and princes, and prays God that he and
they may not suffer the incroaching Babylonian mo-
narch to gain ground upon them. It is very remark-
able, that in this answer to *Bellarmino*, contained in the
premonition, *James* takes not the least notice of the ac-
count given by him of his having formerly written to
the pope, and begged a cardinal's hat for one of his
subjects, in order that through him he might be the
more able to advance his affairs in the court of Rome.
This, I say, is remarkable, and argues in *James* a con-
viction of the truth of what was alledged against him.
Indeed, with no face could he pretend to deny it; for
'twas well known to his own and foreign ministers, that
his ambassador at the French court had frequently solli-
cited it, and thereby had reflected on his honour and
judgment (g); and that he himself had negotiated with
the pope by means of cardinal *Aldo-brandini*, in order,
as was thought, to his becoming catholic (h). He had
not the face therefore to deny, in a work address'd to
foreigners, a fact which could so easily have been made
good against him. However, in order to amuse his own
subjects, he pretended the letter written to the pope,
produced in this controversy, was surreptitiously ob-
tained by lord *Balmerino*; and accordingly that lord,
following the direction in all things of lord *Dunbar* (i),
after having confessed that he himself drew the letter
without his majesty's knowledge or consent, and got
him ignorantly to sign it, had sentence of death pass'd
on him for this his action. No doubt of it, *James*
thought

(g) Win-
wood's me-
morials,
Vol. I. p.
388.

(h) Birch's
negotiations,
p. 38.

(i) See Cal-
derwood, p.
604. and
Spotswood,
p. 507.

and princes, to whom it was addressed. The prefacer of his majesty's works tells us of the great effects produced by this premonition (xx), but, if we deal impartially, we must

thought hereby to have cleared himself in the eyes of his subjects of all correspondence with the pope. "But when *Balmerino* was presently pardoned, and, after a short confinement, restored to his liberty: all men says *Burnet*, believed that the king knew of the letter, and that the pretended confession of the secretary was only collusion to lay the jealousies of the king's favouring popery, which still hung upon him, notwithstanding his writing on the Revelations, and his affecting to enter on all occasions into controversy, asserting in particular that the pope was anti-christ (k)."——So that his artifice was of no avail, the covering was too thin; and all who had eyes must see that there was but too much truth in what had been said concerning him. Such are the effects of dissimulation! whereas honesty, integrity, and fair-dealing, appear openly and above-board, and always on examination are honourable to those by whom they are practised, and generally profitable.

(k) Burnet,
Vol. I. p. 6.

(xx) The prefacer to his majesty's works tells us of the great effects produced by this premonition.] He observes, "that upon the coming forth of that book, there were no states that disavowed the doctrine of it in the point of the king's power; and the *Venetians* maintained it in their writings, and put it in execution; the *Sorbons* maintained it likewise in France."

2dly, "That their own writers that opposed it, so overlashed, as they were corrected and castigated by men of their own religion."

3dly,

must acknowledge that it met but with a
very

3dly, “ That his majesty’s confession of faith had been so generally approved, as that it had converted many of their party; and that had it not been for the treatise of antichrist, he had been informed many more would easily have been induced to subscribe to all in that preface.”

4thly, “ That kings and princes had by his majesty’s premonition a more clear insight, and a more perfect discovery, into the injury offered to them by the pope in the point of their temporal power, than ever they had, insomuch as that point was never so thoroughly disputed in Christendom, as it had been by the occasion of his majesty’s book.”

Lastly, “ That for the point of antichrist, he had heard many confess, that they never saw so much light given into it, as they had done by this performance.” So that, adds he, “ though controversies be fitter subjects for scholars ordinarily, than for kings, yet when there was such a necessity in undertaking, and such a success being performed, I leave it to the world to judge, whether there was not a special hand in it of God or no (a).”

(a) Preface
to James’s
works.

And I will leave the world to judge of the gross flattery, not to say impiety, of this prelate in talking after this rate. What! must we attribute the squabbles of pedants to God? must his hand be concerned in ushering into the world the dull heavy performance of a king? far be such thoughts from us! when God acts, he acts like himself; all is wise, good, and successful: nor can we more dishonour him than by calling him in as an encourager or assister of our whims and extravagancies. But this bishop had no sense of propriety; as long as he could praise he was satisfied, let it be in ever
so

very indifferent reception abroad, especially
from

so wrong a place; by which his own character suffered, and his master was despised.

'Tis pleasant enough, however, to see such effects attributed to this work of *James's*. The Venetians, upon the coming out of this book, maintained the doctrine of the supream power of temporals in princes and free states. 'Tis true they did; and they had done it before ever *James* had put pen to paper on this subject; for the quarrel with the pope, which produced the interdict, arose from thence: now this commenced anno 1606, and *James's* apology was not printed till the year 1609, and consequently neither it nor the premonition which came after it, could be the cause of their holding this doctrine (b). As to the Sorbonne, ever since the extinction of the civil wars in France, they had taught it; nor could be expected any sovereign state would disavow it: so that whatever the bishop might say, 'tis certain nothing this way was produced. As for *James's* adversaries being opposed by men of their own religion, 'tis not to be wondered at. There are every where men who love controversy, and therefore that will oppose, if only for a shew of their parts and learning. How many were converted by his majesty's confession of faith I cannot say, I remember to have read but of one, the archbishop of *Spalasto* (c); but I know very well that within a few years of this controversy, great numbers of the British protestant subjects revolted to the Romish communion, none of which, I believe, were induced to return by this performance.—If many were converted by it, why had they not been pointed out? we know *Waddefworth*, chaplain to Sir Charles *Cornwallis*, ambassador in Spain, was reconciled to the church of *Rome*, and several of the said Sir Charles's kinsmen (d): We know likewise that *Toby Matthews* (afterwards Sir *Toby*) son to the archbishop of *York*, went over to it likewise (e); but their return is never mentioned, nor are there any conversions

(b) Father Paul's life, by Lockman, prefixed to his treatise of ecclesiastical benefices, p. 48. 8vo. Lond. 1736. and Birch's negotiations, p. 298.

(c) Frankland's annals, p. 27.

(d) Winwood, Vol. II. p. 131, 136, 260, 295, 441.

(e) Cabala, p. 56. Fol. Lond. 1663.

from most of the princes and states to whom it was addressed (YY); though there were not

versions by means of his majesty's book, except that one I have spoke of, recorded, and which, if true, was of no consequence: for it is well known that *Spalaflo* went off from the protestants, and came to a most unhappy end at Rome: so that the bishop has been very unhappy in his assertions with respect to the consequences of the premonition, and cannot but be put down as an inventor. As to the fourth and last things mentioned as following from this book, I have nothing to say to them: they are before the reader, and he may view them in what light he pleases.

(YY) It met with but a very indifferent reception abroad, &c.] Let us hear a zealous hugonot: "This work [the apology and premonition prefixed] served for no more than to shew the little account the catholics made of the author. It was not looked upon in *Spain*; 'twas burnt in *Florence*; the inquisition at *Rome* put it in the number of prohibited books; 'twas ill received in *France* by the catholics, and the king forbad it should be translated or printed. 'Twas only at *Venice* where the reading of it was not prohibited (a)." There is some truth in this, tho' the account given is not very exact. Let us correct it as well as we can from *Winwood's* state papers. Lord *Salisbury*, in a letter to Sir *Charles Cornwallis*, dated June 8, 1609, tells him that "his majesty had thought fit to send his book to the *Emperor*, to the *French* king, who hath received it, and all other christian kings and princes, as a matter which jointly concerns their absolute jurisdiction and temporalities (b)." But though it was sent to all other christian kings and princes, it was not received by them. The *arch-dukes* would not accept of it (c); and even the state of *Venice*, "after they had received the king's books, they did by public ordinance forbid the publishing of the same; which (says

" Sir

(a) History of the edict of Nantes, Vol. I. p. 451. 4to. Lond. 1694.

(b) Winwood, Vol. III. p. 51.

(c) Id. p. 68.

not wanting those at home who applauded and defended it.

Arminius

“ Sir Thomas *Edmond*) Sir Henry *Wootton* took so tenderly, as thereupon he charged them with the breach of their amity with his majesty, and declared unto them that in respect thereof he could not longer exercise his charge of a public minister among them. This protestation of his was found so strange by that state, as they sent hither (d) in great diligence to understand whether his majesty would avow him therein, which did very much trouble them here to make a cleanly answer thereunto, for the salving the ambassador’s credit, who is censured to have prosecuted the matter to an over great extremity (e).” This must have been a great mortification to *James*, had he had much sensibility of temper; but yet, even this was nothing to the slight which was put upon his piece by the *Spaniards*; for it was no sooner known in *Spain* that *James* was about to write against the pope, than the secretary of state sent word to Sir Charles *Cornwallis*, “ that the king his master did much grieve at it, and marvelled that the king of Great Britain (the pope in no sort meddling with him) would put his own hand into such a business (f).” But though the ministers of state in England knew this, yet, when Sir Charles *Cornwallis* received his majesty’s letter of revocation, “ he also received a book of his majesty’s, together with a letter to the king of Spain. But for fear of an indifferent reception, or rather a refusal of both the one and the other, he was ordered by lord *Salisbury*, from the king, to “ present the letter and the book to the king of *Spain* himself, as speedily and conveniently as might be, without giving any foreknowledge that he was to present any such matter; for which purpose, adds his lordship, the letter for your revocation may serve you for a good pretext of access (g).” They saw there was need of dexterity to get the book accepted; indeed they could not help

(d) This is written from London, Oct. 4. 1609.

(e) Winwood, Vol. III. p. 77, 78.

(f) Id. Vol. II. p. 486.

(g) Id. Vol. III. p. 51.

The LIFE of JAMES I.

Arminius dying Oct. 19, 1609. *Conrad Vorstius* was invited to succeed him in his professor's chair of divinity at Leydon: after a year's deliberation he accepted of it. But *James*, in the mean time, having seen some of his writings, sent orders to his ambassador,

(b) Win-
wood, Vol.
III. p. 55.

it; for the Spanish ambassador at London had refused the book, when sent him by the lord treasurer (b); and what he had done, it was to be feared, his master would do. And so it fell out; for just before Sir Charles had his last audience of the king of Spain, the duke of *Lerma* let him know plainly, that he was informed that he intended at his taking leave of his master, to present his Britannic majesty's book to him; that he was surprised that it could be imagined it would be received; and therefore gave him fair warning to forbear presenting the book, "whereby, said he, might be avoided a refusal that would be so displeasing to the one to give, and so distasteful to the other to receive." *Cornwallis* replied to *Lerma* with zeal and understanding; but 'twas all in vain: he was told positively, "the king of Spain would never receive, much less give reading to any book containing matter derogatory to his religion and obedience to the see of Rome." This silenced him; he took his leave of the Spanish king, and was obliged to carry back the book with him (i).

(i) Id. p. 67,
68.

What an affront this! how provoking to one so full of his own abilities as *James*! he thought, doubtless, that his fellow kings with attention would have read his works, applauded his talents, and magnified his art and dexterity in controversy. But he was mistaken, few foreigners spoke well of his writings, and we see with what contempt he was treated by some of those to whom his book was addressed. However his flatterers at home kept up his spirits. Most wise, most learned, most understanding were the epithets bestowed on him by the designing courtiers, and aspiring clergy. These he was so

dor, Sir Ralph *Winwood*, in Holland, to represent the vileness of his doctrines, and desire that he might not be admitted to his place. The states returning an answer not satisfactory, he renewed his application; and in order the more effectually to exclude *Vorsius*

so long used to hear, that 'tis not improbable he might come at length to think he deserved them. It would be useless to take notice of the several writers of the English nation who appeared in defence of *James* against his adversaries. Their names may be seen in *Fuller* (*k*); but for their works they are almost out of remembrance long ago, the reverends and right reverends, by cruel fate, were doomed to be

(k) Church history, cent. 17. book 10. P. 43.

Martyrs of pies, and reliques of the bum.

DRYDEN:

But all writings are not formed to abide any considerable space of time: and well were it for the world, if the dread of oblivion would restrain the zealot, the pedant, the half-thinker from troubling its repose by their controversies.

I will only observe before I conclude this note, that *Gaspar Scioppius*, that man of great reading and much learning, who had parts superior to most, and severity and ill manners equal to his abilities, published two pieces against *James's* apology and premonition; the one intitled *Ecclesiasticus auctoritati serenissimi D. Jacobi magnæ britannicæ regis oppositus*, printed in 1611; and the other stiled *Collyrium regium britannicæ regi graviter ex oculis laboranti muneri missum*, printed the same year. It may be supposed no great regard could be paid *James* by a writer of such a character; but it had been better for him to have used a little more decency, for he had well near lost his life by the hands of some of the English ambassadors servants at *Madrid*, for his

Sciopus from the place to which he had been chosen, and also had accepted, he published a declaration (YY) concerning the proceedings

(l) See Bayle's dict. article Scioppius, notes (G) and (H).

want of it (l). The truth is, no men deserve punishment more than writers of *Scioppius's* temper. He rail-ed, he reviled, he reproached, he uttered a thousand falsehoods against his adversaries, and stuck at nothing in order to defame. Men's reputations he valued not, nor cared he who was hurt by his calumnies. He deserved chastisement from the hand of the magistrate; and it would have been no more than justice to have treated him as a criminal. For there is a great deal of difference between refuting and defaming an adversary, between shewing the inconclusiveness of his reasonings, and inventing lies in order to blast his character; and I cannot help thinking that he who does the latter, ought to be looked on as a wretch who is a disgrace both to learning and humanity, and exposed to the punishment of calumniators.

(a) James's works, p. 348.

(YY) He published a declaration concerning the proceedings in the cause of *Vorstius*.] This declaration is “ dedicated and consecrated to the honour of our Lord “ and Saviour Jesus Christ, the eternal Son of the eter- “ nal Father, the only ΘΕΑΝΘΡΩΠΙΟΣ, mediator and “ reconciler of mankind, in sign of thankfulness, by “ his most humble, and most obliged servant, James, “ &c.” If this dedication be thought extraordinary, the declaration itself will be judged more so; for he declares it to be the duty of a christian king to extirpate heresies; professes that 'tis zeal for the glory of God which alone induces him to move for the banishment of *Vorstius*, whom he stiles a wretched heretic, or rather atheist, out of the State's dominions; and then goes on to give an account of what he had done in that affair. He gives us a copy of his first letter to Sir Ralph *Winwood*, in which he orders him to tell the States, that “ there had lately come to his hands a piece of “ work

ings with the states general of the united provinces of the Low Countries in the cause of D. Conradus Vorstius, in which, among other

“ work of one *Vorstius*, a divine in those parts, where-
“ in he had published such monstrous blasphemies, and
“ horrible atheism, as he held not only the book wor-
“ thy to be burnt, but even the author himself to be
“ most severely punished;” and withal he commands
him to “ let them know how infinitely he shall be
“ displeas’d if such a monster receive advancement in
“ the church; and that if they continue their resolu-
“ tion to advance him, he will make known to the
“ world in print how much he detested such abomi-
“ nable heresies, and all allowers and tollerators of
“ them;” and that the states might not want proper
information, he sent a catalogue of his damnable posi-
tions (b).——But the states were not so furious as (b) Works,
James; they had more knowledge, and consequently p. 350.
more discretion. All the answer he could get amounted
to no more than a representation of the good character
of *Vorstius*, his great abilities, the reasonableness of al-
lowing him to defend himself against his adversaries,
and an assurance that if upon examination he should
be found guilty, he should not be admitted to the
professor’s place (c). Before the receipt of this an- (c) Id. p:
swer *James* was determin’d to shew his zeal, and ma- 352, 353.
nifest his indignation against the heretic. He ordered
his books to be burnt in St. Paul’s church-yard, and
both the universities; by this means confuting them in
the shortest manner. But he stopt not here; he renew-
ed his instances to the states for the setting aside *Vorstius*,
and again represent’d his execrable blasphemies, and as-
sures them never any heretic better deserv’d to be burnt
than he; and lest they should hearken to his denials of
what was charg’d on him, he asks them, “ what will
“ not he deny, that denieth the eternity and omnipo-
“ tency of God.” He concludes with threatenng them
“ that if they should fail of that which he expected at
“ their

other things, he declares, that only for the title of one of his books, viz. *de feliatione Christi*

“ their hands, and suffer such pestilent heretics to nestle
 “ among them, he should depart and separate himself
 “ from such false and heretical churches, and also exhort
 “ all other reformed churches to join with him in a com-
 “ mon council, how to extinguish and remand to hell
 “ those abominable heretics (d).” — But notwithstanding
 these threatenings, *Vorstius* came to *Leyden*. This caused
Winwood to present himself before the States, who in a
 set speech backed his master’s letters, and gave in a cata-
 logue of *Vorstius*’s errors. But the States answered cold-
 ly, and nothing to *James*’s expectation. *Winwood*
 therefore, according to his orders, protested against the
 States receiving *Vorstius*; and at length an answer was
 given by them more satisfactory to *James*. This pleased
 him, but still in his writings he went on to expose the
 professor, and entered into a very tedious and insipid re-
 ply to his apology for his writings. — This was the
 treatment which a man of piety, parts, and learning
 met with from *James*, upon account of some meta-
 physical reasonings on the nature and attributes of God,
 and an error which he held with some of the fathers,
 concerning the corporeity of deity (e). I should not
 wonder to hear an inquisitor talk after the manner he
 did; it would only be in the way of his profession. But,
 I own, I can hardly tell how to bear such language from
 a professed protestant, and a temporal prince. And it
 excites my indignation to behold a man who made no
 scruple of breaking the laws of the gospel, and living in
 defiance of God himself, by acting counter to his com-
 mands: I say it fills me with indignation to hear such a
 one making a loud cry about heresy, and stirring up
 men to punish it. But thus it has been, thus, perhaps,
 it always will be. The greatest persecutors have been
 some of the most wicked and abandoned of men. With-
 out a sense of God, or religion on their minds, they
 have pretended to be actuated by a great zeal for them;
 and

(d) Works,
 p. 356.

(e) See Du-
 pin’s hist. of
 ecclesiastical
 writers, Vol.
 I. p. 92. Fol.
 Lond. 1692.

Christi, an author so suspected as he, is worthy of the faggot; and that if he had been

his

and covered with this pretence they have gone on, even with the applause of the superstitious and bigotted, to glut their ambition, their pride, their revenge.—

James is said to have been excited to declare against Vorstius, by Abbot, archbishop of Canterbury (f); and 'tis not unlikely. Most of the ecclesiastics of that time abounded with a fiery zeal, which frequently hurried them into actions not to be justified. But had not James had an inclination to the work, Abbot would not have been able to have prevailed upon him to undertake it. He thought, doubtless, that he should acquire fresh honour by his pen; that his people would applaud his zeal, and hold in admiration his piety; and 'tis not to be doubted but many were imposed on by him. However Sir Ralph Winwood did not escape censure at home, for what he had done in this affair. He had protested, as I had just observed, against the States receiving of Vorstius; but he added also, that he protested against the violence offered unto the alliance between his majesty and those provinces, which, said he, “being founded upon
“ the preservation and maintenance of the reformed
“ religion, you have not letted (so much as in you lies)
“ absolutely to violate in the proceeding of this cause
“ (g).” — James, when he first heard of this, said, Winwood hath done *secundum cor meum*: but soon afterwards he changed his note, and said “the protest was
“ made at an unreasonable time, when he was to receive kindness (namely reimbursement of money) at
“ the States hands; and so calling for the copies of his
“ letters, found that the ambassador had exceeded his
“ commission, in protesting against the alliance which
“ should have been but against the religion (b).” This it is to serve weak princes! they take up their resolutions without consideration, and are soon turned from them. To-day their servants are commended, to-morrow blamed for following their instructions. So that

(f) Abridgment of Brandt's hist. of the reformation of the Low Countries, Vol. I. p. 318. 8vo. L. d. 1725. and Winwood, Vol. III. p. 296.

(g) King James's works, p. 363.

(b) Winwood, Vol. III. p. 319.

his own subject, he would have forced him to have confessed those wicked heresies that were rooted in his heart; and I doubt not but he would have been as good
as

little reputation is to be got in their employment. *Winwood* received notice of this, “but the wiser part of the world (says his friend Mr. John *More* to him) considering the tenor of his majesty’s sharp letter to the States, and how often, in open discourse, he hath threatned not only to write, but to fight against them, rather than *Vorstius* should rest at *Leyden*, will more readily conclude that his majesty varieth in himself, than that you have erred (i).” At length, however, *Winwood* had the pleasure of hearing that his majesty held him in his favour, and spoke well of him; but for *Vorstius*, he was obliged, through these solicitations of *James*, to renounce provisionally his employment, and leave *Leyden*, and expect elsewhere a definitive sentence concerning this dispute. He retired to *Gouda* about May 1612, where he lived quiet till the year 1619, when he was forced to leave *Holland*; for the synod of *Dort* having declared him unworthy of the professor’s chair, the states of the province deprived him of that employment, and condemned him to a perpetual banishment (k).—So sad a thing it is for private men to have princes for their adversaries! right or wrong they must submit, and cannot make resistance. Tho’ how honourable it is for princes to attack such, the reader will determine.

I will conclude this note with observing that this declaration of *James* against *Vorstius*, was printed in French, Latin, Dutch, and English, and consequently his monstrous zeal, his unprincely revilings, and his weak and pitiful reasonings were known throughout Europe (l). But after all, I presume, it was held in small account. For Mr. *Norton*, who “had the printing of it in Latin, swore he would not print it, unless he might have money to print it (m).”

(i) *Winwood*, Vol. III. p. 331.

(k) *Bayle’s* dictionary, article *Vorstius* (*Conrad*.)

(l) *Winwood*, Vol. III. p. 339.
(m) *Usher’s* letters, p. 13.

as his word; for soon after he caused two of his own subjects to be burnt for heresy (zz).

'Tis

(zz) He caused two of his own subjects to be burnt for heresy.] The names of these two were Bartholomew Legate, and Edward Wightman. The first of these was a man of great skill in the scriptures, and his conversation unblamable. His errors were somewhat of the same kind with those attributed to Socinus; and withal he had the hardiness to say, that the *Nicene* and *Athanasian* creeds contain not a profession of the true christian faith. James caused him to be brought to him, and attempted his conversion; but when he found that he was intractable, he dismissed him with a contemptuous speech; and afterwards by the bishops being declared an incorrigible heretic, he gave orders to direct the writ de hæretico comburendo to the sheriffs of London, and in Smithfield he was burned to ashes. What Wightman was, or what his errors, is hard to say. The heresies of *Ebion*, *Cerinthus*, *Valentinian*, *Arrius*, *Macedonius*, *Simon Magus*, *Manes Manichæus*, *Photinus*, and the *Anabaptists*, were reckoned up against him in the warrant for his burning; but, probably, he knew not what they meant thereby, any more than they themselves did who inserted them in his accusation. They were hard words, and they thought, it may be, that they would terrify and affright. However this is certain, that for his errors, whatever they were, he was burnt at Litchfield (a). These executions were in the year 1611.

James had another heretic to exercise his zeal on also; but seeing those that suffered were much pitied, he very mercifully let him linger out his life in Newgate. Had I not reason then to say, that I doubted not James would have been as good as his word, in making *Vorsius* confess his heresies, had he been his subject? I make no doubt but that he would have used his endeavours; and if these had failed, would have treated him as bad as he did Legate and Wightman. For he had the spirit

(a) Fuller's church hist. cent. 17. book 10. p. 64, 65.

The LIFE of JAMES I.

'Tis very remarkable, that in this declaration against *Vorstius*, he falls foul on the name

spirit of an inquisitor: no pity, no compassion was within him: he had no sense of the worth of those men who preferred a good conscience before all things; he thought 'twas only obstinacy in them, and therefore deemed them worthy of punishment. So easy is it for men who have no principles themselves, to censure and condemn those who are truly honest and sincere. I wish for the honour of human nature, for the honour of christianity, and the honour of the reformation, that no such instances of persecution had been to be found; but, as we cannot blot them out, we ought to set a mark on those who occasioned them, that so their names may be treated with that indignation they so justly merit.

Since the writing the above, by means of a very worthy friend, I have got sight of the commissions and warrants for the condemnation and burning of *Legate* and *Wightman*. The commissions are directed to Thomas lord *Elsmere*, chancellor of England. The warrant for the burning *Legate* is addressed to the Sheriffs of London, the other for *Wightman*, to the Sheriff of Litchfield. By the commissions the chancellor is ordered to award and make out, under the great seal of England, writs of execution; and the sheriffs by the warrant, are required to commit the heretics to the fire. The heresies of *Legate* are, (as I have represented them from *Fuller*) reckoned up as the reason for putting him to death. As for what is charged to *Wightman's* account, if it be true, (for great doubt is to be made of the truth of persecutors) he was certainly an enthusiast, but, for aught appears, a harmless one; for he is charged with holding, that "he was the prophet
" spoken of in the eighteenth of Deuteronomy in these
" words, I will rise them up a prophet, &c. and that
" this place of *Isaiah*, I alone have trodden the wine-
" press; and that other place, whose fan is in his hand,
" are proper and personal to him the said Edward
" *Wight-*

name of *Arminius* (AAA); and that afterwards he

“ *Wightman*. He is also accused with believing himself
 “ the comforter spoken of in St. John’s gospel, and the
 “ *Elias* to come; and that he was sent to perform his
 “ part in the work of the salvation of the world” But
 for his holding the opinions of *Manes*, and *Manichees*,
 (as with great learning and judgment they are distin-
 guished in the warrant) and *Simon Magus*, nothing at
 all appears even from the enumeration of his adver-
 saries. So that I guessed right, that the inserting of these
 hard names was to terrify and afright (b). I will insert
 a paragraph from the warrant for the execution of *Le-*
gate, with the reader’s leave, which will shew us pretty
 much the temper of *James*, and so conclude. “ As a
 “ zealot of justice, and a defender of the catholic faith,
 “ and willing to defend and maintain the holy church,
 “ and rights and liberties of the same, and the catholic
 “ faith, and such heresies and errors every where what in
 “ us lieth, to root out and extirpate, and to punish with
 “ condign punishment such heretics so convicted, and
 “ deeming that such an heretic in form aforesaid, con-
 “ victed and condemned according to the laws and
 “ customs of this our kingdom of England, in this
 “ part occasioned, ought to be burned with fire, we
 “ do command, &c.” (c)

(b) The con-
 nexion, being
 some choice
 collections of
 some princi-
 pal matters
 in K. James’s
 reign, 6 vo.
 p. 72,—90.
 Lond. 1681.

(c) Id. p. 79.

(AAA) He falls very foul on the name of *Arminius*.]
Arminius was a man of sense; he saw the consequences
 of the calvinistical doctrines, and set himself to oppose
 them; but he did it with candour and modesty. Whe-
 ther his scheme be in all parts of it defensible, or whe-
 ther he in any place has run into one extream in order
 to avoid another, and needlessly made innovations in
 the received doctrines of the reformed churches, I leave
 to divines to be considered. ’Tis sufficient here to ob-
 serve that his doctrine was received by many men of
 great understandings, and that his manners were irre-
 proachable. His memory therefore ought to have been
 dear to every good man, and his reputation should have
 remained

An interesting note.

he contributed much to the condemnation of his followers, by sending his divines to the synod of *Dort* (BBB), where their doctrine

remained unfulfilled. But *James* attacked him; he calls him a “seditious and heretical preacher, an infector of

(a) *James's works*, p. 350, 354, 355. “Leyden with heresy, and an enemy of God (a); and withal he complains of his hard hap not to hear of him before he was dead, and that all the reformed churches in Germany had with open mouths

(b) *Id. ibid.* “complained of him (b).”——Hard hap indeed! to be ignorant of the sentiments of a professor of divinity, and unable to enter the lists with him; for this, probably he would have done, had he found any thing to have fastened on.——But *James's* anger against *Arminius* soon declined. Though he here branded him for an enemy to God, “yet having seen the opinion of his followers, and their adversaries, and the arguments by which they were supported, discussed at large, he tells the states general, it did not appear to him that either of them were inconsistent with the truth of the christian faith, and the salvation of

(c) *Abridgement of Brandt's hist. of the reformation*, Vol. I. p. 325. and *Winwood*, Vol. III. p. 452. “souls (c).” This letter is dated March 6, 1613, and is plainly contradictory to what I have just cited from his writings. But a contradiction was nothing to him. A man shall be an enemy to God, or the contrary, just as he takes it in his head; for 'twas a small matter with him to accuse, revile, and rail: he was a king, and he expected his word should be taken, though he rendered not a reason. However *James's* fit of good humour lasted not long, with respect to the followers of *Arminius* in Holland; they soon again were bad men, held wicked doctrines, and such as were worthy of his care to extirpate, as we shall presently see. He joined with their adversaries, and contributed to their undoing; so that he had no stability of judgment, or resolution, but was various as the wind,

(BBB) He contributed much to the condemnation of his

trine was rejected, the contrary thereunto
con-

his followers, by sending his divines to the synod of *Dort.*] The end and design of this synod was to condemn the remonstrants; it was called by their professed enemies, and composed of such as were most of all set against them. They took an oath indeed, "that in
" examining and deciding, they would use no human
" writing, but only the word of God. And that du-
" ring all their discussions, they would aim only at the
" glory of God, the peace of the church, and especi-
" ally the preservation of the purity of doctrine (a)." (a) Abridg-
But this was no guard; every thing was determined ac- ment of
cording to their preconceived opinions, and the contra- Brandt, Vol.
ry was judged false and heretical. For 'tis the manner II. p. 417.
of these assemblies to assume to themselves somewhat more wisdom than the writers of the New Testament ever pretended to. They know better how to express doctrines, how to guard against heresies, how to secure the peace of the church, and above all how to silence and convince gainsayers in the most effectual manner. But, somewhat unluckily, it has happened out, that where they have once done good, they have ten times done hurt. Where one breach in the church has been made up by them, many have been caused; and where one heresy, as 'tis called, has been suppressed, numbers have been occasioned by them. So that it would be a very difficult matter to say what good purpose they have ever answered. To the members of them, indeed, they have been useful. They have established their reputation for orthodoxy with the unthinking vulgar; given them an opportunity of gratifying their ambition and love of power; and above all of satiating their revenge on those who have eclipsed their reputation, and hindered them from making the figure they were inclined to. But too sad a truth is it, that they never have promoted peace, unity, and love among christians, or the practice of those other virtues which are so strongly inculcated

The LIFE of JAMES I.
confirmed, and they themselves stigmatized.

as

(b) See Andrew Marvel's hist. essay touching general councils, creeds, &c. and Jortin's preface to his remarks on ecclesiastical history, Vol. I. p. 14.

(c) Abridgment of Brandt, Vol. II. p. 406.
(d) Hales's golden remains, p. 454. 8vo. Lond. 1687.

cated in the gospel (b). And therefore well were it for the world, if it had an assurance of their never more coming into reputation; for the mischiefs they always cause are innumerable.——No wonder then that the synod of *Dort* turned out as it did. It had been a miracle if peace had been the consequence of it. For whatever has been the pretence, I believe it hardly ever was the real end of the meetings of this sort. But let us see what hand *James* had in this synod, and how he contributed to the condemnation of the followers of *Arminius*.——The synod began to meet Nov. 13, 1618. It consisted of thirty-six ministers of the United Provinces, and five professors, together with twenty elders; to these were added twenty-eight foreign divines, among whom were the following sent by *James*, *George Carleton* bishop of *Landaff*, *Joseph Hall* dean of *Worcester*, *John Davenant* professor of divinity and master of queen's colledge at *Cambridge*, and *Samuel Ward* archdeacon of *Taunton*, head of *Sydney* colledge at *Cambridge*, and sometime after, *Walter Balcanqual*, a Scotch divine, was added to them, to represent the churches of his country (c). [The ever memorable *John Hales* also attended the synod, not as a member, but was sent by *Sir Dudley Carleton*, the English ambassador at *Holland*, whose chaplain he was, to give him an account of what passed in the synod (d).] These divines sent by *James* were not as furious in their behaviour towards the remonstrants, as their own countrymen; but they performed the errand for which they were sent, the condemnation of the opinions of *Arminius*, and establishment of those of *Calvin*. For this purpose these gentlemen, though one of them a bishop, and most of the other dignified in an episcopal church; these gentlemen, I say, took on them to handle the controverted points, and to engage against the errors of the *Arminians*, in a synod made up of mere presbyters, and the president of which was only one of the same character

as introductors of novelties, obstinate and dif-

racter (e). They made speeches to overthrow certain (e) Hale's
 distinctions framed by the remonstrants, for the main- remains, p.
 tenance of their positions, and evasion from the contra- 454.
 remonstrants arguments (f). They differed among (f) Id. p.
 themselves (g), and fell into heats with some of the o- 459.
 ther members (h); but they agreed in approving the (g) Id. p.
 Belgic confession of faith, and the Heidelberg catechism 470.
 (i). In short, they dispatched the work intended, and (h) Id. p.
 contributed to the woes which followed soon after upon 484, and
 the poor Arminians.—'Tis remarkable also that seven 506.
 years did not suffice to allay the wrath of James against (i) Abridg-
 Vorstius: for almost at the conclusion of the synod, his ment of
 clergy read an extract of that professor's errors; they Brandt, Vol.
 called those errors blasphemies against the nature of II. p. 511.
 God, and said that the sale of Vorstius's book should be
 prohibited. Lastly, they demanded that his book *de Deo*
 should be burned in a solemn manner; and they pro-
 duced a decree of the university of Cambridge, by vir-
 tue of which that book had been burnt publicly (k). (k) Id. p.
 The effect of these representations I have mentioned in 514.
 note (xx). If it be asked why the part the English
 clergy took in the affairs at *Dort*, is attributed to James?
 the answer is, that they themselves owned, that they
 had been deputed to the synod by the king, and not by
 the church of England (l). And so intent was he on (l) Id. p.
 the business of the synod, "that he commanded them 501.
 " to give him a weekly account of all its memorable
 " passages, with the receipt of which he was highly
 " pleased (m)." " Yea, they were instructed at all (m) Fuller's
 " times to consult with the English ambassador [Sir church hist.
 " Dudley Carleton] who was acquainted with the form cent. 17. b.
 " of the Low Countries, understood well the questions 10. p. 79.
 " and differences amongst them, and from time to time
 " received James's princely directions (n)." —So that (n) Id. p. 78.
 he was properly the actor in this place, and the con-
 demnor of the opinions held by the enemy of God (o), (o) See note
 and his followers. Whoever calls to mind the depriva- (AAA).
 tions

disobedient, preachers of erroneous doctrine, and corruptors of religion; and as such condemned to be deprived of all ecclesiastical and academical functions.

But

tions and banishment which followed the decisions of this synod, of such great men as *Episcopius*, *Uytendogart*, *Corvinus*, &c. and the persecution which ensued throughout the United Provinces, against the Arminians, Whoever considers these, will be apt to entertain but a poor opinion of those men who were actors in it. Some of the divines might possibly mean well; but the kings, princes, and great men concerned therein, had, undoubtedly, worldly views, and were actuated by them. For though purity of doctrine, peace of the church, extirpation of heresy, were pretended, the state faction of the Arminians was to be suppressed, and that of Maurice prince of *Orange* exalted. A synod was judged necessary for these purposes, and it extremely well performed what it was intended for. The remonstrants were rendered odious to the populace; their men of parts sent into exile; their strength was exhausted; and they could no longer oppose the measures of their adversaries. — Dr. *Heylin* observes, that “ as king *James* “ had formerly aspersed the remonstrant party, so he “ continued a most bitter enemy unto them, till he had “ brought them at the last to an extirmination. But “ he seems at a loss to tell what should induce him here- “ unto. Some suppose, says he, that he was drawn in- “ to it by *Abbot* and *Mountague*; others imputed it to “ his education in the church of *Scotland*: one thought “ that he was drawn into it by his affection for prince “ *Maurice*; another that he was moved by reason of “ state, for the preventing a dangerous and incurable “ rupture, which otherwise was like to follow in the state “ of the *Netherlands*.” This last reason he thinks most probable. He afterwards adds, “ that *James* sent such “ of his divines as were most likely to be sufficiently “ active

But severe as *James* was against the Arminians abroad, he favoured them much at home (DDD), and advanced several of them to

“ active in the condemnation of the Arminians (p).” (p) Heylin’s hist. of the Reasons of state might have had some influence on *James*, though he had little knowledge of it, and generally was little influenced by it. But I fancy it was a regard to his own character which chiefly induced him to act as he did in this affair. For we have seen how he had treated the name of *Arminius*, in a writing dispersed throughout Europe. Had he failed on such an opportunity to extirpate his errors, his zeal for orthodoxy might have been thought to have been lessened, and he to have failed in that which he had declared to be the duty of a king, the extirpation of heresy.

Heylin’s
hist. of the
Presbyteri-
ans, p. 402.
Fol. Oxford
1670.

The Ind...
1670?

(DDD) He favoured the Arminians much at home.] The articles of the church of England are plainly calvinistical, as will appear to every one who will read them attentively. They were “ agreed on by the archbishops
“ and bishops of both provinces, and the whole clergy,
“ in the convocation holden at London, in the year
“ 1562. for the avoiding of diversities of opinions, and
“ for the establishment of consent touching true religi-
“ on (a).” The avoiding of diversities of opinions, and the establishment of consent, was the professed design of them, and doubtless the compilers of them imagined that they should effectually accomplish it, by requiring all who entered into the church to subscribe to them. But they were very much mistaken. Diversity of opinions soon arose, and men who subscribed the same articles, held contradictory opinions. Nor could it possibly be otherwise; for while men are inquisitive they will see things in new lights; and those who are honest and sincere, will not speak contrary to their sentiments. Subscriptions then are only clogs and incumbrances; they answer no good end, but may occasion many mischiefs. Yea, many there are who believe that “ the

(a) Vid. the articles of religion, and constitutions and canons ecclesiastical canon 36. and statute 13 Eliz. c. 12. sect. 1. and 3.

to the greatest dignities. So amazingly inconsistent was his conduct.

Cardinal

(b) Essay on imposing and subscribing articles of religion, by Phileleutherus Cantabrigienfis, p. 31. Lond. 1719. 8vo.

(c) Heylin's life of Laud, p. 72. Lond. 1668. Fol.

(d) Id. p. 98.

“ imposing articles has given occasion to almost all the
 “ uncharitableness and persecutions, the devastations
 “ and destruction of christians, that have ever been
 “ since articles first were made (b).” — In the time of
Elizabeth there was a pretty great uniformity of belief
 in the doctrinal points of religion among the clergy; they
 in general were Calvinists, and so were their successors
 in the reign of *James*. *Bancroft* indeed was very different
 in his opinion. But *Abbot*, *Mountague*, and almost all the rest
 of the bishops adhered to the doctrine of the church in like
 manner as their predecessors. Thus things continued till
 about the year 1616, when *James* being acquainted with
 what dangers would proceed from training up of young
 students in the grounds of Calvinism, dispatched some
 directions to the vice-chancellor, and professors of
 divinity at Oxford, which was “ the first step, says
 Dr. *Heylin*, towards the suppressing of that reputation
 which *Calvin* and his writings had attained unto in that
 university (c).” And in the year 1622, instructions were
 drawn up and sent to the archbishops, and by them to the
 bishops, in which they were required to see to it, “ that
 no preacher of what title soever, under the degree of a
 bishop or dean at the least, do henceforth presume to
 preach in any popular auditory, the deep points of
 predestination, election, reprobation, or of the universality,
 efficacy, resistibility, or irresistibility of God's grace
 (d).” *Laud* had a hand in drawing this up, and what
 his intent was thereby, is not difficult to guess. However
 so it was, that the Calvinists continually lost ground
 in the king's favour, and the Arminians had credit
 with him. *Laud*, *Howson*, and *Corbet* were advanced
 to bishopricks by him, though publicly known to be
 Arminians: *Neile*, of the like opinion, was in great
 favour, and received many promotions from him:
 and

Cardinal *Perron* having pronounced in the chamber of the third estate at Paris, Jan. 15, 1615, an oration, and sent it to *James*, he

Richard *Montague*, one of the most violent Arminians of the age, received his open protection and approbation of all the opinions contained in the book for which he was afterwards questioned in parliament (e). What shall we think of such a conduct as this? are the same doctrines heresies abroad, and truths at home? are men in Holland to be deemed enemies to God, and worthy of synodical condemnation for holding particular opinions, and in England fit for the highest ecclesiastical promotions? what must the world judge of the man who behaved so very contradictory?—But *James* had his reasons for favouring the Arminians in England. They were supple and fawning, they knew how to flatter artfully, and, above all, they seemed very zealous in preaching up

(e) Heylin's life of Laud, p. 125. and Cabala, p. 111.

The right divine of kings to govern wrong,

And

Th'enormous faith of millions made for one. (f).

(f) Pope's essay on man, Ep. 3. l. 243.

Nothing could be more acceptable to him than this, it attoned for their errors, yea made them most orthodox in his sight. For he was either indifferent as to all religious principles, or believed just nothing at all about them; or otherwise he could not have acted as we see he did.

The following account from Mr. *Waller's* life will make a proper supplement to what has been said concerning the artful flattery, and high prerogative notions of the Arminian clergy at this time.—“ On the day
“ of the dissolution of the last parliament of king
“ *James* I. Mr. *Waller*, out of curiosity or respect,
“ went to see the king at dinner, with whom were
“ Dr. *Andrews* the bishop of *Winchester*, and Dr. *Neal*

he soon after published his remonstrance
(EEE) for the right of kings, and the inde-
pendance

“ bishop of *Durham*, standing behind his majesty’s
“ chair. There happened something very extraordinary
“ in the conversation those prelates had with the king,
“ on which Mr. *Waller* did often reflect. His majesty
“ asked the bishops, *My lords, cannot I take my subjects*
“ *money when I want it, without all this formality in*
“ *parliament?* The bishop of *Durham* readily answer-
“ ed, *God forbid, Sir, but you should; you are the breath*
“ *of our nostrils:* whereupon the king turned and said
“ to the bishop of *Winchester*, *well, my lord, what say*
“ *you?* *Sir*, replied the bishop, *I have no skill to judge*
“ *of parliamentary cases.* The king answered, *no put-*
“ *offs, my lord, answer me presently.* Then, *Sir*, said
“ he, *I think it is lawful for you to take my brother*
“ *Neal’s money, for he offers it.* Mr. *Waller* said the
“ company was pleased with this answer, and the wit
“ of it seemed to affect the king (g).”

(g) Account
of the life
and writings
of Mr. Wal-
ler, prefixed
to his po-
ems, p. 67.
edit. Lond.
1712. 12mo.

(a) King
James’s
works, p.
383.
(b) Id. p.
386.

(c) Id. p.
382.

(EEE) He published his remonstrance for the rights
of kings.] This piece is written with much more de-
cency than the other controversial tracts of *James*. He
acknowledgeth *Perron* to be a prelate in great authority,
and of no less learning (a), and owns his courtesy in
sending him a copy of his oration (b). But at the same
time he insinuates that in the cardinal’s speech, his lips
looked one way, and his conscience another: and pro-
fesses “ his rest is up, that one of the maynes for which
“ God had advanced him upon the loftie stage of the
“ supream throne, was, that his words uttered from so
“ eminent a place, for God’s honor, most shamefully
“ traduced and villified in his own deputies and lieute-
“ nants, might with greater facility be conceived (c).”
Then he gives the reasons for his engaging in this con-
troverfy: which were first, “ the common interest of
“ kings.”

Secondly,

pendance of their crowns, against the oration

Secondly, "The cardinal's speaking as one representing the clergy and nobility."

Thirdly, "Because he himself had been represented by him as a sower of dissention, and a persecutor, under whom the church is hardly able to fetch her breath; yea, for one by whom the catholics of his kingdom are compelled to endure all sorts of punishments."

Lastly, "By reason that France was reduced to so miserable terms, that it was become a crime for a Frenchman to stand for his king, it was a necessary duetie of her neighbours to speak in her behalf (d)." (d) King

James's works, p. 390.

These are the reasons alleged by *James* for engaging against *Perron*. After this he proceeds to his defence of the right of kings, and endeavours to shew that what the cardinal had advanced in support of his doctrine, that it was absurd and incongruous to condemn, or wrappe under the solemn curse, the abettors of the pope's power to unking lawful and sovereign kings: he endeavours to prove that what was said by the cardinal in behalf hereof, was meer nullity. matter of imagination, and built upon false positions (e)." To enter into a minute detail of (e) Id. p. 396.

James's arguments would be tiresome to the reader. Let it therefore suffice to say, that he quotes fathers, councils and schoolmen; and that history and scripture are alledged by him, and sometimes not impertinently.

It appears from this defence of the right of kings, that *James* had had a correspondence with *Perron* for years before; that he had sent him a discourse in writing, to which in three years the cardinal had not replied, which is attributed not to a want of capacity, but to "well advised agnition of his own working and building upon a weak foundation (f)." If one knew (f) Id. p. 470.

nothing more of *James* than what might be gathered from this book, one should be tempted to imagine that he was a most zealous protestant. For he attributes all

tion of the most illustrious cardinal of *Perron*.

the miseries of France and Great Britain to the Romish clergy (*g*), whom he paints out in no very agreeable colours; and at the same time praises the French protestants in an extraordinary manner. He tells us he could never learn that those of the religion in France, took arms against their king. In the first civil wars, says he, they stood only upon their guard; they armed not nor took the field before they were pursued with fire and sword, burnt up and slaughtered. They were a refuge and succour to the princes of the blood; in regard of which worthy and honourable service, the French king hath reason to have the protestants in his gracious remembrance. He then sets forth their great merit with respect to the third and fourth Henry, to whom they stood in all their battles, to bear up the crown then tottering and ready to fall (*b*).

(*g*) Id. p. 323.

(*b*) Id. p. 480.

(*i*) See note [M].

(*k*) Characters historical and panegyric, Vol. II. p. 5.

(*l*) Great historical dictionary, article Perron.

(James Davy du.)

This is a very remarkable testimony to the fidelity and loyalty of the hugonots, as it comes from one who hated their principle of parity in the church, looked on such as held it as very pests in church and commonwealth, and who spoke more bitterly of them than of the papists (*i*). For the French protestants differed nothing at all from the English and Scotch puritans, either in discipline or doctrine. This remonstrance against *Perron*, was written first in French by his majesty, afterwards by his leave translated into English, as also into Latin, anno 1616, in 4to. for I remember to have seen such an edition of it in that language.—*Perron* though he had neglected *James's* private writing returned an answer to this public remonstrance, for in the account of the said cardinal's writings in *Perrault's* characters (*k*), and in *Collier's* dictionary (*l*), I find a work intitled, “a reply to the king of Great Britain's answer.” Whether this is the whole of the title I know not, any more than I do what the answer contained, for both these authors are by much too superficial in their accounts of the most eminent writers, and their performances

son. This was his last controversial work. But besides the pieces already mentioned, he published also a counterblaste to tobacco (FFF), began a translation of the psalms of king

formances (m).—As this remonstrance is the last polemical work of James which we have to mention, Lord Shaftsbury's description of him as a prince-writer, will not improperly conclude this note. As to which, from what has been seen by the reader already, he may in a good measure be able to judge of its truth and propriety. "A prince of a pacific nature and fluent thought, submitting arms and martial discipline to the gown; and confiding in his princely science and profound learning, made his style and speech the nerve and sinew of his government. He gave us his works full of wise exhortation and advice to his royal son, as well of instruction to his good people; who could not without admiration observe their author-sovereign, thus studious and contemplative in their behalf.' 'Twas then one might have seen our nation growing young and docile, with that simplicity of heart which qualified them to profit like a scholar-people under their royal preceptor. For with abundant eloquence he graciously gave lessons to his parliament, tutored his ministers, and edified the greatest churchmen and divines themselves; by whose suffrage he obtained the highest appellations which could be merited by the acutest wit, and truest understanding. From hence the British nations were taught to own in common a Solomon for their joint sovereign, the founder of their late completed union (n)." Whether this description of our author-sovereign, as his lordship styles him, be too soft or severe, I leave entirely to the judgment of the reader: nothing doubting but he will be pleased to see it, whatever he may think of it.

(m) Vid. appendix.

(n) Characteristicks, Vol. I. p. 192. edit. 12mo. 1746.

(FFF) He published a counterblaste to tobacco] This was

king David; and writ a few sonnets and epigrams

was first printed in quarto, without name or date. It is a wretched performance both for matter and manner. In it he sets forth how dishonourable 'tis in us to imitate the beastly Indians in so vile and stinking a custom as using tobacco; how unreasonable the pleas alledged in defence of it are; and the mischievous consequences flowing from the use, or filthy abuse of it. Here he tells us that by using tobacco men are guilty of sinful and shameful lust; that 'tis a branch of the sin of drunkenness; that it enervates the body, and ruins the estate; for, adds he, "some gentlemen bestow three, " some four hundred pounds a year upon this precious " stink (a)." If this is true 'tis very amazing. Tho' 'tis certain *James* laid a most heavy duty on it, in order to hinder its consumption. "For there is extant " his warrant to the lord treasurer *Dorset*, anno 1604. " for laying a good heavy imposition on tobacco, that " less quantity may be brought into the realm, and " only sufficient for the better sort, who will use it " with moderation for their health; wherefore he authorises the said treasurer to order, that from the 26th " of October ensuing, the proper officers should take " of all who import tobacco, the sum of six shillings " and eight pence upon every pound weight, over and " above the custom of two pence per pound usually " paid heretofore (b)." Excellent policy this! to discourage the taking of that which has since proved one of the greatest revenues of the crown, and has produced vast benefit to *Britain*, and her plantations. For two of our colonies are supported by it; great numbers of ships and seamen are employed in bringing it over; and the custom duties of it are counted, on a medium, to amount to 169,079 l. 0s. 10d. per annum. But 'tis no wonder " that such a philosopher, as could magnify " the power of witches, after the manner he has done " in one of his learned pamphlets, should be such a politician as to discourage the taking of tobacco in another,

(a) King James's Works, p. 221.

(b) Rymer's *Fœdera*, Tom. XVI. fol. 601. apud Oldys's life of Raleigh, p. 32. Note d. Fol. Lond. 1733. and *acta regis*, p. 518. Fol. Lond. 1734.

taphs (GGG). So fond was he of shewing his parts, instructing and entertaining his good

“ other, says Mr. *Oldys* (c).” “ But those who have (c) *Oldys*,
 “ not admired, continues the same gentleman, at his P. 32.
 “ prejudice in this attempt to dispel the fumes of that
 “ herb with greater of his own, if I may allude to the
 “ witty title of his performance without imputation of
 “ irreverence to his memory, may yet applaud his po-
 “ licy, in so far conducing to its suppression, as to ex-
 “ clude it from the body of his works, when this royal
 “ pamphleteer resolved to become an author in folio.”
 If I understand this paragraph aright, it is asserted in it that the *counterblast* to tobacco, makes no part of *James's* folio volume. But this is a mistake, and could proceed from nothing but trusting, I suppose, too much to memory, in a thing of small importance. A fault, that even the most exact authors are liable to fall into.

(GGG) He began a translation of the psalms of king *David*, &c.] In lord *Anglesey's* catalogue, I find king *James's* translation of the psalms to be sung after the old tunes, 1651 (a); and I am assured by a learned friend, from one who has seen it, that such a translation was published in his name, though I have not yet been so fortunate as to meet with it. But this translation was only begun by *James*, as we may learn from the following quotation. “ This translation he was in
 “ hand with, says bishop *Williams*, (when God called
 “ him to sing psalms with the angels.)—he intended
 “ to have finished and dedicated it to the only saint of
 “ his devotion, the church of Great Britain, and that
 “ of Ireland. This work was staid in the one and
 “ thirty psalm.” *——We have two sonnets of his
 in

(a) Bibliotheca angle-
 fiana, article
 (divinity, in
 small 8vo.
 12mo. &c.
 p. 19.) Lond.
 1686. 4to.

* Great Britain's Salomon. A sermon preached at the magnificent funeral of the most high and mighty king *James*. By *John* lord bishop of *Lincolne*, lord keeper of the great seale of England. London, printed for *John Bill*, printer to the king's most excellent majesty. 1625. p. 42. 4to.

The LIFE of JAMES I.

good subjects, and overcoming his adver-
saries in literary contests! but he had an ab-
solute aversion to war (HHH). This led him
hastily

(b) James's
works, p.
89, 137.
(c) Ch. hist.
p. 411.

in his works (b); an epitaph on the chancellor of Scot-
land, in *Spotswood* (c); and another on that valiant, po-
lite, and learned gentleman, Sir Philip Sydney, in Col-
lier's dictionary. This latter, being but short, I will
give to the reader, as a specimen of James's poetry.

When *Venus* saw the noble *Sidney* dying,
She thought it her beloved *Mars* had been;
And with the thought thereof she fell a crying,
And cast away her rings and carknets clean.
He that in death a goddess mock'd and griev'd,
What had he done (trow you) if he had lived. (d)

(d) Great
historical
dictionary,
article Sid-
ney (Sir
Philip)

This, I think, is one of the best of his poetical com-
positions. The reader, after this, need not be told that
James's talents for poetry were not extraordinary. Be-
sides the pieces of poetry I have mentioned, I am in-
formed by the very worthy and learned Mr. *Birch*, that
there is extant in James's name, another intitled,
"His majesty's Iepanto, or heroical story, being part
of his poetical exercises at vacant hours, London,
1603. in 4to." A sight of this, perhaps, might af-
ford some diversion. This book being burnt among
those of the honourable Charles York, Esq; at Lin-
coln's Inn in the late fire there, Mr. *Birch* could give
no further account of it.

(HHH) He had an absolute aversion to war.] "I
" know not by what fortune the *dicton* of *Pacificus*
" was added to my title, at my comming into Eng-
" land: that of the lyon expressing true fortitude, ha-
" ving been my *dicton* before: but I am not ashamed
" of this addition; for king Solomon was a figure of
" Christ in that, that he was a king of peace. The
" greatest gift that our Saviour gave his apostles, imme-
" diately

hastily to conclude a peace with Spain
(III), to

“diately before his ascension, was, that he left his
 “peace with them; he himself having prayed for his
 “persecutors, and forgiven his own death, as the pro-
 “verb is (a).” — In the first audience the duke of
 Sully had of James, he told him, “that if he had
 “found the *English* at war with the *French*, his endea-
 “vours would, nevertheless, have been to live in peace
 “with a prince, [*Henry* the fourth] who, like himself,
 “had been called from the crown of *Navarre* to that
 “of *France*; it being always commendable, said he,
 “to overcome evil with good (b).” These are good
 sentiments enough for private persons; but they may
 be carried much too far by princes. Forgiveness and
 impunity from these, only draw on fresh injuries; and
 he who will not at any time avenge wrongs received,
 will be sure to meet with enough of them. Princes
 owe protection to their subjects; but this cannot be
 afforded many times, unless chastisement be inflicted on
 those who injure them. Wars therefore are sometimes
 necessary; and a warlike prince will be always respect-
 able to his neighbours. But the known coward will
 be looked on with contempt. He will be affronted
 perpetually, and every opportunity will be taken to ri-
 dicule and oppress him. So that though the love of
 peace in princes be commendable, yet, when it is car-
 ried too far, it degenerates into a fault, and gives just
 ground for the subjects complaints. Happy the people
 who have a prince who neither loves nor fears to draw
 his sword! They may be sure of being defended in their
 just rights by him; of being guarded from unjust inva-
 sions, and secured by his valour from the evils which
 threaten them. His power will make him considerable
 in the eyes of his neighbours; they will attend to his
 reasons, and be influenced by his persuasions. For they
 will not slightly provoke one known not tamely to put
 up injuries. So that the profession of fortitude and re-
 solution, of courage and magnanimity, becomes better
 the

(a) King James's works, p. 590.

(b) Sully's memoirs, Vol. II. p. 25.

(III), to the amazement and great advantage
of

the mouths of princes, than that of meekness and forgiving of injuries: for the former may, possibly, be of use and service, but the latter can answer no good purpose in the present state of the world.

(III) This led him to conclude a peace with Spain, &c.] The peace was concluded Aug. 18, 1604. But before this, in a few weeks after James came into England, he revoked the letters of reprisal on the subjects of *Spain*, which had been granted by *Elizabeth*, without staying to be solicited on that head, or to be complimented on his accession to the throne, by the king of Spain (a). So that he disarmed his subjects before he had provided for their better security. He stopt them in the course of doing themselves justice, before he was sure of obtaining reparation for their past losses.— The king of *Spain* had now reduced himself to a very low ebb, by his wars with *England* and the *Netherlands*, in which, for the most part, he had been unsuccessful. The king of Spain, says Sir Walter *Raleigh*, in his discourse touching a war with *Spain*, written before the conclusion of the peace, and intended to be presented to *James*. “ The king of *Spain*, says he, is now
“ so poor, as he employed his jesuits to beg for him at
“ every church-door in Spain.

“ His revenues are mortgaged in such sort, as of
“ twenty-five millions, he has but five millions free;
“ his ships are worn out and consumed, and his people
“ in general exceeding poor.

“ He hath of late received many affronts and losses;
“ and in *Peru* many of the chiefest and best towns are
“ recovered from him by the natives.

“ And commonly, when great monarchies begin
“ once in the least to decline, their dissipation will soon
“ follow after.

“ The Spanish empire hath been greatly shaken, and
“ hath begun of late years to decline; and it is a prin-
“ ciple

(a) Old-castle's remarks on the history of England, p. 238. and acta regia, p. 521.

of the Spaniards ; who thereby had an opportunity

“ ciple in philosophy, that *omnis diminutio est preparatio ad corruptionem*. That the least decay of any part is a forerunner of the destruction of the whole.

“ And though it may be a while upheld, as the state of Rome was by *Vespasian* and *Trajan*; yet following the former declination, *retro statim sub-lapsa fertur usque dum plane subversa fuit*. It presently fell back again, and never left declining till the Roman state was utterly overthrown.

“ But if now the king of *Spain* can obtain peace upon any condition reasonable, so as he may fortify his weakness, both in *Europe* and the *Indies*, and gather again sufficient riches, putting the English from the exercise of war in those parts, and so make us to forget his *Indies*, till those be consumed that know them; he will soon grow to his former greatness and pride: and then if your majesty shall leave the *Low Countries*, and he finds us by ourselves, it will not be long e'er he remembers his old practices and attempts (b).”

—But no such considerations as these could have any influence on James. He had revoked the letters of reprisal, and a peace he was determined to have.

—You shall now understand (says lord *Cecyll* to Mr. *Winwood*, in a letter dated Ap. 12, 1604.) “ that the

“ constable of *Castile* is come to *Dunkirk*, and resolved presently to take his passage; so as there is now nothing so certain as a treaty, and in my opinion nothing more likely than a peace. For as it is most true, that his majesty's mind is most inclinable thereunto, and that in contemplation thereof, things have been so carried here, as if a war were now somewhat unseasonable, so you may see by the king of *Spain*'s great descent from the height of his forms towards other princes, as he is determined to go through with it; being now it seems confirmed in the French position, *qui a le profit a l'honneur*. A matter I do confess to you I do clearly foresee he will have

(b) The works of Sir Walter Raleigh, Kt. political, commercial, and philosophical, by Tho Birch, M. A. Vol. II. p. 12. 8vo. Lond. 1751.

portunity given them of retrieving their almost

(c) Win-
wood, Vol.
II. p. 18.
(d) Id. p. 22.

(e) Id. p. 22.

(f) Id. p. 29.

“ have, unless the estates of those poor countries [the
 “ Netherlands] have some more adjuvances towards
 “ their subsisting (c).”——The treaty was soon con-
 cluded, of friendship and amity, and mutual trade to
 each others dominions (d).——’Tis very remarkable,
 that low as the Spaniards were, depending on *James’s*
 pacific disposition, they stily denied the English free
 trade and commerce with the East and West Indies (e);
 and got it inserted in the articles that no aid or assist-
 ance whatsoever should be given to the enemies or re-
 bels on either part; yea moreover they had the English
 in Spain subjected to the power of the inquisition (f).
Cecyll indeed said it were vanity to have expected more
 than they had concerning the matter of trade to the
Indies, and the *inquisition*. But it does not appear that
 he had reason for his affirmation. For the Spaniards
 were in so much want of a peace, that they would have
 submitted to almost any thing to obtain it; and they
 themselves were surprized to find that it was made on
 so advantagious conditions. Sir Charles *Cornwallis*, in
 a letter to the same *Cecyll*, lord viscount *Cranborne*,
 principal secretary to his majesty, from Spain, dated June
 2, 1605. has the following remarkable expressions. “ I
 “ find here by many arguments that this peace came
 “ opportunely for this kingdom, and is admired of all
 “ Europe, yea of this kingdom itself, how it was pos-
 “ sible with so advantagious conditions to them, and so
 “ little profitable to our realm it could be effected.
 “ The duke of *Anera* discoursing with one of great
 “ privacie and trust with him, after he had heard that
 “ the peace was in such forme concluded, said in plain
 “ termes, that the king and counsellors of England
 “ had not their senses when in such sort they agreed
 “ upon it. And some Spaniards have lately reported,
 “ that the king of Spain’s money purchased this quiet;
 “ otherwise peace with so good conditions could never
 “ have been obtained. I know that besides your lord-
 “ ship’s

most desperate affairs, and of pushing on the war

“ ship’s exceeding wisdom, your lordship out of
 “ your true noble disposition, hath ever equalled the
 “ care of the fastie and honor of your countrie with
 “ your own life. I verily persuade myself that the
 “ *king’s own christian and earnest inclination to peace,*
 “ lead on the treaty with speedy feet.——But by
 “ those collections that I have made, and relations of
 “ others well practised in this state, I find that England
 “ never lost such an opportunity of winning honor and
 “ wealth unto it, as by relinquishing the war with Spain.
 “ The king and kingdom were reduced to such an es-
 “ tate, as they could not in all likelihood have endured
 “ the space of two years more ; his own treasure was
 “ exhausted, his rents and customs *susigned* for the most
 “ part for the payment of money borrowed, his nobi-
 “ lity poor and much indebted, his merchants wasted,
 “ his people of the countrie in all extremitie of neces-
 “ sity, his devices of gaining by the increase of the
 “ valuation of money, and other such of that nature,
 “ all plaid over ; his credit in borrowing, by means of
 “ the uncertaintie of his estate during the war with
 “ England, much decayed, the subjects of his many
 “ distracted dominions held in obedience by force and
 “ feare, not by love and dutie ; and therefore rather a
 “ care and burthen, than a relief and strength to him.
 “ Himself very young, and in that regard with his
 “ people in no great veneration ; and the les for suf-
 “ fering himself to be wholly governed by a man ge-
 “ nerally hated of his own country ; his strength at
 “ sea not able to secure his ports at home, much les
 “ his *Indies*, or his treasure homewards (g).” This is
 rather a stronger picture of the deplorable state of Spain
 than Sir Walter *Raleigh’s*, and from it, it clearly appears
 that we needed not have been afraid to have insisted
 on almost any thing from it ; and consequently much
 les have submitted to a deprivation of the Indian trade
 and to the inquisition. But *James’s* earnest inclination
 for

(g) Win-
 wood, Vol.
 II. p. 75.

war with the Dutch, against whom they
were,

for peace, and the king of *Spain's* money procured this treaty: for money was distributed in abundance among the English courtiers who promoted the peace, as appears not only from what is asserted by Sir Charles *Cornwallis* in the above letter, but from other unquestionable authorities. In the memoirs of *Sully* we read, “ That no sooner was the Spanish ambaffador arrived
“ in London, than he multiplied the number of his
“ creatures, by his extraordinary liberalities to all those
“ whom he considered as necessary to be gained (b).” And Sir Henry *Neville* in a letter to Mr. *Winwood*, dated Aug. 19, 1604. writes, “ We say the Spanish am-
“ bassadors have taken up many jewels here (we sup-
“ pose to bestow upon our grandees; so not to leave
“ any advantage to the *French*, who began that ang-
“ ling fashion unto them) with the king’s privity and
“ all mens wonder (i).”——And after the peace was made, the earl of *Nottingham*, lord admiral, ambaffador extraordinary into Spain, had bestowed on him at his departure, in plate, jewels and horses, to the value of twenty thousand pounds, by that king. And to some other of his principal attendants were given chains and jewels of great value (k). And it appears from Sir Charles *Cornwallis's* letter to the earl of *Salisbury*, out of *Spain*, that there were many pensions given in the court of *England* (l). *Osborn*, therefore, seems to have reason for saying “ that *James* cast himself as it were
“ blindfold into a peace with *Spain*, far more destruc-
“ tive to England than a war; for it hath not only
“ found that prince an opportunity to recover his
“ strength (much abated by the queen’s happy succeses
“ at sea) but gave him a fair advantage to establish
“ himself in the kingdom of Portugal, and quiet the
“ distempers of his own people. And as this peace,
“ adds he, was of infinite consequence to the Spaniard,
“ so he spared for no cost to procure it: and to prevent
“ the inserting any article that might obstruct his re-
“ course

(b) *Sully's* memorials, Vol. II. p. 181.

(i) *Winwood*, Vol. II. p. 26.

(k) *Winwood*, Vol. II. p. 89. and *Birch's* negotiations, p. 223.

(l) *Id.* p. 96.

were, in a manner, implacable, on account of their revolt for religion and liberty. But not-

“ course to or from the *Indies* (the magazine of strife)
 “ either on this side or beyond the line (thought by the
 “ *English* commissioners not included, however the con-
 “ trary was after pretended, and no farther disputed by
 “ King *James*, than with patience and a quiet submis-
 “ sion of his subjects to their sense, not rarely punish-
 “ ing such as transgress, at their coming home) he pre-
 “ sented all, both *Scottish* and *English* with gifts, and
 “ those no small ones; for by that the earl of *Northamp-*
 “ *ton*, brother to *Suffolk*, had, he was alone able to
 “ raise and finish the goodly pile he built in the strand.--
 “ Nor are there a few others no less brave houses fresh
 “ in my memory, that had their foundations, if not
 “ their walls and roofs, plastered with the same mortar.--
 “ This I shall add as no improbable conjecture made by
 “ many in those days, that his catholic majesty was so
 “ frightened by the apprehension of a possibility that our
 “ king, according to the nature, no less than the obli-
 “ gation of his country, might fall into a conjunction
 “ with *France*, that he would scarce at that time have de-
 “ nied him any thing, to the half of his *Indies*. And from
 “ hence all princes may calculate the vast difference that
 “ lies between a council suborned, and one free
 “ from corruption.” (a) This last reflection, appears
 to me very judicious. “ A gift blindeth the wise, and
 “ perverteth the words of the righteous,” says the great
 “ *Hebrew* legislator (b). No prince can ever be safe
 who permits his councillors to take presents from foreign
 princes. For their judgments will be biased, their af-
 fections be engaged, and they be disposed to serve others,
 more than their own master; so that of the utmost con-
 sequence is it to have ministers depend wholly on their
 prince, if they receive presents from others, they must
 earn them; by giving counsel suitable to the instructions
 they receive, or by divulging those resolutions which
 ought most of all to be concealed. They must be spys

(a) Osborn's
works,
p. 470.

(b) Exod.
23, 8.

notwithstanding, the articles of the peace were but poorly observed by them, [KKK] and produced not the effect expected in point of

to those who bribe them, and unfaithful to their master by whom they are intrusted. So that 'tis amazing that *James* should consent to his grandees receiving the *Spanish* presents; for a moments reflection would have set before him, the pernicious consequences of it. The prince who would preserve his reputation, and accomplish his ends, should keep his councils secret. He should have a strict eye on the ambassadors sent to him, that they gain not the weak by their address, the proud by their fawning, or the interested by their bounty. For nothing is more certain than that by flattery, cunning and seduction, they endeavour to delude ministers into a discovery of the secrets of state. In short, as a great writer expresses it, “ they do all the mischief they can; their profession allows them to transgress; they sin out of duty, and are sure of impunity: 'tis against the wiles of those spys that princes ought to be chiefly on their guard (c).”

(c) Anti-Machiavel, p. 316.

[KKK] The articles of the peace were but poorly observed by them, &c.] My authorities for this will not be disputed. Sir Henry *Neville*, in a letter to Mr. *Winwood*, dated *London, December 8, 1604*, writes, “ It is commonly reported that our merchants are ill-used in *Spain* by the inquisition; and besides that, that the trade proves nothing so beneficial as was expected; partly by reason that the merchants there are become poor by these wars, and not able to buy but upon days, and many of those that have been trusted, have played bankrupts, insomuch, as some of ours have brought back their commodities, rather than they would sell upon credit; and partly, by reason, that in this time of long restraint of trade, they have been forced to betake themselves to the making of cloth there, and do make it now in that quantity, as they care not
“ much

of profit, by the English, to whom the peace soon became very disagreeable, by reason of the

“ much for ours, which was wont to be our chiefest
 “ trade thither. And as for corn, the *French*; both by
 “ reason of their nearness and abundance, will ever fur-
 “ nish them better cheap than we can. So as there ap-
 “ pears little hope of any fruit of our peace in that re-
 “ gard; which joined with some other considerations
 “ of state, that have reference to your affairs there
 “ [Holland,] begins to cool that ardent affection which
 “ carried us so strongly to that treaty, and begets some
 “ discourses, (even amongst our greatest governours)
 “ that this will be but a short peace.” (a)

(a) Win-
 wood, Vol.
 II. p. 38.
 and Cabala,
 p. 199.

And Sir Charles *Cornwallis* in a letter to the earl of *Salisbury*, dated *Valladolid*, *October* 18, 1605, O. S. tells him “ the Spaniards had made a general stay of
 “ justice to all or any of the king his masters subjects.”

(b) Win-
 wood, Vol.
 II. p. 143.

(b) And the same gentleman, in letter written from *Madrid*, in *May* 1606, tells lord *Salisbury* also, “ that
 “ ’tis written to him from *Sevill*, that *Don Lewis Firar-*
 “ *do* in his voyage, met with certain ships from Eng-
 “ land, loaden with corn and bound to *Sevill*. That he
 “ first took the masters; and first set their necks in the
 “ stocks; after removed them to the *Admiral*, and
 “ there with his own hands did as much to their leggs;
 “ revileing them, and calling them heretiques, Luthē-
 “ ran dogs, and enemies of *Christ*, threatening to hang
 “ them; and in conclusion having taken from them
 “ what he thought fit, returned them into their own
 “ ships. Besides the cruelty he shewed to those of Mr.
 “ *Edward*’s ship in the *Indies*, he holdeth still in the
 “ gallies all the marriners of Mr. *Halls* and Mr. *El-*
 “ *drids* ships; also those of Mr. *Bromley*.” (c)

(c) *ib.* p.
 213. see also
ib. Cabala,
 p. 201.

The letters of Sir *Charles* are full of the wrongs the English received, and the endeavours he used in order to get satisfaction, tho’ many times in vain. When he complained to the duke of *Lerma*, prime minister of *Spain*, of the behaviour of *Firardo* with regard to confiscating

the ill treatment they received. But *James's*
 pacific

the merchants effects, and sending the mariners whom he took in the *Indies* to the gallies: *Lerma* very sharply answered, “ that *Firardo* shall be called to account for “ that he did not instantly execute them.” (d) In short, such was the ill treatment the subjects of the British Crown received from the Spaniards, that Sir *Henry Nevile*, in a letter to Mr. *Winwood*, dated June 4, 1606, writes, “ that upon sunday last divers merchants and merchants wives were at the court, and “ made grievous complaint unto the king, the one of “ their servants, and the other of their husbands, imprisoned and put to the gallies in *Spain*, and of much “ injustice and oppression done there to our nation; besides some particular contumely to the king personally; “ the like complaint was made before to the lords. I “ hear it hath moved much, and this I will assure you, “ that the kingdom, generally wishes this peace broken, “ but *Jacobus Pacificus* I believe will scarce incline to “ that side.” (e) At length the patience of the merchants began to fail. They saw no relief from *James*, and therefore applied to the house of commons, to be a means for them to obtain letters of mart. The commons received favourably their address, and desired the assistance of the upper house. But this was refused. Tho’ this gave occasion, says lord *Salisbury*, in a letter to Sir *Charles Cornwallis*, dated July 15, 1607. “ to “ the lords of the council yesterday, to call the merchants before them, and to acquaint them with the “ substance of these answers sent from *Spain*; and to “ advise them (if they find such a general ill usage in “ *Spain* as they complain of) to be more moderate in “ their trade thither, and to withdraw their stock and “ factors from thence, that so his majesty might grant “ them letters of *reprisal*, without prejudice to others “ that have large stocks there. Otherwise it would “ prove a most preposterous course, to grant letters of “ *Marte*, where the king of *Spain* hath so great occasion to revenge himself upon, and we scarce a ship or “ man

(d) *Winwood*, Vol. II. p. 221.

(e) *Id.* p. 217.

pacific disposition continued; nor could the
distresses

“man to requite him in it.” (f) But letters of *Mart* (f) Win-
and *reprisal* were never granted; tho’ the *Spaniards* con- wood, Vol.
tinued to treat the *English* extremly ill, even when II. p. 326.
they pretended great friendship. For Sir Walter *Raleigh*
speaks of it as a known fact, in a letter to king *James*
himself, “that the *Spaniards* murdered twenty six *English*-
“men, tying them back to back, and then cutting their
“throats, when they had traded with them a whole
“month, and came to them on the land, without so
“much as one sword.” (g)—Surely the *Spaniards* must (g) Raleigh’s
have had a very great reliance on the pacific disposition of works, Vol.
James, to act after this manner, in their circumstances! II. p. 376.
and most amazing is it, that the national spirit had not
exerted itself, in its own defence, more than it did.—
Before I leave this subject, I cannot help remarking that
almost all our treaties with *Spain*, seem to have been
but badly observed by her. This first arose from the
the negligence of *James*, in making the peace. He
contented himself with concluding a treaty of amity,
and mutual trade to each others dominions; but trade
and commerce being denied to the east and west *Indies*,
and the *Spaniards* looking on all *America* as their own,
it came to pass that they seized all vessels they found in
those seas, though going only to those colonies which
were indisputably discovered by the *English*. So that
there was a continual war there, when there was peace
in *Europe*. In 1668, and 1671, treaties were again
made with that nation, whereby the right of commerce
and navigation, and the bounds of the several territories
possessed by the two crowns in *America*, were fixed.
But these treaties were but ill observed likewise; and
great complaints were made by the *English*, of the hard-
ships they suffered from the *Spaniards*. (b) In 1713, a new
treaty was made at *Utrecht*. But this was observed
like the others. Complaints soon followed it; as they
did that made at *Seville*, in 1729. The representation
of our merchants with regard to their ill treatment by
the *Spanish guarda costas*; the imprisonment of our

(b) See the
representa-
tion of the
board of
trade to K.
George I. in
Torbuck’s
parliamenta-
ry debates,
Vol. IX.
p. 414.

The LIFE of JAMES I.

distresses of his only daughter, and her numerous progeny excite him to enter into a war [LLL] for their defence: But he suffered them

brave sailors to the number of seventy; the cutting off *Jenkins's* ear, and many other things still fresh in memory brought on the late war, which was ended by the peace at *Aix la Chappelle*, the effect of which must be left to time to discover.——What can be the reason that our treaties with *Spain* have been thus ineffectual for the maintenance of peace and friendship? Are they more false than others, or we more incroaching in order to obtain those riches they so carefully guard from us? are not the treaties sufficiently plain and explicit? do they admit of different senses, and bear divers constructions? or have we not capacity sufficient to negotiate advantageously with them?—These things must be determined by those who have opportunities and abilities for their discussion. For my own part, I must say

(f) Vir. E,
3. l. 1089

Non nostrum tantas componere lites. (i)

'Tis not in me this contest to decide.

TRAPP.

[LLL] Nor could the distresses of his only daughter, and her numerous progeny, excite him to enter into a war, &c.] This his daughter was *Elizabeth*, married to *Frederick* the fifth, elector *Palatine*, Feb. 14, 1613, N. S. to the great joy of all true protestants (a) The marriage was celebrated with great pomp, and the prince gained the love and good-will of the English by his affability and great generosity. (b) The Spanish ambassador, and the ambassador from the arch-dukes, were not present at the marriage, being greatly enraged at it, “fearing indeed thereby, says Mr. *Trumbull* to “Sir *Ralph Winwood*, that we do aim at wresting the “empire out of the *Austrians* hands, which they say “shall never be effected, so long as the conjoined forces “of all the catholiques in christendom, shall be able to “maintain them in that right, which now they have

(a) Win-
wood. Vol.
III. p. 434.

(b) Id. p.
421.

“ in

them to lose their territories, and be exiles in

a

“ in a manner gotten by prescription.” (c) But they had no reason for this their fear, for *James* so far from thinking to wrest the empire out of the *Austrians* hands, did not so much as seriously resolve to support his own daughter, and her children, in their possessions.—I need not enter into a detail of the reasons which induced the *Bohemians* to shake off the *Austrian* yoke, and assert their own just priviledges by electing *Frederick* for their king, Au. 28, 1619. Our historians will satisfy the curiosity of such as want information in this matter. Let it suffice to say, that after the elector of *Saxony*, and the duke of *Savoy*, had refused the kingdom of *Bohemia*, *Frederick* accepted of it, without waiting the advice of *James*, his father-in-law, which by his amssador, he had asked.

(c) Id. p.

(d) In consequence of this he was crowned king of *Bohemia*, and at first met with great success. For *Silesia*, *Moravia*, *Lusatia*, and *Austria* had taken up arms against the emperor *Ferdinand*; as did likewise *Bethlem Gabor*, a prince of great credit at the *Ottoman* porte, valiant, couragious, and already master of the greatest part of *Hungary*.—But his success did not last long. On *Novem. 8. 1620*, was the battle of *Prague* fought, which proved fatal to *Frederick*, and his brave *Bohemians*. His army was scattered and routed; himself and queen obliged to fly with precipitation from that country; and his people were subjected to all the insults and cruelties of an intraged conqueror, and a bigotted prince; and with all he was censured for having engaged in an affair, without probability of success, the consequence of which was like to be fatal to him. But this censure seems to have been ill founded. Things turned out very different from what might have been reasonably expected, and therefore though the elector *Palatine* was unfortunate, he was not to be deemed unwise.

(d) Rushworth, Vol. I. p. 12.

“ For who could have believed that the protestants of
 “ Germany would have abandoned him, they, who
 “ under the name of correspondants had engaged from
 “ the year 1609, to maintain liberty and the protestant

a foreign land, to the great amazement of
strangers,

“ religion in the empire? They who believed that the
 “ emperor was an enemy to both? They, in short,
 “ who having been consulted by *Frederick*, their chief,
 “ in the assembly held at *Rottenburgh*, Septem. 12,
 “ 1619, answered that he ought to accept the crown of
 “ *Bohemia*, not only as being a new dignity, but also
 “ as what was necessary for the public good of *Germany*,
 “ and that of their allies. and advised him to set out
 “ immediately for *Bohemia*? Who could have believed
 “ that *France*, which in those times exclaimed so loud-
 “ ly against princes that are too powerful, and solicited
 “ all *Europe* to make leagues against the house of *Austria*,
 “ would neglect so favourable an opportunity of weaken-
 “ ing it? who would have believed that *France* would
 “ side with *Ferdinand*, against those who aimed at de-
 “ priving him of a part of his power? who could have
 “ believed that *Bethlem Gabor*, after such fortunate be-
 “ ginnings, after all the reputation he had acquired,
 “ and all the interest he had with the *Turk*, would be
 “ of no service to the *Palatine*? Let us therefore say,
 “ that *Frederick* was deceived by a train of events so
 “ singular, that the most refined prudence could never
 “ have suspected it. Let us not believe those who pre-
 “ tend that the vanity of the duke of *Bovillon*, his un-
 “ cle, joined with that of the electress, threw him into
 “ an imprudent undertaking. They say, that the duke
 “ wrote to his friends at *Paris*, that while the king of
 “ France was making knights at *Fountainbleau*, he was
 “ making kings in *Germany*. He might have said so;
 “ but as he was one of the ablest men of his age, it is
 “ not probable that he would have advised his nephew to
 “ accept a crown, if he ought in prudence to have re-
 “ fused it.” (e) But let us return to our history.—
 No sooner had *Frederick* lost the battle of *Prague*, and
 with it the kingdom of *Bohemia*, but almost all his allies
 forsook him. He now found himself proscribed by the
 emperor, attacked by the *Spaniards* in his own country
 the *Palatinate*, and had at length the misfortune to
 become

(e) Bayle's
 historical
 discourse on
 the life of
 Gustavus
 Adolphus
 at the end
 of the last
 edition of his
 dictionary,
 p. 678.

strangers, and the grief of his own subjects ;
who

become an exile in *Holland*, deprived of his patrimony, together with his regal and electoral dignities ; and reduced to great necessities, from which it never was his fortune to get free. In his fate his wife and children were involved, and consequently he was an object of great compassion.—Let us now see how his father-in-law behaved towards him in these circumstances. No sooner had *Frederick* accepted the crown of *Bohemia*, but he shewed his dislike of it, and would never suffer the title of king to be given him in his presence. (f) Yea, (f) *Rushworth, Vol. I. p. 12.* he ordered his ambassador, Sir Henry *Wotton* to make it known “ to all princes, whom it might any way concern, that in the election of his son-in-law to the “ crown of *Bohemia*, he had no part by any precedent “ counsel or practice.” (g) And in pursuance of his (g) *Reliquæ Wottonianæ P. 496.* instructions, the said Sir Henry *Wotton* assured the emperor, “ that his majesty had not given the title of king “ to his son-in-law, or of queen to his daughter, in any “ letter either public or private ; nor had permitted the “ same title, in any sermons within his kingdom.” (h) (h) *Id. p. 503.* Indeed he declared, that “ though he was resolved to “ suspend his judgment about the differences between “ the emperor and the Bohemians, yet he found himself “ tied both by nature and by reason, not to leave the “ patrimonial inheritance of his own descendants, that “ is, neither the inferior, nor superior Palatinate in “ the hands of any alien usurper.” (i) Accordingly (i) *Id. p. 516.* when *Spinola* was about to march into the Palatinate with thirty thousand men, he sent one regiment thither under the command of Sir *Horatio Vere*, for its defence, who performed good service. (k) But even this he (k) *Rushworth, Vol. I. p. 14.* meanly apologized for to the emperor, and declared that “ the troops sent towards the Palatinate, were meerly “ voluntaries, without his majesties contribution, and “ defensively intended, before any noise of the invasion.” (l)—After *Frederick's* misfortune before (l) *Reliquæ Wottonianæ P. 518.* *Prague*, and when his own territories began to be seized, *James* sent the princes of the union thirty thousand

who most readily and willingly would have assisted

(m) Ruff-
worth, Vol.
I. p. 18.

thousand pound to keep them in arms, but withall, resolved at the same time to treat of peace. (m) In short tho' an order of council was made for raising money by way of free gift, for the support of the Palatinate, and afterwards the parliament gave a supply for the recovery of it; and the people were disposed zealously to engage in its behalf; yet *James* contented himself with sending embassies to recover it when it was attacked on all sides; and weakly imagined that princes flushed with victory, would hearken to his intreaties, or persuasions. *Doncaster, Wotton, Digby, Weston* and others were sent from time to time, who though men of sense, and able negotiators, could prevail nothing: the Palatinate was taken while they were treating, and they had the mortification of finding themselves laughed at, and contemned, as well as their master who sent them. — That I have not exaggerated matters will appear from the following extracts from *James's* own letters. In a letter to the earl of *Bristol*, dated October 3, 1622, he writes thus: “ There is none knows better than yourself how
“ we have laboured, ever since the beginning of these
“ unfortunate troubles of the empire, notwithstanding
“ all opposition to the contrary, to merit well of our
“ dear brother the king of *Spain*, and the whole house
“ of *Austria*, by a long and lingering patience, grounded still upon his friendship, and promises that care
“ should be had of our honor, and of our children, patrimony, and inheritance. We have acquainted you
“ also, from time to time, since the beginning of the
“ treaty at *Bruxels*, how crossly things there have proceeded, notwithstanding the fair professions made
“ unto us, both by the king of *Spain*, the *Infanta*, and
“ all his ministers, and the letters written by him unto
“ the emperor, and them effectually, (at the least, as
“ they endeavoured to make us believe.) But what
“ fruits have we of these, other than dishonor and
“ scorn? whilst we are treating, the town and castle of
“ *Heidelbergh* taken by force, our garrison put to the
“ sword,

assisted them with all their power. Yea so strongly

“ sword, *Manheim* besieged, and all the hostility used
 “ that is within the power of an enemy.” (n) And in ^{(n) Cabala.}
 a letter to the emperor *Ferdinand*, dated November 12, p. 259.
 1621, he complains “ that whilst treaty was in hand,
 “ his son-in-law was wholly despoiled and robbed of his
 “ hereditary patrimony that remained unto him, ex-
 “ cepting the lower Palatinate, which was all, says he,
 “ by commandment of your imperial majesty, taken
 “ and possessed by the duke of *Bavaria*, according as
 “ himself confessed, with strong hand and force of arms,
 “ and that for such reasons as are meerly new, and such
 “ as the like were never hitherto once heard of. He
 further represents unto him, “ that notwithstanding it
 “ plainly appeared, by the answer given to his ambassa-
 “ dor, that his imperial majesty had caused the suspension
 “ of the bann or proscription in those countries, yet he
 “ permitted the taking of arms again in hand, whereby
 “ there had been raised a most cruel war, and most
 “ part of the country taken in by the Spaniards power-
 “ ful strength.” (o) And as *James* complained, so did ^{(o) Id. p.}
 his ambassadors likewise; “ whilst things (says Sir ^{260.}
 “ *Dudley Carleton* to the duke of *Buckingham*, in a let-
 “ ter dated Dec. 13, 1623,) have been held sometimes
 “ in terms, always in talk of accommodation, the elec-
 “ toral is given to *Bavaria* by the emperor, and avowed
 “ by a congratulatory embassage from *Bruxels*: the up-
 “ per Palatinate is settled in his possession, with some
 “ portion to *Newburg*, for his contentation and engage-
 “ ment. A principal part of the lower Palatinate is
 “ given to the elector of *Mentz*, with the consent of
 “ those of *Bruxels*, (where he was lately in person to
 “ obtain it) though they grossly dissemble it, and pro-
 mises of parts of the rest are made to other princes.” (p) ^{(p) Cabala,}
 And Sir *Richard Weston*, in a letter from *Bruxels* to ^{192.}
Buckingham; dated Sept. 3, 1622, has the following
 expressions. “ Notwithstanding his majesty hath fol-
 “ lowed them in all their desires, and the prince elec-
 “ tor hath conformed himself to what was demanded ;
 tha &

strongly was this disposition to peace rooted
within

“ that the count *Mansfelt*, and duke of *Brunswick*, the
 “ pretended obstacles of the treaty, are now, with-
 “ all their forces removed ; no face of an enemy in the
 “ Palatinate, but his majesty’s power in the garrisons ;
 “ all other places repossessed which *Mansfelt* had taken ;
 “ no cause of continuing any war now, nor any cause of
 “ jealousy or fear, for the future, considering his ma-
 “ jesty’s fair and honourable offers ; yet are they so far
 “ from a cessation, that they are fallen upon *Heidel-
 “ bergh*, and either want the will or power to remove
 “ the siege. And all I can get, is two letters of in-
 “ treaty from her highness to the chiefs of the emperor,
 “ to proceed no further ; and after some eighteen days
 “ since, I made my proposition for the cessation, I have
 “ yet no answer ; so that being able to raise no more
 “ doubts, they make use of delays. I have said, and
 “ done, and used all diligencies within my power to
 “ bring forth better effects, and can go no further ; and
 “ therefore, I humbly beseech your lordship that I may
 “ have leave to return, when I shall hear that they will
 “ not remove the siege at *Heidelbergh*. For their pre-
 “ tending to restore all, when all is taken, is a poor
 “ comfort to me, and as little honour to his majesty :
 “ and how far they are to be believed in that, is to be
 “ examined, more exactly than by writing, by weigh-
 “ ing how the weak hopes given me here, agree with
 “ the strong assurances given by my lord *Digby* out of
 “ Spain.” (q)——Thus was *James* treated, as he
 himself says, with scorn and dishonor ; but yet he made
 no efforts to avenge himself or his family, till the break-
 ing off the match with Spain, when twelve regiments
 were rose, and put under the command of the gallant
Mansfield : but these, by an unaccountable weakness or
 neglect, having had no passage stipulated for them,
 through France or Holland, through famine and pesti-
 lence mouldered away, and the design of recovering the
 Palatinate, came to nothing (r)——Thus did *James*
 suffer his son-in-law, his daughter, and his grandchil-
 dren to be driven out from their dominions, without af-
 fording

(q) Cabala,
p. 402.

(r) Rush-
worth, Vol.
I. p. 154.

within him, that though he met with scorn, and derision from those with whom he treated about the Restitution of the Palatinate, and found himself deceived by the emperor, Spaniards, and arch-dukes, he still went on to

fording them that relief, and assistance which were necessary. Strange conduct! un-heard of behaviour! but *James* dreaded war, and would submit to any thing rather than engage in it. For even the breaking off the Spanish match, and the raising the regiments under the command of *Mansfield*, were things greatly displeasing to him, and brought about contrary to his inclinations by his *Son*, and his great favourite *Buckingham* (s). And, then he was outwitted by the Spaniards, who made him believe that notwithstanding *Frederick* was overcome, and his affairs in a very desperate condition, yet he need but signify his pleasure about his restitution, and he should be obeyed. (s) See Clarendon; Vol. I. P. 24.

(t) Nor did *James* in the least suspect, but that upon the conclusion of the marriage of his son with the Infanta of Spain, the restitution of the Palatinate would follow, though he had made no terms in that treaty about it. (u) Id. P. 18.

“ The count de *Gondomar*, the Spanish ambassador, P. 91.
 “ who had an absolute ascendent over him, gave him to
 “ understand, that the king of *Spain* being on the point
 “ of giving his daughter to the prince of *Wales*,” (which
 by the way, he never intended, though his successor, probably, was sincere in the treaty for the match)
 “ would look on the interest of the *Palatine* prince as
 “ his own, and not suffer him to lose the *Palatinate*,
 “ that even though the emperor should be master of that
 “ country, there was a good way for both sides to come
 “ off with honor; for by favour of the marriage, the
 “ the emperor might make a present of the Palatinate to
 “ the infanta, who would give it the prince her husband,
 “ and then the prince might restore it to his
 “ brother-in-law. *James* took all this to be gospel, as
 “ if indeed he had had a positive promise from the emperor
 “ peror

to treat with them, and thereby rendered the affairs of the unfortunate Frederick his son-in-law desperate and deplorable.

Nor was his conduct better in other affairs. He tamely suffered the British flag [MMM] to be affronted, and his merchants ships to be taken

(y) Wel-
wood's me-
moirs, p.
28.

“ peror and the king of *Spain*, that every thing should
“ be done as the ambassador had proposed. This was
“ the reason he was more and more intoxicated with
“ the notion that the best way to save the Palatinate,
“ was to live in a good understanding with the court of
“ *Vienna*, and *Madrid*.” (x) In short, such was the
“ management of *Gondemar* in this affair, and such the
“ weakness of *James*, that in a letter to the duke of
“ *Lerma*, we find the ambassador boasting, “ that he
“ had lulled king *James* so fast asleep, that he hop’d
“ neither the cries of his daughter nor her children, nor
“ the repeated solicitations of his parliament and sub-
“ jects in their behalf, should be able to awaken
“ him.” (y)

(x) Acta
Regia, p.
549.

I shall only add that the *Palatine* family remained in exile till the year 1648, when by the treaty of *Munster*, they were restored to the best part of their dominions, without having received any considerable helps from the royal house to which they were so nearly allied, during all their misfortunes.

[MMM] He tamely suffered the British flag to be affronted, &c.] Let us hear *Weldon*. “ The earl of
“ *Hertford* who was sent ambassador to the arch-duke,
“ was conveyed over in one of the king’s ships, by Sir
“ *William Monson*. In whose passage a Dutchman of
“ war coming by that ship, would not vaile, as the
“ manner was, acknowledging by that, our sovereignty
“ over the sea. Sir *William Monson* gave him a shot to
“ instruct him in manners; but instead of learning, he
“ taught him by returning another, he acknowledged
“ no

by the Dutch, when trading to the ports of Spain

“ no such sovereignty. This was the very first indignity and affront ever offered to the royal ships of England, which since have been most frequent. Sir William *Monson* desired my lord of *Hertford* to go into the hold, and he would instruct him by stripes that refused to be taught by fair means: but the earl charged him on his allegiance first to land him, on whom he was appointed to attend. So to his great regret, he was forced to indure that indignity; for which I have often heard him wish he had been hanged, rather than live that unfortunate commander of a kings ship, to be chronicled for the first that ever endured that affront, although it was not in his power to have helped it.” (a)——But, says an admirable writer, speaking of this affair, “ two things are certain; *one* that queen *Elizabeth* would have severely punished her officer, and have exacted ample reparation from the states general; the *other*, that king *James* did neither. This commonwealth had been raised by queen *Elizabeth*, and was still in want of the support of *England*. The sovereignty of her state had not been yet acknowledged by any of the powers of *Europe*. How much the pacific temper of *James* was capable of bearing, had not yet become so apparent as he made it in the course of his reign. From all which it is easy to collect that if he had demanded satisfaction, he must and would have received it. But the *good prince* was afraid, where no fear was, and bore dishonourably what he might have resented safely; nay, what he ought to have resented in any circumstances, and at any hazard. We are not to wonder if so poor a conduct as this, soon brought king *James* into contempt, mingled with indignation, amongst a people eagerly bent on commerce, and in whom high notions of honour and a gallant spirit had been infused, by the example of queen *Elizabeth* and encouraged during the whole course of a long reign.” (b)

(a) Wel-
don's court
of king
James, p. 45.

(b) Oldcas-
tle's re-
marks on the
history of
England,
p. 240.

Tho'

Spain or Flanders, though their own, at the
same

Tho what I have related from *Weldon* is probably, true, yet 'tis but justice due to the reader to inform him, that Sir William *Monson* himself, in his *naval tracts*, says nothing of striking or not striking the flag; but confesses that an affront was offered by two Dutch men of war. He adds, that he sent for the captains aboard his ship; that he threatned to right himself upon them; but that he dismissed them at the entreaty of my Lord *Hertford*, on their excusing themselves, and promising to punish the offenders. How severely these offenders were punished, may be collected from hence. One of these captains, says Sir William *Monson*, was he, who since that time, committed a foul murder upon his majesty's subjects in *Ireland*, that were under protection." (c)—
But for the honor of the English nation let it be observed, that till the disposition of *James* was known by his subjects, the commanders of our ships acted very differently. For on his accession to the throne, "the duke of *Sully* being chosen by *Henry* the Great of *France*, for an extraordinary embassy into England, embarked at *Calais* in a French ship, with the French flag on the main top mast; but no sooner was he in the channel, than meeting with a yatch which came to receive him, the commander of it commanded the French ship to strike. The duke thinking his quality would secure him from such an affront, refused it boldly; but his refusal being answered with three cannon, shot with bullets, which piercing his ship, pierced the heart of the French: force constrained him to do, what reason ought to have secured him from, and whatever complaints he could make, he could get no other reason from the English captain, than that as his duty obliged him to honor his quality of ambassador, it obliged him also to compel others to pay that respect to his masters flag, which was due to the sovereign of the sea." (d) Thus speaks the famous cardinal *Richlieu*; and *Sully* himself though he tells the story somewhat differently, owns that the English commander

(c) Old-castle's remarks, p. 239, in the note.

(d) Cardinal Richlieu's political will and testament, part 2d. p. 82. 2 vo. Lond. 1695.

same time, did it with impunity, and he contented himself with remonstrating, when he ought to have required in a proper manner

der, fired on the French, and obliged him to take down his flag. (e) 'Tis pity the name of this English captain has not been handed down to posterity.—I have said in the text that *James* suffered not only the British flag to be affronted, but his merchants ships to be taken by the Dutch, when trading to the ports of Spain or Flanders. In order to understand this, 'tis necessary to observe, that tho' *James* had made a peace with the Spaniards, the war was continued several years after between them, and the *Hollanders*. Such therefore of the English ships as were found carrying goods to the *Spaniards* and trading with them, were frequently seized under a pretence of their being *contraband*; when they themselves connived at their own subjects doing the same; and consequently were guilty of the greatest insults. Here follow some of my authorities. Lord Cranborne [Cecyle] in a letter to Mr. Winwood, dated Oct. 23, 1604, tells him, “ we are credibly informed; that the
 “ States have not only sent new orders to their men of
 “ war on the coast of Flanders, to impeach our trade
 “ to the arch dukes ports by all means possible; but also
 “ to burn all such ships as they shall take of foreign
 “ princes. And withal are advertised, that many
 “ of their own people are daily resorting (under colour
 “ of private licences) to the said ports with all kind of
 “ victuals and commodities. And that these be no vain
 “ reports, their daily practice maketh demonstration;
 “ for on monday last was seven-night; five of their
 “ ships laden with wine and salt; were seen peaceably to
 “ go into *Newport*, their men of war riding before the
 “ harbour; and since likewise, his majesty's admiral
 “ of the narrow seas, being upon occasion of service
 “ upon the coast of *Flanders*, did see two *Ulissingers* put
 “ into *Ostend*, in sight of four of their men of war,
 “ who never offered them violence. Besides, there

(e) Sully's memoirs, Vol. I. p. 174—178. 'Tis surprising that this gallant action has been overlook'd by our historians and even by Burchet, in his naval history.

The LIFE of JAMES I.

ner satisfaction. But notwithstanding this treatment, he delivered up to them the cautionary towns, [NNN] which they had deposited

“ are fifteen small fly-boats and pinks of *Holland* laden
 “ with fish, gone this last spring-tide from *Yarmouth*
 “ towards *Newport*, with private licences as they gave
 “ out from the admiralty there.” (f) And it appears
 (f) Win- from a variety of other letters of the same secretary to
 wood, Vol. *Winwood* ambassador in *Holland*, that the Dutch ships
 II. p. 34. never made any scruple of violating the neutrality of our
 ports, and treating even the English after such a manner
 (g) Id. 277. as produced complaints infinite and unsupportable. (g)
 But all these things *James* bore with patience. He
 contented himself with remonstrating, and the Dutch
 understanding his humour, went on pillaging his sub-
 (b) Id. p. 31. jects, often times their utter undoing. (b) To such a
 contemptible pass was this nation brought, in a short
 time, by the cowardice and pusillanimity of its sove-
 reign!

[NNN] He delivered up to them the cautionary towns, &c.] In the year 1585, the States of the *Netherlands* were so greatly distressed by the Spaniards, that they renewed the applications they had formerly made to *Elizabeth*, to accept of the government of the united provinces, and take them into her protection. The queen heard their deputies with favour, but at first refused both their protection and government. But *Antwerp* being taken by the prince of *Parma*, she soon afterwards, by the advice of her council, determined to assist them upon condition, among other things, that *Flushing* and the castle of *Rammekins* in *Walkerin*, and the Isle of Brill, with the city and two forts, should be delivered into the queen's hands, for caution to pay back the money which she should expend on her forces, with which she might assist them during the war. It was moreover stipulated that the said places after the money was repaid, should be restored again to the estates, and not delivered to the Spaniards, or any other enemy whatsoever. And also that the governor-general,

ed in the hands of queen *Elizabeth*, for the money

general, and two Englishmen whom the queen should name, should be admitted into the council of the estates.

(a) Accordingly *Elizabeth* sent the earl of *Leicester* to their aid, had the towns put into her hands, and her governor had a place among the States general; whereby the English had a share in their councils, and they were kept in dependance on them. 'Tis well known with what valour and conduct the Dutch resisted the Spaniards, and by the help of their auxiliaries, rose themselves to an admired and envied State of power, wealth and liberty. *Spain* weary with endeavouring to enslave them, was contented to treat with them as Free-States, and concluded a truce at Antwerp, March 29, 1609. 'Twas then Holland lifted high it's head, and looking on the cautionary towns as manacles and shackles on them, and fearing that *James*, whose meanness of spirit, connexion with the Spaniards, and great want of money were known, might one day deliver them into their enemies hands, as by them he had been requested; 'twas then, I say, that they determined if possible to get them from him, but upon the easiest terms. But this was not to be done in a hurry, they took time, and acted after such a manner, as fully accomplished their purpose. Tho' the towns were garrisoned by the English, the garrison was paid by the Dutch. In order therefore to bring about what they had in view, they ceased, all at once to pay the English garrison, as by treaty they were obliged. Complaints were hereupon made to Sir Noel *Caron*, the Dutch ambassador at London. He excused it by the poverty of his masters; but withal insinuated as from himself, that if his Britannic majesty would desire it of the States, they, out of their regard for him, would take up money at high interest, and at once discharge the whole debt due to the crown of England. *James* listened to the proposal, and wrote about it to the states. By them *Barnvelt* was sent over; who negotiated so ably, that the king agreed to deliver up the

(a) Cam-
den's Hist. of
Q. Elizab.
in compleat
Hist. Vol. II.
p. 508.

money she had from time to time expended
on

towns for less than three millions of florins, in lieu of eight millions that were due, and about 18 years interest.

(b) This was in May 1616. What the opinion of the world was on this affair, will appear from part of a letter from Sir Thomas *Edmondès*, written from *Paris* the same month, to Sir Ralph *Winwood*. In it he observes that the agreement for the restoring the cautionary towns, was thought strange by the principal persons in the French council, and particularly by *Monf. Villeroy*, who was of opinion, “ that no consideration of utility “ ought to have made his majesty quit so great an in- “ terest as he had, for the retaining that people, by “ that means, in devotion to him; alledging for ex- “ ample that they here, without any such gages, do dis- “ burse yearly unto the States, the sum of 200,000 “ crowns, besides the absolute remittal of twelve or thir- “ teen millions of livres, which they had disbursed for “ them in the last wars, only to draw that people to a “ like dependence on this state, as they do on his ma- “ jesty. Adding also thereunto, that his majesty having “ ordinarily a greater power over the affections of that “ people, by the more natural love which they bare un- “ to him, than they here can promise themselves, but “ only in respect of the present great faction, which “ they have made by the means of *Monf. Barnevelt*; it “ seemeth, by the course which we have now taken, that “ we absolutely quit the advantage to them. Sir Thomas “ then adds, that those who be his majesty’s zealous “ servants, are sorry to see such a divorce, as they in- “ terpret it, between his majesty and that people: and “ after mentioning the negotiation for a match with “ Spain, he concludes with saying, I am sorry, that “ *our necessities* (if that be the cause) *should carry us to these* “ *extremities.*” (c)—*Coke*, and *Burnet* in speaking of this affair are guilty of a great mistake. The former supposes it was contrary to the seventh article of the peace made with the Spaniards in the year 1604: (d)

And

(b) See *Rushworth*, Vol. I. p. 3. *Cabalà*, p. 206. *Acta Regia*, p. 523. *Coke*, Vol. I. p. 52. *Howell's letters*, p. 16, Lond. 1715, 8vo.

(c) *Birch's negotiations of Sir Tho. Edmondès*, p. 306. (d) *Coke*, Vol. I. p. 53.

on her troops in their service, for comparatively a trifling sum; and thereby lost the dependence

And the other says, that *James* after his coming to the crown of England, had entered into secret treaties with Spain, in order to the forcing the States to a peace; one article of which was, that if they were obstinate, he would deliver these places to the Spaniards. (e) But in fact there is just nothing at all in this. The Spaniards in making the treaty in 1604, insisted on having the cautionary towns delivered up to them, upon payment of the moneys due from *Holland*. This was stiffly denied. Whereupon says secretary *Cecyll*, in a letter to Mr. *Winwood*, dated June 13, 1604, “ They are descended to content themselves with some modification, which we have delivered in form of an article, (which may be seen in *Coke*;) wherein, as we do forbear (at their motion) to express that his majesty meaneth not to deliver the said cautionaries, to any other but the states united, so if the modification be well examined, you see it cannot any wise prejudice either his majesty in honor, or the the *States* in their interest in the towns; for as long as the election of good and reasonable conditions for the States pacification, is referred to his majesty’s judgment, there can arise no inconveniency of it; it being always in his majesty’s hands, to allow or disallow of that, which shall not be agreeable to the concurrency of his affairs with the united provinces.” (f) Thus speaks lord *Cecyll* who had the chief hand in this treaty; and upon a careful perusal of the article referred to, I am persuaded he is right; and consequently the above cited historians, as I said, are greatly mistaken.

The following remark was communicated to me by the reverend Dr. Birch. The account given by Burnet, vol. I. p. 15. Rapin, &c. of Barnevelt’s coming over to England to negotiate the purchase of the cautionary towns from king James I. in 1616, is absolutely false; as I cannot find the least trace of it in a series of M.S.

dependence those provinces before had on the English crown. Nor did the cruelties exercised

letters, which I have read between Sir Dudley Carleton, who went over embassador to Holland, in March 1615-16, and the two secretaries of state, Sir Ralph Winwood, and Sir Thomas Lake. The former, Sir Ralph Winwood, in his letters from Whitehall to the embassador, of the 10th of April 1616, mentions, that the lords had delivered their resolutions to the king, that it was more for his majesty's service upon honourable conditions, to render up the towns, than still to retain them; and that his majesty had taken some days to advise of it. Sir Dudley Carleton in his letter to Sir Rich. Winwood from the Hague, of May 3d. complains, that a matter of that great consequence (tho' "it had, says "he, the beginning, before my coming hither, yet "since my arrival, hath had some subject of further "treaty) is altogether managed by the minister of this "state, (Sir Noel Caron) resident with his majesty, "without my having any hand therein." The king's commission to the lords to treat with Sir Noel Caron concerning the surrender of the cautionary towns, is dated May 21, 1616, and that to Sir Horace Vere, to deliver up the Brill, on the 22d.—Sir R. Winwood, in a letter to Sir Dudley, from Greenwich, on the 23d of May, gives him a particular relation of the proceedings in this treaty, that some years before, during his employment in Holland, Sir Noel Caron in the name of his superiors, made an overture to the king for the reddition of these towns, upon seasonable and honest composition; which being not hearkened unto, it lay asleep, until the month of December, 1615, at which time, Sir Noel being newly returned from his superiors, revived that motion with earnest instance, and for that purpose expressly demanded audience of his majesty. It happened at the self same time, that the governor of these towns delivered to Sir Ralph Winwood, to be exhibited to the lords, a complaint, that the garrison had not received

cised by the *Dutch* on the *English*, at *Amboyna*, [000] and the depriving them of their share

received their pay for many weeks: the danger whereof the lords taking into their consideration, the question was moved by a great counsellor of eminent place, whether it were not better for his majesty's service to render these towns, than still to hold them at so great a charge. Report being made to the king at the rising of the lords, that this question had been moved in council, he acquainted them with the instance of Sir Noel, and then gave them charge to advise and consult thereof, to deliver to him their judgment and resolutions; with which he, after the deliberations of 10 or 12 days concurred for the sale of the towns.

This account is absolutely inconsistent with the supposition of Barnevelt's journey to England, on the affair of the purchase.

Sir Thomas Lake mentions the result of the treaty, in a letter to Sir Dudley, from Greenwich, of the 28th of May, in these words.

“ We have now determined of the return of the cautionary towns, a matter vulgarly ill taken here, and with many of the best. But necessity is of the council. I think your lordship will hear of it by those, that have more hand in it than I.”

[000] The cruelties exercised by the Dutch on the English at Amboyna, &c.] *Amboyna* is an island in the East-Indies, and is the principal place where nutmegs, mace, cinamon, cloves and spice grow. In the year 1619, a treaty was concluded between *James* and the Dutch, with regard to the trade of the East-Indies, in consequence whereof, the English enjoyed part of the spice trade, and greatly enriched themselves. This made them envied by the *Dutch*, who were determined, if possible, to deprive them of the advantages they reaped. A plot, therefore was pretended, in which the English with the assistance of a few *Japaneſe* soldiers,

share of the spice trade, cause him to attempt the vindication of the rights of his people, or punish those who had so vilely treated them.

To

were to seize on the fortrefs, and put the *Dutch* to the sword: Whereupon they were seized and examined; but stily denying the fact, they were tortured most barbarously. This produced (what the rack almost always does produce) a confession; hereupon ten *Englishmen*, seven of whom were agents, factors, and assistants were ordered to be executed, Feb. 1623. six *Japonese*, and three *natives*, who all uniformly denied their knowledge of the plot to the last moment. The *Dutch* account transmitted to the *English* East-India company, in vindication of this affair, admits that all the evidence they had was obtained by torture, and that those who suffered professed their innocency, a clear proof this that they were condemned wrongfully. For when men of different countries and interests, are accused of joint conspiracy, the denial of every individual at the article of death, amounts with me to the clearest proof of their innocency. However, these executions so terrified the *English*, that they thought they could not safely abide in *Amboyna*; they departed thence therefore, and the *Dutch* very honestly took their effects, to the value of 400,000 pounds. After this the neighbouring spice islands were seized by them, and the *English* wholly dispossessed of their factors and trade, to their incredible loss and damage.

(a) See the h. st. of the barbarous cruelties committed by the Dutch in the East Indies, 8vo. Lond. 1712. Coke, Vol. I. p. 96. Wilson, p. 281. Burnett's naval h. st. p. 369. Fol. Lond. 1720.

(a) It may well be supposed that an affair of this nature, could not long remain a secret. The news reached England, and sufficient proof was made of the treachery and cruelty of the Dutch in it: and, no doubt, it was expected that reparation would be demanded and obtained. And had *James* made proper representations to the States-General, justice probably would have been done. For no State would openly have abetted such villanies. But he pocketted up the affront; submitted to the injury even without requiring satisfaction; and contented

To all these instances, if we add his permitting his only son, to go into Spain to bring to

contented himself with barely telling the Dutch ambassador, “ that he never heard, nor read a more cruel “ and impious act, than that of *Amboyna*. But, added “ he, I do forgive them, and I hope God will, but my “ son’s son shall revenge this blood, and punish this hor- “ rid massacre.” (b) Wretched must be the people who have a prince thus pusillanimous! what can they hope for from those about them, but oppression, insults and injuries? princes owe to their subjects protection; if they afford it not, they have no reason to expect allegiance, nor should they murmur if it is refused.

(b) Coke,
Vol. I. p.
97.

By the way, we may observe that *James* was a false prophet, neither his son, nor his son’s son, revenged this bloodshed at *Amboyna*, or punished this horrid massacre. But *Cromwell* born to avenge the wrongs of the British nation, and restore her lost glory, effectually did it. For among the conditions on which he gave peace to the Dutch, in April, 1654, it was inserted “ that “ they should deliver up the island of *Pölerone*, in the “ East-Indies (which they had taken from the English “ in the time of king *James*, and usurped it ever since) “ into the hands of the English East-India company “ again; and pay a good sum of money [300,000] for “ the old barbarous violence, exercised so many years “ since at *Amboyna*; for which the two last kings could “ never obtain satisfaction and reparation.” (c) It were to be wished all princes had the honor of their country so much at heart, as it appears from this, and many other instances, *Cromwell* had. Then would their characters truly shine in history, and instead of the disagreeable task of censuring, writers would be emulous of pointing out their excellencies; and their fame would be as lasting as letters. Whereas most princes have been contented with the incense offered them by flatterers, and therefore have seldom endeavoured to procure that solid reputation, which alone results from great and benevolent

(c) Clarendon’s hist.
Vol. VI. p.
489. and
Tindal’s
notes on Ra-
pin, Vol. II.
p. 591.

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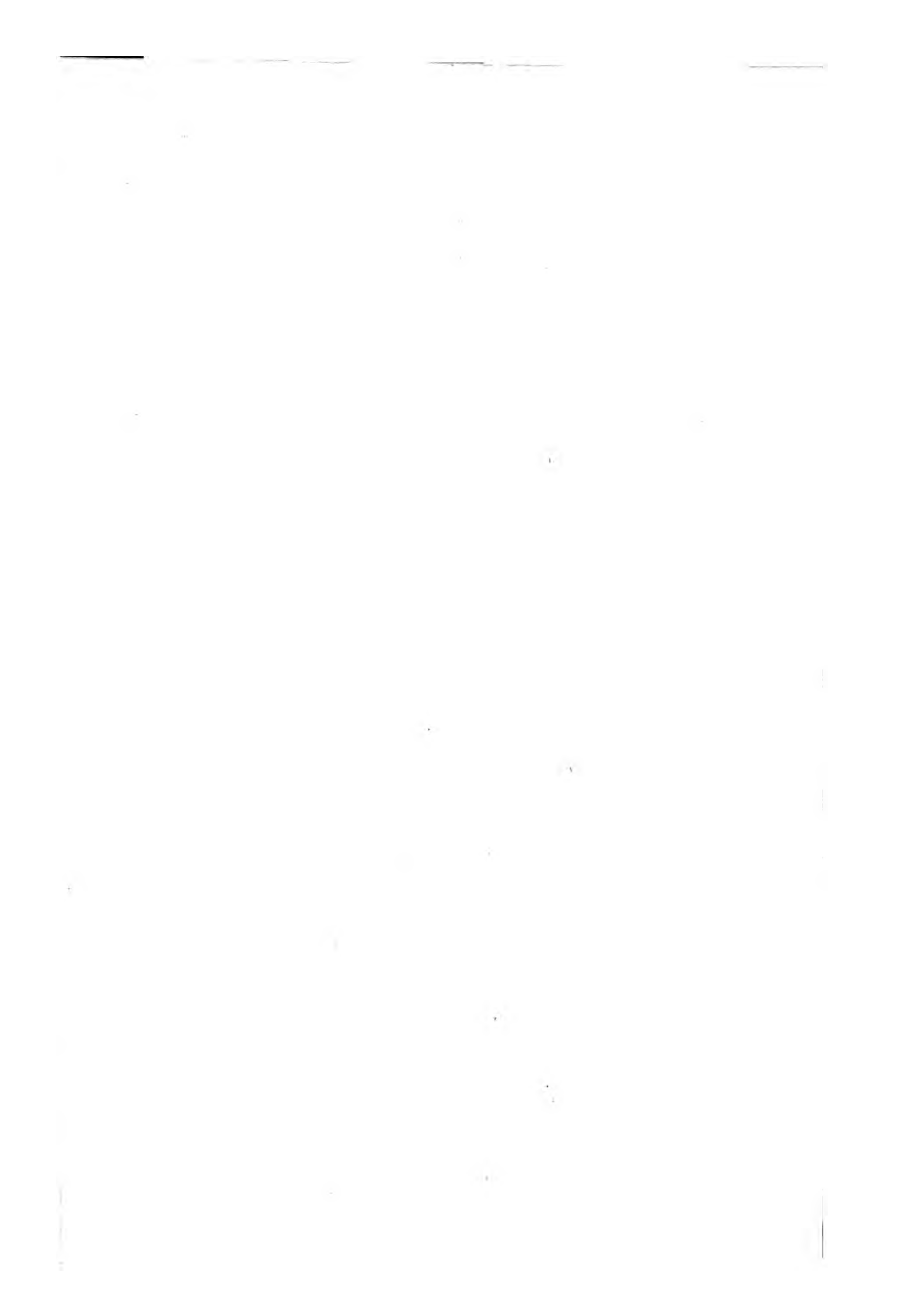
to a conclusion the match [PPP] with the infant,

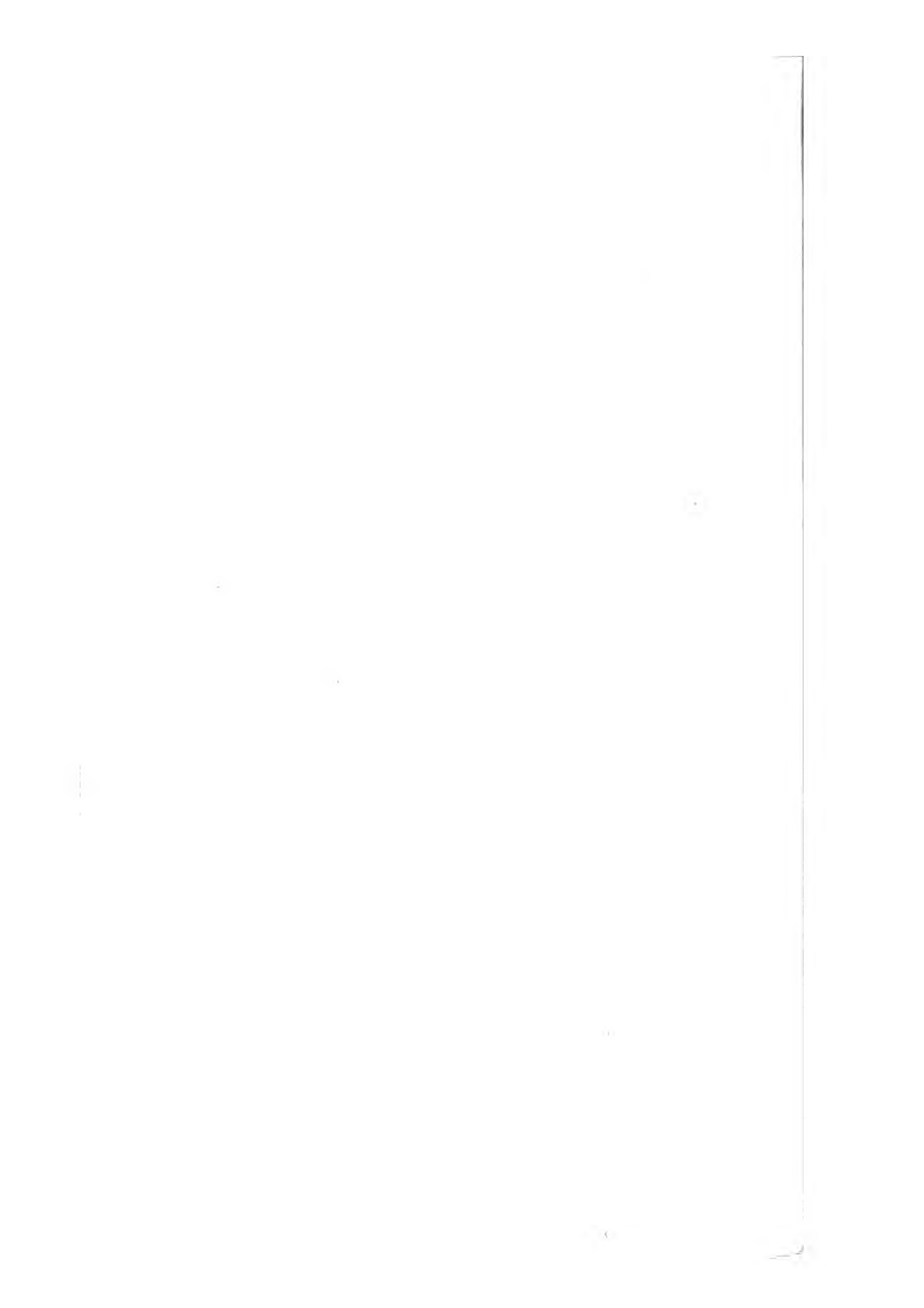
nevolent actions. By which means their weakneses, or wickedneses fill up their annals, and cause their names to be treated with indignation and contempt.

[PPP] His permitting his only son to go into Spain, &c.] *James* had treated both with France and Spain, for a match with prince Charles, tho' he knew well the inconveniences which would arise from his marrying a lady of a different religion. For in his Basilicon Doron, addressed to prince *Henry*, he has the following remarkable passage. " I would ratherest have you to marrie
 " one that was fully of your own religion; her rank and
 " other qualities being agreeable to your estate: for al-
 " though to my great regrate, the number of any
 " princes of power and accounts professing our religion,
 " be but very small; and that therefore this advice
 " seems to be the more strait and difficile: yet ye have
 " deeply to weigh, and consider upon these doubts,
 " how ye and your wife can be of one flesh, and keep
 " unitie betwixt you, being members of two opposite
 " churches: disagreement in religion bringeth ever
 " with it, disagreement in manners; and the differen-
 " tion betwixt your preachers and hers, will breed and
 " foster a dissention among your subjects, taking
 " their example from your family; besides the peril
 " of the evil education of your children. Neither
 " pride you that ye will be able to make her as ye
 " please: that deceived *Solomon* the wisest king that ever
 " was." (a) There is sense in this passage; and yet the writer of it never attempted to match either of his sons with a protestant princess. The eldest, prince *Henry*, he endeavoured to marry with a daughter of *France* or *Sawoy*; the youngest, prince *Charles*, as I have just observed, with *France* or *Spain*. With *France* the negotiations were broke off for that purpose, and those with *Spain* commenced about the year 1616. (b) But for several years the Spaniards had no other end in enter-

(a) K. Jam. works, p. 172.

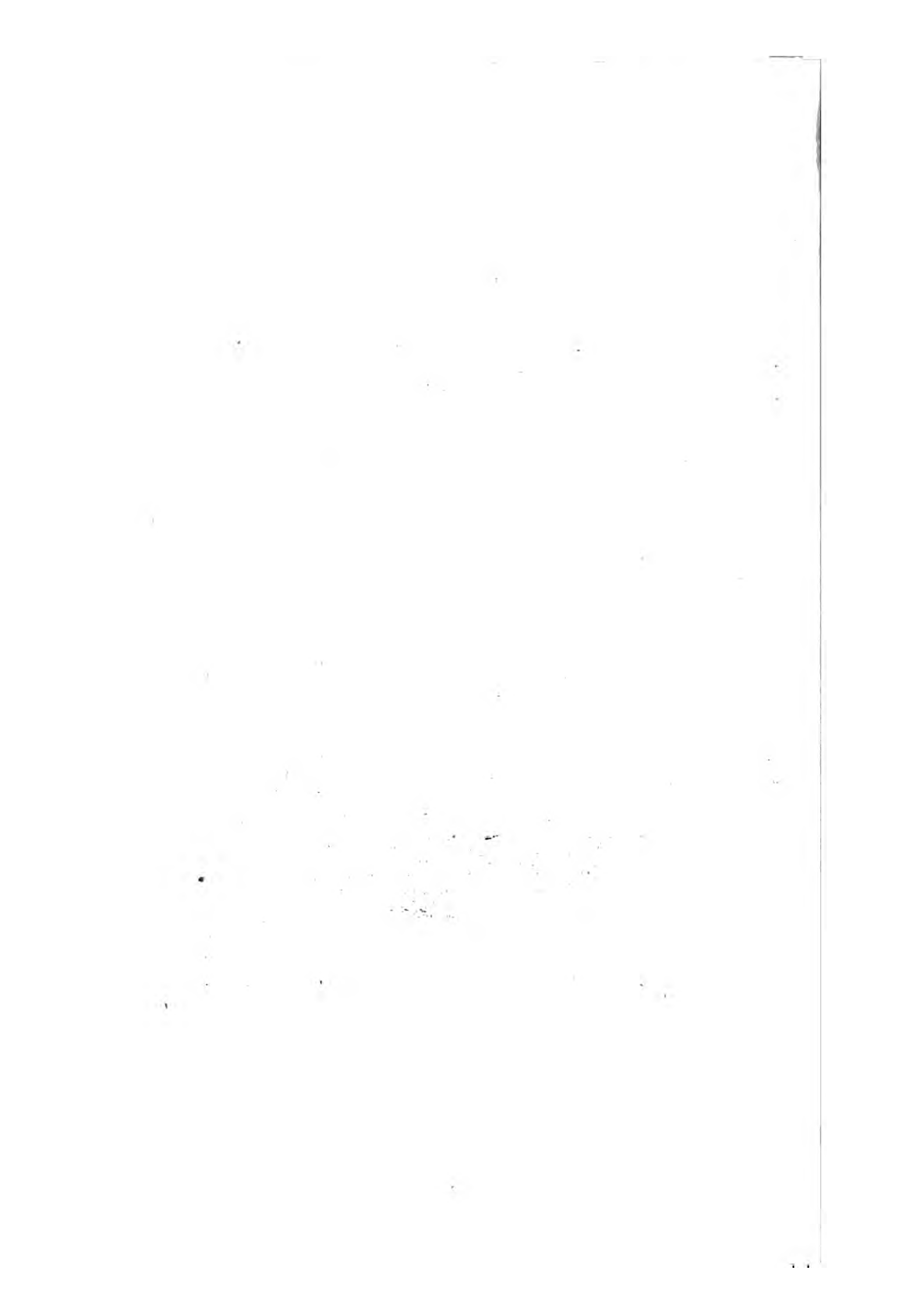
(b) Birch's view of the negotiations, &c. p. 393.







CHARLES I.



fanta, we shall perhaps be fully satisfied of the weakness of his conduct.

No

entertaining the negotiations, but to amuse *James* and hinder him from concerning himself in the business of *Cleves*, or effectually succouring the *Palatinate*. This appears plainly from the king of Spain's letter to *Conde Olivares*, dated Nov. 5, 1622. (c) However, it seems (c) *Ruffworth*, Vol. I. p. 71. probable, that afterwards the Spaniards intentions were sincere for the match, and that a short space of time would have compleated it. For matters had been carried to such a length, and *James* had yielded to all their proposals so readily, that they could not well refuse to conclude it. This match was odious to the body of the English nation, and the parliament advised the breaking off the treaty. (d) But *James* gave them a severe reprimand for their advice, and determined not to comply with it. He longed for the Spanish gold, (two millions, but of what value appears not) which the *infanta* was to bring with her, and was in hopes of getting the restitution of the *Palatinate*: and therefore, proceeded with zeal and earnestness.——While things were in this state, the prince persuaded by *Buckingham*, had an inclination to see and wooe his mistress. They opened it to the king, and he, after much opposition, being bullied into it by *Steney*, (e) complied; to the amazement of the whole world. For it was an unparalleled thing to see “ the only son of a king, the heir of the kingdom, hazard himself in such a long voyage, and carry himself rather as an hostage than a spouse, to a court of contrary maxims of religion and state, humbly to supplicate for a wife.” (f) What was this but exposing him to the danger of imprisonment, the solicitations of jesuits, the importunities of the romish clergy, and thereby exciting fears and terrors in the minds of the subject, and make them draw the worst conclusions possible? yea, what was this but to put it in the power of the Spaniards, to insist on what terms they thought fit, and cause him to execute them, they having

(d) *Id.* p. 42.

(e) See lord Clarendon, Vol. I. p. 11—18.

(f) *Nani's hist. of Venice*, p. 196. fol. Lond. 1673.

No wonder then that he was burlesqued, ridiculed, and expos'd abroad, by those who

ing the person of the prince thus in their power? And how weak and imprudent must it be, to take a step of this nature, without so much as communicating it to the council, and taking their advice on it? What was easily to be foreseen, happened. “ The change of his
 “ religion, (prince *Charles's*) was much hoped for by
 “ the court of Spain, at this first coming thither. To
 “ perfect which, he was plied from time to time with
 “ many persuasive arguments, by many persons of great
 “ honor about the king: and many of the most learned
 “ priests and jesuits made their addresses to him, with
 “ such rhetorical orations, with such insinuating arti-
 “ fices, and subtle practices, as if they had a purpose
 “ rather to conquer him by kindness than by disputa-
 “ tion.—The pope also addressed his lines unto the
 “ prince, extolling the piety of his predecessors, their
 “ zeal unto the catholic church, and to the head thereof
 “ the pope, inviting him by all the blandishments of
 “ art, to put himself upon following of their brave ex-
 “ amples. Never a prince had a harder game to play,
 “ than prince *Charles* had now. He found himself un-
 “ der the power of the King of Spain, and knew that
 “ the whole business did depend on the popes dispensa-
 “ tion, with whom if he complied not in some hand-
 “ some way, his expectation might be frustrate, and all
 “ the fruits of that long treaty would be suddenly
 “ blasted. He therefore writes unto the pope in such
 “ general terms, as seem'd to give his holiness some as-
 “ surances of him: but being reduced into particulars,
 “ signified nothing else but some civil complements,
 “ mixt with some promises of his endeavours to make
 “ up the breaches in the church, and restore Christen-
 “ dom to an happy and desirable peace.—In Eng-
 “ land the king had as hard a game to play. For hav-
 “ ing left such a pawn in Spain, he was in a manner
 “ bound to his good behaviour, and of necessity to gra-
 tify

who observed his conduct; and that he was spoken of most contemptuously, even by

“ tify the popish party in this kingdom with more than
 “ ordinary favour. He knew no marriage could be
 “ made without the pope’s dispensation, and that the
 “ pope’s dispensation could not be obtained, without
 “ indulging many graces to his catholic subjects. To
 “ smoothe his way therefore to the point desired, he ad-
 “ dressed several letters to the pope and cardinals, in
 “ which he gives him the title of *most holy father*; (g)
 “ and employs *Gage* as his agent in the court of Rome,
 “ to attend the business. At home he dischargeth all
 “ such priests and jesuits as had been formerly imprison-
 “ ed; inhibiting all processses, and superseding all pro-
 “ ceedings against recusants; and in a word, suspends
 “ the execution of such penal laws as were made against
 “ them.

(g) See a letter in Cabala, from James, to Gregory XVth. on this occasion, p. 412.

“ The people hereupon began to cry out generally of
 “ a tolleration, and murmur in all places, as if he were
 “ resolved to grant it.” (b) See here some of the ef-
 “ fects of this weak expedition. The same prince who
 “ was for proving to the duke of *Sully*, that it was an of-
 “ fence against God, to give the title of holiness to any o-
 “ ther than him, now very freely gives it to the pope:
 “ (i) and the man who had proclaimed aloud in his wri-
 “ ting, that the pope was anti-christ, now dignifies him
 “ with the title of most holy father. But *James*, I fancy
 “ had forgot to blush, or he could hardly have thus pub-
 “ licly contradicted himself. However, fortune favour-
 “ ed prince *Charles* in freeing him from the dangers, into
 “ which this absurd and romantic voyage brought him.
 “ He got through France, though pursued after; and by
 “ the honor and generosity of the Spaniards, was permit-
 “ ted to return safe into England, where by the instigation
 “ of *Buchingham*, he set himself in an abrupt and ungra-
 “ cious manner to break off the treaty of marriage, and
 “ earnestly endeavoured to engage the nation in a war
 “ with Spain, in which he was successful. But ’tis very
 “ observable,

(b) Heylin’s life of Laud, p. 109, 111.

(i) See note [κκ]

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by his best friends, Maurice prince of *Orange*, and *Henry* the Great of *France*, [QQQ] as well

observable, “ that the reason given for breaking the match “ was not the true one. The restitution of the *Palatine* “ *nate* had been very coolly pressed, not to say neglect- “ ed, even whilst the prince was at *Madrid*; and yet “ after he came from thence, the king of Spain had “ signed an act by which he engaged for this restitution; “ so that on the principles on which this negotiation had “ been conducted, there seemed to have been no reason “ for breaking it off, given by Spain at the time, when “ it was broken.” (*k*)—I will conclude this note by observing, that I do not remember any one writer, who has thought this journey of prince *Charles* into Spain, prudent or justifiable, and consequently *James* could not but be blame worthy for permitting it. For he ought not to have been overcome by the solicitations of his *son*, much less by the rudeness and insolence of *Buckingham*. He should have adhered to what he could not but see to be for the interest of the State, and not have given it up to please son or favourite. But he weakly gave way to them, and thereby exposed those most dear to him to the greatest dangers, and involved himself in such difficulties as exposed him to the ridicule of foreigners, and the contempt and ill-will of his subjects.

(*k*) Old-castle's remarks, p. 299.

[QQQ] He was ridiculed abroad, and contemptuously spoken of, by *Maurice* prince of *Orange*, and *Henry* the Great of *France*.] In Sir *Walter Rawleigh's* ghost, written in 1620, [not 1622, as in the printed copy,] we find him introduced speaking to *Gondomar*, a fryar and a jesuit, concerning the cruel representations that had been made of some of our princes, since the reformation, by the Spaniards in their pictures. And after having spoken of their painting *Henry VIII.* naked, without a grave, as if a heretic were not worthy to be buried; of the picture of *Elizabeth*, who was used as
bad

well as by his subjects, who could not without

bad by them for the same reason, and because she was their mortal foe; after having spoken of these, he adds, “but to come to his majesty, (king *James*) what have you done by him even of late days? in one place you picture him with a scabbard without a sword; in another, with a sword so fast in his scabbard, that no body could draw it. In *Brussels* you made him in his hose doublet; his pockets hanging out, and never a penny in his purse. In *Antwerp* you painted the queen of *Bohemia* like an Irish *Glibbin*, her hair dishevelled, a child at her back, and in a mantle, with the king (her father) carrying the cradle for her.” (a)——In the year 1609, was the truce

concluded between Spain and the united provinces; under the mediation of *James* and *Henry* the fourth of France. During the negotiations great complaints were made of the partiality of *James* towards the Spaniards, by the French ministers to their master; how justly I shall not determine. But in answer to a letter from one of his ambassadors, *Henry* writes “that he knew *James*’s ill intentions towards the States; and withal tells him, his carriage did not break his sleep; ending his letter with this word of contempt, rarely used among princes of that rank, I know his capacity and the inclinations of his subjects.” (b) And the same *Henry*, when one called “*James* a second *Solomon*,” replied, that he hoped he was not *David* the fowler’s son.” (c)——Nor had *Mamrice* prince of Orange any better opinion of him, than the most christian king, as will appear from the following curious relation.

Sir *Ralph Winwood* being present in the council of State, where the sincerity of the courts of *Madrid* and *Brussels* in the treaty [for the truce,] was questioned by the prince, told his highness, that, notwithstanding, he thought it the interest of the republic to go on with it, because if the arch dukes should at last refuse to comprehend the king of *Spain*, as well as themselves, an eternal

(a) Sir Walter Raleigh’s ghost, in Morgan’s *Phœnix Britannicus*, p. 323, Lond. 1732, 4to. and Wilson, p. 192. Oldys, p. 111.

(b) *Com-pleat hist.* Vol. II. p. 683, in the notes.

(c) *Osborn*, p. 511. see note [A]

out indignation behold the empty, insignificant

nal dishonor would light upon them, and the two kings of *England* and *France* would have more reason to assist the States. The prince took him up briskly with these words, we will not go plead a process before the Kings : and le Roi vostre maistre n'ose pas parler au Roi d'Espagne, (and the king your master dares not speak to the king of Spain.) Sir Ralph answered,

Monseigneur, vous avez tort : le Roi mon maistre a & resolution de se ressentir, & puissance de se revenger du Roi & prince qui se soit. (Sir, you are mistaken. The king, my master, hath both spirit to resent an injury, and power to avenge himself on any king, or prince that shall offer it.) The prince replied,

Comment s'est-il ressentí de la trahison du poudre ? (How did he resent the gun-powder plot ?) Sir Ralph rejoined,

Comment scavez-vous, qui le roy d'Espagne s'y soit melé ? (How do you know that the king of Spain had any hand in that affair.) Owen en a été. (*Owen* had) said the prince,

Lequel on a demandé ; & le Comte de Tyrone est soutenu parle roi d'Espagne. (Whom they have in vain required the king of Spain to deliver up ; and the earl of *Tyrone* 'tis notorious is supported by him.) Sir Ralph replied,

Quant à Owen, ce n'est pas a vous, a qui le roi mon maistre en rendra conte : & pour Tyrone, tout le monde scait qu'il est à Rome, & non pas en Espagne. (As for *Owen*, his majesty is not accountable to you for his behaviour in regard of him ; and for *Tyrone*, all the world knows he is at Rome and not in Spain.)

(d) Birchs's view of the negotiations, &c. p. 286.

(d) *Owen* here spoken of by the prince, had been demanded of the arch-dukes and the king of Spain, to be delivered

cant figure the nation was reduced to by his manage-

livered up by Sir Thomas Edmondcs, being charged with being privy to the gun-powder plot; and *Tyrone* who had fled out of Ireland, upon account of his attempting a rebellion, had been asked of them likewise, but both unsuccessfully. Indeed they were both carried by the Spaniards; and *Tyrone* in particular, tho' he resided at Rome as *Winwood* said, had a pension of six hundred crowns a month from the king of Spain, and therefore the interest of *James* was justly deemed insignificant at the Spanish court, by prince *Maurice*. (e) 'Tis true, upon complaint of the English court, prince *Maurice* in a very respectful letter, endeavoured to mollify *James's* anger; and afterwards in a second letter he acknowledged his offence, and cleared himself in the best manner he could, from any malicious intention to impeach his majesty's service, or asperse his character. But 'tis easy enough to see that his apologies arose from the situation of his affairs, and that what in warmth he had spoken, he indeed thought.—Let us then conclude, that *James's* best friends, as I observed in the text, spoke most contemptuously of him; for such *Henry* and *Maurice* were.—If we would know further in what esteem *James* was with his neighbours, the following epigram made in France will in some measure, perhaps satisfy us.

(e) See Birches's negotiations, p. 249, 275.

“ Tandis qu' *Elizabeth* fut Roy,
 “ L'Anglois fut d'Espagne l'effroy.
 “ Maintenant, devise et caquette,
 “ Regi par la *Reine Jaquette*.

That is literally in English.

Whilst *Elizabeth* was king,
 The English were of Spain the terror.
 But now governed by *Queen Jaquet*,
 They only talk and prattle.

management, and the scofs and jeers where-
with they were insulted by their neighbours.

But

Or if the reader likes it better in rhyme, it is given
in English, thus :

While *Elizabeth* was England's King,
That dreadful name through Spain did ring,
How alter'd is the case, — ad fa' me !
These jugling days of *gude Queen Jamie* ! (f)

(f) Rapin,
Vol. II. p.
236. and
Morgan's
phœnix Bri-
tannicus, p.
324.

And that it may not be imagined that libellers and faty-
rists only contemned *James*, and represented him in a
more ridiculous light (than they ought, I will add, that
the grave and knowing duke of *Sully*, tells us that *Henry*
in derision, called *James* captain of arts and clark of
arms ; (g) and that he himself and his brother, had spo-
ken in terms not very respectful of him.

(g) *Sully's*
memoirs,
Vol. I. p.
209. Edict
of Nantz,
Vol. I. p.
452.

Nor did his own people come behind in ridiculing and
censuring his conduct. “ They mouthed out that
“ Great Britain was become less than little England ;
“ that they had lost strength by changing sexes, and
“ that he was no king but a filders son, otherwise he
“ would not suffer such disorders at home, and so much
“ dishonor abroad. — And they say further, why
“ should he assume to himself the title of defender of
“ the faith, that suffers the protestants of Germany,
“ and France to be extirpated. That he might almost
“ have purchased such a country as the Palatinate, with
“ the money spent on ambassages ; and that his promis-
“ ing the French protestants assistance (by their agents
“ that interceded for them) made them the more re-
“ solute, and confident to their ruin : So that they
“ might well call England the land of promise. And
“ all that he got by his lip-labour assistance from the
“ French king was, that his ambassador, Sir Edward
“ *Herbert* was snapt up by *Luynes* the young constable,
“ and favourite there, with what hath your master to
“ do with us and our business ? Whereas the Euglish
“ fleets

But however weak and pusillanimous *James's* conduct was abroad, at home he behaved very haugh-

“ fleets, the glory of the world, (if employed) would
 “ have taught the French pride to know, that a looker
 “ on sees more than the gamester, and he that strikes
 “ with passion, will many times thank them that take
 “ him off by friendly admonition, such discourses as
 “ these flew up and down from lip to lip, that it was al-
 “ most treason to hear much more to speak.” (b)—How (b) *Wilson*,
 weakly, how imprudently must a prince have behaved p. 190.
 to have drawn on himself such bitter reflections, and
 cutting sarcasms both at home and abroad? how mean
 a figure must he have made, and with what contempt
 must his promises and threatnings be received? It could
 not be ill-will, it could not be malice, or the love of
 slander alone, which could bring on a regal character
 so much contempt when living: There must have been
 foolish wretched management, as we have seen there was,
 to render it passable. But of all things, princes should
 dread falling into contempt: seeing that thereby their
 reputation, and consequently their power ceases, and
 they are rendered incapable of executing any great de-
 sign. For as cardinal *Richlieu* has well observed, “ re-
 “ putation is the more necessary in princes, in that
 “ those we have a good opinion of, do more by their
 “ bare words, than those who are not esteemed with
 “ armies. They are obliged to value it beyond life;
 “ and they ought sooner to venture their fortune and
 “ grandeur, than to suffer the least breach to be made
 “ in the same, since it is most certain that the least di-
 “ minution a prince receives, tho’ never so slight, is
 “ the step which is of most dangerous consequence for
 “ his ruin. In consideration of which I declare freely,
 “ that princes ought never to esteem any profit advan-
 “ tagious, when it reflects the least upon their honour:
 “ and they are either blinded or insensible to their true
 “ interests, if they receive any of this nature. And in-
 “ deed history teaches us, that in all times and in all
 “ States, princes of great reputation are always happier
 “ than

haughtily. He valued himself much on his hereditary right, and lineal descent, [RRR] to

(i) Rich-
lieu's politi-
cal testa-
ment, part
2d. p. 46.

“ than those, who being inferior to them in that point,
“ have surpassed them in force and riches, and in all
“ other power.” (i) Pity it is but princes knew what
was said of them! if they had any thirst after fame, any
desire of real glory, it would excite them to direct their
actions to the good of the public, and it would make
them weigh and consider things so, as that their resolu-
tions might appear to be the result of prudence and dis-
cretion. If they will not act thus. but blindly follow
their own whims and humours, or submit to be led by
weak, ignorant, self-seeking men, as was the case of
James; they may depend on it that tho’ flattery mounts
up their imaginary excellencies to the clouds, and repre-
sents them as demy-gods for power and wisdom, stan-
ders by will laugh at them, and posterity expose and
condemn them.

(a) King
Jam.es’s
works, p.
485.

(b) Id. p.
487, 488.

[RRR] He valued himself much on his hereditary
right and lineal descent.] In his first speech to the par-
liament, March 19, 1603, he tells them that the first
reason of his calling them together was, “ that they
“ might with their own ears hear him deliver unto
“ them the assurance of his thankfulness, for their so
“ joyful and general applause, to the declaring and re-
“ ceiving of him in that seat, which God by his birth-
“ right and lineal descent, had in the fulness of time
“ provided for him.” (a) And in other parts of the
same speech, he speaks of his lineal descent out of the
“ loins of *Henry* the seventh;” and of his being “ li-
“ neally descended of both the crowns” (b) (of England
and Scotland.) One should have thought an English
parliament should have stared at hearing such an unusual
language from the throne. But such was the complai-
sance they had for their new king, and so willing were
they to make their court to him, that they spoke in
like terms with him, and echoed back, not as has
some-

to the crown, and talked of it in most pompous

sometimes been done in an address, but in an act of parliament his words and sentiments on this subject. For in the first act of parliament passed in this reign, intituled a “ most joyful and just recognition of the immediate, “ lawful and undoubted succession, descent and right “ of the crown,” we find the following expressions. “ Your majesty’s royal person, who is lineally, right- “ fully, and lawfully descended of the body of the most “ excellent lady *Margaret*, eldest daughter of the most “ renowned king *Henry* the seventh, and they therein “ desire it may be published and declared in the high “ court of parliament, and enacted by authority of the “ same, that they (being bounden thereunto both by “ the laws of God and man) do recognize and acknow- “ ledge that immediately upon the dissolution and de- “ cease of *Elizabeth*, late queen of England, the im- “ perial crown of the realm of England, and of all the “ kingdoms, dominions and rights belonging to the “ same did by *inherent Birthright*, and lawful and un- “ doubted succession, descend and come unto his most “ excellent majesty, as being lineally, justly, and law- “ fully, next and sole heir of the blood royal of this “ realm.” (c) This was complaisance indeed! and this together with their ascribing to him in the same act, “ the rarest gifts of mind and body,” and acknowledg- ing “ his great wisdom, knowledge, experience, and “ dexterity,” could hardly help rivetting in his mind, his absurd opinions, and high self-estimation.

(c) Vid. stat. anno primo Jacobi c. 1. pertotum.

I call his notions of hereditary right, and lineal descent absurd. For I know of no right that any person has to succeed another in wearing a crown, but what the laws give him; if he is by law appointed the next heir, his right to succeed is built upon the most stable foundation. But the laws relating to the succession may be changed, according as the exigencies of the state and the public good require; and if by such a change any person or family is set aside from succeeding, the right

pous terms, tho' nothing could be more absurd and chimærical.

In

they might before have had vanishes, and without usurpation cannot take place. When that political law (says a justly admired writer) which has established in “ the kingdom a certain order of succession, becomes “ destructive to the body politic for whose sake it was “ established, there is not the least room to doubt but “ another political law may be made to change this order; and so far would this law be from opposing the “ first, it would in the main be entirely conformable to “ it, since both would depend on this principle, that, “ *the safety of the people is the supreme law.*” (d)—
 And indeed this hereditary right to the crown, here boasted of by *James*, was “ a meer chimera; contradicted by the general tenor of custom from the Norman invasion to his time; by the declared sense of his immediate predecessors; by many solemn proceedings of parliament, and by the express terms of law. “ —Two families (for the race of *Plantagenet* was grafted on the *Norman* race, and they may be reckoned properly as one) had furnished, indeed, all our kings; but this constituted no *hereditary right*. “ When a prince of the royal family, but in a degree remote from the succession, comes to the crown, in prejudice to the next heir, hereditary right is violated, as really as it would be if an absolute stranger to this family succeeded. Such a prince may have another and we think a better right, that for instance, which is derived from a settlement of the crown, made by the authority of parliament; but to say he hath an hereditary right is the grossest abuse of words imaginable. This we think so plain, that we should be ashamed to go about to prove it.—Our kings of the *Norman* race, were so far from succeeding as next heirs to one another, and in a regular course of descent, that no instance can be produced of the next heirs succeeding, which is not preceded and followed by instances of the next heirs being set aside.—

“ Thus

(d) Spirit of laws, Vol. II. p. 218. Lond. 1750. 8vo.

In consequence hereof he entertained high notions

“ Thus *Edward* the first succeeded his father *Henry the*
 “ *third*; but his father *Henry the third*, and his grand-
 “ father *John*, had both been raised to the throne, in
 “ plain defiance of *hereditary right*: the right of *Ar-*
 “ *thur*, nephew to *John*, and the right of *Arthur’s*
 “ sister, cousin-german to *Henry*.——*Edward the*
 “ *second* succeeded his father *Edward the first*; but
 “ *Edward the third* deposed *Edward the second*;
 “ the parliament renounced all allegiance to him; and
 “ *Edward the third* held the crown by a parliamentary
 “ title, as much as *William the third*.——If we go
 “ up higher than this æra, or descend lower, we shall
 “ find the examples uniform. Examples, sufficient to
 “ countenance this pretension of hereditary right to the
 “ crown of England, are no where to be found.——
 “ The *British* race began in *Henry the seventh*; and
 “ from *him* alone king *James* derived that right, which
 “ he asserted in such pompous terms. Now surely, if
 “ ever any prince came to the crown without the least
 “ colour of *hereditary right*, it was *Henry the seventh*.
 “ He had no pretence to it, even as heir to the house of
 “ *Lancaster*. His wife might have some as heir of the
 “ house of *York*; but the title of his wife had no re-
 “ gard paid to it either by him or the parliament, in
 “ making this new settlement. He gained the crown
 “ by the good will of the people. He kept it by the
 “ confirmation of parliament, and by his own ability.
 “ The notional union of the *two roses* was a much bet-
 “ ter expedient for quiet than foundation of right. It
 “ took place in *Henry the eighth*; it was continued in
 “ his successors; and this nation was willing it should
 “ continue in *James* and his family. But neither
 “ *Henry the eighth*, nor his son *Edward the sixth*, who
 “ might have done so with much better grace, laid the
 “ same stress on hereditary right, as king *James* did.
 “ One of them had recourse to parliament on every
 “ occasion, where the succession to the crown was
 “ concerned; and the other made no scruple of giving
 “ the

notions of the prerogative, and carried the doctrine

“ the crown by will to his cousin, in prejudice of his
 “ sisters right. This right however, such as it was,
 “ prevailed; but the authority of parliament was called
 “ in aid by *Mary*, to remove the objection of illegiti-
 “ macy, which lay against it. *Elizabeth* had so little
 “ concern about hereditary right, that she neither held,
 “ nor desired to hold her crown by any other tenure
 “ than the statute of the 35 of her father’s reign. In
 “ the 13th of her own reign, she declared it by law
 “ high treason, during her life, and a *Præmunire*, af-
 “ ter her decease, to deny the power of parliament, in
 “ limiting and binding the descent and inheritance of
 “ the crown, or the claims to it; and whatever private
 “ motives there were for putting to death *Mary*,
 “ queen of *Scotland*, her claiming a right, in opposi-
 “ tion to an act of parliament, was the foundation of
 “ the public proceedings against her.

“ Such examples as we have quoted, ought to have
 “ some weight with king *James*. A prince who had
 “ worn the crown of *Scotland*, under so many restraints,
 “ and in so great penury, might have contented him-
 “ self one would think, to hold that of *England*,
 “ whose pensioner he had been, by the same tenure,
 “ and to establish his authority on the same principles,
 “ as had contented the best and greatest of his *Predeces-*
 “ *sors*; but his designs were as bad as those of the very
 “ worst princes, who went before him.” (e) The good
 sense and unanswerable reasoning in this quotation will
 make ample amends for the length of it, and therefore
 needs no apology. But ’tis amazing to consider that
 notwithstanding such facts and reasonings there
 should yet be found people weak enough to hold this
 doctrine of hereditary right, a doctrine absurd in itself,
 and big with mischief. Did men but think and con-
 sider, did they weigh and examine, were they honest
 and impartial, they soon would see its folly and ridicule
 it. But such is the laziness of mankind, that they are
 at

(e) Old-
 castle’s Re-
 marks, p.
 241.
 See also the
 brief history
 of the suc-
 cession. in
 the State
 tracts,
 relating to
 the times of
 Charles the
 2d. and Sir
 John Haw-
 les’s speech
 at the tryal
 of Sacheve-
 ral.

doctrine of the regal power, [sss] to a pitch
was

at all times inclined more to believe on trust, than to take the pains to consider; and therefore run into the most whimsical, and ridiculous opinions. Princes may think it their interest to have such a doctrine as this inculcated; but the teachers of it ought to be looked upon as the foes of mankind, and had in abhorrence by those, to whom liberty and virtue are amiable.

[sss] He entertained high notions of the prerogative, and carried the doctrine of the regal power to a very great pitch.] *James* as I have observed was bred up under *Buchanan*, whose hatred of tranny is well known, and who like a very honest man endeavoured to inspire his pupil with a detestation of it; and he seemed to have had some hopes, that his labours would not have been wholly vain. For in the conclusion of his short dedication to *James*, of his *Baptistes, sive calumni tragoedia*, among his poetical works there are the following expressions.—“ Illud autem peculiarius ad te videri potest spectare, quod tyrannorum cruciatus, & cum florere maxime videntur, miserias dilucide exponat. Quod te nunc intelligere non conducibile modo, sed etiam necessarium existimo: ut mature odisse incipias, quod tibi semper est fugiendum. Volo etiam hunc libellum apud posteros testem fore, si quid aliquando pravis consultoribus impulsus vel regni licentia rectam educationem superante secus committas, non præceptoribus, sed tibi, qui eis recte monentibus non sis obsecutus, id vitio vertendum esse. Det dominus meliora, & quod est apud tuum salustium, tibi bene facere ex consuetudine in naturam vertat. Quod equidem cum multis & spero, & opto. Sterlino, ad Calend. Novembris, 1576.” i. e. “ But this more especially seems to belong to you, which explains the torments and miseries of tyrants, even when they seem to be in the most flourishing state, which I esteem not only advantagious, but even necessary for
“ you

was amazingly great, and bordering on impiety.

“ you now to understand : that you may begin early to
 “ hate, what you should always avoid. I desire also
 “ that this book may be a witness to posterity, that if
 “ at any time you act otherwise, by the influence of
 “ wicked counsellors, or the wantonness of power
 “ getting the better of education, you may impute it
 “ not to your præceptors, but to yourself that slighted
 “ their good advice.—God grant you a better fate,
 “ and (as your favourite fallust has it) render benefi-
 “ cence natural to you by custom. Which I sincerely
 “ wish, and hope with many others.”

James was little more than ten years of age when this was written to him. Two years afterwards *Buchanan* dedicated his celebrated piece intitled, *De jure Regni apud Scotos*, to *James*, in which he tells him, “ that
 “ he thought good to publish it, that it might be a
 “ standing witness of his affection towards him, and
 “ admonish him of his duty towards his subjects. Now
 “ many things, adds he, persuaded me that this my en-
 “ deavour should not be in vain : especially your age
 “ not yet corrupted by prave opinions, and inclina-
 “ tion far above your years for undertaking all heroi-
 “ cal and noble attempts, spontaneously making haste
 “ thereunto ; and not only your promptitude in obey-
 “ ing your instructors and governors, but all such as
 “ give you sound admonition ; and your judgment and
 “ deligence in examining affairs, so that no man’s
 “ authority can have much weight with you, unless it
 “ be confirmed by probable reason. I do perceive also
 “ that you by a certain natural instinct do so much ab-
 “ hor flattery, which is the nurse of tyranny, and a
 “ most grievous plague of a kingdom ; so as you do hate
 “ the court solecisms and barbarisms, no less, than those
 “ that seem to censure all elegancy, do love and affect
 “ such things, and every where in discourse spread
 “ abroad, as the sawce thereof those titles of majesty,
 “ highness, and many other unfavoury compellations.
 “ Now

piety. Nor could he with any patience bear that

“ Now albeit your good natural disposition, and sound
 “ instructions, wherein you have been principled, may
 “ at present draw you away from falling into this error,
 “ yet I am forced to be something jealous of you, lest
 “ bad company, the fawning foster mother of all vices
 “ draw aside your soft and tender mind into the worst
 “ part; especially seeing I am not ignorant, how easily
 “ our other senses yield to seduction. This book there-
 “ fore I have sent unto you, to be not only your moni-
 “ tor, but also an importunate and bold exactor which
 “ in this your flexible and tender years, may conduct
 “ you in safety from the rocks of flattery, and not only
 “ may admonish you, but also keep you in the way you
 “ are once entered into: and if at any time you deviate,
 “ it may reprehend and draw you back, the which if
 “ you obey, you shall for yourself and for all your sub-
 “ jects, acquire tranquility and peace in this life, and
 “ eternal glory in the life to come. Farewel, from
 “ Sterveling, Jan. 10, 1579.” (a)

(a) Dedi-
 cation of
 Buchanan
 de jure regni
 apud Scotos,
 in English,
 4to. Lond.
 1689,

I have been forced to give this in the words of a trans-
 lation, for want of an opportunity of turning to the
 original; which the good-natured reader, I hope, will
 pardon. In these dedications we may see the endeavors
 and hopes of *Buchanan*, which I have just mentioned,
 of inspiring his pupil with a detestation of tyranny.
 But his hopes were ill-founded, his endeavours were in-
 effectual. *James* hated the man who counselled him,
 and spoke a doctrine directly contrary unto that taught
 by him. (b) What he writ on this subject when in
 Scotland, we have before mentioned. (c) He there in-
 culcated the doctrine of tyranny, and in England he
 continued to avow it, and that even before the parlia-
 ment itself. In his speech to the lords and commons at
 Whitehall, Anno 1609, we have the following passage.
 “ King’s are justly called Gods, for that they exercise
 “ a manner or resemblance of divine power upon earth:
 “ for if you will consider the attributes of God, you
 “ shall

(b) See note
 [B]
 (c) In note
 [xx]

that any should assert it's being liable to be contradicted or controuled. He treated his

“ shall see how they agree in the person of a king.
 “ God hath power to create or destroy, make, or un-
 “ make at his pleasure, to give life or send death, to
 “ judge all, and to be judged, nor accomptable to none :
 “ to raise low things, and to make high things low at
 “ his pleasure. and to God are both soul and body due :
 “ and the like power have kings : they make and un-
 “ make their subjects ; they have power of raising, and
 “ casting down ; of life and of death ; judges over all
 “ their subjects, and in all causes ; and yet *accomptable*
 “ *to none but God only.* They have power to exalt low
 “ things, and abase high things, and make of their sub-
 “ jects like men at chess ; a pawne to take a bishop or
 “ a knight, and to cry up, or down any of their sub-
 “ jects, as they do their money. And to the king is
 “ due both the affection of the soul, and the service of
 “ the body of his subjects.” (d) And in the same speech
 are the following words. “ I conclude then this point
 “ touching the power of kings, with this axiom of divi-
 “ nity, that as to dispute what God may do, is blas-
 “ phemie ; but *quid vult deus*, that divines may law-
 “ fully, and do ordinarily dispute and discusse ; for to
 “ dispute a *posse ad esse* is both against logicke and divi-
 “ nitie : so is it sedition in subjects, to dispute what a
 “ king may do in the height of his power.” (e) These
 passages shall suffice to shew *James's* notions of the regal
 power ; their opposition to those of his præceptor ;
 and that lord *Bolingbroke* was very much mistaken in
 saying that “ *James* retailed the scraps of *Buchanan.*”
 (f) I thought to have concluded this note here, but I find
 it proper to add that *James* had the utmost indignation
 against those who held that princes were accountable, or
 controulable. This appeared from his citing a preacher
 before him from *Oxford*, who had asserted that the in-
 ferious majestrate had a lawful power to order and cor-
 rect

(d) K. Jam.
works, p.
529.

(e) Id. p.
531.

(f) Letters
on the spirit
of patriotism
p. 216.

his parliaments in many cases most contemptuously [T T T] both by words and actions ; giving

rect the king if he did amiss ; and who for the illustration of his doctrine, had used that speech of *Trajan* unto the captain of his guard ; *Accipe hunc gladium, quem pro me si bene imperavero distringes ; sin minus contra me ; i. e. receive this sword, which I would have thee use for my defence if I govern well ; but if I rule the empire ill, to be turned against me.* The preacher of this doctrine being strictly examined by the king concerning it, laid the blame on *Pareus*, who in his commentary on the Romans, had positively delivered all which he had vented in his sermon, even to that very saying of the emperor *Trajan*. Whereupon the king, tho' he dismissed the preacher, on account of his youth, and the authority he had produced, gave order to have the book of *Pareus* burnt in Oxford, London and Cambridge ; which was done accordingly. (g) So high was *James's* opinion of regal power, so ill could he bear opposition to it, tho' in a foreigner, and one with whom he had nothing to do !

(g) Heylin's life of Laud, p. 95.

[T T T] He treated his parliaments in many cases most contemptuously] here follow my proofs. In his speech to the parliament in 1605, speaking of the house of *commons*, he tells them, that “ that was not a place
 “ for every rash and hair-brained fellow to propose new
 “ laws of his own invention.” that “ they should be
 “ warie not to propose any bitter or seditious laws,
 “ which could produce nothing but grudges and dis-
 “ contents between the prince and his people ; and that
 “ it was no place for particular men to utter their pri-
 “ vate conceits, nor for satisfaction of their curiosities,
 “ and least of all to make shew of their eloquence, by
 “ tyning the time with long studied and eloquent ora-
 “ tions.” (a) And he adds just afterwards, “ that
 “ men should be ashamed to make shew of the quickness
 “ of their wits here, either in taunting, scoffing, or
 “ detracting

(a) K. Jam. works, p. 506. 507.

giving himself extraordinary airs of wisdom
and

“ detracting the prince or state in any point, or yet in
“ breaking jests upon their fellows, for which the or-
“ dinaries or ale-houses are fitter places, than this ho-
“ nourable and high court of parliament.”

In his speech to the parliament at Whitehall, in the
year 1609, he “ wishes the commons to avoid three
“ things in matters of grievances.

“ First, says he, that you do not meddle with the
“ main points of government; that is my craft. *trac-*
“ *tent fabrilia fabri*; to meddle with that were to
“ lesson me: I am now an old king; for six and thirty
“ years have I governed in *Scotland* personally, and now
“ have I accomplished my apprenticeship of seven years
“ here; and seven years is a great time for a king’s
“ experience in government. Therefore there would
“ be too many *Phormio*’s to teach *Hannibal*: I must
“ not be taught my office.

“ Secondly, I would not have you meddle with such
“ antient rights of mine, as I have received from my
“ predecessors, possessing them, *more majorum*: such
“ things I would be sorrie should be accounted for
“ grievances.

“ And lastly, I pray you to beware to exhibit for
“ grievance, any thing that is established by a settled
“ law, and whereunto (as you have already had a
“ proof) you know I will never give a plausible an-
“ swer: for it is an undutiful part in subjects to press
“ their king, wherein they know before hand he will
“ refuse them.” (b)

(b) K. Jam
works, p.

537.
(c) See Hey-
wood

Townshends
historical
collections,
p. 37, 53,
63. fol.
Lond. 1680.

Had *James* stoped here he might have been excused.

Elizabeth had set him an example of directing the *com-*
mons to be cautious in making use of their liberty of
speech; and they complained not of it. (c) But he

went farther. For in the year 1621, the *commons* hav-
ing drawn up a petition and remonstrance to the king,
concerning the danger of the protestant religion at home
and abroad, and advised him to aid the protestants in
the

the

and authority, and undervaluing their power,
skill

the wars in which they were engaged; break with the king of Spain, and marry his son to a princess of the reformed religion, with some other things: the commons having drawn up this petition and remonstrance, and it coming to the king's ears that they were about to present it, the following letter was written by him to the speaker, from New-Market.

Mr. Speaker,

“ We have heard, by divers reports, to our great
“ grief, that our distance from the houses of parliament
“ caused by our indisposition of health, hath embold-
“ ened some fiery and popular spirits of some of the
“ house of commons, to argue and debate publickly of
“ the matters far above their reach and capacity,
“ tending to our high dishonor, and breach of preroga-
“ tive royal. These are therefore to command you,
“ to make known, in our name, unto the house, that
“ none therein shall presume henceforth to meddle with
“ any thing concerning our government, or deep mat-
“ ters of state, and namely not to deal with our dearest
“ son's match with the daughter of *Spain*, nor to touch
“ the honour of that king, or any other our friends and
“ confederates: and also not to meddle with any man's
“ particulars, which have their due motion in our or-
“ dinary courts of justice. And whereas we hear,
“ that they have sent a message to Sir Edward Sandys,
“ to know the reasons of his late restraint, you shall in
“ our name resolve them, that it was not for any mis-
“ demeanor of his in parliament. But to put them out
“ of doubt of any question of that nature that may arise
“ among them hereafter, you shall resolve them in our
“ name, that we think ourselves very free and able to
“ punish any man's misdemeanors in parliament, as
“ well during their sitting as after: which we mean
“ not to spare hereafter, upon any occasion of any
“ man's insolent behaviour there, that shall be minif-
“ tred

skill and capacity. And not contented here-
with

(d) Frank-
lin's annals
of K. James's
p. 60. and
Ruffworth,
Vol. I. p.
43.

“ tred unto us ; and if they have already touched any
 “ of these points, which we have forbidden, in any
 “ petition of theirs, which is to be sent unto us, it is
 “ our pleasure that you shall tell them, that except they
 “ reform it before it come to our hands we will not
 “ deign the hearing, nor answering of it.” (d) Here-
 upon the *Commons* drew up another petition, which
 they sent accompanied with the former remonstrance ;
 to which the king answered among other things, “ that
 “ he must use the first words which queen *Elizabeth*
 “ had used, in an answer to an insolent proposition,
 “ made by a *Polonian* ambassador unto her ; that is
 “ *legatum expectabamus heraldum accippimus* ; that he
 “ wished them to remember that he was an old and ex-
 “ perience king, needed no such lessons as they had
 “ given him ; that they had usurped upon the prero-
 “ gative royal, and meddled with things far above their
 “ reach, and then in the conclusion protested the con-
 “ trary ; as if a robber, says he, would take a man's
 “ purse, and then protest he meant not to rob him.
 “ After this he asks them how they could have presum-
 “ ed to determine about his son's match without com-
 “ mitting of high treason ? These are unfit things,
 “ (the breaking of the match with Spain, and conclud-
 “ ing one with a protestant) to be handled in parlia-
 “ ment, except your king should require it of you : for
 “ who can have wisdom to judge of things of that na-
 “ ture, but such as are daily acquainted with the par-
 “ ticulars of treaties, and of the variable and fixed
 “ connexion of affairs of state, together with the know-
 “ ledge of the secret ways, ends, and intentions of
 “ princes in their several negotiations ? otherwise a
 “ small mistaking of matters of this nature, may pro-
 “ duce more effects than can be imagined : and there-
 “ fore, *ne futor ultra crepidam.*” He concludes with
 saying, “ we cannot allow of the style, (in the petition
 “ and remonstrance,) calling it *your antient and un-*
 “ *doubted*

with he openly and avowedly violated their
privileges,

“doubted right and inheritance; but could rather have
wished, that ye had said, that your privileges were
derived from the grace and permission of our ancestors,
and us; for most of them grow from precedents,
which shews rather a toleration than inheritance.”

At this the commons were alarmed; and therefore solemnly protested that the liberties, franchises, privileges and jurisdictions of parliament, are the antient and undoubted birthright and inheritance of the subjects of England; that the affairs of church and state are proper subjects of counsel and debate in parliament; that in handling of them every member ought to have freedom of speech; and that they are not to be impeached, molested or imprisoned for the same, without the advice and assent of all the commons assembled in parliament. But this protest had no effect on the king. His anger was not abated, he grew not more calm or considerate, but in full assembly of his council, and in the presence of the judges declared the said protestation to be invalid, void, and of no effect; and did further *manu sua propria*, take the said protestation out of the journal book of the clerk of the commons house of parliament. (e)—

With reason then did I say, that James treated his parliaments in many cases, most contemptuously; and even a parliament, concerning which he himself had declared, that a part of it, “the house of commons, had shewed greater love, and used him with more respect in all their proceedings; than ever any house of commons had hitherto done to him, or, as he thought, to any of his predecessors.” (f) Their love and respect were requited by language destitute of all civility and politeness, and they were threatned, bullied, and insulted. Yea, what was more extraordinary was, that a new doctrine was broached by James, that the privileges and liberties of parliament, with respect to the commons, were derived from the crown, and were rather matters of toleration, than inheritance: This

(e) Franklin, p. 62—66. Rushworth, Vol. I. p. 46—54.

(f) Rushworth, Vol. I. p. 25.

privileges, by imprisoning, and otherwise
grieving such of their members as had [U U U]
dared

struck directly at their rights and privileges, and was that which they had the greatest reason to resent. For if they were derived from the crown, and were things barely tolerated by it, they might be abrogated and destroyed; and consequently the constitution might be altered, and despotism take place. But *James* was mistaken with regard to the foundation of the privileges and rights of the house of commons. They flowed not from the grace of our kings; but were coæval with our constitution; as some of our best writers (*g*) have shewn in opposition to those ecclesiastical, or court parasites who vainly strove to persuade the world of the contrary. May they be perpetual! may all our princes think it their duty and interest inviolably to preserve them; and may they be used so as to secure the liberties, the rights and the welfare of the meanest individual.

(*g*) See Sir Rob. Atkyns's power, jurisdiction, and privileges of parliament, fol. Lond. 1689. Sydney on government, p. 379. fol. Lond. 1698. See also spirit of laws, Vol. I. p. 230. and Townshend's collection's, p. 45.

[U U U] He violated the privileges of parliament, by imprisoning and otherwise grieving such of the members, as had acted in the house disagreeable to his will.] We have heard *James* in the foregoing note, declaring that he meant not to spare punishing any man's behaviour in parliament, which should be insolent. By insolent, I suppose he meant unacceptable, or disagreeable to himself or minister, how beneficial soever it might be, or intended to be to the public. For 'tis the manner of princes bent on establishing their own wicked wills, in contradiction to law and the common good, to give odious names to the actions of the sons of liberty, and brand them with ignominious titles.

However, *James* fully made good his threats. He punished those who were for assisting the protestants abroad, for breaking with Spain, and making a marriage for prince *Charles* with one of their own religion. For soon after his tearing the protestation of the commons out of the journal book with his own hand, he dissolved the

dared ta speak contrary to his mind in the
house ;

the parliament, and “ committed Sir Edward *Cook*,
“ and Sir Robert *Philips* to the tower ; Mr. *Selden*,
“ Mr. *Pym*, and Mr. *Mallory*, to other prisons and
“ confinements. Likewise Sir Dudley *Diggs*, and Sir
“ Thomas *Crew*, Sir Nathaniel *Rich*, and Sir James
“ *Perrot*, for punishment were sent into *Ireland*, to
“ enquire into sundry matters concerning his majesty’s
“ service.” (b) This was a direct breach of the privi- (b) Ruff-
leges of the parliament as every one must see. For if worth,
the members of it are liable to be called to an account Vol. I. p.
and punished for what they may have spoken, by any but 55.
the body to which they belong, the freedom of it Franklin,
ceases, and it no longer has that power and independ- P. 66.
ency which is allotted to it by the constitution. But
the violating the privileges of parliament was no new
thing to *James*. For having dissolved the parliament
in 1614, “ it pleased him the very next morning to
“ call to examination, before the lords of his council,
“ divers members of the house of commons, for some
“ speeches better becoming a senate of *Venice*, where
“ the treaters are perpetual princes, than where those
“ that speak so irreverently, are so soon to return,
“ (which they should remember) to the natural capaci-
“ ty of subjects. Of these examinants four are com-
“ mitted close prisoners to the tower : 1. Sir Walter
“ *Chute*. 2. *John Hoskyns*,” (a man of great parts,
learning and merit, who lay in prison a full year,
where he was intimate with Sir Walter *Raleigh*, and
revised his history, and where he wrote the following
lines to his little child Benjamin.

Sweet Benjamin, since thou art young,
And hast not yet the use of tongue,
Make it thy slave while thou art free
Imprison it, lest it do thee.

house; to their no small loss and damage.

—Nor

(i) Reliquiæ Wottonianæ, p. 431, 398, and Wood's athenæ Oxonienses, Vol. I. col. 614.

“ 3. One *Wentworth*, a lawyer. 4. Mr. Christopher
 “ *Nevil*, second son to my lord of *Abergaveny*.” (i)
 Indeed the principal on which *James* set out was that of
 crushing the freedom and privileges of parliament. For
 in his proclamation for calling his first parliament, “ he
 “ gave order what sort of men, and how qualified,
 “ should be chosen by the commons; and concludes,
 “ we notify by these presents, that all returns and cer-
 “ tificates of knights, citizens and burgessees, ought,
 “ and are to be brought to the court of chancery, and
 “ there to be filed upon record; and if any be found to
 “ be made contrary to this proclamation, the same is to
 “ be rejected as unlawful, and insufficient, and the city
 “ or borough to be fined for the same; and if it be
 “ found that they have committed any gross or wilful
 “ default or contempt in the election, return or certifi-
 “ cate, that then their liberties, according to the law,
 “ are to be seized as forfeited: and if any person take
 “ upon him the place of a knight, citizen or burgesse,
 “ not being duly elected and sworn, according to the
 “ laws and statutes in that behalf provided, and accor-
 “ ding to the purport, effect and true meaning of this
 “ our proclamation, then every person so offending,
 “ to be fined and imprisoned for the same.” (k) As
 soon as the members were chosen, *James* shewed his au-
 thority by vacating the election of Sir Francis *Goodwin*,
 knight of the shire for *Buckingham*, (under pretence of
 his having been outlawed,) and sending a new
 writ in virtue whereof Sir John *Fortescue* was
 chosen, “ notwithstanding, (says lord *Cecyll*, in a letter
 “ to Mr. *Winwood*, dated April 12, 1604,) the lower
 “ house having had notice that he was once chosen, and
 “ having found that the outlawry was pardoned in effect,
 “ by his majesty's general pardon upon his inaugura-
 “ tion, (altho' in true construction of law he is not
 “ *rectus in curia*, until he hath sued out his *Scire Faci-*
 “ *as*,) they somewhat suddenly, fearing some opposition,
 “ (which was never intended) allowed of him, and re-
 “ jected the other; which form of proceeding appeared
 “ harsh

(k) Coke, Vol. I. p. 20.

———— Nor did he behave better with regard

“ harsh to the king rather in form than matter. And
 “ therefore being then desirous that the higher house
 “ might have some conference with the lower house,
 “ (which as we of ourselves did intimate unto them)
 “ they grew jealous of that proposition, as a matter
 “ which they misliked to yield to after a judgment; and
 “ therefore did rather chuse to send to the king, that
 “ they would be glad to shew himself the reasons (to
 “ whom they owed all duty as their sovereign,) rather
 “ than to any other, taking it somewhat derogative
 “ from their house, to attribute any superiority to the
 “ higher house, seeing both houses make but one body,
 “ whereof the king is the head. This being done after
 “ two conferences, in the presence of the king, the
 “ the council and judges, the matter was compounded
 “ to all men’s liking; wherein that which is due is on-
 “ ly due to Cæsar; for, but for his wisdom and dexte-
 “ rity, it could not have had any conclusion, with so
 “ general an applause; this being found by debate, to
 “ be most certaine, namely, that neither of them both
 “ were duely returned, and therefore resolved of all
 “ parties, that a new writ should go forth by warrant
 “ from the speaker, wherein none of them should
 “ stand to be elected; and so much for the truth of
 “ that cause.” (1) This is the representation of a
 courtier. I will give the reader the judgment of the
 house of commons on this same affair, and leave it with
 him to form his opinion.—“ For the matter of St.
 “ Francis *Goodwin* chosen for *Bucks*, (say they) we
 “ were, and still are of a clear opinion, that the free-
 “ dom of election was in that action extreamly in-
 “ jured.

(1) Win-
wood, Vol.
IId. p. 19.

“ That, by the same right, it might be at all times
 “ in a lord chancellors power to reverse, defeat, erect,
 “ or substitute, all the elections and persons elected,
 “ over all the realm; neither thought we that the
 “ judges opinions (which yet in due place we greatly

gard to his other subjects. Those who opposed his will, surely smarted for it, and very

“ reverence,) being delivered what the common law
 “ was (which extends only to inferior and standing
 “ courts,) ought to bring in a prejudice to this high
 “ court of parliament, whose power being above the
 “ law, is not founded on the common law, but have
 “ therein rights and privileges peculiar to themselves.

“ For the manner of our proceeding (which your
 “ majesty seemed to blame, in that the second writ go-
 “ ing out in your majesty’s name, we seemed to cen-
 “ sure it, without first craving access to acquaint your
 “ highness with our reasons therein) we trust our de-
 “ fence shall appear just and reasonable. It is the form
 “ of the court of chancery (as of divers other courts)
 “ that writs going out in your majesty’s name, are
 “ returned also, as to your majesty, in that court from
 “ whence they issue. Howbeit, therefore no man ever
 “ repaireth to your majesty’s person, but proceedeth ac-
 “ cording to law, notwithstanding the writ.

“ This being the universal custom of this kingdom,
 “ it was not, nor could be admitted into our councils,
 “ that the difference was between your majesty and us:
 “ but it was and still is conceived, that the controversy
 “ was between courts about preheminencies and privi-
 “ ledges; and that the question was, whether the
 “ chancery, or our house of commons, were judge
 “ of the members returned for it? Wherein tho’ we
 “ supposed the wrong done to be most apparent, and
 “ extremely prejudicial to the rights and privileges of
 “ this realm; yet such, and so great was our willing-
 “ ness to please your majesty, as to yield to a middle
 “ course proposed by your highness, preserving only our
 “ privileges, by a voluntary cession of the lawful
 “ knight.

“ And this course (as if it were of deceiving our-
 “ selves, and yielding in our apparent rights, wherefo-
 “ ever we could but invent such ways of escape, as that
 “ the

very light and trifling, or even innocent actions were most rigourously punished. [xxx]

Justice

“ the precedent might not be hurtful) we have held
 “ more than once this parliament, upon desire to avoid
 “ that, which to your majesty, by misinformation,
 “ (whereof we had cause to stand alway in doubt)
 “ might be distasteful, nor not approvable; so dear
 “ hath your majesty been unto us.” (m)——From these
 instances, and many more might be produced, of
James's treatment of his parliaments, we may be able to
 judge of the knowledge, or honesty of father *Orleans*,
 who speaks of his “ extraordinary complaisance to-
 “ wards the parliament, from his first accession to the
 “ throne, which he always consulted, says he, not
 “ only in the weighty affairs of state, but even in most of
 “ those that concerned his family; condescending to their
 “ advice; pretending a mighty regard not to infringe
 “ their privileges; asking few extraordinary supplies,
 “ and choosing rather to be streightned in his way of
 “ living, than to administer occasion of complaint by
 “ filling his coffers.” (n)

(m) Com-
 mon's pro-
 testation :
 Anno primo
 Jac. primi,
 in Morgan's
 phoenix bri-
 tannicus,
 p. 120.
 See also Old-
 castle's re-
 marks, p.
 248.

(n) D. Or-
 lean's revo-
 lutions in
 England, p.
 4. 8vo.
 Lond. 1711.

[xxx] Light and trifling, or even innocent actions were most severely punished by him.] A few instances will be sufficient to prove this. In April 1615, *Oliver St. John*, afterwards lord *Grandison*, and lieutenant of Ireland, was fined five thousand pounds in the star-chamber, for opposing that benevolence moved in the foregoing session of parliament which was so abruptly dissolved, tho' that kind of benevolence as he shewed was against law, reason, and religion. (a)——And Sir *Robert Mansfield* was committed to the Marshalsea, partly for having consulted with Mr. *Whitlock* the lawyer, about the validity of a commission drawn for a research into the office of the admiralty; and partly for denying to reveal the name of the said lawyer his friend; the point touching a limb of the king's prerogative and authority. (b) And a vast sum of money was exacted, says *Cambden*, in 1617, of the citizens of London, not

(a) Cabala,
 p. 361. and
 Oldys's life
 of Raleigh,
 p. 180.
 note a.

(b) Reli-
 quix Wot-
 tonianæ,
 p. 418.

The LIFE of JAMES I.

Justice he seems indeed to have had little or no regard to, as appeared by his unparall'd treatment of Sir Walter Ralegh, [YYY] the glory

(c) Annals of K. James, in compleat hist. p. 647.

without murmuring. (c) What shall I say more? James's reign was full of rigour, severity, and hard dealing. Witness the earl of *Northumberland*, who was fined thirty thousand pound, and confined from the year 1605, to the year 1619 in the Tower, upon a meer suspicion, without the least proof of his having had knowledge of the powder-plot, as *Cecyll* himself confessed in a letter to Sir Thomas *Edmonds*, dated Dec. 2, 1605. (d) Witness Sir Robert *Dudley*, who was not

(d) Birchs's view of the negotiations, p. 245.

See also *Of-born*, p. 500.

(e) See the patent of K. Charles I. for creating Alice, lady Dudley, a dutchess of England, in the appendix to *Leicester's* life, note 15. Lond. 1727. 8vo.

allowed to make use of the depositions of his witnesses to prove himself the legal heir of his father, the great earl of *Leicester*; and who was also deprived of his honors and estates most iniquitously, as appeared to prince *Henry*, and to king *Charles* the first. (e) And witness Sir Thomas *Lake*, and many others whose fines were vastly beyond their supposed crimes, and such as ought not in justice or equity to have been inflicted on them. In short, such as displeas'd *James*, he had no mercy on but made them feel the weight of his sore displeasure.

[YYY] His unparalleled treatment of Sir Walter Ralegh.] Ralegh was a man in point of bravery and conduct, of wit and understanding, of prudence and ability, of learning and judgment, inferiour to none of the age in which he lived, and superior to most. What were his actions before the accession of *James*, those who have curiosity may see admirably described either by Mr. *Oldy's*, or Dr. *Birch*, in their respective lives of this wonderful man, prefixed to his history of the world, and his political, commercial and philosophical works.

Queen *Elizabeth* knew his merit, and valued him highly. *James* on the contrary was prejudic'd against him; had little sense of his worth, and soon ill-treated him



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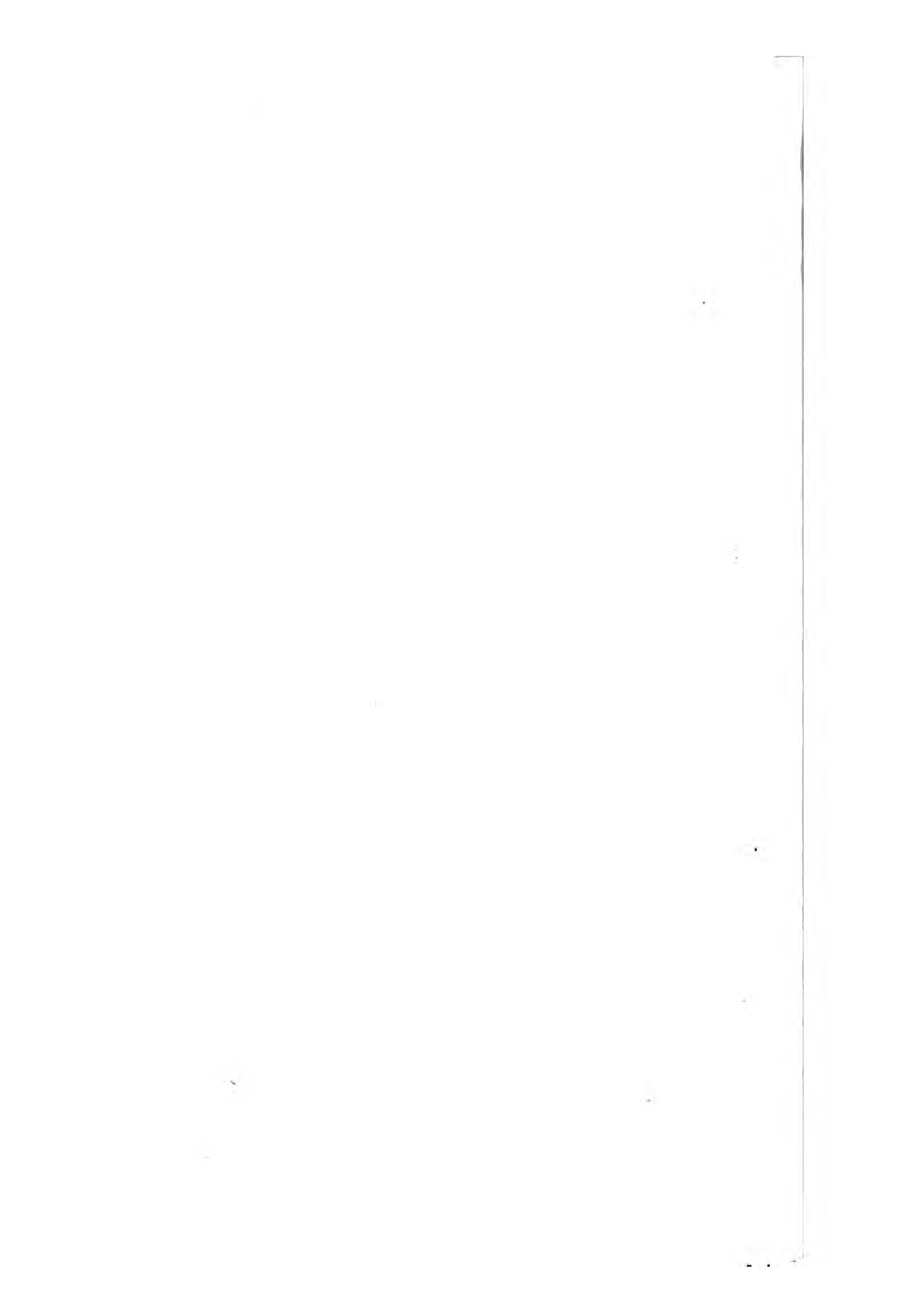
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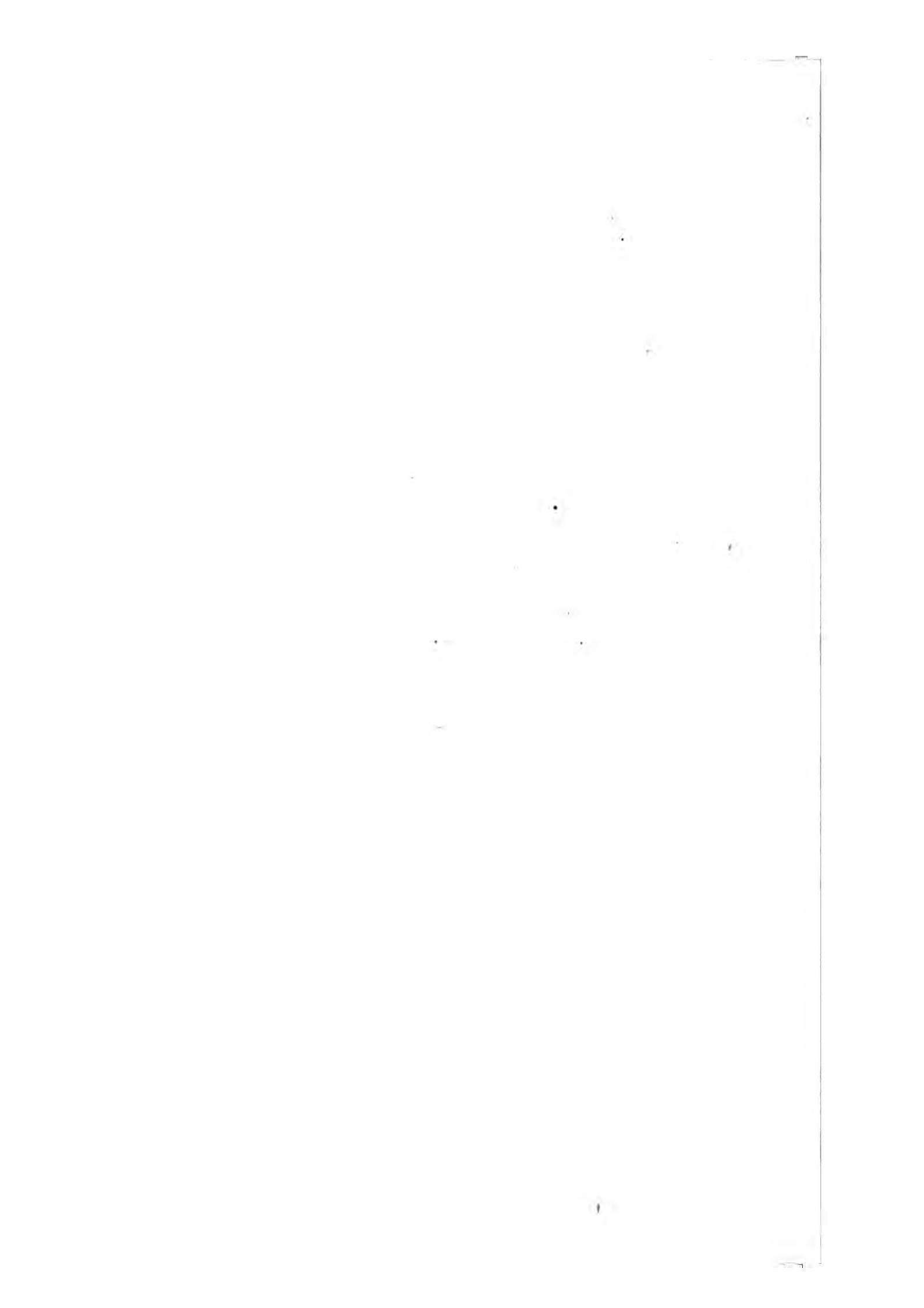
12





S^R WALTER RALEGH.





glory of his age and nation, whom he caused to be executed after a respite of a great number
ber

him by taking from him his post of captain of the guards, and giving it to Sir Thomas *Erskin*, a Scottish favourite. In July, 1603. he was confined on account of a plot in which he was said to be engaged with the lords, *Cobham* and *Grey*, and several priests, and gentlemen, in order to extirpate the king and his issue; set the lady *Arabella* on the throne; give peace to Spain; and tolerate the romish religion. On the 15th of November the same year he was arraigned at *Winchester* for these things; and after having had the civil and polite appellations of viper, traitor, and odious man, who had a Spanish heart, and was a spider of hell, bestowed on him by the famous *Coke*, attorney-general: after having been dignified with these titles he was brought in guilty, tho' not the least shadow of a proof was brought against him. I say not the least shadow of a proof; for whoever will read his tryal, or any impartial accounts which are given of it, will not help standing amazed to find how it was possible, after the defence he made, upon such wretched allegations to convict him. But he was out of favour at court; like *Sydney*, he was talked to death by the lawyers; and in those times when the crown was against a man, he was almost sure of being condemned. When I consider the bitterness, severity, and almost malice which appeared in the council for the crown, against the state prisoners in this, the foregoing, and some of the subsequent reigns, I cannot help thinking, that the gentlemen of that profession are very much altered for the better. They have more regard to truth, justice, and humanity; and consequently, though they may not have as many cases, precedents or statutes to cite, or pervert as *Coke* had, yet are they vastly more valuable. I hope, the reader will pardon a digression, into which indignation at *Raleigh's* vile treatment drew me. I now go on with the narration. Upon Sir Walter's condemnation, all his lands and offices
were

ber of years, without the least colour of a pretence: and likewise by his saving *Somer-*
set,

(a) *Raleigh's*
works,
Vol. II. p.
362.

were seized, and himself committed close prisoner to the Tower. But the iniquity of his sentence was visible to all. The king of *Denmark*, queen *Ann*, prince *Henry*, all thought him innocent, after having examined into his crimes; (a) and even *James*, I believe did not deem him guilty. He respited his sentence, and suffered him to enjoy his fortune seven years after. Then *Sherburn* castle was thought a thing worth having by *Ker*, (afterwards earl of *Somerfet*,) and though it was entailed on his children, means were found, for the want of one single word, to have the conveyance pronounced invalid, and *Sherburn* forfeited to the crown. After sixteen years imprisonment, Sir *Walter* proposed his voyage to *Guiana*; got his liberty, gave in his scheme of his intended proceedings to *James*, who after having given him power of life and death, and a proper commission, revealed his designs to *Gondamore*, and thereby rendered them abortive. Upon his returning unsuccessful through the fault of his master, and other causes, at the instigation of the Spanish ambassador, he was seized, imprisoned, and, to the admiration of all men, on his old sentence beheaded. In charging *James* with betraying *Raleigh* to the Spanish ambassador, I do him no injustice; as will appear from a letter of Sir *Walter's* to secretary *Winwood*. “ It pleased his majesty so little to value us, as to command me upon my
“ allegiance, to set down under my hand the country,
“ and the very river by which I was to enter it, to set
“ down the number of my men, and burthen of my
“ ships, and what ordnance every ship carried, which
“ being known to the Spanish ambassador, and by him
“ sent to the king of Spain, a dispatch was made, and
“ letters sent from *Madrid*, before my departure out
“ of the *Thames*; for his first letter sent by a bark of
“ advice, was dated the 19th of *March*, 1617, at
“ *Madrid*, which letter I have here enclosed sent to
“ your





CAR Earl of *SOMERSET*.

set, and his lady [zzz] from that punishment which

“ your honour ; the rest I reserve, not knowing whether they may be intercepted or not.” (b) The reader, no doubt, is shocked at such vile treatment of so worthy a man, and cannot fail of being filled with horror at it. The sentence in the first place was unjust ; his imprisonment was a monstrous hardship ; but the execution of his sentence cruel, and abominable.

(b) Raleigh's Works, Vol. II. p. 367.

[zzz] He saved *Somerſet*, and his lady from the punishment which the laws had juſtly doomed them to, for their crimes.] *Robert Ker*, had been firſt one of the king's pages ; being diſmiſſed from this poſt, he went into France, and from thence returning, thro' accident he was taken notice of by *James*, and quickly was made gentleman of the bed-chamber, and became ſole favourite. In 1613, he was advanced to be lord high treaſurer of Scotland, and the ſame year was raiſed to be a peer of England, by the ſtile and title of viſcount *Rochefter*. Soon after he had the garter, and was created earl of *Somerſet*, and made lord chamberlain of the houſehold. A little before this, he had become intimate with the wife of the earl of *Effex*, *Frances Howard*, daughter of the earl of *Suffolk*, who in order to make way for her marriage with him, got a divorce from her huſband. Soon after they were married ; and ſoon after one of the moſt iniquitous actions was done, that we read of in hiſtory.—Sir *Thomas Overbury*, the friend of *Somerſet*, and one to whom he owed, as Sir *Thomas* himſelf ſays, “ more than to any ſoul living, both for his fortune, underſtanding and reputation :” (a) he, I ſay, endeavouring, to diſſuade him from the match, thereby incurred the hatred of him, and his lady. For refuſing to go as ambaffador abroad, which *Somerſet* adviſed him to reſuſe, he was clapt up into the Tower, and there confined many months ; and by a variety of poiſons, made uſe of by the agents of the earl and his lady, which cruelly tormented him, was at length put an end to, and it was given out

(a) Winwood, Vol. III. p. 478.

which the laws had justly doomed them to,
by

(b) See Sir Francis Bacon's speech at the arraignment of the earl of Somerset, and truth brought to light by time p. 52. Lond. 1651. 4to.

(c) See note (1. 1.)

(d) See the pardon in truth brought to light by time p. 182.

(e) Crawford's lives, p. 402. and Cabala, p. 221.

(f) Cambden's Annals of K. James, in the compleat hist. p. 646.

out that he died of the pox. (b) But the truth could not be long concealed. *Villiers* now began to supplant *Somerset*, and soon got the ascendancy. Every man endeavoured to raise the one, and pull down the other. The murder was discovered. *James* came to the knowledge of it, and uttered the deepest imprecations against himself and posterity, if he spared any that were found guilty. (c) But his resolution remained not. The instruments were brought to their deserved end; but those who made use of them escaped. On the 24 of May, 1616, the countess of *Somerset* was brought to her tryal, and the earl the next day; the first, after some denials in the court, confessed the fact, and begged for mercy; the other stood upon his innocency, and was found guilty; as there can be no doubt but that he was. All mankind expected upon this, that the judgment against them would have been executed. But on the contrary, a pardon was granted the lady, "because the proceffe and judgment against her were not as of a principal, (says the pardon) but as of an accessary before the fact." (d) As for the earl he had a remission under the great seal of England, Oct. 7, 1624, and was suffered to enjoy the greatest part of his estate, and thought himself but ill-used that he was not restored to the whole. (e) And such was the favour shewed unto him by *James*, that tho' he was convicted of felony, his arms were not permitted to be removed out of the chapel of Windsor; and upon his account it was ordered that felony should not be reckoned amongst the disgraces for those who were to be excluded from the order of *St. George*; which was without precedent." (f) — This was the justice of *James*. One of the best of his subjects was executed for no real crime; two of the worst of them escaped punishment for the blackest and most detestable. It is the duty of kings to protect the innocent, and punish the guilty. It is the part of a just king, as well as of an honest man, to render unto every

by reason of their abominable Crimes. Somerset, indeed had been a favourite; and to his

every one his due. Honour and praise should be bestowed on the deserving; ignominy, shame and punishment should follow those who trample under foot the sacred laws of society, and humanity. But *James* permitted not these to follow (as far as he could help it) the crimes of *Somerset* and his lady, tho' none were more deserving of them. Princes it must be owned have a right to relax the rigor of the laws, or suspend their execution in some cases. But then there ought to be a just reason for it. Whereas in the case of *Somerset*, as well as of his lady, (tho' a respect to her father, friends and family are mentioned as a motive to the pardoning of her) hardly one of those causes of relaxing punishment mentioned by the civilians are found. (g) But there certainly was a reason, whatever it was, for this favour shewed to *Somerset*. Mr. *Mallet* has quoted some passages from the original letter of Sir Francis *Bacon*, (a name always to be valued by the lovers of learning) then attorney-general, and particularly employed in this very affair, from whence it appears that *James* shewed an extream sollicitude, about the earl's behaviour at his tryal and the event of it; that he was afraid lest by his insolent and contemptuous behaviour at the bar, he should make himself incapable or unworthy of favour and mercy; which, together with the letter written by him after his condemnation to the king, in a stile rather of expostulation and demand, than of humility and supplication, makes him conclude, and, I think, not unjustly, that there was an important secret in his keeping, of which the king dreaded a discovery. (b) Some have thought the discovery dreaded, was the manner of prince *Henry's* death, which was believed to have been by poison; but if I may be allowed to offer a conjecture, for I deem it no more, it was the revealing of *that* vice to which *James* seems to have been addicted, (i) that was the object of his fear. Whether in this conjecture I am right, the reader will determine.

(g) See Puffendorf, B. 8. c. 3. sect. 17. and Grotius de jure belli, ac pacis, lib. 2. cap. 20. Sec. 25, 26.

(b) Mallet's life of lord Bacon, p. 65--72, 8vo. Lond. 1740. and Cabala, p. 53.
(i) See note, [CG]

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his favourites, *James* was kind in all things; condescending to what [4 A] was below his dignity

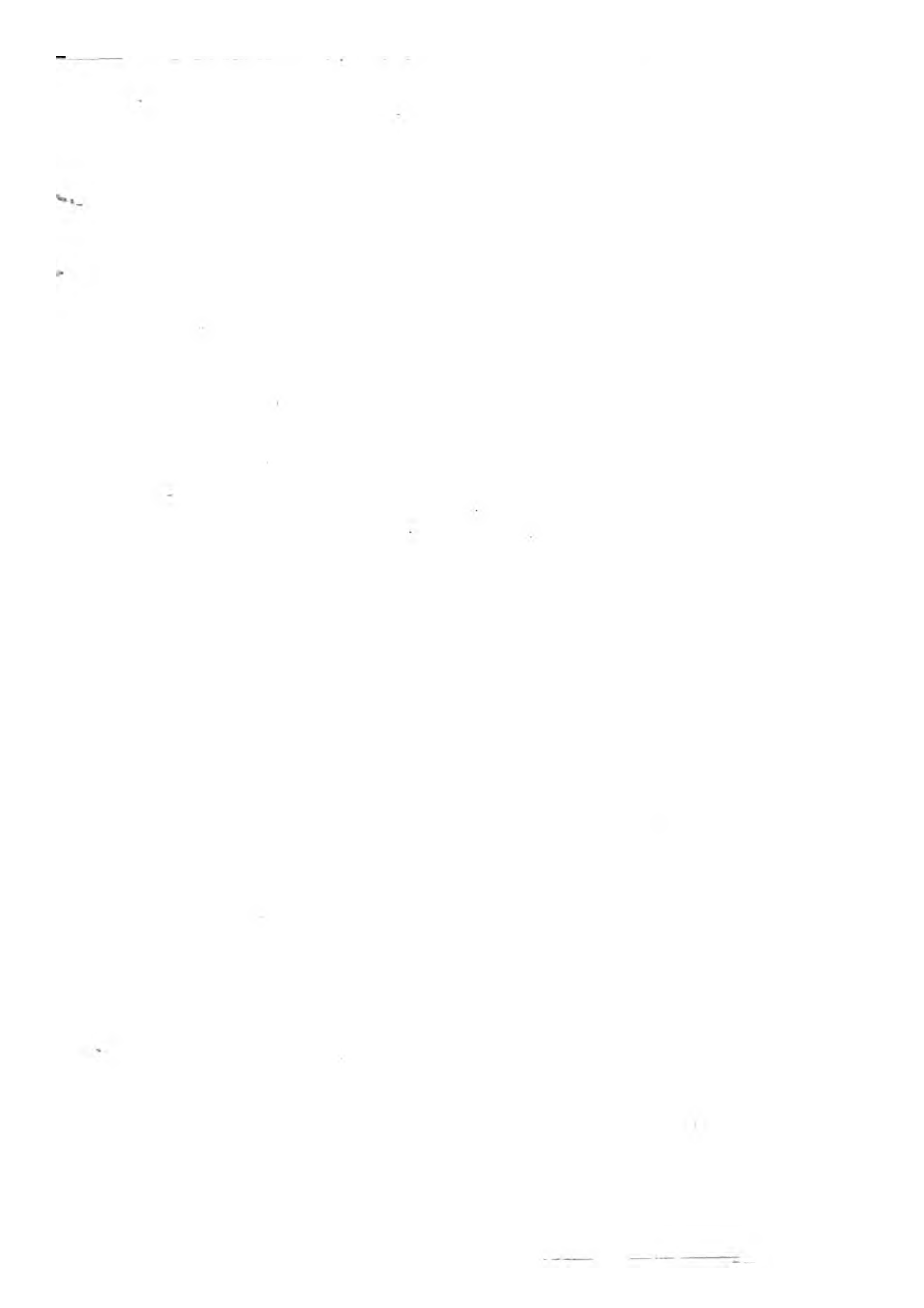
[4 A] To his favourites *James* was kind in all things; condescending to what was below his dignity, in order to please or serve them.] I have already taken notice of *James's* favour to *Lennox* and *Arran* when in Scotland, (a) to *Ker* and others after his coming into England; (b) and now I must inform my reader, that he promoted *George Villiers* from the rank of a meer private gentleman, on the account of his beauty, to the degree of a knight, and gentleman of the bedchamber; master of the horse; baron, viscount, earl, marquis, and duke of Buckingham, and admiral of England, within the space of a very few years. (c) This man who seems to have had no great capacity, and less knowledge, ruled every thing; he advanced his relations to some of the highest honors, and greatly enriched himself; for at the time of his death he was possessed of near 4000 pounds a year, and had 300,000 pounds in jewels, tho' he owed 60,000 pounds, (d) I do not think this account of his jewels, beyond the truth. "For it was common with him
 " at an ordinary dancing to have his cloaths trimmed
 " with great diamond buttons, and to have diamond
 " hat-bands, cockades and earrings; to be yoked with
 " great and manifold ropes and knots of pearl; in short
 " to be manacled, fettered and imprisoned in jewels; in-
 " somuch that at his going over to *Paris*, in 1625, he
 " had 27 suits of cloaths made, the richest that embroi-
 " dery, lace, silk, velvet, gold and gems could contri-
 " bute; one of which was a white uncut velvet, set all
 " over, both suit and cloak, with diamonds, valued at
 " fourscore thousand pounds, besides a great feather
 " stuck all over with diamonds; as were also his sword,
 " girdle, hat-band and spurs." This account is taken from a M. S. in the harleyan library, B. H. 90. c. 7. fol. 642. as I find it quoted by Mr. Olydy's. (e) A man who in the midst of pleasures could find money for such monstrous extravagancies, and yet at the same time grow rich, must had had a very kind and bountiful
 maffer

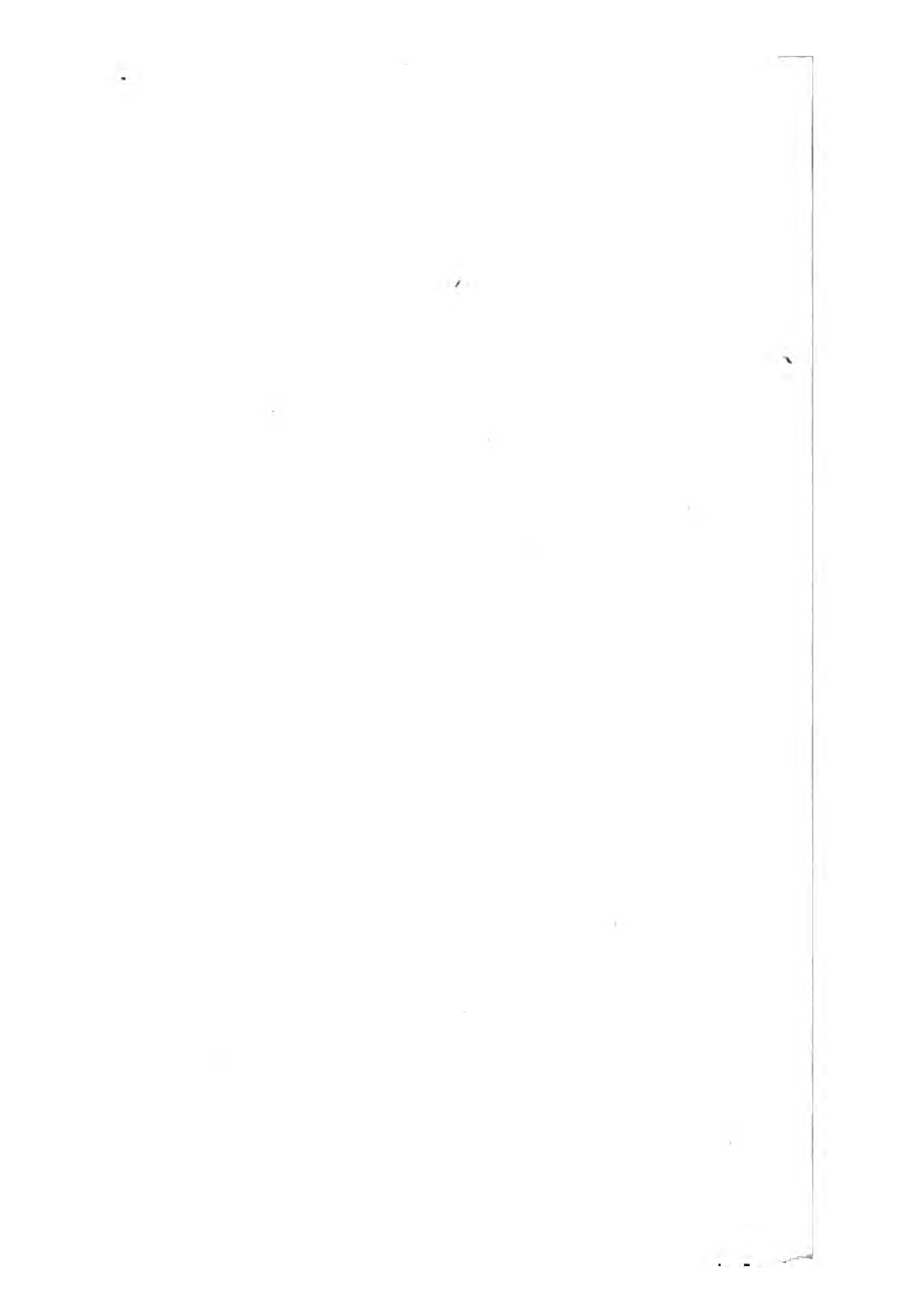
(a) Note
 [c]
 (b) Notes
 [y] and
 [www]

(c) See
 Cambden's
 annals of K.
 James, in
 the com-
 plet history.

(d) See Tin-
 dal's notes
 on Rapin,
 Vol. II. p.
 276.

(e) Life of
 Raleigh, p.
 145, in the
 note [c]







VILLERS Duke of *BUCKINGHAM*.

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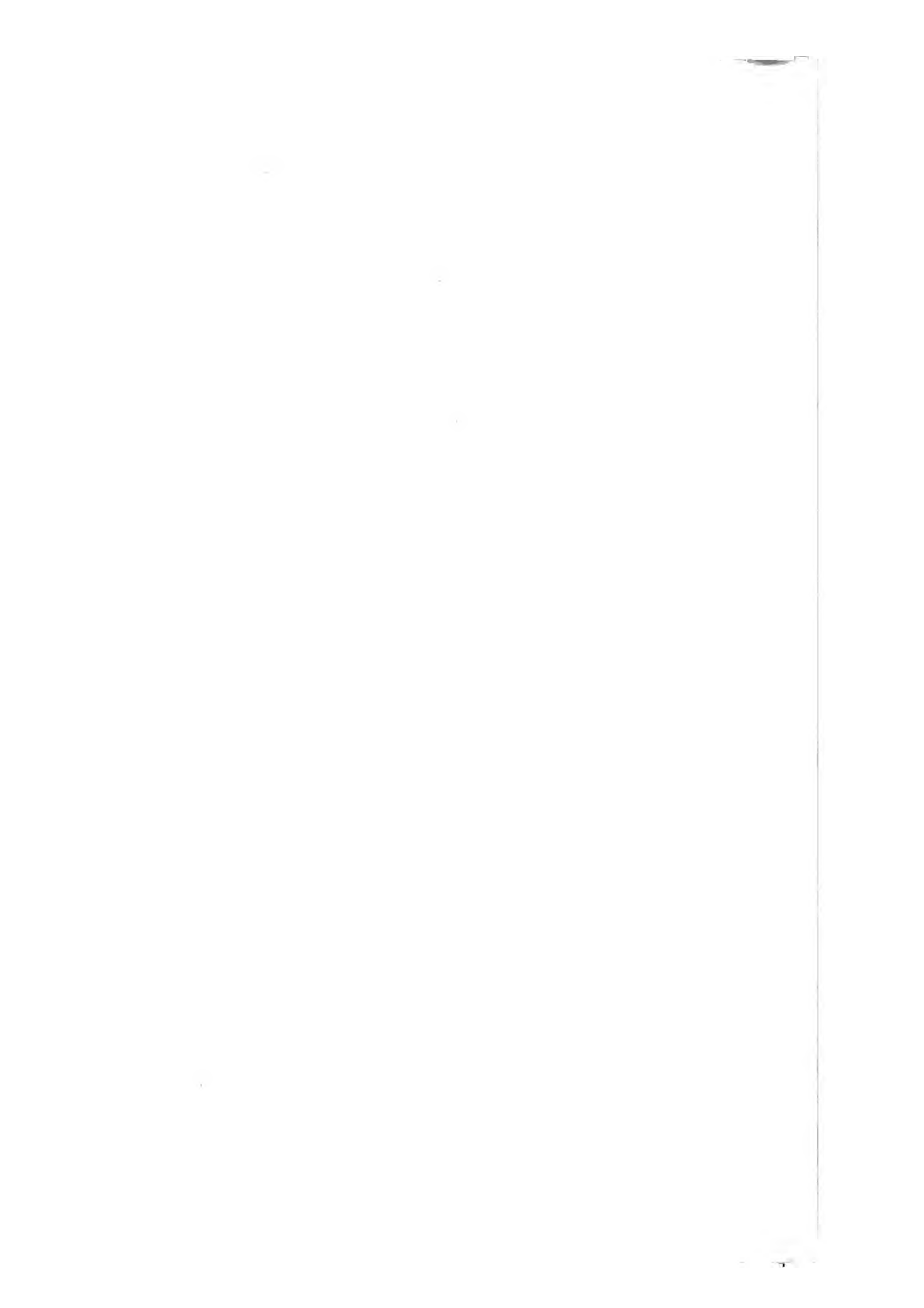
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dignity in order to please or serve them in almost any matters; submitting even to be affronted,

master indeed!—But *James* was not only kind to his favourites in respect of giving them wealth and honors, but he studied by all possible methods to please and serve them. For *Somerset* had no sooner determined to marry lord *Essex's* wife, than the king yielded him all possible assistance in order to accomplish it. For he got over the bishops of Ely and Coventry, [Andrews and Neal] who had been vehemently against the divorce from *Essex*, for alledged, and, indeed, confessed impotency on his part with respect to her. (f) And when the arch-bishop of Canterbury, (*Abbot*,) could not be prevailed on to change sides that he might please, his majesty himself undertook to answer his reasons, and to shew that there was “warrant in scripture for pronouncing a nullity *propter frigiditatem*, and that all the means which might make him *frigidus versus hanc* must be included therein; (g) in prosecution of which he made use of many obscene expressions. However, he carried the cause. The lady was divorced, and soon after married *Somerset*; and then they perpetrated the crime for which they were condemned, and which I have spoken of in the note preceeding.—With regard to *Buckingham* his next favourite, *James* was still more obliging. In his speech to his parliament in the year 1620, among other things he tells them, “that he had abated much in his navies, in the charge of his munition; and had made not choice of an old beaten soldier for his admiral, but rather chose a young man, [*Buckingham*] whose honesty and integrity he knew, “whose

(f) *Winwood*, Vol. III. p. 475.

(g) *Truth* brought to light by time. p. 101. *Frankley*, p. 3. *Weldon*, p. 71. *Aulicus coquinariæ*, p. 112, Lond. 1650, 12mo. *

* The referring to *Aulicus Coquinariæ*, gives me an opportunity of pointing out to the public its true author; of which both *Wood*, *Tindal*, and *Oldy's*, as well as *Dr. Grey*, and all the writers I have hitherto seen, seem to be ignorant. The writer of this piece is no other than *Will. Saunderson*, author of the history of *James I.* deservedly treated with contempt, on account of the poorness of its composition, and gross partiality. See *Saunderson's* proeme to the second part of the history of *James I.* folio. Lond. 1656.

fronted, and insulted by them; and yeilding to their desires even sometimes contrary to his

(b) Rushworth, Vol. I. p. 22. and Franklin, p. 49.

(i) Id. p. 25.

(k) Id. p. 127.

“ whose care had been to appoint under him sufficient
 “ men, to lessen his charges, which he had done.” (b)
 — In another speech to the lords, in the year 1621,
 in order to recommend his minion to their esteem, he
 tells them, “ that he hath been ready on all occasions
 “ of good offices, both for the house in general, and
 “ every member in particular.” (i) And in an answer of
 his to both houses of parliament, anno 1623, he styles
 him “ his disciple and scholar, and a good scholar
 “ of his.” (k) These expressions sound odd enough,
 but they are tollerable when compared with those we
 find in his preface, to his meditation on the lords prayer.
 For in this *James* tells *Buckingham*, that he may claim
 an interest in it for divers respects. “ First, says he,
 “ from the ground of my writing it; for divers times
 “ before I medled with it, I told you, and only you,
 “ of some of my conceptions upon the Lord’s prayer,
 “ and you often sollicited me to put pen to paper: next,
 “ as the person to whom we pray it, is our heavenly
 “ father, so am I that offer it unto you, not only your
 “ politike, but also your œconomicke father, and that
 “ in a nearer degree than unto others. Thirdly, that
 “ you may make good use of it; for since I daily take
 “ care to better your understanding, to enable you the
 “ more for my service in worldly affairs, reason would
 “ that God’s part should not be left out, for *timor domi-*
 “ *ni* is *initium sapientiæ*. And lastly, I must with
 “ joy acknowledge, that you deserve this gift of me, in
 “ not only giving so good example to the rest of the
 “ court, in frequent hearing of the word of God: But
 “ in special, in so often receiving the sacrament, which
 “ is a notable demonstration of your charitie in pardon-
 “ ing them that offend you, that being the thing I most
 “ labour to recommend to the world in this meditation
 “ of mine: and how godly and virtuous all my advices
 “ have ever been unto you, I hope you will faithfully
 witness

his own sense of things.—He professed himself

“witness to the world.” (l) How godly and virtuous (l) King all his advices were to this his disciple, the reader will easily judge by looking back to what is contained in note. [G G] But had they been such as he would have the world believe, it was very mean in a king to trumpet forth his own, and his favourites praises. Possibly, however, James may be excused on account of his age, as he himself seems to think he should be for uttering trifles. “I grow in years, says he, and old-men are “twice babes, as the proverb is.” (m) But if they are babes, and pretend to act the part of men, to reason, dictate and command, tho’ they may be born with, they will be laughed at. For there is not a more ridiculous object, than that which is compounded of ignorance, conceit and vanity.—Let us go on with our subject. If we may credit Sir Edward *Peyton*, his majesty condescended even to pimp for *Buckingham*. “To please this favourite, (says he) king *James* gave way for the duke to entice others to his will. Two examples I will recite: First, the king entertained Sir *John Crafts*, and his daughter, a beautiful lass, at *Newmarket*, to set at the table with the king. This he did then, to procure *Buckingham* the easier to vitiate her. Secondly, Mrs. *Dorothy Gawdy*, being a rare creature, king *James* carried *Buckingham* to *Culford* to have his will on that beauty: But Sir *Nicholas Bacon*’s sons conveyed her out of a window into a private chamber, over the leads, and so disappointed the duke of his wicked purpose. In which cleanly conveyance the author had a hand; with the knight’s sons.” (n) These were the fruits no doubt of *James*’s virtuous and godly advices, and by these they were faithfully witnessed to the world by *Buckingham*, as we see his master hoped. For certain ’tis he was exceedingly addicted to women, and had debauched his own wife before marriage; and “if his eye culled out a wanton beauty, he had his fetters that

King James’s works, p. 1 573^d

(m) Ib. p. 57^d.

(n) Divine catastrophe, p. 17.

himself to be a protestant, and boasted that
he

(o) Wilson,
P. 149.

“ could spread his nets, and point a meeting at some lady’s house, where he should come as by accident and find access, while all his train attended at the door, as if it were an honourable visit.” (o)——And in order to enrich himself and kindred, he was permitted by *James* to make the most he could of every thing. He who understood neither law nor divinity, who had no appearances of virtue, nor concern about any thing but to gratify his passions; *Buckingham*, I say, had the disposal of the highest posts in the law and in the church, and to him were the most submissive addresses made by the right reverend fathers in God. Those who would give the greatest sums, or pay the largest yearly pensions to him, were the men generally preferred; and few who would pay nothing, had any thing. (p)

(p) See Wel-
don, p. 119.

What the power of *Buckingham* was, and what kind of addresses were made to him, will best appear from the following letter, among many which might be produced, from Dr. *Field*, bishop of *Landaffe* to him, tho’ written I think, sometime after *James*’s death.

“ My gracious good lord,

“ In the great library of men, that I have studied
“ these many years, your grace is the best book, and
“ most classick author, that I have read, in whom I
“ find so much goodness, sweetness and nobleness of na-
“ ture, such an heroick spirit, for boundless bounty,
“ as I never did in any. I could instance in many,
“ some of whom you have made deans, some bishops,
“ some lords, and privy-counsellors; none that ever
“ looked towards your grace did ever go away empty.
“ I need go no further than myself (a gum of the earth)
“ whom you raised out of the dust, for raising but a
“ thought so high as to serve your highness. Since
“ that, I have not played the truant, but more diligent-
“ ly studied you than ever before: and yet (dunce that
“ I am) I stand at a stay, and am a non proficient,
“ the

he had been a kind of martyr for that profession, though he never shewed his regard to those

“ the book being the same that ever it was, as may ap-
“ pear by the great proficiency of others. This won-
“ derfully poseth me, and sure there is some guile,
“ some wile, in some of my fellow students, who hide
“ my book from me, or some part of it ; all the fault
“ is not in my own blockishness, that I thrive no bet-
“ ter ; I once feared this before, that some did me ill
“ offices. You grace was pleased to protest no man
“ had ; and to assure me no man could. My heart
“ tells me it hath been always upright, and is still most
“ faithful unto you. I have examined my actions, my
“ words, and my very thoughts, and found all of
“ them, ever since, most found unto your grace.
“ Give me leave, to comfort myself with recordation
“ of your loving kindneses of old, when on that great
“ feast day of your being inaugured our chancellor [of
“ *Cambridge*] my look was your book, wherein you
“ read sadness, to which I was bold to answer, I trust-
“ ed your grace would give me no cause. You replied
“ (with loss of blood rather.) But God forbid so pre-
“ cious an effusion. (I would rather empty all my veins
“ than you should bleed one drop.) when as one blast of
“ your breath is able to bring me to the haven where I
“ would be. My lord, I am grown an old man, and
“ am like old household stuff, apt to be broke upon of-
“ ten removing. I desire it therefore but once for all,
“ be it *Ely*, or *Bath* and *Wells* ; and I will spend the
“ remainder of my days in writing an history of your
“ good deeds to me and others, whereby I may vindi-
“ cate you from the envy, and obloquy of this present
“ wicked age wherein we live, and whilst I live in
“ praying for your grace, whose I am, totally and
“ finally.

“ Theophilus Landaven.” (q) (q) *Cabala*,
p. 117.

The LIFE of JAMES I.

those of that persuasion in Germany or France, but suffered them to be oppressed by the

A man who could obtain a good bishoprick, by such arts as these, with great sincerity of soul, no doubt, might say, *nolo episcopari!* I don't know whether 'tis worth while to observe that *Field's* flattery and sycophancy availed nothing with Buckingham. He had been too much used to it, and so had lost its relish. Money was what he wanted: but *Field* was poor, had a wife and six children, and consequently could advance little; and therefore remained where he was, till Dec. 15, 1635, long after *Villiers* death, when he was removed to Hereford, which he enjoyed not more than

(r) See *Ca-*
bala, p. 116,
and *Willis's*
survey of ca-
thedrals,
Vol. I. p.
526. 4to.
Lond. 1727.
(s) *Claren-*
don, Vol. I.
p. 25. and
Weldon, p.
140.

half a year. (r) I would not have the reader think ecclesiastical preferments are now obtained by like means as in the days of *James*. *Buckingham* having obtained riches and honors in abundance for himself and all his relations, grew quite insolent: Insomuch that he was once about to strike prince *Charles*: (s) and at another time bid him in plain terms kiss his a——, yea towards *James* himself, he was highly insolent. For when his majesty attempted to dissuade him and the prince from taking the journey into Spain, to which he had before thoughtlessly given his consent; he rudely told him, “no body could believe any thing he said, when he re-
“tracted so soon the promise he had made; that he plain-
“ly discerned that it proceeded from another breach of
“his word, in communicating with some rascal, who
“had furnished him with those pitiful reasons he had
“alleged, and that he doubted not but he should here-
“after know who his counsellor had been.” (t) In short, directly contrary to the mind of his master, he irritated the parliament against Spain; reflected on the conduct of the earl of *Bristol*, and told them what was not true with relation to him, and set on a prosecution against him; and ruined the earl of *Middlesex*, (I mean with respect to his power) tho’ intreated by the king to the contrary. (u) But *James* bore all this, tho’ not without

(t) *Claren-*
don, Vol. I.
p. 16.

(u) *Id.* p. 18-
24.

the houses of *Bourbon*, and *Austria*, [4 B]
with-

without uneasiness; and submitted to be led by his favourite quite contrary to his inclinations. A sure sign of his weakness! For princes have it in their power at all times to be obeyed, if they require nothing contrary to the laws: and such of them as suffer themselves to be affronted, contradicted or menaced by their servants, and yet continue unto them their favour, shew unto all men that they are unworthy to be trusted with the government and defence of a whole people. For their courage and understanding can be but of a very low kind.——However, possibly the same reason which induced *James* to pardon *Somerset*, made him bear the insolence of *Buckingham*.

[4 B] He professed himself a protestant, and boasted of his having been a kind of martyr for that profession, —but he suffered those of that persuasion in France and Germany, to be oppressed by the houses of *Bourbon*, and *Austria*.] In his speech to the parliament in the year 1624, we have the following expressions. “ What
“ religion I am of, my books do declare, my profes-
“ sion and behaviour doth shew; and I hope in God I
“ shall never live to be thought otherwise; surely I
“ shall never deserve it; and for my part, I wish it
“ may be written in marble, and remain to posterity as
“ a mark upon me, when I shall swerve from my re-
“ ligion; for he that doth dissemble with God, is not
“ to be trusted with men.

“ My lords, for my part, I protest before God, that
“ my heart hath bled, when I have heard of the increase
“ of popery; God is my judge, it hath been such a
“ great grief to me, that it hath been as thorns in my
“ eyes, and pricks in my sides; and so far I have been,
“ and shall be, from turning another way. And, my
“ lords and gentlemen, you shall be my confessors, that
“ one way or other it hath been my desire to hinder the
“ growth of popery; and I could not have been an
“ honest man, if I should have done otherwise. And

without affording them assistance of any value ;

“ this I may say further, that if I be not a martyr, I
 “ am sure I am a confessor ; and in some sense I may be
 “ called a martyr, as in the scripture, *Isaac* was perse-
 “ cuted by *Ishmael*, by mocking words ; for never king
 “ suffered more ill-tongues than I have done ; and I
 “ am sure for no cause.” (a) — Long before this, in
 “ the year 1609, in a speech at Whitehall, he says,
 “ that with his own pen he had brought the popes quar-
 “ rel upon him, and proclaimed publique defiance to
 “ Babylon.” (b) Would not one think from thence
 that James had the protestant interest at heart, and that
 he was a mighty champion for it ? that he had taken it
 under his protection, and had fought zealously in its
 cause ? those who knew not the man, might have been
 imposed on by his speeches ; such as did, could not.
 We have seen his unaccountable behaviour in the busi-
 ness of the Palatinate, the loss of which had well nigh
 terminated in the total ruin of the protestant religion in
 Germany, as also of the liberties of Europe. For *Fer-*
dinand the second, aimed at nothing less than being ab-
 solute master over the Germanic body, and in conjunc-
 tion with Spain, to have given the law to all around
 him. The consequence of which must have been the
 total extirpation of the reformed every where. But
James was no way alarmed at the consequence. He
 would not endeavour to prevent it, but remained in a
 manner neuter, if you’ll believe him, “ for conscience,
 “ honour, and examples sake. In regard of conscience
 “ judging it unlawful to introne or dethrone kings for
 “ religions sake ; having a quarrel againsts the jesuits,
 “ for holding that opinion. Besides, he saw the world
 “ inclined to make that a war of religion, which he
 “ would never do. In point of honor ; for that when
 “ he sent his ambassador into Germany, to treat of
 “ peace, in the interim, his son-in-law had taken the
 “ crown upon him. And for examples sake ; holding
 “ it a dangerous president against all christian princes,
 “ to

(a) Frank-
land’s An-
nals, p. 101.

(b) King
James’s
work’s, p.
544.

lue ; directly contrary to all the maxims of
good

“ to allow a sudden translation of crowns by the peo-
ples authority.” (c) With such pretences as these did he cover his cowardice, and his unconcern about the civil and religious rights of Europe. (c) Rushworth, Vol. I. p. 16.

Wars to propagate religion, are whimsical and impious : But wars for the defence of its professors, may be very just and lawful. To have assisted *Frederick* and his honest Bohemians ; to have encouraged and kept together the princes of the union ; to have diverted the power of Spain, which was at the command of *Ferdinand* ; and by every honest art to have risen a force capable of withstanding the emperor, was at that time incumbent on a king of Great Britain. This I know has been denied by a very able writer, (d) who asserts “ that if *James* had entered into an immediate war to maintain the elector Palatine on the throne of *Bohemia*, he must have exhausted and ruined this nation to support it.” But I must confess I cannot see that this would have been the event. The princes of the union were, 'tis true, not so closely connected in temper and interest as might have been wished ; France weakly refused to aid the foes of *Ferdinand* ; and the popish party at that time was most powerful : But still a resistance might have been made ; and had *James* had skill and courage enough to have joined in it, it might have been effectual to have withstood the attempts towards bringing on the whole world a blind superstition, and a lawless rule. (d) Oldcastle's remarks, p. 285.

To talk of ruining and exhausting the British nation by engaging in this war as a principal, is, in my opinion, unworthy of the penetration and abilities of this writer. Was *France* ruined and exhausted by encountering this same *Ferdinand*, when his power by success was much more formidable than it now was ? did not *Richlieu* obtain the greatest glory by advising the assistance of *Gustavus Adolphus* ; by supporting him with money and troops ; by drawing off the confederates of the emperor,

good policy, and the conduct of queen *Elizabeth*, who valued herself, not unjustly, on the
the

and engaging every State possibly against him? Might not the same thing have been done by *James*, and that without injuring the British, any more than *Lewis* the thirteenth did the French nation? *Gustavus Adolphus* indeed was a great captain, and headed a brave army: But a great captain and a brave army could not have been wanting, had the king of Great Britain fallen heartily into the war, and supported it, as the king of France afterwards did by the persons and purses of his people. In short as a protestant, *James* was concerned to prevent the encrease of the power of *Ferdinand*, and hinder him from triumphing; for every victory of his was a wound to the interest of the religion professed by him.

But we see that he was so far from doing what he ought to have done in this matter, that he suffered the Bohemians to be reduced; his son-in-law to be expelled his dominions; and the protestants to be brought to the very brink of ruin in Germany; from which only they were delivered by the force of *Gustavus*, and the abilities of *Richlieu*. Nor were the reformed in France more indebted to *James*, than those in the empire. At his accession to the English throne, the dukes *la Tremouille*, and *Bouillon*, together with the famous *du Plessis*, had a design to make him protector of the calvinist party in France. (e) But they soon laid aside their design after having had a thorough knowledge of his character. For no man interested himself less than *James* in their affairs, no prince gave them less assistance. He refused to speak to *Henry the fourth* in favour of *Bouillon*, when solicited by him to do it, because he said it did not become a great prince to intercede for a rebel subject. (f) And though the reformed were a very considerable body in France, possessed of places of strength and importance and capable with proper help, of making head against all their enemies, as they had fully manifested in the former

(e) See Sully's memoirs, Vol. II. p. 15.

(f) Id. ibid.

the aids she from time to time had given them, to her own, as well as their great advantage.

mer civil wars: though they were thus powerful, and consequently important, he stood tamely by, and saw them divested of their strong holds, and rendered almost wholly insignificant as a party. 'Tis true, *James* kept up a kind of correspondence with *Bouillon*, whom at first he had refused to intercede for, and by him gave assurances of his “ assisting the reformed if the whole “ body was assailed, the edicts broken, and they in “ danger of apparent ruin: in which case (says *Buckingham*, in a letter to Sir Thomas *Edmonds*) his majesty doth engage himself to assist them; which “ though he should have no other means to perform, he “ will call a parliament for that purpose, not doubting “ but his people will be as ready to furnish him with “ means, as his majesty to engage himself to aid them “ in that cause.” (g) But *James* was not as good as his word. The reformed were assailed soon after, though not in a body; the edicts were broken in numberless instances, particularly in taking from them their strong towns; and they were in danger of apparent ruin; (b) and yet I know not that *James* afforded them the least assistance, any farther than by ordering his ambassadors to use their their good offices on their behalf. “ Yea, we are assured by the duke of *Rohan* himself, “ one of the protestant chiefs, that *James* urged him by “ letters (in any case) to make a peace, and to submit “ to, and wholly rely upon the promises of his own sovereign, pressing him moreover to consider the affairs “ of his son-in-law, and assuring him that he could not “ possibly give the reformed any assistance.” (i)

Had the reformed been properly aided during the minority of *Lewis the thirteenth*, their power probably would have been so great, that *Richlieu's* arts would not have overturned it: nor would France have given that disturbance to Europe she did, under *Lewis the fourteenth*.—“ Advantages, (says a noble author) might have

(g) Birch's view of the negotiations, &c. p. 406.

(b) See Howell's letters, p. 90. and Hist. of the edict of Nantz, Vol. II. p. 343, 420.

(i) Duke of Rohan's discourse upon the peace made before Montpellier, p. 44. at the end of his memoirs, 8vo. Lond. 1660.

vantage. Though he was not a catholic in persuasion, he favoured those that were, provided

“ have been taken of the divisions which religion occasioned ; and supporting the protestant party in France, would have kept that crown under restraints, and under inabilities, in some measure equal to those which were occasioned anciently by the vast alienations of its demefnes, and by the exorbitant power of its vassals. But *James* the first was incapable of thinking with sense, or acting with spirit.” (k)

(k) Bolingbroke's letters on the study and use of history, Vol. II. p. 181. 8vo. Lond. 1752.

And the writer of *Tom Tell-Troath*, addressed to *James*, and printed about the year 1622, has the following passage. “ They (the French protestants) are indeed so many hostages which God almighty has put into your majesties hands to secure you, and your majesties dominions, from all danger of that country ; and to lose them were no other (in my opinion) than wilfully to tempt God, to deliver us into the hands of our enemies. As long as God hath any children in France, we shall be sure to have brethren there. But they once gone, your brother of France will quickly shew whose child he is, and how incompatible the obedience he owes him (the pope) is with any good-will he can bear your majestie. Since then the Tye you have upon that princes friendship is of so loose a knot, what can your majesty do better for yourself, and yours, than to keep his enmity still clogged, by cherishing and maintaining so good a party in his country, as those of the religion.” (l)

(l) Harleian Mssellany, Vol. II. 512.

(m) See Kelly's supplemental remarks on the life of James I. p. 7. fol. Lond.

What Mr. *Kelly* means by saying *James* made the interest of the protestants his own, on more than one occasion, I know not. He refers us indeed to the embassies of Sir Edward *Herbert*, and the earl of *Carlisle* into France, in order to intercede for the Hugonots, the latter of whom he observes from *Rapin*, spent vast sums, and consequently his master must be much in earnest to do them service. (m) But what service did *James* do them? what success had his applications? none

vided they would swear allegiance unto him ;
and he not only relaxed [4 c] the rigour of
the

none ; and therefore we may be sure, he very little regarded them. Had this gentleman known the character of the earl of *Carlisle* as one of the most expensive, luxurious men then living, he would have interpreted the words of *Rapin* as he ought. The vast sums spent by *Carlisle*, were not on the business of the Hugonots, or to promote their affairs ; but in dress, equipage and house-keeping, in which he knew no bounds. But I ask pardon for taking so much notice of the mistakes of a writer of so little consequence, either as to knowledge or judgment.

[4 c] He not only relaxed the rigor of the laws in their favour, but consented to such terms for them in the marriage articles with Spain and France, as few of his protestants subjects approved.] It appears from a letter of Matthew *Hutton*, arch-bishop of York, to *Cecyll*, lord Cranborne, dated December 18, 1604, that the papists by “ reason of some extraordinary favour “ were grown mightily in number, courage, and influence.” (a) They were in great hopes of a toleration, when they saw *James* set against the puritans ; and it became so much the general expectation among them, that in order to clear himself of having intentions of granting it to them, his majesty thought proper to declare that “ he never intended it, and would “ spend the last drop of his blood before he would do it, “ and uttered that imprecation on his posterity, if they “ should maintain any other religion, than what he “ truly professed and maintained,” of which I have before taken notice. (b)

(a) Win-
wood, Vol.
II. p. 40.

(b) Id. p.
49. and
note [11]

Not content herewith, he ordered the laws against them to be put in execution, and they underwent many of them great hardships. (c) Upon the discovery of the popish plot, there was a general prosecution of all papists set on foot, as might well be expected : “ but “ king

(c) See Os-
born, p. 481.

the laws in their favour, but consented to
such

“ king *James* was very uneasy at it, says *Burnet*,
 “ which was much encreased by what Sir *Dudley Carleton*
 “ told him upon his return from Spain, where he
 “ had been ambassador; (which I had from lord *Hollis*,
 “ who said to me, that Sir *Dudley Carleton* told it to
 “ himself, and was much troubled when he saw it had
 “ an effect contrary to what he had intended.) When
 “ he came home, he found the king at *Theobalds*
 “ hunting in a very careless and unguarded manner:
 “ and upon that, in order to the putting him on a
 “ more careful looking to himself, he told the king he
 “ must either give over that way of hunting, or stop
 “ another hunting he was engaged in, which was priest
 “ hunting: For he had intelligence in Spain, that the
 “ priests were comforting themselves with this, that if
 “ he went on against them, they would soon get rid of
 “ him.—The king sent for him in private to en-
 “ quire more particularly into this; and he saw it had
 “ made a great impression on him, but wrought other-
 “ wise than he intended. For the king resolved to gra-
 “ tify his humour in hunting, and in a careless and ir-
 “ regular way of life, did immediately order all that
 “ prosecution to be let fall. I have the minutes of the
 “ council books of the year 1606, which are full of or-
 “ ders to discharge and transport priests, sometimes ten
 “ in a day.” (d)—I was inclined at first to call this
 whole story of *Burnet*’s into question, by reason that
Carleton was never ambassador into Spain: (e) but on
 further search find it probable enough.

(d) *Burnet*,
Vol. I. p.
11,

(e) See
Wood’s a-
thenæ,
Oxon, Vol.
I. col. 563.

(f) *Win-*
wood, Vol.
II. p. 54,
57. and
Birch’s
view of the
negotiation,
p. 227.

For *Carleton* in the year 1605, accompanied the lord
Norris into Spain, and there might hear what he is said
to have spoken to *James*. (f) So that there is only a
small mistake in *Burnet*, and his account is very proba-
ble. For tho’ laws were enacted against the catholics,
and the judges commanded on occasion to put them in
execution, yet *James* had a great affection for them,
and conferred on them many marks of his favour.

Let

such terms for them, in the marriage articles
with

Let us hear an indisputable writer on this matter, even *James* himself. “ Not only, says he, the papists themselves grew to that height of pride, in confidence of my mildness, as they did directly expect, and assuredly promise to themselves libertie of conscience, and equalitie with other of my subjects in all things ; but even a number of the best and faithfulliest of my said subjects, were cast in great fear and amazement of my course and proceedings, ever prognosticating and justly suspecting that sowre fruit to come of it, which shewed itself early in the powder-treason. How many did I honor with knighthood, of known and open recusants ? how indifferently did I give audience, and access to both sides, bestowing equally all favours and honors on both professions ? How free and continual access had all ranks and degrees of papists in my court and company ? and above all, how frankly and freely did I free recusants of their ordinary payments ? Besides, it is evident what strait order was given out of my own mouth to the judges, to spare the execution of all priests, (notwithstanding their conviction) joining thereunto a gracious proclamation, whereby all priests that were at liberty, and not taken, might goe out of the country by such a day : my general pardon having been extended to all convicted priests in prison : whereupon they were set at libertie as good subjects : and all priests that were taken after, sent over, and set at libertie there. But time and paper will fail me, to make enumeration of all the benefits and favours that I bestowed in general, and particular upon papists.” (g) — There is a great deal of truth in these lines. The *Howards*, most of them catholics, were advanced to honors and power by him ; the families of *Petre*, and *Arundel*, of the same persuasion, were admitted into the peerage ; and in the latter part of his reign, we find *Villiers* his mother made a countess, and *Calvert*, secretary of state, created

(g) King
James's
works, p.
253.

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with Spain and France, as but very few of
his

created lord *Baltimore*, though they were openly of the romish communion. In the year 1610, we find the commons complaining of the “ non execution of the laws against the priests who, say they, are the corrupters of the people in religion and loyalty;” and, continue they, in a petition to *James*, “ many recusants have already compounded, and (as it is to be feared) more and more (except your majesty in your great wisdom, prevent the same) will compound with those that beg their penalties, which maketh the laws altogether fruitless, or of little or none effect, and the offenders to become bold, obdurate, and unformable. Wherefore they entreat his majestie to lay his royal commands upon all his ministers of justice both ecclesiastical and civil, to see the laws made against jesuits, seminarie priests and recusants (of what kind and sect soever) to be duly and exactly executed, without dread or delay. And that his majestie would be pleased likewise to take into his own hands the penalties due for recusancie, and that the same be not converted to the private gain of some, to his majesties infinite loss, the emboldening of the papists, and decay of true religion.” (b)—But notwithstanding these complaints of the parliament; notwithstanding, *James’s own heart bled, when he heard of the increase of popery*, by the marriage articles with Spain and France, many things were granted in their favour, and consequently the papists were mightily encouraged. The infanta was to be allowed a chapel in the palace, and a public church in London; all her servants were to be catholics, under the authority of a bishop, or his vicar; they were not to be liable to the laws of England with regard to religion; though the children begot on her body, should be catholics, they might not lose the right of succeeding to the kingdom and dominions of Great Britain; and they were to be brought up by her till the age of ten years. Besides these articles,

(b) Record of some worthy proceedings in the honourable, wife, and faithful house of commons, in the late parliament, p. 19. printed in 1611. 12mo.

his protestant subjects, who were independent

with many other made public, there were private ones by which great liberty was given to those of the romish church. For by these *James* promised that the laws in being against them, should not be commanded to be put in execution; that no new laws for the future should be enacted to their hurt, that there should be a perpetual toleration of the roman catholic religion, within private houses, throughout all his dominions; and that he would do his endeavour, that the parliament should ratifie all and singular articles, in favour of the roman catholics. (i) About the same time a declaration was signed by lord Conway, and others in his majesty's name, dated Aug. 7, 1623, touching pardons, suspensions, and dispensations for the roman catholics, which, in the opinion of the earl of *Bristol*, the great negotiator of the Spanish match, in effect was little less than a toleration. (k) And "the king directed the lord keeper "*(Williams)* and other commissioners, to draw up a "pardon for all offences past, with a dispensation for "those to come, to be granted to all roman catholics, "obnoxious to any laws against recusants; and then to "issue forth two general commands under the great "seal of England: the one to all judges and justices of "the peace; and the other to all bishops, chancellors, "and commissaries, not to execute any statute against "them." (l)——The Spanish match took not place; but prince *Charles* was married to *Henrietta Maria*, of France; and *James* before his death, signed articles equally as favourable to the English catholicks, as conditions to that match. (m) This cardinal *Richlieu* boasts of. "The Spanish match, says he, was broken off, "and soon after it, that of France was treated of, concluded and accomplished, with conditions three times "more advantagious for religion, than those which "were designed to be proposed in the late king's "*(Henry the fourth)* time." (n) This was the man who never intended to grant a toleration to papists, who would

(i) See
Rushworth,
Vol. I. p.
86—89.

Frankland's
annals, p.
73—80.

(k) Rush-
worth, Vol.
I. p. 288.

(l) Id. p.
101.

(m) Id.
p. 162.

(n) Political
testament,
p. 7.

See also his
letters, Vol.
I. p. 2. 265.
8vo. Lond.
1698.

dant of the court, approved, and many
greatly

would spend the last drop of his blood before he would do it, and whose heart bled when he heard of the encrease of popery. Vile hypocrisy ! mean dissimulation ! which could answer no other purpose than to expose himself to the scorn, and contempt of those who knew him. What the favour which was shewn the catholics when the Spanish match was thought near a conclusion, was, will best appear from the following paragraph in a letter written, if I am not greatly mistaken, by *Buckingham* to count *Gondomar*, then in Spain.—“ As for news
“ from hence, I can assure you, that they are, in all
“ points, as your heart could wish : for here is a king,
“ a prince, and a faithful friend and servant unto you,
“ besides a number of your other good friends, that
“ long so much for the happy accomplishment of this
“ match, as every day seems a year unto us ; and I can
“ assure you, in the word of your honest friend, that
“ we have a prince here, that is so sharp set upon the
“ business, as it would much comfort you to see it, and
“ her there to hear it. Here are all things prepared
“ upon our parts ; priests and recusants all at liberty ;
“ all the roman catholics well satisfied ; and, which
“ will seem a wonder unto you, our prisons are emptied
“ of priests and recusants, and filled with zealous mini-
“ sters, for preaching against the match ; for no man
“ can sooner, now, mutter a word in the pulpit, tho’
“ indirectly against it, but he is presently caught, and
“ set in streight prison. We have also published orders,
“ both for the universities, and the pulpits, that no
“ man hereafter shall meddle, but to preach Christ cru-
“ cified ; nay, it shall not be lawful hereafter for them
“ to rail against the pope, or the doctrine of the church
“ of Rome, further than for edification of ours : and
“ for proof hereof, you shall herewith, receive the or-
“ ders set down and published.” (o) — This great li-
berty given to the catholics was highly offensive to the
protestants, as we may learn from what follows, which

(o) Cabala,
p. 242.

was

greatly murmured at. The church of England, under *James*, was in a happy state; being

was written by arch-bishop *Abbot*, to *James* on occasion of it.—“ Your majesty hath propounded a toleration of religion: I beseech you, to take into your consideration, what your act is, and what the consequence may be. By your act you labour to set up that most damnable and heretical doctrine of the church of Rome, the whore of Babylon, how hateful will it be to God, and grievous to your subjects, (the true professors of the gospel) that your majesty who hath often defended, and learnedly written against those wicked heresies, should now shew yourself a patron of those doctrines, which your pen hath told the world, and your conscience tells yourself, are superstitious, idolatrous, and detestable.—Besides, this toleration you endeavour to set up by your proclamation, it cannot be done without a parliament, unless your majesty will let your subjects see, that you now take unto yourself a liberty to throw down the laws of the land at your pleasure. What dreadful consequences these things may draw after, I beseech your majesty to consider. And above all, lest by this toleration, and discountenance of the true profession of the gospel; (wherewith God hath blessed us, and under which this kingdom hath flourished these many years) your majesty doth draw upon the kingdom in general, and yourself in particular, God’s heavie wrath and indignation. Thus, in discharge of my duty to your majesty, and the place of my calling, I have taken the humble boldness to deliver my conscience. And, now Sir, do with me what you please.” (p) I will not here enter into the question whether the intolerant principles of the Roman catholics do not render them unfit to be tolerated amongst protestants. All I shall say, is, that it has been the opinion of some of the best friends to liberty, that they are to be excluded from it, for the preservation of liber-

(p) Cabala, P. 114. Rushworth, Vol. I. p. 85.

being highly praised, protected, and favoured by him, [4 D] yea, moreover advanced to

(q) See Bayley's dict. article milton, note [o]

ty itself; with which it is thought, their principles are incompatible. (q) But be this as it will, it cannot be at all wondered at, that the protestants in *James's* reign should be alarmed at an open toleration of those of the communion of the church of Rome. For they could not but remember the bull of pope *Pius* the fifth, concerning the damnation, excommunication, and deposition of queen *Elizabeth*, and the plots which in consequence thereof, were laid against her life: They could not but remember the detestable powder treason; nor could they forget that *James* himself had publickly avowed that the pope of Rome was anti-christ, the man of sin, the mother of harlots, and abominations, who was drunk with the blood of the saints and the martyrs of Jesus. And remembring these things, could they chuse but murmur against the toleration of so bloody a sect, or look on *Buckingham* the supposed instrument of it, but as a betrayer of king and country, and as odious, as he himself declares they did. (r)

(r) Cabala, p. 244.

(a) See article the 19th.

[4 D] The church of England under *James* was in a flourishing state, being highly praised, protected, and favoured by him.] When I speak of the church, I would not be understood to mean "a congregation of faithful men," as our articles in an antiquated manner define it; (a) but *the clergy*, who have for a long time appropriated that term to *themselves*, and the *places* in which they officiate: And when I speak of the church as in a flourishing state, I mean, what I think, churchmen generally mean by it, their possessing power, honor and wealth; and not the increase of unfeigned piety, and real virtue.—That in this sense the church of England flourished under *James*, is beyond all contradiction. In a speech in the star-chamber, in the year 1616, his majesty complains "that churchmen were "had in too much contempt, I must speak trewth, says " he

to riches, honor, and power: whereby she
became

“ he, great men, lords, judges, and people of all de-
“ grees from the highest to the lowest, have too much
“ contemned them. And God will not bless us in our
“ own laws, if we do not reverence and obey God’s
“ law; which cannot be, except the interpreters of it
“ be respected and revered, and it is a sign of the
“ latter day’s drawing on; even the contempt of the
“ church, and of the governors and teachers thereof
“ now in the *church of England*, which I say in my
“ conscience of any church that ever I read or knew of,
“ present or past, is most pure, and nearest the primi-
“ tive and apostolical church in doctrine and discipline,
“ and is sureliest founded on the word of God, of any
“ church in Christendome.” (b) In the same speech (b) King
he tells the judges, “ God will bless every good busi- James’s
“ ness the better, that he and his church have the pre- works, p.
“ cedence.” (c) And again, addressing himself to the 554.
judges, he says, “ Let not the church nor churchmen, (c) Id. p.
“ be disgraced in your charges;—countenance and en- 565.
“ courage the good churchmen, and teach the people
“ by your example to reverence them: for if they be
“ good, they are worthy of double honor for their of-
“ fice sake; if they be faultie it is not your place to ad-
“ monish them; they have another *Forum* to answer
“ to for their misbehaviour.” (d) And in another (d) Id. p.
place, he tells us, “ that as soon as a person hath made 569.
“ his choice what church to live and die in, *audi eam*,
“ as Christ commands: for his conscience in this must
“ only serve him for a guide to the right church, but
“ not to judge her, but to be judged by her.” (e) (e) Id. p.

This is very good, and what most churchmen would
be very glad their flocks did believe. For they then
might teach authoratively, and a blind submission would
be yielded. Profane wits would not think themselves at
liberty to examine the reasonableness of the churches doc-
trine, but swallow down glibly the most mysterious
unintelligible points, to their own great edification, and

became in a condition to be both dreaded,
and

the peace of the church.—But *James* not only spoke well of churchmen, and endeavoured to recommend them to the esteem and regard of his subjects, but he heaped on them wealth, and suffered them to enjoy riches in abundance. “ He founded a dean and chapter of seven prebendaries at *Rippon*, in Yorkshire; and “ settled two hundred and forty-seven pounds per ann. “ of crown lands for their maintenance.” (f) *Williams*, dean of *Westminster*, retained at the same time, as himself tells the duke of *Buckingham*, the rectories of *Dinum*, *Walgrave*, *Grafton*, and *Peterborough*, and was also chaunter of *Lincoln*, prebendary of *Asgarbie*, prebendary of *Nonnington*, and residentiary of *Lincoln*. (g) And when advanced to the see of *Lincoln*, and made lord-keeper of the great seal, he was continued dean of *Westminster*, and held his other preferments; so that, says *Heylin*, he was a perfect diocesis within himself, as being bishop, dean, prebend, residentiary, and parson; and all these at once. (b) This was a goodly sight in the eyes of *Laud*, who made use of the example, in retaining with his bishopric of *St. Davids*, not only his prebends place in the church of *Westminster*, and his benefices in the country, but also the presidentships of his college in *Oxon*. (i) In short the churchmen throve well under *James*, and were greatly cherished by him. For to the wealth he permitted them to enjoy, he added real power, and gave them liberty to crush all their opposers.—In the canons compiled anno 1603, to which his majesty gave his royal sanction, we find that whoever should hereafter affirm, that the form of God’s worship in the church of England, established by law, and contained in the book of common prayer, is a corrupt, superstitious, or unlawful worship of God, or containeth any thing in it that is repugnant to the scriptures; whosoever should affirm that any of the thirty-nine articles, are in any part superstitious or erroneous, or such as he may not with a good conscience subscribe

(f) Grey’s examination of the second volume of Neal’s history of the puritans, p. 75. 8vo. Lond. 1736.
(g) Cabala, p. 409.

(b) Life of Laud, p. 86.

(i) Id. ibid.

and envied by her adversaries. Not so the puritans. These were the objects of his majesty's

subscribe unto; whosoever should affirm that the rites and ceremonies of the church were such as men who were godly affected, may not with any good conscience approve them, use them, or, as occasion requireth, subscribe unto them; whosoever should affirm the government of the church of England under his majesty, by arch-bishops, &c. is antichristian, or repugnant to the word of God, were to be excommunicated. (k)

The same punishment was denounced against the authors of schism, the maintainers of schismatics and maintainers of conventicles. (l) Thus were church-

men armed with power, with which, we may be assured, they took care to defend themselves and annoy their adversaries. Add to this that the high commission was then in being, in which the bishops were the judges who by administering the oath *ex officio*, compelled men to accuse themselves, and then punished them in the severest manner. 'Twas this court which obliged the renowned *Selden*, to make his submission, and beg pardon for having published his book on tythes; (m) though

most learned men since that time, have acquiesced in what he has asserted concerning their original; and before this, we find by a complaint of the parliament, that "lay-men were punished by this court for speak-

ing of the symonie and other misdemeanours of spiritual men, though the thing spoken were true, and the speech tending to bring them to condigne punishment." (n)—Such was the power of the clergy under

James, such was the use that was made of it! honest, learned, and worthy men were called in question, and subjected to all the terrible consequences of that thing called an excommunication, for daring to tell churchmen of their vices, or denying their whimsical pretences.

This at length bred much ill-blood, and issued in dreadful consequences. Let the prince therefore that would reign gloriously, curb the power of his clergy; let him

(k) see canons, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7.

(l) In canons 9, 10, 11.

(m) Heylin's history of the presbyterians p. 392.

(n) Record of some proceedings in the parliament, anno 1610, p. 29.

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 majesty's highest averfion, [4 E] and greateft
 hatred ;

never be made the tool of their wrath or resentment ; but by diftributing equal and impartial juftice to all his fubjects, fhew himfelf their common father and fove- reign, and thereby eftablifh his throne in their hearts, and render it immoveable.

[4 E] The puritans were the objects of his higheft a- verfion, &c.] This appears from what has been faid in the notes [M] and [MM] fo clearly, that I need fay no more concerning it. But *James* contented not him- felf with reproaching them, but he let his clergy loofe upon them, and fubjected them to great penalties meer- ly on account of their non conformity to the eftablifhed ceremonies. *Hutton*, arch-bifhop of York, received orders from the privy-council, “ that the puritans “ fhould be proceeded againft according to law, except “ they conformed themfelves ; tho’ I think, fays he, “ all or moft of them love his majesty, and the prefent “ eftate.” (a) And fays Sir *Dudley Carleton* in a let- ter to Mr. *Winwood*, dated Feb. 20, 1604, “ the poor “ puritan minifters have been ferrited out in all corners, “ and fome of them fufpended, others deprived of their “ livings. Certain lecturers are filenced, and a crew of “ gentlemen of Northamptonfhire, who put up a petition “ to the king in their behalfe, told roundly of their “ boldnefs, both at the council-table and ftar-chamber : “ and Sir *Francis Haftings* for drawing the petition, “ and ftanding to it, when he had done it, put from “ his lieutenantcy and jufticeship of the peace in his fhire : “ Sir *Edward Mountague*, and Sir *Valentine Knightly*, “ for refufing to fubicribe to a fubmiffion, have the “ like fentence : the reft upon acknowledgment of a “ fault have no more faid to them.” (b)——And his majesty fummoned the judges into the ftar-chamber, and in the prefence of the arch-bifhop of Canterbury and the bifhop of London, and about twelve lords of the privy-council, asked of them three queftions with regard
 to

(a) *Win- wood*, Vol. II. p. 47.

(b) *Win- wood*, Vol. II. p. 48.

these he was continually reproaching in his writings ;

to the punishment of the puritans ; the third of which was, “ whether it be an offence punishable, and what
 “ punishment they deserved, who framed petitions,
 “ and collected a multitude of hands thereto, to prefer
 “ to the king in a public cause, as the puritans had
 “ done, with an intimation to the king, that if he de-
 “ nied their suit, many thousands of his subjects would
 “ be discontented?” To this the judges in their great
 wisdom replied, “ that it was an offence fineable at dis-
 “ cretion, and very near to treason and felony in the
 “ punishment, for it tended to the raising sedition, re-
 “ bellion and discontent among the people.” (c) This (c) Croke’s
 judicious resolution was agreed to by the lords then pre- reports, part
 sent. *Bancroft* hereupon “ required a strict confor- 2d. p. 37.
 “ mity to the rules of the church, according to the and
 “ laws and canons in that behalf ; and without sparing Winwood,
 “ non-conformists, or half-conformists, at last reduced Vol. 2d. p.
 “ them to that point, that they must either leave their 49.
 “ churches, or obey the church.” (d) And that none (d) Heylin’s
 might escape the penalties of the canons and high com history of the
 mission court, this pious prelate required “ some who presbyterians
 “ had formerly subscribed to testify their conformity by p. 376.
 “ a new subscription, in which it was to be declared,
 “ that they did willingly and *ex animo* subscribe to the
 “ three articles (inserted in the 36th canon,) and to all
 “ things in the same contained. Which leaving no
 “ starting-hole either for practising those rites and cere-
 “ monies which they did not approve, or for approving
 “ that which they meant not to practice, as they had
 “ done formerly ; occasioned many of them to forsake
 “ their benefices, rather than to subscribe according to
 “ the true intention of the church in the said three ar-
 “ ticles.” (e) In short such was the rigor of the pre- (e) Id. p.
 lates, such the sufferings of the puritans, that we find 377.
 the parliament in the year 1610, interceeding with the
 king in their behalf. “ Whereas, say they, divers
 “ painful and learned pastors, that have long travelled

writings; and not contented herewith he
exposed

“ in the work of the ministerie with good fruit and
 “ blessing of their labours, who were ever ready to per-
 “ form the legal subscription appointed by the statute of
 “ 13 Eliz. which only concerneth the confession of the
 “ true christian faith and doctrine of the sacraments,
 “ yet for not conforming in some points of ceremonies,
 “ and refusing the subscription directed by the late
 “ canons, have been removed from their ecclesiastical
 “ livings, being their freehold, and debarred from all
 “ means of maintenance, to the great grief of sundrie
 “ your majesties well-affected subjects; seeing the whole
 “ people, that want instruction, are by this means
 “ punished, and through ignorance, lye open to the
 “ seducements of popish, and ill-affected persons: We
 “ therefore most humbly beseech, your majesty would
 “ be graciously pleased, that such deprived and silenced
 “ ministers may by licence, or permission of the re-
 “ verend fathers, in their severall diocesses, instruct,
 “ and preach unto their people in such parishes, and
 “ places, where they may be employed: so as they ap-
 “ ply themselves, in their ministry to wholesome doc-
 “ trine, and exhortation, and live quietly, and peace-
 “ ably in their callings, and shall not by writing or
 “ preaching, impugn things established by public au-
 “ thority.” (f) — Soon after this *Baucroft* died, and
 was succeeded by *George Abbot*, a man of a more gen-
 tle and merciful disposition, who was much more fa-
 vourable to the puritans than his predecessor. But the
 rigor against them was far from being wholly remitted.
 They were so ill used, that they preferred dwelling in a
 wilderness to their native soil, and chose the perils of
 waters before the perils they were in among their bre-
 thren; though for a time even this was denied them.
 “ Some of the bishops, says *Wilson*, were not contented
 “ to suppress many pious and religious men; but I know
 “ not for what policy, restrained their going beyond
 “ sea: for there were divers families, about this time,
 “ (1613)

(f) Proceed-
ings in the
house of
commons,
in 1610.

exposed them to the censure of the high
 commission,

“ (1613) shipp’d for New-England, and were not suf-
 “ fered to go ; though afterwards, they were upon bet-
 “ ter thoughts permitted.” (g)——In short *James* (g) *Wilson*,
 heartily hated the people of this denomination ; and to P. 74.
 be a puritan, was with him, to be every thing odious
 and abominable. How mischievous an effect this pre-
 judice of his majesty had, will best appear from a letter
 written to the illustrious *Usher*, from Emanuel *Down-*
ing, out of Ireland, who is stiled a worthy divine, by
Dr. Parr.

Reverend Sir,

“ I hope you are not ignorant of the hurt that is
 “ come to the church by this name *Puritan*, and how
 “ his majesty’s good intent and meaning therein is
 “ much abused and wronged ; and especially in this
 “ poor country where the pope and popery is so much
 “ affected. I being lately in the country had confe-
 “ rence with a worthy, painful preacher, who hath
 “ been an instrument of drawing many of the meer
 “ Irish there, from the blindness of popery to embrace
 “ the gospel, with much comfort to themselves, and
 “ heart-breaking to the priests, who perceiving that
 “ they cannot now prevail with their jugling tricks,
 “ have forged a new device : They have now stirred
 “ up some crafty papists, who very boldly rail both at
 “ ministers and people, saying, they seek to sow this
 “ damnable heresie of *puritanism* among them ; which
 “ word, though not understood, but only known to
 “ be most odious to his majesty, makes many afraid of
 “ joining themselves to the gospel, though in confe-
 “ rence their consciences are convicted herein : so to
 “ prevent a greater mischief which may follow, it
 “ were good to petition his majesty to define a *puritan*,
 “ whereby the mouths of those scoffing enemies would
 “ be stopp’d ; and if his majesty be not at leizure, that he (b) *Parr’s*
 “ would appoint some good men to do it for him.” (b) *life of Usher*,
 — Had P. 16.

commiffion, who fufpended, deprived and excommunicated them, notwithstanding the interceffion,

—Had a puritan been truly defined, the world would have been at a lofs to have known the reason of the feverity ufed towards thofe who were reproached with that title.—The puritans had their fancies, as well as their adverfaries. The furlpice, the crofs in baptifm, the ring in marriage, bowing at the name of Jefus, and fome other articles of equal importance were the objects of their averfion; they thought they fmelt of popery, which they could not bear with. The bifhops on the contrary had a very great fondnefs for thefe, as well as for the whole hierarchy. A difpute therefore on thefe fubjects was natural; and had it been managed fairly no ill confequences could have happened. But the bifhops were in power; the king was their friend, and a foe to thofe who oppofed them; and they were determined to carry their point at all adventures. The fhorteft way therefore was taken. The puritans were f silenced, deprived, excommunicated, and all for trifles. I will not fay but the bifhops might have more fenfe, but the puritans had more honefty. The firft were perfecutors, the latter were perfecuted; and confequently were entitled to the pity and compaffion of the humane and benevolent.—*James* and his clergy did not under-

(i) Hartley's observations on man, p. 377. Vol. II. 8vo. Lond. 1749. See alfo hiftorical and critical account of Hugh Peters, note [c] Lond. 1751. 8vo. (k) Bacon's effay on the viciffitude of things.

ftand the ufe of fefts, “ to purify religion, and alfo to fet the great truths of it in a full light; and to fhew their practical importance.” (i) Nor did they know the beft way to flop the rifing of new fefts and fchifms, by reforming abufes, compounding fmaller differences, proceeding mildly, and not with fanguinary perfecutions; and taking off the principal authors by winning and advancing them, rather than enraging them by violence and bitternefs;” (k) and confequently inftead of crushing, they increafed them. For lord *Shaftesbury* juftly remarks, “ that there is nothing fo ridiculous in refpect of policy, or fo wrong and odious in refpect of common humanity, as a moderate

intercession made for them by many persons of quality, and by one of his parliaments.
In

“ derate and half way persecution ; it only frets the
“ fore ; it raises the ill-humour of mankind ; excites
“ the keener spirits ; moves indignation in beholders ;
“ and sows the very seeds of schism in men’s bosoms.
“ A resolute and bold faced *persecution* leaves no time or
“ scope for these engendring distempers, or gathering
“ ill-humours. It does the work at once ; by extirpa-
“ tion, banishment, or massacre : and like a bold stroke
“ in surgery, dispatches by one short amputation, what
“ a bungling hand would make worse and worse, to
“ the perpetual sufferance and misery of the patient.”

(l)——But let us leave these reflections and return to *James*, who was as much set on the ruin of puritanism in *Scotland*, as in *England*. In the Parliament at *Perth*, in the year 1606, he got an act passed entituled the restitution of the estate of bishops : afterwards they were declared perpetual moderators, and had the high commission put into their hands. In 1610, the king sent for three of the bishops elect, in order to have them consecrated in *England*, which was done without first giving them deacons or priests orders ; and consequently the validity of their former orders were acknowledged. Soon afterwards they had great power committed unto them, to the no small uneasiness of ministers and people. (m) In the year 1617, *James* made a progress into *Scotland*, in order to bring the *Scots* nearer to conformity with the church of *England*.

(l) Charac-
teristicks,
Vol. III. p.
95.

(m) Spots-
wooe, p.
406.
Calderwood,
p. 616.

“ But his majesty, says *Heylin*, gained nothing by
“ that chargeable journey, but a neglect of his com-
“ mands, and a contempt of his authority. His ma-
“ jesty therefore took a better course, than to put the
“ point to argument and disputation ; which was to
“ beat them by the belly, and to withdraw those aug-
“ mentations which he had formerly allowed them out
“ of his exchequer : which pill so wrought upon this
“ indigent and obstinate people, that the next year in an
“ assembly

In Scotland he pursued them with rigour, and was not contented till he set up episcopacy, though contrary to the inclinations of ministers,

(n) Life of
Laud, p.
74.

(o) Spotf-
wood, p.
538.

(p) Craw-
ford's Lives,
P. 174.

(q) See spi-
rit of laws,
Vol II. p.
150.

“ assembly at *Perth*, they passed an act for admitting
 “ the five articles, for which his majesty had been
 “ courting them for two years together.” (n) These
 articles which his majesty had courted them so long to ad-
 mit, it must be owned, were very important. The
 first requires the blessed sacrament to be celebrated meek-
 ly and reverently upon their knees. The second allows
 the lawfulness of private communion. The third per-
 mits private baptism. The fourth commands confir-
 mation. The fifth the observation of some festivals. (o)
 “ These articles being thus settled, order was given to
 “ read them in all parish churches ; the ministers were
 “ likewise obliged to preach upon the lawfulness of
 “ them, and exhort their people to submission. And
 “ to give them the greater authority, the king ordered
 “ them to be published at the market cross of the prin-
 “ cipal burroughs, and commanded conformity under
 “ pain of his displeasure. But all this not being enough
 “ to enforce such a conformity to the ceremonies as was
 “ expected, it was thought further necessary to establish
 “ them by the sanction of an act of parliament, and to
 “ give them the force of a law, this was done accord-
 “ ingly in the year 1621.” (p) A prince must be
 strangely infatuated, and strongly prejudiced to employ
 his power and influence in establishing such matters as
 these ! Let us grant episcopacy to be the most expedient
 government of the church, (and expedient enough it
 must be acknowledged in proper places, (q) and rightly
 executed, by overseeing the manners of the clergy, and
 keeping them within the bounds of decency and regula-
 rity ;) yet what man of sense will think it worth esta-
 blishing at the risk of the peace of the community ? Let
 rites and ceremonies be deemed ever so decent ; who
 will say they are fit to be imposed by methods of severity
 and constraint ? yet by these ways, we see, these mat-
 ters

ministers, and people. Being seized with an ague, he died March 27, 1625, in the 59th year of his age, [4 F] not without suspicion of

of
ters were introduced among the Scots; to the disgrace of humanity, and the eternal blemish of a prince who boasted of his learning, and was forever displaying his abilities.

[4 E] He died not without suspicion of having been poisoned by *Buckingham*.] “ The king that was very
“ much impatient in his health, was patient in his sickness and death. Whether he had received any thing
“ that extorted his anguish fits into a fever, which might the sooner stupify the spirits, and hasten his end cannot be asserted; but the countess of *Buckingham* had
“ been tampering with him, in the absence of the doctors, and had given him a medicine to drink, and laid a plaister to his side, which the king much complained of, and they did rather exasperate his distemper than allay it: and these things were admitted
“ by the insinuating persuasions of the duke her son, who told the king they were approved medicines, and would do him much good. And though the duke afterwards strove to purge himself for this application, as having received both medicine and plaister from *Dr. Remington*, at *Dunmow*, in *Essex*, who had often cured agues, and such distempers with the same; yet they were arguments of a complicated kind not easy to unfold; considering that whatsoever he received from the doctor in the country, he might apply to the king what he pleased in the court. Besides, the act itself (though it had been the best medicine in the world) was a *daring* not justifiable; and some of the king’s physicians muttered against it, others made a great noise, and were forced to fly for it; and though the still voice was quickly silenced by the duke’s power, yet the clamorous made so deep impressions, that his innocence could never wear them
“ out.

of having been poisoned by *Buckingham*. He was buried with great magnificence at Westminster-

(a) Wilson,
p. 287.

“ out. And one of *Buckingham*'s great provocations
 “ was thought to be his fear, that the king being now
 “ weary of his too much greatness, and power, would
 “ set up *Bristol*, his deadly enemy against him to pull
 “ him down. And this medicine was one of those 13
 “ articles that after were laid to his charge in parlia-
 “ ment.” (a)—Dr. *Welwood* in his note on this passage
 “ observes, “ that Dr. *Eglisbam*, one of the king's phy-
 “ sicians, was obliged to flee beyond seas, for some ex-
 “ pressions he had muttered about the manner of his
 “ majesty's death, and lived at *Brussels* many years af-
 “ ter. It was there he published a book to prove king
 “ *James* was poisoned; giving a particular account of
 “ all the circumstances of his sickness, and laying his
 “ death upon the duke of *Buckingham* and his mother.
 “ —Among other remarkable passages, there is one
 “ about the plaister applied to the king's stomach.

“ He says it was given out to have been *mithridate*,
 “ and, that one Dr. *Remington* had sent it to the duke,
 “ as a medicine with which he had cured a great many
 “ agues in *Essex*. Now *Eglisbam* denies it was *mi-*
 “ *thridate*, and says, neither he, nor any other phy-
 “ sicians could tell what it was. He adds, that Sir *Mat-*
 “ *thew Lister* and he being the week after the king's
 “ death, at the earl of *Warwick*'s house in *Essex*, they
 “ sent for Dr. *Remington*, who lived hard by, and ask-
 “ ing him what kind of plaister it was he had sent to
 “ *Buckingham*, for the cure of an ague, and whether
 “ he knew it was the king the duke designed it for?
 “ *Remington* answered, that one *Baker*, a servant of the
 “ dukes, came to him in his master's name, and de-
 “ sired him if he had any certain specific remedy against
 “ an ague, to send it him: and accordingly he sent
 “ him *mithridate* spread upon leather, but knew not
 “ till then that it was designed for the king. But,
 “ continues *Eglisbam*, Sir *Matthew Lister*, and I shew-
 “ ing

minster-Abby, (a) on the seventh of May following; his son and successor *Charles* following

(a) Gibbon's
Cambden,
Vol. I. p.
586.

“ ing him a piece of the plaister we had kept, after it
“ was taken off, he seemed greatly surprized, and of-
“ fer'd to take his corporal oath, that it was none of
“ what he had given *Baker*, nor did he know what
“ kind of mixture it was.—But the truth is, this
“ book of *Eglisbam's* is wrote with such an air of ran-
“ cour and prejudice, that the manner of his narrative
“ takes off much from the credit of what he writes.”

(b)—The parliament in the year 1626, charged *Buckingham* with having caused certain plaisters, and a certain

(b) Compleat
history, Vol.
II. p. 790. *

* It is to be wished *Welwood* had given us the title of this book of *Eglisbam*. In the second volume of the Harleian Miscellany there is a tract intitled the *Forerunner* of revenge. Being two petitions: the one to king's most excellent majesty; the other to the most honourable houses of parliament. Wherein are expressed divers actions of the late earl of *Buckingham*, especially concerning the death of king *James*, and the marquis of *Hamilton*, supposed by poison. By *George Eglisbam*, doctor of physick, and one of the physicians to king *James*, of happy memory, for his majesty's person above ten years, 4to. Lond. 1642, though it appears to have been written in *Buckingham's* life time, and I doubt not, was then printed. There is an air of rancour and prejudice in this small piece; but not a word of what *Dr. Welwood* relates.

“ The king, says he, being sick of an ague, the duke took this opportunity, when all the king's doctors of physick were at dinner, and offered to him a white powder to take, the which he a long time refused; but overcome with his flattering importunity, at length took it in wine, and immediately became worse and worse, falling into many swoonings and pains, and violent fluxes of the belly, so tormented, that his majesty cried out aloud of this white powder, would to God I had never taken it.”—He then tells us of “ the countess of *Buckingham's*, applying the plaister to the king's heart and breast; whereupon he grew faint, and short breathed and in agony. That the physicians exclaimed that the king was poisoned; that *Buckingham* commanded them out of the room, and caused one of them to be committed prisoner to his own chamber, and another to be removed from court; and that after his majesty's death, his body and head swelled above measure, his hair with the skin of his head stuck to the pillow, and his nails became loose upon his fingers and toes.” See Harleian Miscellany, Vol. II. p. 71, 4to. Lond. 1744. If this was the book in which *Dr. Welwood* remembered to have read what I have quoted in the note, his memory discharged its office but very ill. However I rather suspect, there is a larger account of *Eglisbam's* in print, than that *Welwood* should have invented.

lowing, attending his interment; Dr. Williams, lord keeper, and bishop of Lincoln,

certain drink to be provided for the use of his majesty king *James*, without the privity or direction of the physitians, and compounded of several ingredients to them unknown, notwithstanding the same plaisters, or some plaister like thereunto, having been formerly administered unto him, did produce such ill effects as that some of the physitians did disallow thereof, and utterly refuse to meddle any further with his majesty, until these plaisters were removed, as being prejudicial to his health, yet the same plaisters, and drink was provided by the duke, and the plaisters applied to the king's breast and wrist, and the drink given to him at seasons prohibited by the physitians. After which, they set forth, divers ill symptoms appeared upon his majesty, and his majesty attributed the cause of his trouble to the plaister and drink which the duke had given him. (c) The duke in his answer insists on his innocency, declaring that the drink and plaister were procured by the kings own desire, on his recommendation; that by his own command they were applied; that he (*Buckingham*) gave the drink in the presence of some of the physitians, who tasted it, and did not shew their dislike of it; and that when he told the king it was rumour'd that the physick he had gave him, had done him hurt, his majesty with much discontent answered, they are worse than the devils that say it. (d) The commons having received a copy of the dukes answer from the lords, say "they shall presently reply in such sort, according to the laws of parliament, that unless his power and practice undermine our proceedings, we do not doubt but we upon the same have judgment against him." (e) But his power and practice so far undermined their proceedings, that a dissolution soon followed, by which they were prevented from producing their proofs of what they had asserted. This made a deep impression on mens minds, and caused them to apprehend that *James* had not

(c) See Rushworth, Vol. I. p. 351.

(d) Rushworth, Vol. I. p. 389.

(e) Id. p. 403.

colne, preached his funeral sermon, which
soon

not had fair play for his life. The hindering a parliamentary inquiry into the death of a king, by putting an end to the parliament itself, had an odd appearance, and caused many to think that there was more at the bottom than it was convenient should see the light.—I will add a passage from *Burnett*, to what has been now produced, which, if true, will pretty well clear up this matter. “ King *James*, says he, in the end of his
“ reign was become weary of the duke of *Buckingham*,
“ who treated him with such an air of insolent contempt,
“ that he seemed at last resolved to throw him off, but
“ could not think of taking the load of government on
“ himself, and so resolved to bring the earl of *Somerset*
“ again into favour, as that lord reported it to some from
“ whom I had it. He met with him in the night, in
“ the gardens at *Theobalds*: Two bed-chamber men
“ were only in the secret; the king embraced him tenderly and with many tears. The earl of *Somerset* believed the secret was not well kept; for soon after the
“ king was taken ill with some fits of an ague and died.
“ My father was then in London, and did very much
“ suspect an ill practice in the matter: But perhaps Dr.
“ *Craig*, my mother’s uncle, who was one of the king’s
“ physicians, possessed him with these apprehensions;
“ for he was disgraced for saying he believed the king
“ was poisoned.” (f) These are the foundations on which the suspicion of *James*’s being poisoned by *Buckingham* relies. Whether any thing more than suspicion arises from them, must be left to the reader to determine. Lord *Clarendon*, who could not be ignorant of a good part of what has been now related, speaking of *James*’s death, says “ it was occasioned by an ague,
“ (after a short indisposition by the gout) which meeting many humours in a fat unweildy body of 58
“ years old, in four or five fits carried him out of the
“ world. After whose death, adds he, many scandalous and libellous discourses were raised without the
“ least colour, or ground: as appeared upon the strictest
R “ and

(f) *Burnett*, Vol. I.
p. 20.

soon after was printed with the title of Great Britain's Salomon, [4 F] full of the most

“ and most malicious examination that could be made,
 “ long after, in a time of licence, when no body was a-
 “ fraid of offending majesty, and when prosecuting the
 “ highest reproaches and contumelies against the royal
 “ family, was held very meritorious.” (g) This is talk-
 ing with a great air of authority indeed! was there no
 colour or ground for suspicion of foul play, when *Buck-*
ingham himself owned that he had recommended the plaister
 and drink to the king, and had them administred to him,
 without consulting the physitians? was there no ground
 for such a suspicion, when some of his majesty's own
 physitians believed it, and the king himself attributed
 the cause of his trouble to the plaister and drink which
 the duke had given him? had the house of commons no
 colour or ground to impeach the duke of *Buckingham*
 for his behaviour in this affair? or were they the au-
 thors of the scandalous and libellous discourses that were
 raised about it? A writer who gives himself such a
 strange liberty of censuring, ought to be pretty sure he is
 in the right, or otherwise he stands but a very poor
 chance of being believed. Will. *Sanderfon*, very round-
 ly says, “ that what *Buckingham* gave *James* to drink
 “ was a posset drink of milk and ale, hartshorn, and
 “ marygold flowers, ingredients harmless and ordinary.
 “ and though, says he, the doctors were offended that
 “ any one durst assume this boldness (of applying the
 “ plaister) without their consent; by after examina-
 “ tion, all men then were assured of the composition,
 “ and a piece thereof eaten down by such as made it;
 “ and the plaister many months afterwards in being for
 “ further tryal of any suspition of poyson.” (b) The
 reader must give what credit to this he thinks it deserves,
 for my own part, I doubt it is apocryphal.

(g) Clarendon, Vol. I. p. 24.

(b) *Sanderfon*'s reign of k. *James*, p. 592, he had given almost the very same account before, in his *anicus co-quinariæ*, p. 194.

[4 F] Dr. *Williams* preached and printed his funeral sermon, with the title of Great Britain's Salomon.]

This

most gross flattery, and palpable untruths;
infomuch

This sermon is a curiosity and deserves to be known, as it gives us a specimen of the gross flattery of those times. His text was 1 Kings, xi. 41, 42, and part of 43 verse. "And the rest of the words of Salomon, and all that he did, and his wisdom, are they not written in the book of the acts of Salomon; and the time that Salomon reigned in Hierusalem over all Israel, was forty years. And Salomon slept with his father's, and was buried in the city of David his father." After having mentioned the text he begins thus: "Most high and mighty, most honourable, worshipful and well beloved in our lord, and saviour Jesus Christ; it is not I, but this woful accident that chuseth this text." He proceeds then to consider it as applicable to Solomon; and afterwards compares him, and James first as it were in one general lump, or mould, says he, that you may see by the oddness of their proportion, how they differ from all kings besides. And then with a particular examination of the parts of my text, that you may observe by the several members, how well they resemble the one the other.

"For the bulke or the mould, I dare presume to say, you never read in your lives, of two kings more fully parallel'd amongst themselves, and better distinguished from all other kings besides themselves. King Salomon is said to be unigenitus coram matre sua, the only sonne of his mother, prov. 4. 3. So was king James. Salomon was of a complexion white, and ruddy, Canticl. v. 10. So was king James. Salomon was an infant king, puer parvulus, a little child, 1 Chron. xxii. 5. so was king James a king at the age of thirteen months. Salomon began his reign in the life of his predecessor, 1 Kings i. 32. so, by the force and compulsion of that state, did our late soveraigne king James. Salomon was twice crowned, and anoynted a king, 1 Chron. xxix. 22. so was king James. Salomon's minority was rough through the quarrels of the former soveraigne; so was that of king James. Salomon was learned above all the princes of the east,

The LIFE of JAMES I.

infomuch that instead of celebrating his memory, he has only exposed it.—*James*, by his

“ 1 kings iv. 30. so was king *James* above all the prin-
 “ ces in the universal world. *Salomon* was a writer in
 “ prose, and verse, 1 Kings iv. 32. so in a very pure
 “ and exquisite manner was our sweet soveraign king
 “ *James*. *Salomon* was the greatest patron we ever
 “ read of to church, and churchmen; and yet no grea-
 “ ter (let the house of Aaron now confels) than king
 “ *James*. *Salomon* was honoured with ambassadors
 “ from all the kings of the earth, 1 Kings, iv. last
 “ verse; and so you know was king *James*. *Salomon*
 “ was a main improver of his home commodities, as
 “ you may see in his trading with *Hiram*, 1 Kings v.
 “ 9. and, God knows, it was the daily study of king
 “ *James*. *Salomon* was a great maintainer of shipping
 “ and navigation, 1 Kings x. 14. a most proper at-
 “ tribute to king *James*. *Salomon* beautified very much
 “ his capital city, with buildings and water-works, 1
 “ Kings ix. 15. so did king *James*. Every man lived
 “ in peace under his vine, and his fig-tree, in the days
 “ of *Salomon*, 1 Kings iv. 25. and so they did in the
 “ blessed days of king *James*. And yet towards his
 “ end king *Salomon* had secret enemies, *Razan*, *Hadad*,
 “ and *Jeroboam*, and prepared for a warre upon his
 “ going to his grave; so had, and so did king *James*.
 “ Lastly, before any hostile act we read of in the his-
 “ tory, king *Salomon* died in peace, when he had lived
 “ about 60 years, and so you know did king
 “ *James*.” (a)

(a) Great
 Britains Sa-
 lomon, p.
 37.

One would think this had been enough of all con-
 science; but the right reverend preacher proceeds ac-
 cording to the method of his text, “ to polish and refine
 “ the members of this statue in their division, and par-
 “ ticular. In his stile, says he, you may observe the
 “ Ecclesiastes, in his figures the Canticles, in his sen-
 “ tences the Proverbs, and in his whole discourse, reli-
 “ quum verborum Salomonis, all the rest that was ad-
 “ mirable in the eloquence of *Salomon*.——From
 “ his

his queen, *Ann of Denmark*, had issue besides
Charles

“ his saying I come to his doings. *Quæ fecerit*, all that
“ he did. Every action of his sacred majesty was a
“ virtue, and a miracle to exempt him from any pa-
“ rallel amongst the moderne kings and princes. Of
“ all christian kings that ever I read of, he was the most
“ constant patron of churches and churchmen. — I
“ will speak it boldly, in the presence here of God and
“ men, that I believe in my soul, and conscience, there
“ never lived a more constant, resolute, and settled
“ protestant in point of doctrine than our late soveraigne,
“ ——— Through all Europe no more question was
“ made of his being just, than of his being king. — He
“ was resolute enough, and somewhat too forward in
“ those unapproachable places (the Highlands) scatter-
“ ing his enemies as much with his example, as he did
“ with his forces. Besides these adventures of his per-
“ son, he was unto his people, to the hour of his death,
“ another cherubim with a flaming sword, to keep out
“ enemies from this paradise of ours.”

After flourishing upon his political wisdom and learn-
ed works, he goes on to let his hearers know “ that as
“ he lived like a king, so he died like a saint. All his
“ latter days he spent in prayer, sending his thoughts
“ before into heaven, to be the harbingers of his happy
“ soul. Some foure days before his end he desired to re-
“ ceive the blessed sacrament, and said he was prepared
“ for it by faith and charitie. He repeated the articles
“ of the creed, and after the absolution had been read
“ and pronounced, he received the sacrament with
“ that zeal and devotion, as if he had not been a fraile
“ man, but a cherubim cloathed with flesh and blood,
“ he twice, or thrice repeated *Domine Jesu, veni cito* ;
“ and after the prayer usually said at the hour of death,
“ was ended, his lords and servants kneeling, without
“ any pangs or convulsions at all, dormivit Salomon,
“ Salomon slept. And his soul, adds the good bishop,
“ severed from the dregs of the body, doth now enjoy
“ an eternal *dreaming* in the presence of God, environ’d
“ no

The LIFE of JAMES I.
Charles who succeeded him, and Elizabeth,
who

“ no more with lords and knights, but with troupes of
 “ angels, and the souls of the blessed, called in this
 “ text his fore-runners or fathers; and Salomon slept
 “ with his fathers.” (b)—This was the character given
 of *James* before those who were acquainted well with
 him: and yet, I believe there is no one, who reads it
 now but will think it somewhat too panegyric for the
 pulpit. But indeed the bishops strived (as he had been
 so great a friend to churchmen) to outvie each other in
 praising him; and consequently we can take no mea-
 sures of the truth from their descriptions. *Laud* ob-
 serves of him, that it was little less than a miracle, that
 so much sweetness should be found in so great heart;
 that clemency, mercy, and justice, were eminent in
 him; that he was not only a preserver of peace at home,
 but the great peace-maker abroad; that he was bounti-
 ful, and the greatest patron of the church; that he was
 the most learned prince in matters of religion, and most
 orthodox therein; that he devoutly received the blessed
 sacrament, and approved of absolution; that he called
 for prayers, was full of patience at his death, and had his

(b) Great
 Britains Sa-
 lomom, p.
 73.

(c) See Ruff-
 worth, Vol.
 I. p. 156.

(d) Church
 history, p.
 546.

(e) Exami-
 nation of
 Neale's se-
 cond volume,
 p. 77.

rest in Abraham's bosom. (c) *Spotswood* determining not to be out done by *Williams* and *Laud*, declares “ that he was the *Salomon* of this
 “ age, admired for his wise government, and for his
 “ knowledge in all manner of learning. For his wis-
 “ dom, moderation, love of justice, for his patience,
 “ and piety (which shined above all his other virtues,
 “ and is witnessed in the learned works he left to pos-
 “ terity.) his name shall never be forgotten, but remain
 “ in honor so long as the world endureth.” (d) These
 are the characters given of *James* by three of the highest
 rank in the church; which yet have had the misfor-
 tune to be little credited by disinterested posterity. And
 therefore *Dr. Grey* did not do quite so right in referring
 to *Spotswood's* character of *James*, as a vindication of
 him from what he had been charged with by his adver-
 sary. (e) For court-bishops, by some fate or other,
 from

married *Frederick*, prince Palatine of the Rhyne,

from the time of *Constantine*, down at least to the death of *James*, and a little after, have had the characters of flatterers, panegyrists, and others of like import; and therefore are always to have great abatements made in their accounts of those who have been their benefactors: it being well known, that such they endeavour to hand down to posterity under the notion of saints, as they always blacken and defame their adversaries.

I have just observed that disinterested posterity have given little credit to the panegyrics of the three right reverends: I will give a proof or two of it, and then conclude this note. *Burnett* tells us, “ that *James* “ was become the scorn of the age; and while hungry “ writers flattered him out of measure at home, he was “ despised by all abroad as a pedant without true judg- “ ment, courage, or steadiness, subject to his favou- “ rites, and delivered up to the counsels, or rather the “ corruption of Spain.” (f) — Lord *Bolingbroke* observes of him, “ that he had no virtues to set off, but he had “ failings and vices to conceal. He could not conceal “ the latter; and, void of the former, he could not “ compensate for them. His failings and his vices “ therefore stand in full view, he passed for a weak “ prince and an ill man, and fell into all the contempt “ wherein his memory remains to this day.” (g) — Lord *Orrery*, says, “ the character of queen *Elizabeth* “ has been exalted by the want of merit in her succes- “ sor, from whose misconduct gushed forth that torrent “ of misery, which not only bore down his son, but “ overwhelmed the three kingdoms.” (h)

(f) *Burnett*,
Vol. I. p.
21.

(g) *Letters*
on patrio-
tism, p. 214.

(h) *Re-*
marks on the
life and writ-
ting of *Swift*,
p. 208.

In the *Abbe Raynal*'s history of the parliament of England, we read “ that *James* wanted to be pacific, “ and he was only indolent; wise, and he was only “ irresolute; just, and he was only timid; moderate, “ and he was only soft; good, and he was only weak; “ a divine, and he was only a fanatic; a philosopher, “ and he was only extravagant; a doctor, and he was “ only a pedant. No one ever carried the pretensions

The LIFE of JAMES I.

Rhyne, (well known to the world by their misfortunes) *Henry*, [4 G] a prince of a most amiable

“ of the crown further than *James*, and few princes
 “ have contributed so much to villify it.—This prince
 “ found it easier to suffer injuries than to revenge them;
 “ to dispense with the public esteem, than to merit it;
 “ and to sacrifice the rights of his crown, than to
 “ trouble his repose by maintaining them. He lived on
 “ the throne like a private man in his family; he re-
 “ tained of the royalty only the gift of healing the evil,
 “ which is attributed to the kings of England. One
 “ would have said he was only a passenger in the vessel
 “ of which he ought to have been the pilot. This in-
 “ action made his days pass in obscurity, and prepared a
 “ tragical reign for his successor.” (i)——Thus has the
 name of *James* been treated by the most disinterested
 and unbiaſſed; whether the judgment of his courtiers
 who had been greatly favoured by him, is to be set in the
 ballance with the opinion of these writers is left to the
 reader.

(i) See the
 monthly re-
 view for the
 year 1751.
 p. 448. 8vo.

[4 G] *Prince Henry* was of a most amiable disposition, and excellent genius.] This I take to be literally true; otherwise I would not have been at the trouble of saying any thing about him. He was born at Striveling, Feb. 19, 1594, and committed to the care of the earl of *Mar*, (the family of *Erskin*, earl of *Mar*, was always governor of the king's children, from the time the *Stuarts* mounted the throne;) by the following letter writ by his majesty's own hand.

My lord of *Marre*,

“ **B**Ecause in the surety of my son, consisteth my
 “ surety, and I have concredited unto you the charge
 “ of his keeping, upon the trust I have of your honesty;
 “ this I command you out of my own mouth, being in
 “ the



HENRY STUART Prince of ***WALES***.



amiable disposition and excellent genius ; the
darling

“ the company of those I like; otherwise for any charge
“ or necessity that can come from me, you shall not de-
“ liver him ; and in case God call me at any time, see
“ that neither for the queen nor estates their pleasure,
“ you deliver him till he be 18 years of age, and that he
“ command you himself.

“ Striveling, 24th of
“ July, 1595.” (a)

(a) Spots-
wood,
p. 410.

In obedience to this command, lord *Mar* kept the prince, and refused to deliver him to the queen his mother, in the year 1603, till the duke of *Lennox* was sent with a warrant to receive him, and delivered him to the queen. Mr. (aftewards Sir) *Adam Newton*, was his tutor, by whose instructions he is said to have profited greatly. “ He was, says Sir *Charles Cornwallis*, of a
“ comely, tall, middle stature, about five foot and
“ eight inches high, of a strong, streight well-made
“ body, with somewhat broad shoulders, and a small
“ waste, of an amiable majestick countenance, his hair
“ of an aborne collour, long faced, and broad fore-
“ head, a piercing grave eye, a most gracious smile,
“ with a terrible frown, courteous, loving and affable ;
“ his favour like the sun, indifferently seeming to shine
“ upon all ; naturally shamefaced, and modest, most
“ patient, which he shewed both in life and death.—
“ Diffimulation he esteemed most base, chiefly in a
“ prince, not willing, nor by nature being able to flat-
“ ter, fawne, or use those kindly who deserved not his
“ love. Quick he was to conceive any thing, not rash
“ but mature in deliberation, yet most constant, having
“ resolved. True of his promise, most secret even from
“ his youth ; so that he might have been trusted in any
“ thing that did not force a discovery ; being of a close
“ disposition not easy to be known, or pried into: of a
“ fearless,

darling of the people whilst living, and greatly

“ fearless, noble, heroic, and undaunted courage,
 “ thinking nothing unpossible, that ever was done by
 “ any. He was ardent in his love to religion, which
 “ love, and all the good causes thereof, his heart was
 “ bent by some means or other (if he had lived) to have
 “ shewed, and some way to have compounded the un-
 “ kind jarrs thereof.

“ He made conscience of an oath, and was never
 “ heard to take God’s name in vain. He hated popery,
 “ tho’ he was not unkind to the persons of papists.—He
 “ loved and did mightily strive to do somewhat of every
 “ thing, and to excel in the most excellent. He great-
 “ ly delighted in all kind of rare inventions and arts,
 “ and in all kind of engines belonging to the wars,
 “ both by sea and land: In the bravery and number of
 “ great horses; in shooting and levelling of great pieces
 “ of ordnance; in the ordering and marshalling of
 “ armes; in building and gardening, and in all sorts of
 “ rare musique, chiefly the trumpet and drum; in
 “ limning and painting, carving in all sorts of excellent
 “ and rare pictures, which he had brought unto him
 “ from all countries.” (b) Thus speaks, of prince

(b) The short life and much lamented death of Henry prince of Wales, by Sir Charles Cornwallis, 8vo. 1644. p. 93—101.

(c) Swift and Pope’s miscellanies, Vol. I. p. 307. 12mo. Lond. 1731. See also Osborn, p. 527.

Henry, Sir Charles *Cornwallis*, treasurer of his household. But without other authorities, I should lay very little stress on his book, which looks more like a panegyric than a history:—And we find it observed by a fine writer, “ that princes in their infancy, childhood, and youth, are said to discover prodigious parts and wit, “ to speak things that surprize and astonish: strange, “ adds he, so many hopeful princes, and so many “ shameful kings! if they happen to die young they “ would have been prodigies of wisdom and virtue: if “ they live, they are often prodigies indeed, but of “ another sort.” (c)—However ’tis certain, prince *Henry* had very great merit. “ The government of “ his house was with much discretion, modesty, sobriety,

ly lamented after his death; which (though his phyfitians declared to the contrary) was supposed

“briety, and in an high reverence to piety, not swearing himself, or keeping any that did. He was not only plausible in his carriage, but just in payments, so far as his credit out reached the kings both in the exchange and the church. (d) He was an enemy to oppression and injustice; for hearing the king had given Sherburn-Castle to Sir Robert *Car*, he came with some anger to his father, desiring he would be pleased to bestow Sherburn upon him, alledging that it was a place of great strength and beauty, which he much liked, but indeed with an intention of giving it back to Sir Walter *Raleigh*, whom he much esteemed.” (e) The same noble disposition he shewed towards Sir Robert *Dudley*, who was deprived of his honors and estate by the injustice of *James*. “He made overtures to Sir *Robert*, says king *Charles*, to obtain his title in *Kenilworth* castle, &c. and bought it of him for fourteen thousand five hundred pounds, and promised to restore him in honors and fortunes.” (f)—— This prince was the patron of the studies of Sir Walter *Raleigh*, for whose abilities he had an high esteem, and who drew up for his use, a discourse touching a match between the lady *Elizabeth* and the prince of *Piedmont*; observations concerning the royal navy and sea service; and a letter touching the model of a ship. And in the year 1611, “that worthy seaman, Sir *Thomas Button*, servant to prince *Henry*, pursued the north-west discoveries at the instigation of that glorious young prince.” (g)——And very certain ’tis that he endeavoured well to understand state affairs, and applied himself to get a thorough knowledge of them; the duke of *Sully* assures us “that as soon as he had obtained his father’s promise that he would, at least, not obstruct his proceedings, he prevented *Henry*’s (the fourth’s) wishes; being animated with a thirst of glory, and a desire

“to

(d) Id. p. 528.

(e) Raleigh’s works, Vol. I. p. 117.

(f) Patent for creating Alice, lady Dudley, a duchess of England.

(g) Account of several late voyages, edit. 1711. in the introduction, p. 15.

supposed to be by poison: but however that be, certain 'tis, *James* was little affected with it.

“ to render himself worthy the esteem and alliance of
 “ *Henry*: for he was to marry the eldest daughter of
 “ France. He wrote me several letters hereupon, and
 “ therein expressed himself in the manner I have men-
 “ tioned.” (b) Agreeably hereunto, Dr. *Welwood* says,
 “ the duke of *Sully*, being in England——laid the
 “ foundation of a strict friendship betwixt his master
 “ and prince *Henry*; which was afterwards carried on
 “ by letters and messages till the death of that king.
 “ Tho’ its a secret to this day what was the real design
 “ of all those vast preparations that were made by *Henry*
 “ the fourth before his death: yet I have seen some pa-
 “ pers which make it more than probable, that prince
 “ *Henry* was not only acquainted with the secret, but
 “ was engaged in the design.” (i)——Sir Charles
 “ *Cornwallis* having written to him from Spain, where
 “ he was ambaffador, prince *Henry* in a letter to him, re-
 “ plies, “ that he must particularly thank him for impart-
 “ ing to him his observations of that state, whereof,
 “ says he, I will make the best use I may; and since
 “ that is a study very well besitting me, and wherein I
 “ delight, I will desire you to acquaint me further in
 “ that kind as occasions shall be offered; that thereby the
 “ more ye may deserve my readines to acknowledge it.”
 “ (k)——Before Sir *Thomas Edmondes*’s departure to France,
 “ prince *Henry* engaged him to communicate to him the
 “ course of things there; and on the second of September,
 “ Mr. *Adam* (afterwards Sir *Adam*) *Newton*, wrote from
 “ Richmond to Sir *Thomas*, to remind him of his promise to
 “ his royal highness. “ This opportunity offering itself so
 “ fitly, maketh me call unto your remembrance a pro-
 “ mise, which his highness allegeth you made unto him
 “ at your departure, of imparting to him such occur-
 “ rences, as that country yeildeth. I find his highness
 “ doth expect it; and therefore I presume to acquaint
 “ you

(b) Memoirs
 of Sully, Vol. I. p.
 97.

(i) Wel-
 wood’s me-
 moirs, p. 20.

(k) Win-
 wood, Vol.
 III. p. 45.

it. His other children were *Sophia*, and
Mary,

“ you therewith.—The French perceived very early the
 “ forwardness of this young prince, and thought pro-
 “ per to try to secure him to their interest; for secre-
 “ tary *Villeroy* wrote to monsieur *de la Boderie*, the
 “ French ambassador in England, from Fontainebleau,
 “ the 18th of July, 1608, N. S. that king *Henry* the
 “ fourth had told him, that he had more desire than
 “ ever to seek the friendship of the prince of *Wales*,
 “ and, for that purpose, to gratify those about him, as
 “ that ambassador should judge fit; since that king
 “ foresaw, that the prince would soon hold a rank wor-
 “ thy of him in *England*, on account of the little es-
 “ teem, which was had of the queen and king.” (l) (l) Birch’s
 And there is a letter of prince *Henry*’s to Sir Thomas view of the
Edmondes, dated September 10, 1612, urging him in a negotiations,
 strong and masterly manner to prosecute the scheme of P. 327.
 uniting the princes of the blood, and the heads of the
 protestant party in France, against the ministers of that
 court. (m)—From these authorities I presume, we may (m) Id. p.
 with great truth affirm that this young prince was possess- 361.
 ed of a most amiable disposition and excellent genius.
 In short he was the very reverse of his father, and there-
 fore not much esteemed by him. “ The vivacity,
 “ spirit, and activity of the prince soon gave umbrage
 “ to his father’s court, which grew extremely jealous of
 “ him: and Sir Thomas Edmondes, though at a
 “ distance, seems to have been sensible of this, and to
 “ have been more cautious on that account of corres-
 “ ponding with his royal highness.” (n) And the (n) Birch’s
 prince was so sensible of his want of influence in his fa- view, p.
 ther’s court, that in a letter of his to Sir Thomas, da- 326.
 ted September 10, 1612, he excuses himself from inter-
 posing in Sir Thomas’s favour, with regard to asking
 preferment for him; “ because as matters go now here,
 “ says he, I will deal in no businesses of importance for
 “ some respects.” (o) *Osborn* therefore seems to have (o) Id. p.
 been well informed in saying “ that the king though he 361.
 “ would

The LIFE of JAMES I.
Mary, who both died young, and were
buried

(p) Of-
 born, p.
 531.

(q) See Bur-
 nett, Vol.
 I. p. 10.
 Winwood,
 Vol. III. p.
 410.
 Aulicus Co-
 quinarizæ, p.
 151.
 Welwood's
 note on wil-
 son, in com-
 pleat history,
 Vol. II. p.
 689.
 (r) Birch's
 view, p.
 371.

(s) Ibid. p.
 373.

“ would not deny any thing the prince plainly desired,
 “ yet it appeared rather the result of fear and outward
 “ compliance, than love or natural affection; being hard-
 “ er drawn to confer an honor or pardon, in cases of de-
 “ sert, upon a retainer of the prince, than a stranger.” (p)
 However, he was the darling of the English nation, his
 court was well filled, and his attendants were numerous ;
 in life he was highly beloved, after death equally la-
 mented, by all but his father, and his favourite, *Ro-*
chester. “ November the 6th. 1612, proved fatal to
 “ him, who died at the age of eighteen, at St. James’s
 “ of a disease, with which he had been seized in the
 “ preceding month : but the prevailing opinion of that
 “ time, (q) and since adopted by some of our historians,
 “ though contradicted by the unanimous report of his
 “ physicians, was, that his end was hastened by poison.
 “ And this notion received some countenance, from
 “ the little concern, which was shewn at his death by
 “ the court, though the nation considered it as an irre-
 “ parable loss. For it made so little impresson upon the
 “ king and his favourite, that *Rochester*, on the 9th of
 “ November, three days after that melancholy event,
 “ wrote from Whitehall to Sir Thomas *Edmond*, to
 “ begin a negotiation for a marriage between prince
 “ *Charles* and the second daughter of France.” (r)
 Sir Thomas indeed had more sense of decency, and
 therefore delayed it. This the king approved of on con-
 sideration. For, says his majesty, “ it would have
 “ been a very blunt thing in us, that you, our minister,
 “ should so soone after such an irreparable losse received
 “ by us, have begun to talk of marriage, the most
 “ contrary thing that could be, to death and funeralls.”
 (s) — This conduct is quite amazing! what must the
 world judge of a father who was thus unaffected with
 the death of a worthy virtuous son? If to be without
 natural affection, shews the utmost depravity of the heart
 of

buried with great solemnity at Westminster.

of man, we may without breach of charity, say that *James's* heart was utterly depraved. His passion for his favourite, extinguished his affection for his child; and, his weakness and worthlessness made him look on him as an object of terror, whom all mankind viewed with esteem and approbation. But the neglect of a father deprived not prince Henry of that reputation which he so well deserved. Posterity have sounded forth his praises, and held him up to view as one worthy the imitation of all young princes; and where-ever his character is known, his memory will be highly honoured.





A P P E N D I X.

*Additions to the life of king James the first,
communicated by the reverend Dr. Birch,
secretary to the royal society.*

THE following books were published on occasion of king James I. Triplici nodo Triplex Cuneus, printed at first without his name. Cardinal Bellarmin published in 1608, under the name of Mattheus Tortus, a book in quarto intitled, Responsio ad librum, cui titulus, triplici nodo triplex cuneus, sive apologia pro juramento fidelitatis, adversus duo brevia Papae Pauli V, et recentes literas cardinalis Bellarmini ad Georgium Blackvellum, anglice archi-presbyterum: reprinted at Rome, 1609, in quarto.

The king upon this answer republished his own book with his name, with a monitory preface.

In 1609, Dr. Lancelot Andrews, then bishop of Chichester, published at London, in quarto, Tortura Tort; sive ad Matthæi Torti librum responsio, qui nuper editus contra apologiam
fere-

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serenissimi potentissimique principis Jacobi, Dei gratia, magnæ Britanniæ, Franciæ et Hiberniæ Regis, pro juramento fidelitatis.

Cardinal Bellarmin published in 1610 in quarto, pro responsione sua ad librum Jacobi, magnæ Britanniæ regis, cui titulus est, triplici nodo triplex cuneus, apologia.

To this Dr. Andrews, now Bishop of Ely, published at London, 1610, in quarto, Responsio ad apologiam cardinalis Bellarmini, quam nuper edidit contra præfationem monitoriam serenissimi ac potentissimi principis, Jacobi, Dei gratia, magnæ Britanniæ, Franciæ et Hiberniæ regis, fidei defensoris, omnibus christianis monarchis, principibus atque ordinibus inscriptam.

Nicolas Coeffetau, afterwards Bishop of Marseilles, published against the king's preface at Paris, in 1610, in octavo, *Response a l'avertissement, adresse par le serenissime Roy de la grande Bretagne Jacques I. a tous les princes et potentates de la chretiente.*

This was answered by Peter du Moulin, minister of Charenton, whose vindication of the king, was printed in French at Paris, in 1610 in octavo, and in Latin at London. The French title is, *Defence de la foy catholique, continue au livre de Jacques I. Roy d'angleterre contre la responce de N. Coeffetau.*

Coeffetau replied to Peter du Moulin's book in his *apologie pour la responce a l'avertissement du serenissime Roy de la grande Bretagne, contre les accusations du Pierre du Moulin, ministre de Charenton*, printed at Paris 1614, in octavo.

Mr. John Donne, afterwards doctor of divinity and dean of St. Paul's, wrote and published, before his entrance into orders, a quarto volume,

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printed at London in 1610, in support of the king's defences of the oath of allegiance, Pseudomartyr: " wherein out of certaine propositions " and gradations, this conclusion is evicted, that " those, which are of the Romane religion in " this kingdom, may, and ought to take the " oath of alleageance."

Father Parsons, the jesuit, published at St. Omers in 1608, in quarto, the judgment of a catholic gentleman, concerning king James's apology for the oath of allegiance: answered by Dr. William Barlow, afterwards bishop of Lincoln. Wood, Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 362.

Martinus Becanus published at Mentz in 1610 in octavo, *refutatio apologiæ et monitoriæ præfationis Jacobi regis Angliæ*—and *Refutatio torturæ torti contra facellanum regis Angliæ*.

Dr. William Tooker, dean of Litchfield, answer'd him in his *Certamen cum Martino Becano, futiliter refutante apologiam Jacobi regis*, printed in 1611, in octavo at London.

Becanus replied to Dr. Tooker in his *Duellum cum Gulielmo Tooker de primatu regis Angliæ*, printed at Mentz in octavo; where he published likewise the same year, and in the same form, a book against bishop Andrews, intituled *Controversia Anglicana de potestate regis et pontificis contra Lancellottum Andræam*.

To which last book of Becanus an answer was given by Robert Burhill, intituled, *Contra Becani controversiam anglicanam assertio pro jure regis, proque episcopi Eliensis responsione ad apologiam Bellarmini*; London 1613, in octavo—Mr. Richard Harris published likewise an answer in Latin at London, 1612 in octavo, to Becanus's *controversia anglicana*.

Leonardus

A P P E N D I X.

Leonardus Lessius wrote against the king's præfatio monitoria, in a book printed at Antwerp, 1611, in octavo, and intitled de antichristo et ejus præcursoribus disputatio, qua refutatur præfatio monitoria Jacobi regis magnæ Britanniæ.

This was answered by Dr. George Downame, afterwards bishop of London-Derry in Ireland, in his book, called, Papa Antichristus, seu diatriba duabus partibus, quarum prior 6 Libris vindicat Jacobi regis sententiam de antichristo, posterior refutat Leonardi Lessii 16 demonstrationes regis præfationi monitoriæ oppositas: London 1620.

Francis Suarez, the Jesuit, attacked the king's apology for the oath of allegiance in his defensio fidei catholicæ contra anglicanæ sectæ errores, una cum responsione ad Jacobi regis apologiam pro juramento fidelitatis, printed at Coimbra in 1613, and at Mentz in 1619.

Leonardus Cocquæus, an Augustinian monk, published at Friburg in 1610, examen præfationis apologiæ Jacobi regis pro juramento fidelitatis.

James Gretser, the jesuit, in 1610 printed at Ingolstadt, βασιλικον Δωρον, seu commentarius exegeticus in Jacobi regis magnæ Britanniæ præfationem monitoriam, et in ejusdem apologiam pro juramento fidelitatis.

Andræas Eudæmon-Johannes wrote against bishop Andrews, in his parallelus Torti et tortoris ejus L. Cicestrensis, seu responsio ad torturam Torti pro Roberto Bellarmino; Colen in 1611.

This was replied to by Dr. Samuel Collins, Regius Professer of divinity at Cambridge, in a book,

A P P E N D I X.

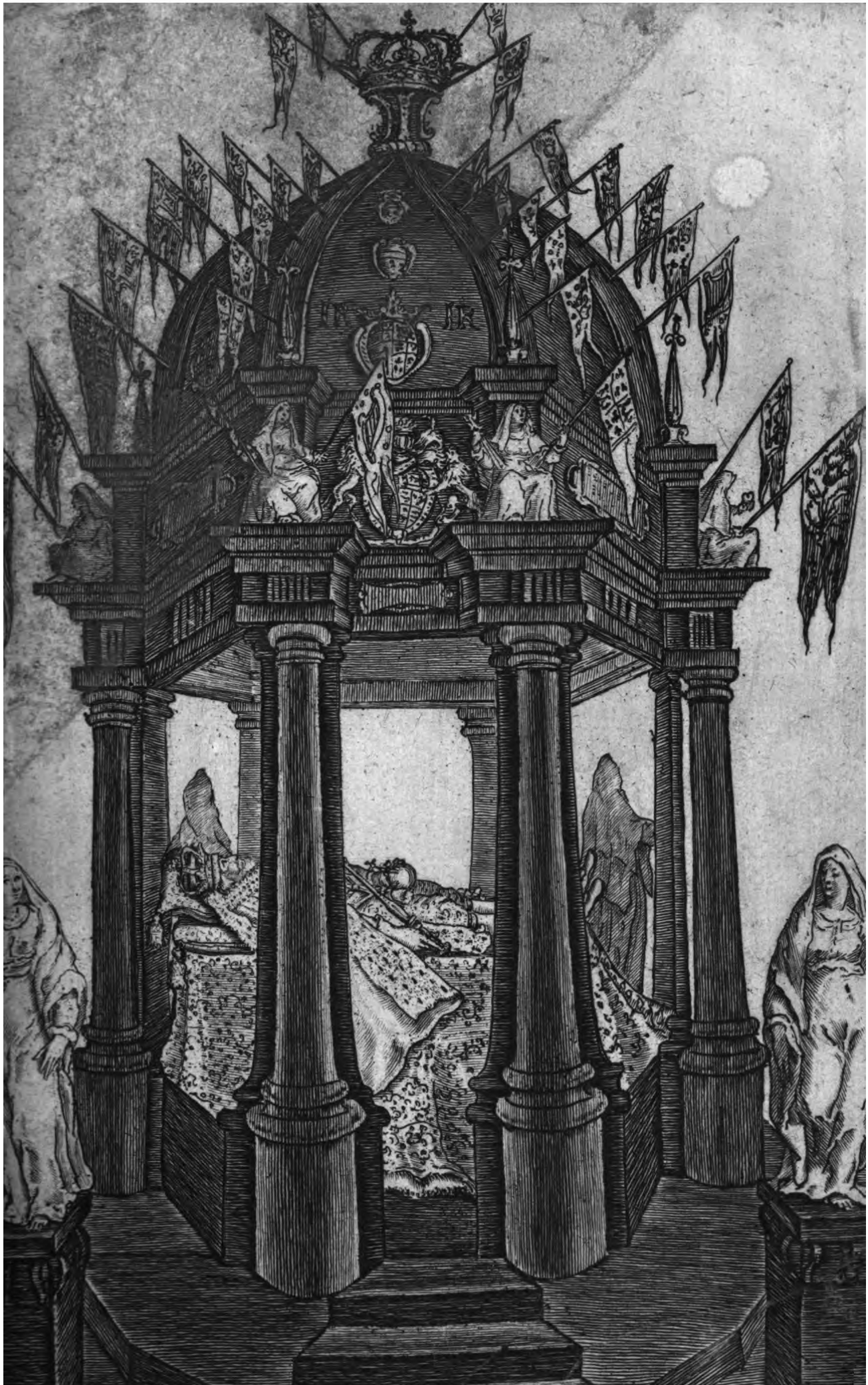
book, printed there in quarto, under the title of “*Increpatio Andreae Endæmon-Johannis de infami parallelo, et renovata assertio torturæ Torti pro episcopo elienfi*—He published likewise at Cambridge in 1617, in quarto *Epphata to T. T. or a defense of the bishop of Ely concerning his answer to cardinal Bellarmin’s apology, against the calumnies of a scandalous pamphlet.*”

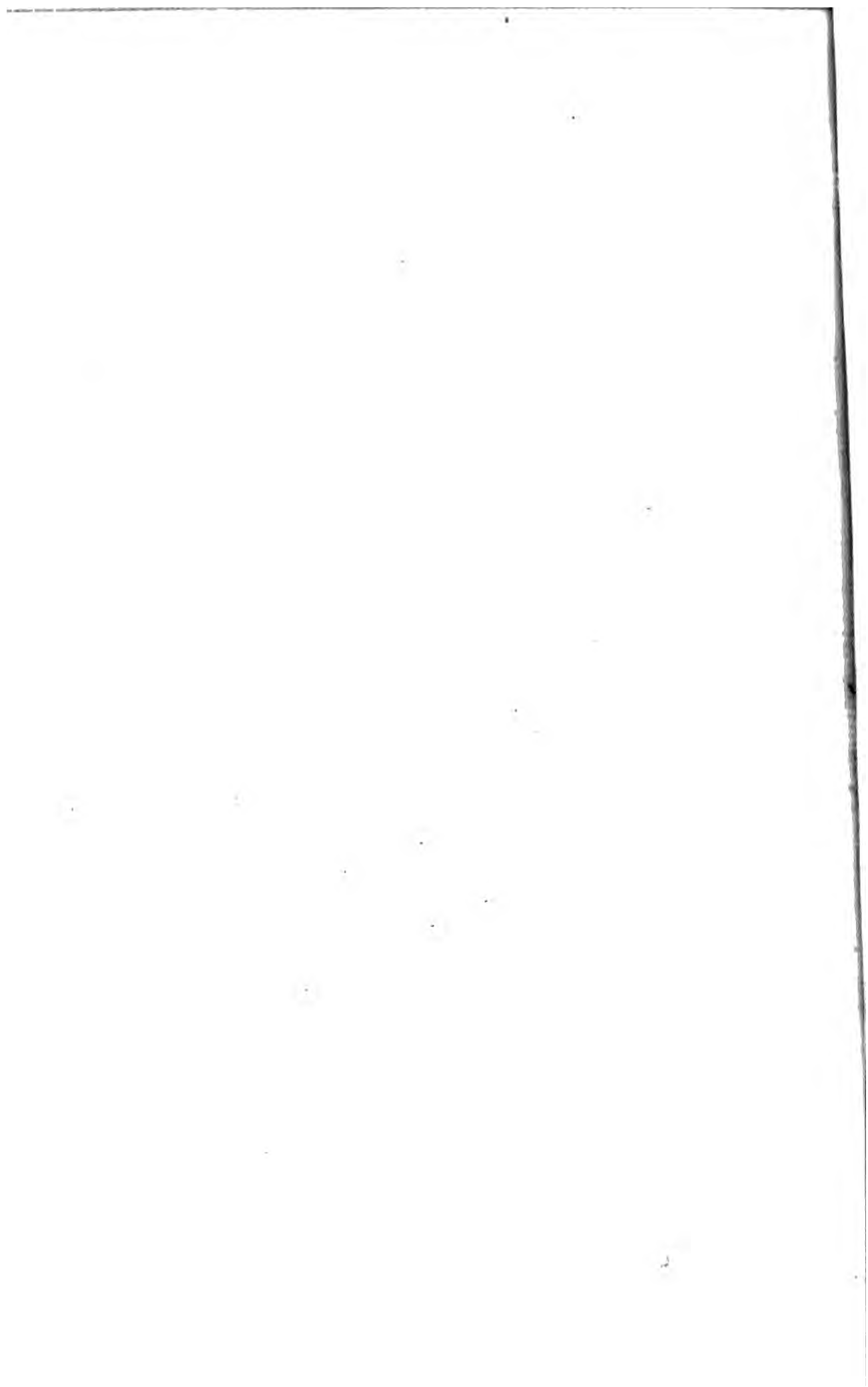
F I N I S.





The House on the other side
has prepared by
C. J. Jones.

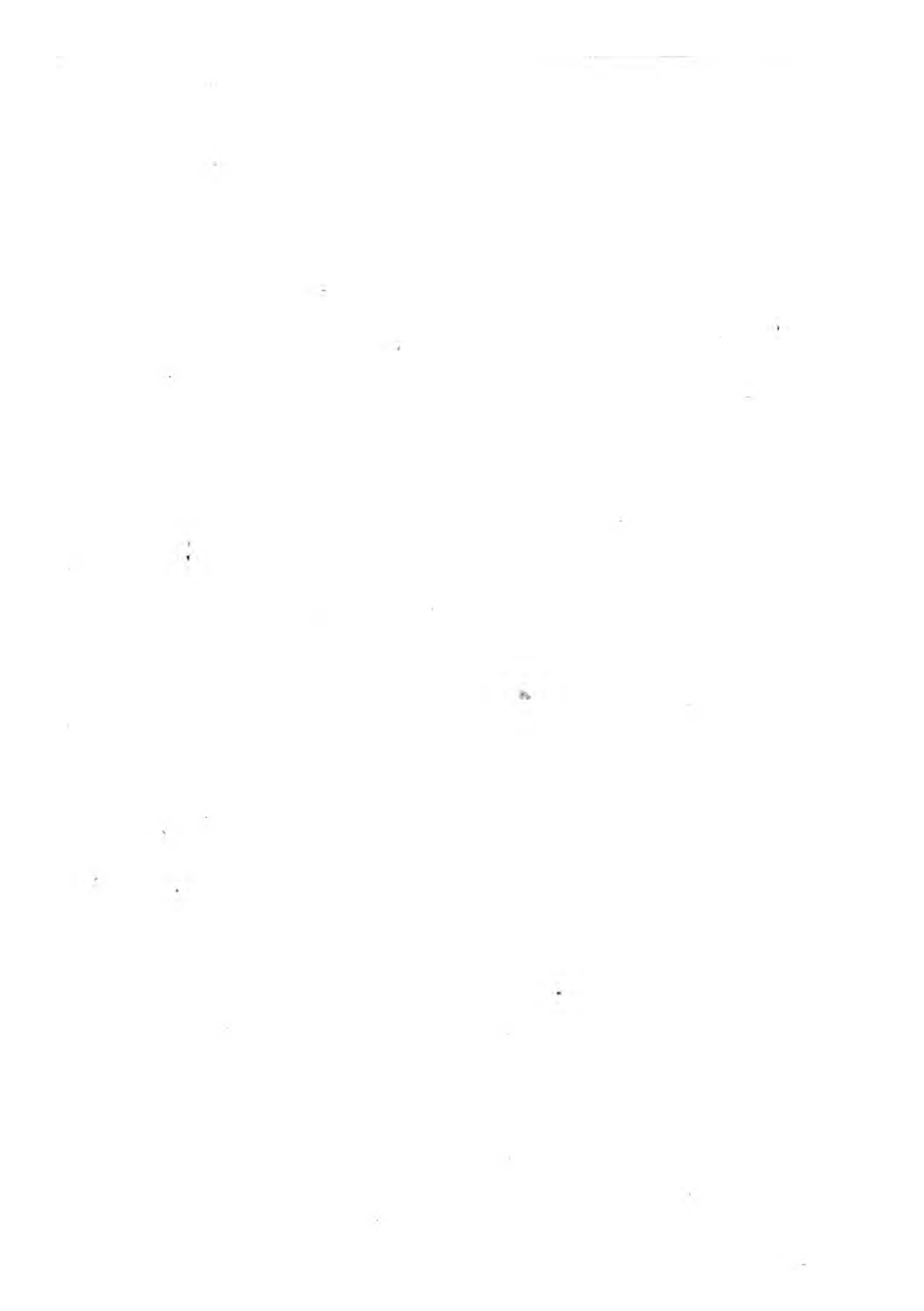


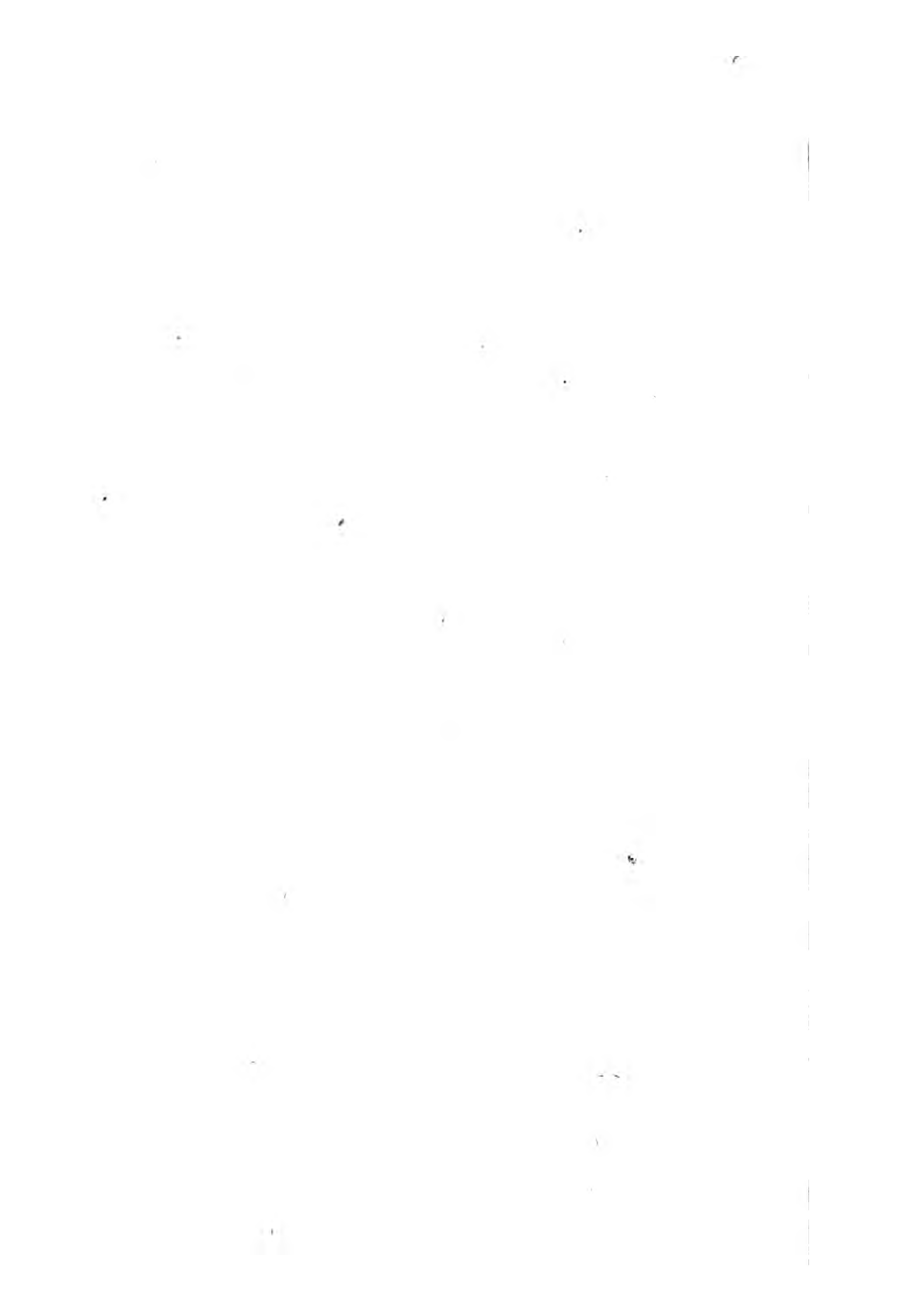






JAMES I.





Great Britains
SALOMON.

A

Sermon Preached at
THE MAGNIFICENT
Funerall, of the most high and mighty
King, **JAMES**, the late King of Great
Britaine, France, and Ireland, defender
of the Faith, &c.

At the Collegiat Church of Saint **PETER** at
Westminster, the seuenth of *May* 1625.

By the Right Honorable, and Right
Reuerend Father in God **JOHN**, Lord Bi-
shop of *Lincolne,* Lord Keeper of the
Great Seale of England, &c.

LONDON,

Printed by *John Bill,* Printer to the
Kings most Excellent Maiestie.

1625.



1 Kings 11. } 41.
 } 42. and part of the
 } 43. Verse.

And the rest of the words of Salomon, and all that hee did, and his wisdom, are they not written in the Booke of the Acts of Salomon?

And the time that Salomon reigned in Hierusalem ouer all Israel, was forty yeeres.

And Salomon slept with his Fathers, and was buried in the Citie of Dauid his Father.

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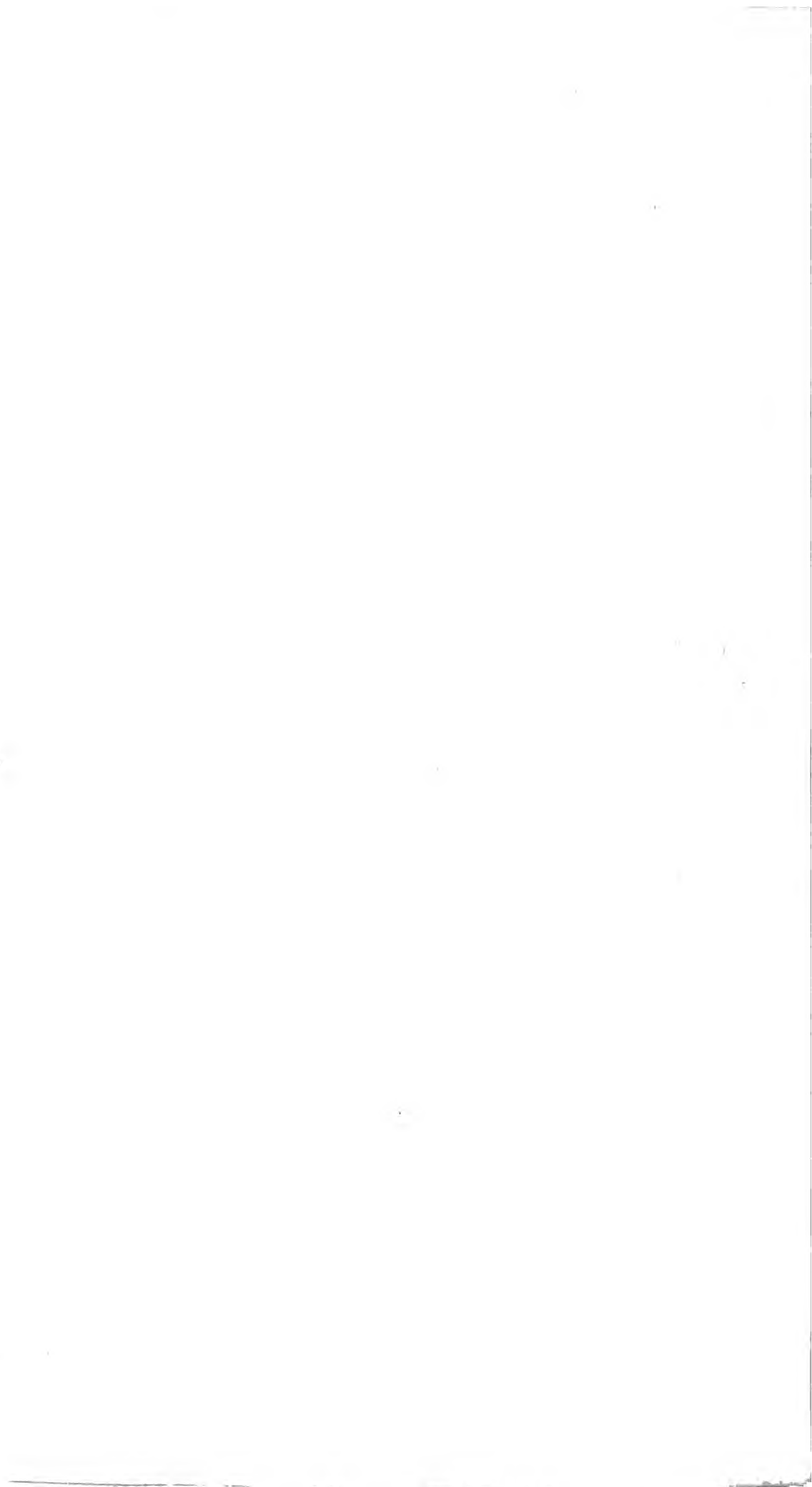
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Great Britaines SALOMON.

Most high, and mighty,



Oft honorable,
worshipfull, and
well beloued in
our Lord, and
Sauour IESVS
Christ; It is not
I, but this wo-
ful *Accident*, that
chooseth this *Text*. You know best,
that no *Booke* will serue this turne, but

a 1 Sam. 13. 1.
 filius unius anni
 erat Saul. Simplex
 & innocens tan-
 quam puer unius
 anni. Cald. pa-
 raph. Hieron.
 P. Damian. l. 2. ad
 Albericum. Car-
 din.
 b 1 Sam. 13. 13.
 Stultè egisti, nec
 custodisti mandata
 Domini Dei tui.
 c 2 Sam. 32. 35.

the Booke of the *Kings*; no King, but
 one of the *best* Kings; none of the *best*
 Kings, but one that raigned *ouer all Is-*
rael, which must bee either *Saul* (as ^a yet
good) or *Dauid*, or *Salomon*; no King of
all Israel, but one of the *wisest* Kings,
 which cannot be ^b *Saul*, but either *Da-*
uid, or *Salomon*, none of the *wisest* Kings
 neither, vnlesse hee be a *King of Peace*,
 which cannot be *Dauid*, ^c a *Man of War*,
 but onely *Salomon*; no King of Peace
 neither (the more is our grieft) aliue, and
 in his *Throne*, and therefore it must of ne-
 cessity be the *Funerals*, & *Obitts* of King
Salomon, which we haue in these words:
And the rest of the words of Salomon, &c.

I Must no otherwise paint *Salomon*
 this day, then as *Apelles* was wont to
 doe King *Antigonus*, which was ^d *ima-*
gine lusca, halfe fact, and of one side
 onely, to conceale the want of an eye,
 which hee had on the other. For if I
 should set him out in the full proporti-
 on, and leaue not so much as a wart, or a
 mole

d Plutarchus in
 Eumene.

mole vndescribed, he would proue, but a foile, and a shadow, and not (as I desire he should) a liuely *image*, and repræsentation to decke, and adorn these præsent *Funerals*. His *Vices* can bee no blemish to that *King*, that resembled him onely in his choicest *Vertues*. The *Rule* in *Scripture* doth differ much from that in the *Painters* shop. For here *Coppies* doe many times exceede the *Originals*. *Salomon* was a *Type* of *Christ* himselfe, and by consequence a *Pattern* for any *Christian*. I doe therefore in these *three Verses* obserue *three parts*, the *Happy Life*, the *Happy Raigne*, and the *Happy End* of this great *King Salomon*. For the *first part*, his *Life* was *happy* in foure respects. First, for his *Sayings*; *The rest of the Words*. Secondly, for his *Doings*; *And all that hee did*. Thirdly, for his *Wisdom*; *And his Wisdome*. And fourthly, for the *Eternitie*, and preservation of all these, In a *Booke of Annals* of the *Acts of Salomon*, *And the rest of the words of Salomon*, &c. For the *second part*, his

Raigne was *Happy* for three Circumstances. First for a great *Capitall Citie*, wherein he resided, which was *Hierusalem*; *He rained in Hierusalem*. Secondly, for a great *Circuit* of Ground in which he commanded, which was, *all Israel*; *ouer all Israel*. Thirdly, and lastly, for a great *Space of time*, wherein he flourished, which was *forty yeeres*; *And the time which Salomon rained in Ierusalem ouer all Israel, was forty yeeres*. For the *third part*, his *End* was *Happy* in a three-fold Circumstance. First, in regard of his *death*, which was not a sudden, and violent dying, but an affected, and premeditated kinde of *Sleeping*, *And Salomon slept*. Secondly, in regard of his *Soule* at the time of his *death*, the which (howeuer wanton, & vnruely wits haue made their disputes) went to no other place, then the receptacle of his *Fathers*; *And Salomon slept with his Fathers*. Thirdly, and lastly, in regard of his *Body* after his *death*, which was no way despised, or neglected, but solemnly interred in the
Sepul-

¹*Vid. Io. Mon-
thol. in Prompt.
Iuris. verbo Salo-
mon.*

Sepulchers of the Kings, in the Tower of Sion, and the Citie of David his Father; And Salomon slept with his Fathers, and was buried in the Citie of David his Father.

NOr doth this *Text* hang together like a rope of sands, but the *parts* thereof are chained, and linked very fast, in a mutuall coherence one with another. For first, ^a *Nullus magnam potentiam sine Eloquentia est consecutus*, saith *Tacitus*, No glorious King, but was a ^b *Kinde of Speaker*, and therefore here are *Words*; *Reliquum verborum*, as *Saint Hierom* reads it, *the rest of the Words*. Secondly, because they are not *Words*, but ^c *Actions*, that æternize a King, here are *Actions* likewise; *Quæ fecit*, *All that hee did*. Thirdly, because *Actions* from without are of small continuance, without a *Well* from within for a new supply, here is a *Pond* to feed them from time to time; *Sapientia eius*, *His understanding*, and *wisedome*; *And his wisdom*. Fourthly;

^a *Annal. 13.*

^b For as *Alexander* tels his Father *Philip*. Such *Exquistenesse* in this kinde, as hee his Father expressed, is not required in euery King. Ἐπι μὲν ἔν ποιῆν, ὁ πατήρ, ἢ λόγους περὶ συγγράφειν, ὁποῖα σου τὰς ἐπιστολάς, ἀφ' ὧν σε ὄρα σε φασὶν εὐδομεῖν, ἢ παντὸς ἀναγκάσθων πῶς βασιλεύσῃ. *Dion. Chrys. orat. 2. περὶ βασιλείας.*

^c τεκμαίρεται χρεῖμα ἕκαστον. *Pyndar. Olymp. od. 6.*

Ἀνδριαντα μὲν τὸ γῆμα, ἀνδρα δ' ἢ παρὰ τὴν κομῆν. *Nazianz. Orat. 30.*

Iul. Capitol. in
Antonino Philo-
pho & Anton. de
Iueuara. in Ho-
ol. princ.

Fourthly, because this *Wisdom* would be soone forgotten (^a as *M. Aurelius* was wont to complaine) without a *Historie*, here is a *Historie* prouided of the *Acts of Salomon*; *The Booke of the Acts of Salomon*. Fifthly, because a *Historie* written in an obscure *place*, of a little *Countrey*, and but a short *time*, is of no esteeme, and reputation, here are all things fitted for *Fame*, and æternitie, A *great Citie*, to wit, *Hierusalem*; He raigned in *Hierusalem*. A *great Empire*, the twelue *Tribes of Israel*; ouer all *Israel*. A *great*, and a long *raigne*, for the space of *forty yeeres*; *The time that hee raigned ouer all Israel was forty yeeres*. Sixthly, because such a long, and glorious life would bee crown'd (^b as *Augustus* was wont to say) with a faire, and an easie *death*, here is a dying compar'd to a sleeping; *Dormiuitq; Salomon, and Salomon slept*. Seuenthly, because the *Soule*, which cannot sleepe, must be prouided for, as well, as the *Body*, it is disposed of to his hearts desire, In the Societie of *David*,

Sueton. in eius
uita. Sibi & suis
ἐὐδαιμονίας προ-
σβατῆρ. cap. 99.

David, and the rest of his *Fathers*; *Cum Patribus suis, With his Fathers*. Lastly, though this bee enough for a *Private Man*, yet somewhat more would bee wished in a *King*. That *Body*,^a which so represented God himselfe, when it was aliue, must not be neglected now it is dead. And therefore he is buried in the Sepulchre of the *Kings*, and the Citie of *David*; *In Civitate David Patris sui, In the Citie of David his Father*. And the rest of the words of *Salomon*, &c.

^a Εἰκόνι θεῶν,
Anton. Monach.
ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ.
β. κεφ. α. Datur
hoc illustrium vi-
rorum posteritati,
ut exequijs à Pro-
miscua Sepultura
separentur, &c.
Tacit. Annal. 16.

BUt you will say, All these parts refer to King *Salomon*, and that King *James* is forgotten in the *Division*. Most High, and Mightie, Right Honourable, and Right Dearely Beloued; Our Late *Soueraigne* shall be remembered in due time, and much to the honour of King *Salomon*. King *Salomon* in his *Funeralls* had a glorious *Tombe* in deed, as ^b *Iosephus* describes it, but he had no *Statue* at all caried before him. That was peradventure scarce tolerable amongst the

^b Antiq. l. 7. c. 12.

^a De reb. Salom.
l. 8. c. 3. & Serli-
us. de Architect.
l. 3.

^b 4 Reg. 21. 28.
2 Chron. 21. 20.
2 Chron. 24. 25.

^c Lib. 3.

^d Matth. 12. 42.

leues. A *Tombe* he provided for himselfe, and so prophetically, as that (if we may beleecue ^a *Pineda*, and others) there were iust as many *Cells* therein, as there were to be Kings of *Iuda*, that is, twenty one. A *Statue* God Almighty hath this day provided for him. Many of these twentie one *Cells* being neuer filled, because the ^b vnworthy Kings were buried elsewhere, *Salomon* shall lend King *James* a *Tombe*, and King *James* shall lend vnto him a *Statue*: The *Tombe* you may obserue in the *Exposition*, and the *Statue* in the *Application* of this peece of Scripture. King IAMES shall first die in SALOMONS Text, & *Salomon* shall then arise in King IAMES his VERTVES. For as ^c *Herodotus* reports of the *Aegyptians*, that by wrapping their dead in glasse, they present them alieue to all posteritie: so by that time I haue plared ouer the *Parts* of this Text with the *Particulars* of the *Application*, you that heare mee this day, shall haue that happinesse ^d of the *Queene of the South*, which

SALOMON.

9

which is not onely to haue read in a *Booke*, but withall to haue scene with your eies, and to haue heard with your eares all the rarities, and perfections of the wise King *Salomon*. You shall then perfectly remember these *Sayings*, these *Doings*, this *Wisedome*, this *History*, this great *Citie*, this vnited *Empire*, this long *Life*, this happy *Death*, this *Rest* with his *Fathers*, and these solempne *Funeralls*, which are the *Minutes* of this Text. *And the rest of the words of Salomon, &c.*

I Begin with that part, wherof I finde in my selfe the greatest want, to wit, *Eloquence*, pointed at in the Entrance of my Text. *Reliquum verborum, the rest of his words*. For that Man had need of *Salomons Words*, that will speake of this first, or second *Salomon*. *Eloquence* in some reasonable proportion is so necessarie in a *King*, that a ^a *Philosopher* calls it βασιλικὸν εἰ τι ἄλλο, one of the chiefest of the Royall Vertues. Surcly the want of this made ^b *Moses* in a manner

^a Musonius apud Stob. serm. 46.

^b Exod. 4. 10.

^a Octavianus
Ferrarius, lib. de
Sermonibus Exo-
tericis.

^b Πολιτικῆ.
ᾠδῶν.

^c Plutarch. in
Pyrrho.

^d For Alexander
thought it vnne-
cessary in a King
to bee exact in
this kinde of
learning. ἔδ' αὖ
φιλοσοφίας ἀπὸ
πρὸς τὸ ἀκρίβει-
εἶπεν. Dion.
Chryl. Orat. 2.
πρὸ βασιλείας.
And Tacitus re-
quires in a
Prince, *difficilli-
mum illum ex Sa-
pientia modum. De
vita Agricol.*

And Leo the Em-
peror made vse
of *Maiorianus* his
Eloquence, *Cuius
dignatur ab ore
Cæsar in orbe lo-
qui.* Sidon. Apol-
lin. in Panegy.
^e *Annal. 15.*

refuse all government, though offered vnto him by God himselfe. And Homer, that is, Solon, (^a for he is supposed the Author of the *Poem*) is by ^b Plutarch made to say, that a ready Sword will not doe the worke, if it bee not attended with this readinesse of *Speech*. Surely *Pyrrhus*, though a mighty vaunter of all his Actions, would often^c confesse more Cities conquered by *Cyneas* his tongue, then there were by his owne *Speare*. And although an *Aaron* may sometimes supply a *Moses*, and *Eloquence* be borrowed from the tongue of a *Minister*, yet surely no great *Monarchie* was euer rais'd, but where the *King* himselfe was a ^d competent *Speaker*. In the *Romane Empire* it is obseru'd by ^e *Tacitus*, that the Princes of the first line, *Iulius, Augustus, Tiberius, Claudius*, yea and *Caius* himselfe (as blunt as hee was) neuer borrowed a *tongue* to speake to the people. *Nero* is noted to bee the first *Cæsar*, *Qui alienæ facundie eguit*, that euer vsurpt another mans *Language*.

And

SALOMON.

II

And therefore no maruell, if in *Salomon* a great Monarch, and the *second* of his *line*, the *Historie* gaue a touch of his *Oratorie*, and *Eloquence*, *Et reliquum verborum Salomonis*, And the rest of the words of *Salomon*. Now when I looke vpon this world of Matter I am to runne thorow in a minute of time, the best *Eloquence*, that I can vse in setting forth the *Eloquence* of *Salomon*, is to say nothing, and to turne you ouer to his admirable *Writings*; the^a *Prouerbs*, the^b *Booke of Wisdome*, and^c *Ecclesiasticus*, which were dictated; together with *Ecclesiastes*, the *Canticles*, and many of the *Psalmes*, which were penned to a Syllable by King *Salomon*. And so I proceed from his *Words* vnto his *Actions*, the *second part* of his *Life*; *Omnia quæ fecit*, *All that hee did*. And the rest of the words of *Salomon*, and all that he did.

HE DID.

Kings are anointed (as^a *Cassaneus* obserues) vpon the *Armes*, as well

^a Prou. 25. 1.

^b In eo libro sermo est ex persona Salomonis. Aquinas 2. q. 113. art. 3. ad. 2.

^c Prior pars Ecclesiastici. Pined. de reb. Salo. l. 1. c. 1.

^a Catal. glor. Mundi. part. 7.

Numb. 27. 17.

as vpon the *Head*, and the *Armes* are the Instruments of *Action*, and *Doing*. That *phrase* of Scripture, so applied to *Kings*, that they must ^a *goe in and out before the people*, requires somewhat more then *Elocution*. In the *Genealogie* of our *Sauour*, exprest by *S^t. Matthew*, though many more be written downe, yet none is call'd a *King* but *David*; *Dauidem Regem, David the King, Matth. 1. 6. verse*; because (as *Interpreters* expound the place) *David* was, as a *King* should be, a *Man of Warre*, and a *Man of Action*. *Nero* could tune his Instruments well, and yet, as ^b *Apollonius* said to *VESPASIAN*, hee was a meane Prince, because hee knew not how to tune a *People*. And on the other side, *Themistocles* could neuer play on the *Harpe*, but yet is famous in all *Histories*, ^c because hee could make a *Citie greater*. *Plutarque* in his *Πολιτικά παραθέματα*, speakes of two Men, that were hir'd at *Athens* for some publique worke, whereof the one was full of *Tongue*, but slow at *Hand*,

^a Κιθαίρον ῥῆθ' ἰσως ἢ δὲ ἀρμόστ-
τεῖαι, τίω δ' ἀρ-
χῶν ἤχονεν ἀνε-
σει καὶ ἐπιταύσει.
Philostat. de vita
Apoll. lib. 5. c. 10.

^c *Plut. in Themistocle.*

Hand, but the other blunt in *Speech*, yet an excellent *Work-man*; Being call'd vpon by the *Magistrates* to expresse themselves, and to declare at large how they would proceed; when the first had made a long *harangue*, and describ'd it from point to point, the other seconded him with this short *speech*, Ἀνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, οἷς ἔργα σίγουρα, ἔργα ποιεῖται, yee Men of *Athens*, what this man hath said in *Words*, that will I make good in true *performance*. And as he was adiudged the better *Artisan*; so is the Man of *Action* the better *King*: vnlesse they come ioyntly, as they doe in this Text, *VERBA ET FACTA*, *Words and Deeds*, *And the rest of the Words of Salomon, and all that he Did*. Now if you desire to know all that he did, I must turne you ouer to this Booke of the *Kings*, which notwithstanding is but a *Florus* to that *Liue*, or rather a *PHOTIION* to that *DEMOSTHENES*, that first describ'd them. Some of them I shall touch vpon, when I come to the *second Salomon*, and doe

now hasten to the *third part* of his *Life*, which is his *Wisdom*; *And the rest of the words of Salomon, and all that hee did, and his Wisdom.*

HIS WISDOM.

FOr indeed braue *Actions* are but the *Fruit*, *Wisdom* is the *Tree* that beares them. *Actions* are but *Riuers*, *Wisdom* is the *Head* that feeds them. And where this is wanting, they are like *Land-floods*, violent for the time, but gone in an instant. Here therefore you haue the *Fruit* together with the *Tree*, that brought them; here you see the *Riuers*, together with the *Spring* that sent them; here you reade of *Salomons Deeds* ioyn'd with that *Wisdom* that first contriu'd them. *And the rest of the words of Salomon, and all that Hee did, and his Wisdom.* HIS WISEDOME. How necessarie in a *King*, *Salomons* choice hath taught all *Kings*. For being praesented by God himselfe with a *Pandora* of royall *graces*, although braue *Actions* call'd in that

that^a place *the life of his Enemies* was in the Boxe, yet tooke he out nothing but *Wisdom* to gouerne his people, 1 *Kings* 3. 9. *verse*. He tooke out nothing, but *Wisdom*, said I: Nay, rather in taking out *Wisdom* (as God tells him in the next *verse*) hee left nothing behinde. *Omnia assunt bona, quem penes est virtus*. How can he want these golden Apples of Princely *Actions*, that hath this Garden of the *Hesperides*, wherein they grow? For although *Kings* (as I said before) be anointed on the *Armes*, the Instruments of *Actions*, yet are they crown'd onely on the *Head*, the seat of *Wisdom*. For as in the naturall; so in the ciuill Bodie, the *spie* and discouerie of all the *members* is plac't aloft in the watch-tower of the *Head*. Here are the *Eyes*, that see for all. Here are the *Eares*, that listen for all. Here are the *Nostrils*, that smell out for all. Here are the *Braines*, that sweat for all. And here is the *Wisdom*, that prouides for all. And therefore what can a *tongue* or an *Arme*

^a 1 Reg. 3. 11.

^a Δεῖ γὰρ πλὴν
φρονῶν παρεῖναι,
μᾶλλον ὅ φροῦ-
σαι. Synes. de
regno.

^b Nullis circum-
scriptam terminis
sapientiam adeptus
est. de reb. Sal.
l. 3. c. 9.

^c Libr. 5. in Genes.
q. 4. ut & Abu-
lenf. 3. Reg. 3. q. 10.

^d In 3 Reg. 3. q. 11.

^e Tom. 1. disp. 7.
q. 2. puncto. 1.

doe a Man good, if they be not guided by somewhat in the *Head*? *Sayings*, and *Doings* are of little worth, if ^a *Wisdom* follow not, as it doth in this place; *And the rest of the words of Salomon, and all that hee did, and his Wisdom.* W I S E - D O M E. Whether this *Wisdom* of *Salomons* was vniuersall, and embrac't all *Sciences*, as ^b *Pineda*, or a *Prudence* reaching to the *Practique* only (because of thole words, *To governe my people*) as ^c *Pererius* thought, the *Latine* translation *Sapientia* being for the first, the *Greeke* φρόνησις for the second, the *Hebrew* חכמה for both the opinions; Also whether *Salomon* did surmount as ^d *Toftatus*, or fall short of *Adam* in the pitch of his *Wisdom*, as ^e *Gregorie de Valentia* thinkes, are such doughtie *Frayes*, as I haue no leasure to part at this time, being now in the fourth place to speake of that *Booke*, which (if extant) would peraduenture end part of the quarrell; *the Booke of the Acts of Salomon.* *And the rest of the Words of Salomon,*

mon, and all that hee did, and his Wisedome, are they not written in the Booke of the Acts of Salomon?

THe Booke of the Acts of Salomon. ^a Alexander vpon the Conquest of Persia in a deepe contemplation of his late Victories, being told of one, that brought him some newes, replied hastily thereupon, *What newes can any man bring vnto Mee, vnlesse it bee that Homer is aliuē againe?* As w^h should say; All these Actions of mine will vanish into ayre, if there be not a Scholler to write, and record them. And surely little had now remain'd of the Sayings, the Doings, and the Wisedome of Salomon, if they had not beene of ^b Record in this Booke. The Booke of the Acts of Salomon. For although God suffered this Booke to be burnt by ^c Nebuzaradan, and ordered not Esdras to reue the same, because it was but a Iournall of Salomons Actions, of a Ciuill rather, then a Religious vse, and fitter for a Clo-

^a Curtius lib. 5.

^b *Studia prestant
ut etiam prateritis
seculis vixisse vi-
deamur.*

Quintil. Instit. O-
rat. l. 1. c. 4.

^c Sanctius.
proem. in. 1. Reg.

^a Libri Paralip.
in origine vocantur
verba dierum, quia
ex Diarijs regum
excerpti sunt. Illa
autem solummodo
in sacrum canone
cesserunt, quae ad
remunerationem
bonorum, aut
flagellationem re-
probatorum perti-
nerent. Sanctius
in 1 Reg. proleg. 1.
^b Sanctius ibi-
dem. vide etiam
Martyrem. Abu-
lenf. & Fr. Jun. in
locum.

^c 1 Chron. 29. 29.

^d Sueton. &
Spartianus in
Adriano.

set, then for a Temple, yet was so much thereof plac'd in the Canon,^a as might be vsfull for Gods Church, being call'd out of this Journall either by ^b Hieremie, or Esay, or Esdras, or Ezechias, or (as I thinke) the Seruants of that King, who without question collected his P R O V E R B S, Proverbs 25. 1 verse. And therefore as this Text is but an Epitome of the 11 first Chapters of the first Booke of the Kings: so are these Chapters but an Epitome of this Epitome or Journall of SALOMON. The Booke of the Acts of Salomon. And surely Dignum laude virum Musa vetat mori, as there was neuer any King, that deserued; so was there neuer a King in Scripture that hath obtained more Writers of his Acts, then this King Salomon. For whereas Saul had neuer a one, David in his long raign had no more then two, besides what Salomon in his Ecclesiastes hath written of himselfe (as many of the ^d Caesars, Julius, Augustus, Tiberius, and Adrian are noted to haue done) three great Prophets,
famous

famous in their times, ^a *Nathan, Abiathar,*
 and *Addo* had their severall pens in these
 Acts of *Salomon*; the *Booke of the*
Acts of Salomon. And indeed *Bookes,*
 especially such as these, written by *Pro-*
phets, & Honest men, are most necessary
 both for the ^b *applauding of the good,*
 and the *terrifying of ill-deserving Prin-*
ces. *Non potest humile, aut abiectum quid*
cognitare, qui scit de se semper loquendum,
 saith *Mamertinus* in his *Panegyricque.*
 Hee had need be carefull of all his *Acti-*
ons, that is to bee the subject of future
Histories. For although I allow not a
Private man to feed vpon *Glorie,* and
 haue preach't against it (with all my
 heart) not many weekes since: yet
 was I euer of *Panormitanus* opinion in
 the life of *Alphonsus,* that it is *Cibus Re-*
gum, a very fit dish for the repast of a
King, and due vnto him from the after
 Ages. ^c *Multi famam, pauci verentur*
conscientiam. Some few peradventure
 referre it to *God,* but most *Kings* desire,
 as *Augustus* did, to bee applauded by
 C 3 Men.

^a 2 Chron. 9. 39.

^b *Ut pravis dictis,*
factisque ex poste-
ritate, & infamia
metus sit. Tacit.
Annal. 3.

^c *Plinius secun-*
dus lib. 3. ep. 20
Nam quotocuique
eadem honestatis
cura secreto que
palam? Multis fa-
mam, &c.

SALOMON.

21

Kings, would scatter away, like quicke Mercury, if they were not fixed in such a Booke as this; The Booke of the Acts of Salomon. And so much of the first part of my Text, which I call'd Salomons Life, comprehending the words, the deeds, the wisdom, and the Journalls of Salomon. And the rest of the words of Salomon, and all that he did, &c.

NOW to come to the second part of this Text, which is *Salomons raigne*, and to begin with the first Circumstance thereof, his *Capitall Citie*, it is true what ^a *Euripides* said of old, *Χρήματ' ἔστιν εὐδοκίμωνι μέγιστον ἀνδρῶν πᾶσι πόλιν εὐδοκίμων*, it is requisite for a Man that would be glorious to haue his abode in a *famous Citie*. This Booke of the *Acts of Salomon* had scarce beene worth the taking vp, if his *Words*, his *Actions*, and his *Wisdome* had not beene presented on this great Theatre, the *Citie of Hierusalem*; *And the time that Salomon raigned in Hierusalem. A Citie is an Abstract*

^a ἐὶθ' ἐπιθῆς τις
λῶ. Plutarch. in
uita Demost. Be-
atè victuro ante
alia conuenit patri-
am esse gloriosam.
Ammianus Mar-
cell. lib. 14. &
tamen ἔτι τα ἀκο-
αεῖν, ὅτι ὅτις με-
γάλυς πατρίδ' ὅ-
αξίον ὄειν. Arist.
apud Laetium.
lib. 5.

Abstract of a whole State. For as *Cain* being guiltie of the Murther of his Brother, built the first *Citie* we reade of in the world, *Gen. 4. vers. 17.* Εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν οὐρανὸν, as ^a *Iosephus* speakes, to make himsefse strong with his people about him: So most of the *Monarchs* to this very day, guiltie of oppressing, or being oppressed by their neighbour *Princes*, *Orbem in urbem contrahunt*, doe contract their people to this short *Epitome*, which we call a *Citie*, as the twelue *Tribes* are said to be fetcht to *Hierusalem*, *Psal. 122.* And the time that *Salomon* raigned in *Hierusalem*. Now *Hierusalem* was not only a *Citie* by it selfe (as it is in that *Psalme*) but a *Type* and *Figure* of all other *Cities*. For as *Hierusalem* was an vnion of two *Cities*, ^b *Iebus*, and *Salem*, and an vnion of ^c two *Tribes*, *Iuda*, and *Beniamin*, and an vnion of all *Israel*, as it followeth in my *Text*: So are other *capitall Cities* in their proportion. So that as a *Citie* seated vpon ^d a *Hill* cannot be hidden; no more can a *King* seated in such

^a *Antiq. lib. 1. c. 3.*

^b *Mafius in Ios. lib. 15. n. 63.*

^c *Arias Montan. in Ios. 18. 20. Rupertus lib. 2. in Deut. 6. 18.*

Vilalp. Tom. 3. in Ezech. p. 1. lib. 1. c. 25.

^d *Matth. 5. 14.*

such a *Citie*. All his *Words*, his *ACTIONS*, and his *Wisdom* are still vpon record. God Almighty therefore being thus resolu'd to make *Salomon* glorious, as a Type of our *Sauour* farre more glorious, plac't all his *sayings*, his *doings*, and his *Wisdom*, *Longè pulcherrima vrbium Orientis*, as ^a *Plinie* calls it, On the goodliest Theatre of all the *East*, the Eye of the world, and the *Queene* of the Nations, the *Citie* of *Hierusalem*. And *Salomon* raigned in *Hierusalem*. And so much for the first Circumstance of *Salomons* *Raigne*, which is his capitall *Citie* *Hierusalem*. Hee raigned in *Hierusalem*.

^a *Plin. Hist. Nat.*
l. 5. 6. 14.

THe second Circumstance of his *Raigne* is his *Empire*, or *Domini- on*, which is very large, and with *Reference*, and a *Difference* withall from the ^b *beginning* of his *Fathers*, and from the ^c *middle* of his *Sonnes* *Raigne*, and here to be ouer all *Israel*. Hee raigned in *Hierusalem* ouer all *Israel*. Ouer

^b 1 *Reg.* 2. 11.

^c 1 *Reg.* 12. 16.

^a Orat. de lege Agrar. contra Rullum.

^b Ἐν πλείθει καὶ μεγάλῃ τῷ κελόν.
Aristot. Polit. 7.
c. 8.

All. For as ^a Tully saith, that the Romans held no true Cities, but these three, Carthage, Corinth, and Capua, which they call'd *τρία κάππα κάκιστα*, the three Cities that troubled their Common-wealth, because these three only had Territories, and Dominions belonging vnto them: so Hierusalem, confined to her Walles, might peraduenture put forth a Maior, but was no seat for a glorious King, without the annexation of this great Empire of all Israel. He raigned in Hierusalem ouer all Israel. ^b *In multitudine populi dignitas Regis*, In the multitude of the people is the Kings glorie, *Proverbs* 14. 28. *verse*. And behold a people not to be numbred for Multitude, *1 Kings* 3. 8. *verse*. As the sand of the sea, *1 Kings* 4. 20. As the dust of the earth, *2 Chron.* 1. 9. Euen the Kingdomes from the riuer vnto the lands of the Philistins, and vnto the border of Ægypt, *1 Kings* 4. 21. For these were the bounds of all Israel. He raigned in Hierusalem ouer all Israel. I will not sinne with

with *David* in numbring this people, which *Vilalpanda* in his second ^a Tome vpon *Ezechiel* labours to doe, and makes vp a *Totall of 6624. millions*. Neither will I compare *Salomon* either with *Arphaxad*, a King of many Nations, *Judith* 1. 1. *vers.* or with *Assuerus* a King of twentie seuen *Prouinces*, *Esther* 1. 1. *vers.* or with *Nabuchadnasor* a King of all the earth, *Judith* 2. 3. *verse*, or with *Alexander*, that would haue beene King of more; I must leaue ^b *Tostatus*, and ^c *Pineda*, two *Spaniards*, in a hot skirmish about this question: It sufficeth mee, that God gaue *Salomon* as many people, as he tooke to himselfe in those daies, to wit *all Israel*. He raigned in *Hierusalem* ouer *all Israel*; And so much of the second Circumstance of his *Raigne*, the largenesse of his *Empire* and *Dominion*.

I Come now to the third Circumstance, the *Continuance* of the same, which was a faire, and a large scope
D 2
of

^a Part. 2. lib. 5.
 disp. 3. c. 52.

^b Imperij amplitudine, longo intervallo superabatur ab aliis Imperatoribus tum prioribus, tum posterioribus. Tostat. in 2 Chron. 1. q. 21. Dionys. Carthul. in 3. Reg. c. 3.

^c Ego vero sic censeo, ut diuitiis, ita gloria, atque aliis glorie ornamentis, populique multitudine, Salomonem superasse alios omnes siue priores siue posteriores orbis dominatores. Pineda. de reb. Salomonis. lib. 6. c. 2.

of time, æquall'd onely by one, or two, but exceeded by none of the Kings of Iuda, to wit, forty yeares. His raigne in Hierusalem ouer all Israel was forty yeares. Forty yeares. For Salomon was not brought vpon the Stage, as Cato stole into the Theatre, *ut exiret*, to take a turne, and goe out againe, *Ostentatus, raptusque simul Solstitialis velut herba, solet*, As the Poet speaks of Mineruius: But that his sayings, his doings, and his great Wisdome, irent in *secula*, might make an impression vpon the Ages to come; God gaue him a long, and a stirring part in this Scene of Glory, which was a raigne of fortie yeares. Hee raigned in Hierusalem ouer all Israel for forty yeares. Forty yeares. For although we commend not a Musitian for playing long, but for playing well vpon the Lute; yet *occultæ musicæ nullum encomium*, without competent triall hee is not at all commended. This life, saith ^a Nazianzen, is a Faire, or a Mart, wherein good men may bee furnisht with

^a In Sententijs
Iambicis quater-
nis versibus com-
prebensis.

with *vertues*. Although hee that *buyeth* most in this *Faire* is a better *Chapman*, then he that *staieth* most, yet common reason must allow a time for a man to make his market. Shall ^a *Hippoerates* with his *Ars longa, vita brevis*, com-
 plaine for a time to studie *Hearbes*? and ^b *Theophrastus* fall out with *Nature* for a further respite to studie *Trees*? and ^c *Aristotle* vexe himselfe for a longer life to studie *Motions*? And may not *Kings* expect more fauour in this kinde, to studie out those *Ægyptian Hieroglyphiques* of the *Hearts of Men*? and to perfect that Art of ^d *Vesticus Spurrinna*, *Solā ex senectute prudentiā*, a wildome taught onely by multitude of yeeres? Surely God is very carefull herein. That life, saith ^e *Saint Gregorie*, which is commended in Scripture, doth commonly end with a plenitude of *Dayes*. When God lends these extraordinary ^f *talents* to

am. Iob 32. 7. Crescit in senibus. Hieron. ep. 2. ad Nepotian. e Non facile in scriptura plenus dierum ponitur, nisi is, cuius per eandem scripturam vita laudatur. Gregor. Magnus in Iob vii. Nemini dedit Deus spacium peccandi. Ecclesiasticus 15. 22. f Qui paucis annis multa talenta lucri fecit bene viuendo. Chryl. in locum. Queris quid sit amplissimum vite spacium? vsq; ad Sapientiam viuere. Sene.

^a *Initio Aphorism. Inde illa maximi medicorum exclamatio est, vitam Breuem esse, longam Artem. Senec. de Breuitate vitæ. c. 1.*

^b *Moriens accusasse naturam dicitur, &c. querebatur se tum, cum ista videre cepisset, extingui. Cicer. Tuscul. quæst. 1. 3. ἡμῶν δὲ ὄνομα ἡσυχία δὲ ζῆν, τίς ἔστι δὲ οὐκ ἔσθλη. Diogen. Laertius lib. 5.*

^c *Inde Aristoteli, cum rerum natura exigenti, minimè conueniens viro Sapienti, lis est, illam animalibus tantum indulgisse, &c. Senec. de Breuitate vitæ. c. 1.*

^d *Plin. Secund. lib. 3. epist. 1. ad Caluissium. & Annorum multitudo docet sapienti-*

Gregor. Magnus

Annorum multi-

Amplissimum vite

any man in place, *Post multum temporis*, it is a long time after that hee reckoneth with them, *Matth. 25. 19. verse.* And therefore *Salomon* trusted with all this stocke of *Sayings*, and *Doings*, and *Wisedome*, and a *Citie*, and an *Empire* ouer all *Israel*, had a raigne of forty yeeres to employ the same. And *Salomon* raigned in *Hierusalem* ouer all *Israel* forty yeeres. And so much of the Second generall part of my Text, *the most happy raigne of King Salomon.*

I Was now concluding with that *2 Chron. 1. 12.* that *there was no King before or after to be compar'd for happinesse with our King Salomon.* His *Sayings*, his *Doings*, his *Wisedome*, his *Fame* in *Histories*, his *Citie*, his *Empire*, and his *long Raigne*, far surmounting all *Kings* in *Scripture*; when loe a *Philosopher* (who must also bee heard when hee speaks the truth) puls me by the slecue with an *Ante obitum Nemo supremaque funera*, that before I presume to commend

^a Κατὰ Σέλανα
 ἢ χρεῶν τέλει
 ὁμοίω. Aristot. E-
 thic. l. 1. c. 11.

mend a *King*, I consider well his *Death*, and his *Funerall*. Verily I haue done so both now, and heretofore, and that with more then ordinarie diligence. I haue read all that *Peraldus*, *Cognatus*, *Vitalpanda*, *Pineda*, *Delrio*, *Suarez*, and some others haue said of this *Theme*. I know that ^a *Saint Basil* saith in one place, he died *not so well*, and ^b *Prosper* plainly, that he died *ill*. No doubt but he sinned against his *God*, for he was not *Christ*, but his *Type* onely. Yet I know on the other side, the whole *Armie* of the *Fathers*, *Schoole-men*, and *Commenters* vpon the *Scripture*, doe bring him with *Faith*, and *Repentance* to his *Graue*, mooued principally with the end of my *Text*, that his *Soule* departed (as the *Soule* of the *Saints* are said to doe) by a sweet *sleeping*, that then it rested in the society of his *Fathers*, and that his *Body* was buried with the *better Kings* in the *Citie* of *Dauid* his deuout *Father*. And *Salomon* slept with his *Fathers*, and was buried in the *Citie*, &c.

^a Basil. in Ps. Finem vite accepit non gloriosum.

^b Parte. 2. de praedict. c. 27.

The first happinesse of *Salomons* end is this, that his *Death* is resembled to slumbring and *sleeping*. And *Salomon* slept. It is obseru'd by one, ^a *Quod Hebraei, Homines in statu perditionis mortuos, Sanctos autem dormientes vocent*, that the *Hebrues* say of Wicked Men, that they dye; but of the Saints, that they fall a *leepe*. I cannot tell, whether the *Rule* be generall; but ^b *Chryso-stome* saith directly, that without *Christ*, ^c *δανάτῳ δανάτῳ ἐστὶν ἄδης*, death is still death, and Hell in the bargaine, and they are onely said to sleepe, that dye in him. Surely it is the godly dying, that most resembles slumbring, and *sleeping*. For first as we *prepare* our selues vnto the one before it comes, by setting aside the *traffique* of the World: so are the godly disposed to the other. Looke vpon *Salomon* at his deaths bed (for then saith ^c *Hierome* this Booke was penn'd) *Two things haue I prayed of thee, deny mee not before I dye, Take away from mee Vanitie,*
and

^a Lorinus in *Leuitic.*

^b In *I Corinth.* 4. c. 15:

^c In *I. cap. Ecclesiaste.* & lib. 2. contra *Iouinianum.*

and Lyes, *Prouerbs 30.7. verse.* Secondly, as we willingly yeeld to Nature in the one, so doe the ^a *Saints* to the God of Nature, when he calls vpon them, in the other. Listen to *Salomon* in his *Ecclesiastes* written not long before his death; *The Righteous, and his workes are in the hand of God, Eccles. 9. 1. vers.* Lastly, as Men lay by their cloathes with an expectation to vse them againe in the one: so doe the *Saints* their bodies, with an expectation of *Iudgement* in the other. So ends the *Sermon* of this *Royall Preacher.* *God shall bring euery worke vnto iudgement, Eccles. 12 and the last verse.* And therefore this præparing, and composing of our selues ouer-night, with a full *Resolution* to awake in the morning, is no bitter dying, but a gentle sleeping. *Dormiuitque Salomon. And Salomon slept.* And so much of this first happinesse.

THe second *Happinesse* is in regard of his Soule, which is said here

E

to

^a *Deus quod suum est a te repetit, quod ad tempus tibi datum. Nihil interest utrum abires depositum, an doleas restitutum. In utroque fidei ambiguum periculum est. Polanus. Syntag. l.6. c.39.*

to remaine with his *Fathers*, *Dormi-
uitque Salomon cum Patribus suis*, And
Salomon slept with his *Fathers*. His *Fa-
thers*. *Non otiose scriptum est hoc, sed per-
pense, & examinate*, saith *Saint Ambrose*
in his first Booke of *Caine*, and *Abel*.
This is no phrase light on by chance, but
to be well weighed, and considered. It
cannot be expounded of his *dead Body*;
for none of the kindred were entombed
with *Salomon*, but *David* onely. *Vnde
claret, non ad Sepulturam corporis, sed ad
consortium vite relatam*, as hee saith of
Isaac; and therefore, we must conclude,
that *Salomons sleeping* in this place, was
not to rot with his *Fathers* in the *grau*e,
but to liue with them in the Kingdome
of *Heauen*. And so *Salomon* slept with
his *Fathers*. *Idem est apponi ad populum
suum, ac apponi ad Patres*, saith *Burgen-
sis*. To sleepe with his *People*, *Gen. 25. 8.*
is the same thing as to sleepe with his
Fathers. And to sleepe with his *People*
is expounded by *S. Augustin*, to rest in
the society of the *Angels* with *Abraham*,
Isaac,

Isaac, Jacob, & David, who preceded Salomon in this Faith, and Repentance, as spirituall Fathers. And Salomon slept with his Fathers. And so much likewise of his second Happinesse.

THe last Happinesse at his *End*, or rather *after* his *End*, was this, to be solemnly interred as a great Prince in the Citie of *David* his Father. And was buried in the Citie of *David* his Father. *After his End I say.* For I will not strain this note, as some haue done. ^a *Bachiarius*, a Writer as auncient as *Saint Augustin*, makes it an Argument of his very *Saluation*, that he was buried *inter Reges iustos*, in the Sepulchers of the better Kings, in the Citie of *David*. It is true indeede, that those wicked Princes, ^b *Amon*, ^c *Ioram*, and ^d *Ioas* were not: and it is as true, that ^e *Rbehoboam*, ^f *Amasias*, and ^g *Abiam*, as wicked as they, were all buried in the same place. Leauing therefore his Soule in blisse with his *Fathers*, these *Funerals* shall serue for a double

^a Tom. 1. *Bibliothecæ patrum.*

^b 1 Reg. 21. 26.

^c 2 Chron. 21. 20.

^d 2 Chron. 24. 25.

^e 3 Reg. 14. 31.

^f 2 Chron. 25. 28.

^g 3 Reg. 15. 8.

vse; first, for an honor to this Body already dead; and secondly, for a Comfort to all Bodies as yet aliue. For the first, the Bodies of Saints must be respected, as Phidias his Images were wont to be; not for the *Stuffe*, but for the *Makers* sake. ^a *Non contemnenda sunt spiritus sancti organa*, saith Saint Augustin. This Body of his, so glorified by God while hee was aliue, must be glorified in some proportion, although hee be dead. Amongst other magnificencies of his owne, hee ^b built this Sepulchre of David his Father, and therefore was rightly interred in the Sepulchre of his Father. In the Citie of David his Father. And as Funerals doe honor the Bodies that be dead, so doe they comfort the Bodies that are aliue. *Sepultura Spiritualiter prodest uiuentibus, in quantum per hanc astringitur resurrectionis fides*, saith ^c Aquinas writing vpon the fourth of the Sentences. The Buriall of the Dead is a ^d lesson to the Living, to put them in minde of the Resurrection. In-
decide

Nec ideo tamen contemnenda, & ibi scienda sunt corpora defunctorum, maximeque iustorum, atque fidelium, quibus tanquam organis & uasis ad omnia bona opera sanctus usus est spiritus. August. de Ciuitate Dei.

l. 1. c. 13.

^b Ἐθαψε δ' αὐτὸν ὁ πῦρ Σαλωμων ἐν Ἱερουσαλοῖς διαπρεπῶς. Iosephus Antiq. l. 7. c. 12.

^c Thom. in 4. Sent. dist. 45. q. 2. art. 3. ad 3.

^d Magis est uiuorum consolatio quam defunctorum utilitas. August. de Ciuit. lib. 1. c. 5.

deede it I were of *Heraclitus* his Faith, I should bee iust of his opinion, as *O-rigen* quotes it in his first Booke against *Celsus*, that dead *Bodies* are to bee neglected, as dissolued for euer to dust, and ashes. But we *Christians* must bee more carefull, where wee lay these cloathes, being to weare them againe in the *Resurrection*. I beseech you remember in ^a *Herodian*, and *Xiphiline*, what costly beds the *Emperors* lay in, when in their *Αποθεώσεως*, they were to bee burnt, and changed to *Gods*. With what cost doth the *Phoenix* consume her selfe, because shee knowes shee shall bee *reuiued*? Had not *Salomon* beene to rise with *David*; hee had neuer prouided in this sort to bee buried with *David*, In *Ciuitate David Patris eius*, In the Citie of *David* his *Father*. And so I haue done with the *parts* of my *Text*, the *Obit*, and the *Funerals* perform'd of *old*; I come now to what I promis'd to adde to the same, which is a *liuely Statue* of King *Salomon*.

^aHerodi l.4. Xiph
lin.in Augusto.ar
see Sauijs notes
vpon Tacitus,
Hist.l.xc.2.

Imaginem Traiani curru triumphali vexit, ut optimus imperator ne post mortem quietem triumphum amitteret dignitatem. Spart. in Adrian.

AS^a Spartianus therefore reports of Traian, that after his Death, he triumphed openly in the Citie of Rome, In Imagine, in a Liuely Statue, or Repræsentation inuented by Adrian for that purpose : So shall this Salomon of Israel doe at this time in the Statue, and Repræsentation of our Brittish Salomon. Truly mee thinkes
(*Si nunquam fallit imago*)
the resemblance is very liuely.

Sic oculos, sic ille manus, sic ora ferebat.

All the *Circumstances* doe suit very well. And therefore, as a late ^b Commenter vpon Philostratus tels vs, that in Greece the *Statuaries* began with the making of their *mould*, and then proceeded to the polishing of their *parts* : So will I compare these *two Kings*, first as it were in one generall *lumpe*, or *mould*, that you may see by the *odnesse* of their
propor-

^b Blaise de Viegenere sur le premier liure des tableaux de plat-peinture de Philost.

proportion, how they differ from all *Kings* beside: and then with a particular examination of the *parts* of my *Text*, that you may obserue by the severall *Members*, how well they resemble the one the other.

FOR the *bulke*, or the *mould*, I dare presume to say, you neuer read in your liues, of two *Kings* more fully *parallel'd* amongst themselves, and better distinguished from all other *Kings* besides themselves. King *Salomon* is said to be *Unigenitus coram Matre sua*, the onely sonne of his Mother, *Proverbs* 4. 3. so was King *James*. *Salomon* was of complexion white, and ruddie, *Canticles* 5. 10. *verse*. so was King *James*. *Salomon* was an infant King, *Puer paruulus*, a little childe, *1 Chron.* 22. 5. *verse*. so was King *James* a King at the Age of thirteene *moneths*. *Salomon* began his raigne in the life of his *Predecessor*, *1 Kings* 1. 32. So, by the^a force, and compulsion of that *state*, did our late

^a For his late *Ma-iestie* neuer approved of the president, as is toucht in some place, by *Camden*, and *Tuanus*.

late Soueraigne King *James*. *Salomon* was twice crown'd, and anoynted a King, *1 Chron. 29. 22.* So was King *James*. *Salomons* minority was rough through the quarrels of the former Soueraigne; So was that of King *James*. *Salomon* was learned about all the Princes of the East, *1 Kings 4. 30.* So was King *James* about all Princes in the vniuersall world. *Salomon* was a Writer in *Prose*, and *Verse*, *1 Kings 4. 32.* So in a very pure and exquisite manner was our sweet Soueraigne King *James*. *Salomon* was the greatest Patron we euer read of to Church and Churchmen; and yet no greater (let the house of Aaron now confesse) then King *James*. *Salomon* was honoured with Embassadors from all the Kings of the Earth, *1 Kings 4. last verse*; and so you know, was King *James*. *Salomon* was a maine Improver of his home commodities, as you may see in his Trading with *Hiram*, *1 Kings 5. 9. verse*; and, God knowes, it was the daily study of King *James*. *Salomon* was

a great maintainer of *Shipping*, and *Nauigation*, 1 *Kings* 10. 14. A most proper Attribute to King *James*. *Salomon* beautified very much his *Capitall Citie* with *Buildings*, and *Water-workes*, 1 *Kings* 9. 15. So did King *James*. Eue-ry man liu'd in peace vnder his *vine*, and his *Figge-Tree* in the daies of *Salomon*, 1 *Kings* 4. 25. And so they did in the blessed daies of King *James*. And yet towards his End, *K. Salomon* had secret *Enemies*, *Razan*, *Hadad*, and *Ieroboam*, and prepared for a *Warre* vpon his going to his *Grave*, as you may see in the *verse* before my *Text*. So had, and so did King *James*. Lastly, before any *Hostile Act* wereade of in the *History*, King *Salomon* died in peace, when he had liued about 60. *Yeares*, as *Lyra* and *Tostatus* are of opinion. And so you know did King *James*. You see therefore a Mould fitted for another *Salomon* in the *Bulke*, and *Generall*: I come now, according to the Method in my *Text*, to polish, and refine the *Members* of

this *Statue* in their *Diuision*, and *Particular*.

TO begin with his *Reliquum uerborum*, his words, and *Eloquence*; you know it well enough, it was rare, and excellent in the highest Degree. *Salomon* speaking of his owne Facultie in this kinde, diuides it into two seuerall Heads, a readie *Inuention*, and an easie *Discharge*, and *Expression* of the same. *God hath granted me to speake, as I would, and to conceiue, as is meet, for the things spoken of, Wisdome 7. 15. vers.* and this was eminent in our late *Soueraigne*. His *Inuention* was as quicke as his first *Thoughts*, and his *Words* as readie as his *Inuention*. *God had giuen him to conceiue*. The Greeke word in that place is ἐπιμύθησις, that is, to make an *Enthymem*, or a short *Syllogisme*; and that was his manner. He would first winde vp the whole *Substance* of his *Discourse* into one solid, and massie *Conception*; and then spread it, and dilate it to what com-
 passe

passe he pleas'd, *profluenti, & qua Principem deceret eloquentia* (as ^a he said of *Augustus*) in a flowing, and a princely kinde of *Elocution*. Those *Speeches* of his in the *Parliament, Starre-Chamber, Councell Table*, and other publique *Audiences* of the State (of which, as of *Tullies* *Orations*, ^b *Ea semper optima, quae maxima*, the longest still was held the best) doe proue him to be the most powerfull *Speaker*, that euer swayed the Scepter of this Kingdome. In his *Style* you may obserue the *Ecclesiastes*, in his *Figures* the *Canticles*, in his *Sentences* the *Prouerbs*, and in his whole *Discourse*, *Reliquum Verborum Salomonis*, all the rest that was admirable in the *Eloquence* of *Salomon*. For, beside his *Prose*, *Iter ad carmen nouerat*, hee made a *Verse* also when hee pleas'd, and that (as became *Buchanans* best Scholler) *Sanissimi coloris*, of a most dainty, and elaborate composition. An euerlasting honour to the *Muses*. ^c For as *Alexander*, somewhat shie at the first, was content afterward

^a Tacitus *Annal.*
lib. 13.

^b Plin. *Secund. lib.*
1. ep. 20.

^c Plutarch. *in*
Alexand.

to be *Burgesse of Corinth*, because *Hercules* had formerly accepted of the place: Euen so the greatest *Potentate* of all the Earth, may now without *blushing* stoope to a *Verse*, being the vsuall *Recreation* of King^a *Dauid*, together with this first, and second *Salomon*. For the *King* our Master neuer vs'd it, but as *Dauid* did, for the praise of God, and his owne comfort. Hee was in hand (when God call'd him to sing *Psalmes* with the *Angels*) with the *Translation* of our Church *Psalmes*, which hee intended to haue finished, and *dedicated* withall to the onely *Saint* of his *Deuotion*, the *Church of Great Britaine*, and that of *Ireland*. This worke was staied in the one and thirty *Psalme*. *Blessed is he whose unrighteousnesse is forgiven, and whose sinne is couered*, The very best meditation of all (as *Saint* ^b *Austin* thinkes) in the *Church Militant*, to prepare a Soule for the *Church Triumphant*. Thus therefore in *Prose*, and *Verse*, in his *Proverbs*, and in his *Canticles*, he was nothing short of
the

^a Plus saltantem
super, quam pug-
nantem. St. Am-
brose of Dauid.

^b August. in loc.

the *Eloquence* of *Salomon*, pointed at in this first circumstance. *Reliquum verborum Salomonis*, *The rest of the words of Salomon*.

FROM his *Sayings* I am come to his *Doings*. *Quæ fecerit*, *All that he did*.

Ἰδὲν εἰς πολὺ δένδρον, (as ^a *Theocritus* speaks) a vast wood, and world of matter, fitter for the *Annals*, and *Historie* of the Time, then for a fragment of a *Funerall Sermon*. Every *Action* of his sacred *Maiestie* was a *Vertue* and a *Miracle* to exempt him from any parallel, amongst the moderne *Kings*, and *Princes*. Not a *particular* of his life, but was a *mysterie* of the *Diuine Providence*, to keepe, and præserue those admirable parts, for the settling, and vniing of some great *Empire*. Why was the *Queen* his ^b *Mother* barren in *France* then growne a greater, and yet fruitfull in *Scotland*, a lesser *Kingdome* then this of ours? Why was ^c the *Father* killed in his *Bed*, and yet the *Sonne* at the same

^a *Idyllio*. 17.

^b *Vna seminarum in omni æuo Lampido Lacedæmonia reperitur, quæ regis filia, regis uxor, regis mater fuit. Plin. Histor. nat. l. 7. c. 41.*
^c *Αἰεὶ, & horrendo scelere, quod boni omnes sunt detestati. Camod. Eliz. pag. 110.*

^a *Postquam con-*
spexit angueis ille
alter puer, cit^o. è cu-
nis exilit, facit re-
ctā in angueis im-
petum, &c. Plau-
tus in Amphitru-
one. Act. 5. Scen. 1.

^b Cambden Eliz.
pag. 121.

^c Cambden. Eliz.
pag. 172.

^d Idem. ibid. pag.
203.

^e Mortonius Ang-
lis additissimus
ab Arranio lese
Maieſtatis accusa-
tus, in carcerem
conijcitur. Cambd.
Eliz. pag. 314.

Ex delatorum in-
vidia. pag. 315. ob-
truncatus. pag. 317.

^f *Præ mœore, post-*
quam tredecim mē-
ſes præſuiſſet, fati-
conceſſit. Camb.

Eliz. pag. 204.

^g Cambd. Eliz.
pag. 316.

^h *Summa conſilij*
erat, ut rege inter-
cepto, externas co-
pias ad religionem
Romanam reſtan-
randam, & Ang-
liam inuaden-
dam admitterent.

Cambd. Eliz. part.
2. pag. 500. M. S.

ⁱ *Gowries conſpi-*
racie. fol. 6.

time ſpared in his *Cradle*? Why was hee
put (like another^a *Hercules*) to ſtrangle
Serpents in his ſwadling clouts, and to
fight, before he could liſt vp his *Arme*,
with the^b *Husband* of his Mother, for a
juſt reuenge of the Death of his Father?
Why were thoſe worthy *Guardians* of
his Sacred Perſon ſo ſwept away,
^c *Murray*, ^d *Lenox*, and ^e *Morton*, killed,
and ^f *Marre* tormented, and vexed to
death, and yet this Infant, without his
Protectors, from time to time miracu-
louſly protected? How was his *Youth*
freed from the Faction of^g *France*, and
his *Riper* yeares from that of^h *Spaine*? the
which two, like *Sampſons* Foxes, tied by
the tailes, agreed in nothing but their
End, which was to poiſon his *Religion*,
and *Succession*. Why didⁱ *Gowries* Man,
prepar'd to *Kill* him, tremble in his præ-
ſence, and begin to adore him? Laſtly,
(for no *preſervation* can be nam'd after
this) when the *Match*, and the *Powder*,
not farre from this place, was ſo fitted,
and præpared, why was this *King* ſo
diuinely

diuinely præserued? Surely for no other *End* then this, that as ^a *Perez* was wont to call himselfe *Monstrum Fortunæ*, the Monster of Fortune: So this *Prince* might appeare in the world, *Monstrum Providentiæ*, a Monster, as it were, of the Diuine *Providence*; (taking the word, as *Scaliger* applies it to ^b *Virgil*, *Monstrum sine Labe*, a Monster for want of *Imperfections*,) & be esteem'd for his *Quæ fecerit*, what he should do, in time to come, a *Miracle of Kings*, & a *King of Miracles*. I leaue the multitude of his *Actions* to fill v^p *Chronicles*, and will instance only in those foure *Virtues*, which it seemes doe now adorne his *Hearse*, and speake the same vnto your *Eyes*, which I would doe vnto your *Eares*; that is, the *Actions* of his *Religion*, his *Iustice*, his *Warre*, and his *Peace*, foure principall Members in this Statue of *Salomon*.

First for the *Actions of Religion*, it is true what *S^t. Gregory* saith, that God doth therefore giue *Princes* their *Kingdomes*

^a Cambd. Eliz. part. 2. pag. 566. M. S.

^b In Poetice.

^c Vt terrestre regnum cælesti regno famuletur. Greg. ep. 62. ad Mauritium.

to fit, & præpare men for his *Kingdome*. Hence our *Churches* come to be builded, and our *Church-men* to be thus maintained. Now as *Salomon* of all the *Kings of Israel*: So our Late Soueraigne of all *Christian Kings*, that euer I read of, was the most constant ^a *Patron*, of *Churches*, and *Church-men*. This *Patronage* extended to three seuerall Braunches, to the *Doctrine*, to the *Discipline*, and to the *Maintenance* of Gods Church. And of his Affection to these three he gaue a full demonstration, by that hee had spent *three Moneths in this Kingdome*. To the *Doctrine*, by the ^b *Translation* of the *Bible*, against the *Papists*. To the *Discipline*, by the Conference at ^c *Hampton Court*, against the *Nouellists*. And to the *Maintenance*, by remitting all *Sede-vacantes*, and disabling ^d *Church-men* to make *Leases* to the *Crowne*, against the *Courtiers*, and *Statists* of those worser times. Yee House of *Leui* praise yee the Lord, *quoniam misericordia eius in Seculum*, For this Mercie of his endureth for euer.

^a *Ingens Cæsar, & per gloria tua, siue fecerint istud postea principes, siue non fecerint.* Plin. in Paneg.

^b Now read in our Churches.

^c Printed by command 14. *January* 1603. and now reprinted by King *James* his new command, immediatly before his death. 1625.

^d The Act. of *Parliam.* 1. Jac.

ever. But this ^a beginning amongst vs was but a *Mappe* of his whole Life, as many times a little Ring, receiue the image of a great *Coloffus*; Because, from the very cradle wherein hee was crown'd, all his life was a continued *Patronage* of the *Doctrine*, the *Discipline*, and the *Maintenance* of the Church.

FOR the first, I will speake it boldly, *Et dicam vniuersa audiente Græcia*, in the præsence here of *God*, and *Men*, that I beleeue in my soule, and conscience, there neuer liued a more constant, resolute, & settled *Protestant* in point of *Doctrine*, then our late Soueraigne. The first Letter that euer he wrote to *Queene Elizabeth* of famous memory, vpon his taking of the *Gouernment* to his owne managing, was for *Assistance* against those Men, ^b *Qui vera Religioni aduersabantur*, that were *Opposers* of this *true Religion*; And this was in the yeare 1578. In the same blessed minde he still remained, when he made that profession to *Secretary* ^c *Walsingham*; *Se Religionem*

G

receptam

^a *Ipsa initia plantare debent Principis nominis famam.* Theodoricus.

^b *Per Dunfermlinum.* Cambd. Eliz. pag. 277.

^c *Edinburgi.* Cambd. Eliz. pag. 341.

^a Cumque rex sub-
inde Elizabetham
de uxore deligenda
consulisset, &c.
Cambd. Eliz.
part. 2. pag. 513.
M. S.

^b Iamdudum per-
cupierat Margari-
tam sororem regis
Nauarri regi Sco-
torum in Matri-
monio collocare.
Cambd. Eliz. part.
2 p. 513. M. S.

^c Quam præ ceteris
commendauit.
idem. ibid.

^d Cambd. Eliz.
part. 2. pag. 561.
M. S.

^e Sed his alijs li-
bris longè præcel-
luit liber Basilicon
Doron, &c. Incre-
dibile est, quot ho-
minum animos &
studia inde sibi con-
ciliarit, &c. Id. in
Eliz part. 2. pag.
659. M. S.

^f Id. ibid. pag. 562.
M. S.

^g Spcedes Chro.
p. 911.

^h Liure septiesme
131. Au Roy. &
Liure 8 16. A
Monsieur de Ville-
roy. & Liure 7.
132. A. Mons. de
Villeroy.

receptam constantissimè defensurum, that
he would most constantly defend his
receiued Religion, in the yeare 1583. In
the same Resolution he continued, when
hee put it to ^a Queene Elizabeth to
choose him a Lady, who recommended
vnto him at the first ^b Madam Marga-
rite, Aunt to our now Queene (whom
God long blesse, and præserue) and af-
terward our late Queene ^c Anne, a most
blessed Ladie in many respects, and yet
in none more then this, that she was the
Mother of our præsent Soueraigne. In
the same Faith he persuer'd, when hee
made his Rodes (as they call it) to the
^d North of Scotland against the Papists,
in the yeare 1594. or thereabouts. Hee
grew in this Faith from strength to
strength, when he wrote his ^e Basilicon
Doron, which made the Romanists de-
spaire of him, and set on ^f Parsons to
forge Titles, & Clemens Octauus to publish
Bulls, and the whole Conclauē to oppose
his Succession, as we may now reade at
large in the Letters of ^h Cardinall D'Ossat.

And

And vpon his happie Arriual to this Crowne, a *Protestant* he was deem'd by ^a *Watson* the *Prologue*, and, that without any hope of Change, by *Faux* the *Epilogue* of the *Powder Treason*. To conclude, he defended this *Doctrine* of ours with his *penne*, his *Lanes*, and his *Sword*, the whole *Progress* of his *Life*; and seal'd it with the blessed *Sacrament* at the time of his *Death*.

Sic illi visum est viuere, sicque mori.

I am bound in conscience out of Zeale to the *Truth*, & my dutie to my dead *Master*, to adde a word more, ere I close this *Point*. This blessed *King*, in all the time I seru'd him, did neuer out of deepe, and iust reason of *State*, and the bitter necessities of *Christendome* in these latter times, giue way to any the least *Connuence* in the world, towards the person of a *Papist* (for to his *Doctrine* he neuer did, he neuer would doe, nor was there any

^b *Consideration* vnder heauen could haue forc't him thereunto) but hee strictly guided himselfe in the same, by some

^a *Speedes* Chio.
p. 912.

^b For they themselves will needs (as the *Romans* said of the *Jews*) make themselves as remote from vs, as the *Indians*.
οἱς μήτε κοινὴ
οὐδὲ ἀνδραγαθίας
τελέμεθα, μήτε
συνδουλεύουσι, μήτε ἐν-
χαι, μήτε θυοῖται.
Philostrat. in vita
Apollon. l. 5. c. 10.

notable *President* of *Queene Elizabeth*, (the *Load-starre* of all his greatest *Actions*) and that in the very point; and bath'd his fauours with showers of *Teares* (I speake it in the praesence of *Almighty God*) least these *Intendments* of his for the *apparant* good of the *State*, might scandalize for all that, (in an oblique line) his *weake*, but well meaning *Subiects* in their *Religion*, and *Doctrines*. And so much for the first point.

FOR the second, as hee patronized the *Doctrines*, so did he also the *Discipline* of this Church, I mean the *Hierarchie* of the *Bishops*, and the use of *Chapters*, and *Cathedrall Churches*, as a *Gouernment* receiued from *Christ*, and his *Apostles*, and the ^a only *Discipline* that euer agreed with the *Fundamentall Lawes* of any *Christian Monarchie*. For as that *Musitian* in ^b *Philostratus* sent his young *Scholler* to a sort of *Bunglers*, where he might learne, *μη αωλειν*, how hee should

^a Βασιλικὸν Δῶρον. lib. 2. and his word was, No Bishop, no King. Confer. at Hampt. Court. pag. 36.

^b Αὐλητὴς ἢ πᾶν ἄνθρωπος, τὸν ἐ-
σώτη μαθητὰς
παρὰ τοῦ φαυλο-
τέρου ἢ αὐλη.
ἢ ἐπιμπε, μα-
θητῶν πῶς
δοῦναι αὐλεῖν.
Philostat. in vita
Apol. l. 5. c. 11.

should not *pipe*: so God Almighty was pleas'd, that this great^a King should be bred for a while in that new *Discipline*, that hee might learne in times to come how hee should not *Discipline* the Church of Christ. In that *Discipline* he learn't this *Doctrine*, that^b one King may be lawfully surpris'd by three Earles, 1583. That^c Ministers are not subiect to either King, or Councill, 1584. That they may^d deny the King to pray for his Mother, 1586. That they may call Synods without the King, and make Lawes too; ^e *Ne quid Respublica detrimenti capiat*, That there be nothing done to the preiudice of the State. 1593. For these Aberrations therefore in the *Discipline* of that Church (though hee honoured those *Preachers* to his dying day for the truth of their *Doctrine* in all other points) hee first brought in^f the *Jurisdiction*; Secondly, the *Name*; Thirdly, the *Cathedrals*; and lastly, the *Consistories*, and *Reuenews* of my Lords their *Bishops*: such a Patron hee was of this most reuerend, most auncient, and

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^a However heliued amongst *Puritanes*, and was kept as a Warc vnder them, ye since he was ten yeares old, hee euer despised their opinions. Confer. at Hampt. Court. pag. 20.

^b Cambd. Eliz. pag. 342.

^c Cambd. Eliz. pag. 361.

^d Cambd. Eliz. pag. 444.

^e Cambd. Eliz. part. 2. pag. 550. *Nec expectata Regis auctoritate, Barones, & Burgenses conuocauerunt (Ministri) ad consultandum ne quid detrimenti religio, aut respublica caperet.* M. S.

^f Cambd. Eliz. pag. 362.

most *Apostolicall Discipline.*

L Astly, he was as great a Patron of the *Maintenance* of the Church, as euer I read of in any *Historie*. For beside his refusal of *Sede-vacantes*, & that *Law* he enacted at his first entrance for the preservation of the *Reuenuw* of our Churches in *England*, he might wel say with *David* for his other Kingdomes; *Zelus Domus tue deuorauit me*, that the Endowing of *Bishopricques*, the Erecting of *Colledges*, the buying out of *Impropriations*, the Assigning of *Glebes*, the *Repairing* of the old, and the *Founding* of new Churches hath consumed, and taken vp all, or the farre greater part of his *Reuenews* in *Scotland*, and *Ireland*. I haue no time to dwell vpon particulars, but in the generall, thinke you of whom you please, of *Constantine* of *Rome*, of *Charlemaine* of *France*, of *Alphonso* of *Spaine*, or to come home to our owne *Island*, a Soile more fertill in prodigious *Founders*, of *Lucius*, of *Offa*, of *Alfred*, of *Saint Edward*, of any King before, or since
the

Pfal. 68. 10.

the *Conquest*, and I will say of my deare Master (as he said of *Traian*) *Tu melior peiori suo*, though the times be farre worse, yet was he farre the greater *Founder*. And therefore to conclude this point, imagine *Discipline* to be the *Wals*, *Maintenance* the *roofe*, and *cover*, true *Doctrine* the *sweet perfume*, and *Incense* of the Temple, and you haue *Salomons* first Act before your eyes, the Building of Gods Houle, and his *Quid fecerit*, what he did by Actions of *Religion*.

FOR the Actions of *Iustice* in this King, they were so ordinary, that being repeated they would proue as tedious for the present, as in the Ages to come they will be admired. For, as *Synesius* saith of that glorious Planet, that it is nothing for the *Sunne* to shine εν ὁσίᾳ τὸ λαμπρὸν ἔχοντι, it being of his Effence to glister, and shine: so were it *frigidissima laudatio*, very poore Oratory, to commend our King for being *iust*, there hauing beene made
ouer

α ἔτι γὰρ πρὸς αὐτῷ καταλάμπειν ἐν ὁσίᾳ τὸ λαμπρὸν ἔχοντι.
Synesius de regno.

ouer all *Europe*, for the space of forty yeeres, no more quæstion of his being *Iust*, then of his being *King*. If wee looke at *home* in his owne *Dominions*, neuer were the *Benches* so grauely furnished, neuer the *Courts* so willingly frequented, neuer poore, and rich so *equally* righted, neuer the *Ballance* so euenly poized, as in the Raigne of our late *Soueraigne*. I could tell you that, that will neuer be beleeu'd in future times, of a *Lord* that died for a vile *Varlet*, of a *Peere* condemned for a *sorry Gentleman*, nay of a deare *Sonne* vnrelieued for a time against a *Sträger*, for fear of swaruing the bredth of a *baire* fró the *line* of *Iustice*. If we look abroad into forraign *Countries*, *Quæ tam seposita est, quæ gens tam barbara?*

Those very *Princes*, that haue done him none, haue beene forc't to confesse his *Vprightnesse*, and *Iustice*. I leaue you therefore to resoluë with your selues, of the which of these *Salomons*, that Text is most true; *The Wisedome of God was in Him, ad faciendum*

dum iudicium, to doe Justice. 1 Kings 3. last verse. And so much of the Actions of his JUSTICE.

THe third sort of *Actions*, which are those of *Warre*, are also observable in the peaceable Raigne of our late *Salomon*. For although it be a fashion amongst men, *ut nolint eundem pluribus rebus excellere* (^a as the *O-rator* speaks) that they cannot endure that *one Man* should bee thought eminent in *many qualities*, as the same *Prince* in the managing of *Peace*, and *Warre*: yet surely nothing, but the *malice* of some people, that would place their *wheelles* in *Princes*, as ^b *Dadalus* did in his Statues, to pull them to combustions at their owne pleasure, can denie this *Laurell* to our late *Soueraigne*. For besides that occasioned in *Scotland*, to make his roades into the *North*, after the defeat of the *Earle of Arguile*, hee shewed himselfe in person, not onely *ἑτοιμον*, resolute enough, but, if wee may

^a Cicero in Bruto.

^b Aristot. Politic. l. I. c. I.

H

belecue

^a *Rex ipse difficilissimi itineris molestis conflitavit, per asperissimos montes in illa parte contendit, &c. Camb. Eliz. part. 2. pag. 561. M. S.*

^b *Lucan.*

^c *Vitam meis temporibus eveniat, ut militum stipendia in Doctores Artium absumantur. Leo Græcicus.*

^d *Histor. l. 4. initio libri.*

Ad laudem regnantis trahitur, si ab omnibus pax ametur. Cassiodorus epist. l. I. ep. 23.

A deepe point of policie. Divadau xoldeser. Arist. polit. l. 8.

c. 14.

believe the ^a *Story* (as *Plutarque* said of *Tiberius Gracchus*) ἰταμόν, somewhat too forward in those vnapproachable places, scattering his *Enemies* as much with his *example*, as he did with his *forces*;

— ^b *dum magnos tolerare labores*

Ipsa Ducis virtus cogit —

I say, beside these *Adventures* of his *person*, he was vnto his *people*, to the *houre* of his *death*, another *Cherubin* with a flaming sword, to keepe out *Enemies* from this *Paradise* of ours; wherein, above all neighbouring Nations, grew in abundance those *Apples of peace*, which now I am to gather in the last place.

ANd surely *Actions* of *Peace* (what euer debauched people say to the ^c *contrarie*) set out a *Prince* in more orient colours then those of *War*, and great combustions. *In turbas, & discordias pessimo cuique plurima vis: Pax, & quies bonis Artibus indigent*, saith ^d *Tacitus*; any *Phaethon* will serue to fire the world, but none beside the *God of Wisedome*

can keepe it in order. And this is most eident in the Booke of God. When *Israel* is to be chastized with *Warre*, and *Desolation*; any furious *Iehu* will serue the turne; But for the managing of a long, and a continued *Peace*, no lesse is required then the *Wisedome of Salomon*. Now of these *Actions* of King *James* his *Peace*, though many others haue made whole *Bookes*, yet will I make but a short *Index*. You may finde in those *volumes*, the *Scottish Feudes* quite abolished, the *Schools* of the *Prophets* newly adorn'd, all kind of *learning* highly improued, *manufactures* at home daily inuented, *Trading* abroad exceedingly multiplied, the *Borders of Scotland* peaceably gouerned, the *North of Ireland* religiously planted, the *Navy Royall* magnificētly furnished, *Virginia*, *New-found-land*, & *New-England* peopled, the *East India* well traded, *Persia*, *China*, and the *Mogor* visited, lastly, all the ports of *Europe*, *Afrique*, *Asia*, and *America* to our red *Crosses* freed, and opened. And they are all the *Actions*, and

true-borne Children of King *IAMES* his Peace. And so much, or rather (for want of time) so little of the *Quæ fecerit*, and what he did; *The rest of the words of Salomon, and all that he did.*

THe third member of this *Statue*, is his *Wisdom*, fitly resembled to that of *Salomons*. For if the *patterne* seeme to excell in the *Intellectuals*, I am sure the *Statue* exceeds in the *Morals*. If we take this *Wisdom* for an *Vniuersalitie*, clasping in her *Armes* all *Arts*, and *Sciences*; shee cannot be denied in that large sense, to haue *built her a house* in that sacred bosome. For, as ²*Budæus* being ask't by *Francis* the first, if all the *Bookes* in the world were to bee burn't, what one hee would saue, to preserve *Learning*, made answer, that he would saue the *Workes* of *Plutarque*, because they had impressions of all the *Sciences*: so say I, and appeale herein to any *Scholler* in the world, that if all *Bookes* were to be burnt, and *Plutarque* also to beare them

² *In vita* Budæi.
Idem narratur de
Theodoro Gaza.
Sphynx. Philos.
cap. 25.

them company : yet could a man finde some footing, and impressions of all *Arts, and Sciences*, of all kindes of ^a *Divinitie, Moralitye, and Humanitye* whatsoever, within the Workes of our late *Souveraigne*. But if we take *Wisdom* for that deepe reach required in a King, for the governing of his people, which ^b *Synesius* calls *Πασῶν Βασιλικῶν Βασιλικώτερον*, the *Prince* of all the *Princely Vertues*; I will without blushing say of Him, as *Pliny* did of another, and appeale herein to my Noble *Lords* of his *Privie Counsell*, *Nil est omnium quod discere velis, quod ille docere non potuit*, there was nothing in that kinde that a man would learne, but was fully taught by our *Great Master*. But (alas) I dare not launch into this vast deepe, whereof the best *Head* (wherecuer it is) in all *Europe* cannot sound the bottome: ^c *Nisi sapiens non potest perspicere sapientem*: My *wisdom*, I confesse, is farre too short to giue you any character of his infinite *Wisdom*. Some streames hereof, you may hereafter find

^a As *Ecclesiasticus* is called *πρω-αρετων*. Suidas in *Philolog.* & *E-piph. lib. de mensuris*.

^b *Κόσμος ἢ βασιλέων ἀρετῶν πᾶσαι, φρόνησις ἢ εἰπέων βασιλικώτερον*. Synes. *de regno*.

^c *Plin. Secundus l. i. epist. 10.*

in the *Histories* of this *Age*, the fourth *Member* of this *Statue*, the *Booke* of the *Acts* of *Salomon*. And the rest of the words of *Salomon*, and all that hee did, and his *Wisdome*, are they not written in the *Booke* of the *Acts* of *Salomon*?

FOR although *King James* had no such *Officers* as ^a *Salomon* had, à *Commentarijs*, appointed of purpose to write his *Actions*; yet ^b *Dulce est oculis videre Solem*, the *Sunne* cannot shine in such a brightnesse, but *Eyes* must behold it, nor set in so lasting a *night*, but the world will misse it. *Private Histories* (as ^c *Adrian* said of *Apers* accusations) are but *Incke*, and *Paper*, and may bee holpe in part with the golden *pin-dust*; whereas ^d *Suffragia mundi Nullus emit*, None can be honoured of all *Europe*, but he that held the *Ballance* of all *Europe*; and, for the space of *twentie* yeares at the least, preserved the *peace* of all *Europe*. *Christendome* therefore will be the *Booke*, *Swords*, I feare, will proue the *Pennes*, and the *Remembrance* of the
times

^a *Sanctius in 1. Reg. proleg. 1.*

^b *Ecclesiastes 11. 7.*

^c *Spartianus in Adriano.*

^d *Sidonius. Melius omnibus quam singulis creditur. singuli enim decipere, & decipi possunt: nemo omnes, neminem omnes fefellerunt. Plin. Secund. in Panegy.*

times past, the Acts, and Monuments of our blessed *Salomon*. And if multitude of *Writers* could multiply his *Fame*, the *Israelite* with his fifteene Pen-men (for so ^a *Pineda* makes his Boast) must giue place herein to our *British* *Salomon*. What *Writer* hath cause to speake of a *King*, but præsently he falles vpon this *King of Writers*? So that as ^b *Constantine* the Great did nick-name *Traian*, *Herbam Parietariam*, a Wall-flower, because his name was engrauen on euery wall: so shall æmulous *Posteritie* terme *King James* *Herbam chartaceam*, a Paper-flower, when they reade his glory in all *Writers*. And as one saith of *Plinius*, and *Tacitus*, that they were ^c *Literarum nomina, non Hominum*: So will it be a quæstion amongst *Critiques* in the Ages to come, whether this name of *James* doth more properly note an eminent *King*, or an eminent *Scholler*. And in that case, if vngratefull posteritie should forget the *King*, (as beleue me it will not; for like one of ^d *Demetrius* his Sta-

tues,

^a De reb. Salom.
lib. 1. cap. 1.

^b Apud Euseb.

^c Nosti me? &
quidem ex studijs.
Ad hoc illum. Ta-
citus es, an Plini-
us? Expressere non
possum quam sit in-
cundum mihi, quod
nomina nostra qua-
si literarum pro-
pria, non hominum,
literis redduntur.
Plinius Secund.

lib. 9. ep. 23.

^d ἡ δὲ ἐξ ἑαυτοῦ ἰδὲ
ἔστι μὲν. Plu-
tarch. reip. ge-
rend. præcept.

Solum te commen-
dat, augetque tem-
poris spatium. Plin.
in Paneg.

tues, this *King* will shew better and better with time) yet if it should, Learning will neuer forget the *Scholler*. In the world before the *Flood*, though wee reade not of one *King*,^a the *Inventers of the Arts* are still remembered. His *History* therefore, like^b *Herodotus* his *History*, shall be written, and set out by all the *Muses*; they all shall ioyne in the writing of his *Booke*, the *Booke of the Acts of our British Salomon*.

^a Genes. 5.

^b Whereof the severall bookes are assigned to severall *Muses*.
Quem referent muse, viuet. Tibul. li. 1. eleg. 4.
νέκταρ χυτὸν, μοιστῶν ἄσιν.
Pynd. Olymp. Hymn. 7.

^c See the *Proclamations* for buildings.

πόλιν λαμπρύνει κατασκευῆ μεγάλῃσπρατῆς ὀνομασθησῶτων.

Philostratus de vitis Sophist. li. 1.

^d Which a man might call, as the *Ægyptians* doe *Nilus*, *Κοινὸν κερῆες.* *Philost. de vit. Apol. l. 5. c. 10.*

^e *De bello Iudaic. l. 6. c. 6.*

IN the fifth place, suruey we his *Capital City*; which^c enlarged, and repaired in each corner thereof, *1 King. 9. 15.* and refreshed within with a^d *running water* (which^e *Iosephus* attributes to the *Sonne of David*) doth no more resemble that other, then this *Hierusalem*, where our *Salomon* raigned. Hee raigned in *Hierusalem*. Here for the space of two and twentie yeeres the *Sacrifices* were daily offered, here *Gods word* was learnedly expounded, here the *Lawes* were iustly administred, here all the *Tribes*

Tribes were vsually assembled, here the three *Kingdomes* were conuened, here *Edenburgh* and *Diuelin* were vnited, like *Iebus*, and *Salem*, in one *Hierusalem*. Whilst *Salomon* raigned in this *Hierusalem*. And so much of this fifth Circumstance.

IN the sixt place, suruay wee the bounds of his *Empire*, and King *James* will proue a King *Salomon* in this, as being the first *King* (for ought we know) that raigned here ouer all this *Island*, *Ouer all Israel*. Hec raigned in *Hierusalem* ouer all *Israel*. There is a *brute* of one *Brutus* long before, but it is no more then a meere *brute*. King *James* is the first *King* of the *Island*, that wee reade of in good *Histories*. And surely *Non sine numine Diuûm*, this came not to passe otherwise, then by Gods direction, from time to time. When the two *Daughters* were so matched, why should *Scotland* be preferred? when a^b new race had gotten the *Crowne*, why
I should

^a Cambel. in sua Brit. pag. 5.

^b The name of the *Tuddors*.

Noted by the
late Earle of
Northampton, in
his speech for
the Recognition,
made in Parlia-
ment. 3. Jac. 26.
Maij. M. S.

Should the name within the space of
115. yeares be thus extinguished? When
many *pretenses* were made to this
Land, why should they all in this one
King be concentred and united? that
of the *Britaines* by *Cadwallo*, that of the
Scots by *Fargus*, that of the *Picts* by the
Daughter of *Hungus*, that of the *Saxons*
by the Sister of *Edgar*, that of the *Danes*
by the Daughter of King *Christian*, and
that of the *Normans* by the Daughter
of *Henry the seventh*, from all the which
he was a *Lineall Descendant*. Surely to
let vs know, that this was the *Salomon*,
whom God from the beginning had
anoointed *King over all Israel*, and accor-
dingly he raigne*d in Hierusalem over all*
Israel. And so much of the sixth Circum-
stance.

THe seventh Circumstance is the
time of his Raigne, the which,
though it falls short in a *divided*,
yet in a *compounded sense* exceeds the
patterne. For though he raigne*d not so*
long,

long ouer all Israel, yet in all hee raigned
 58. yeares. A long, and a blessed raigne,
 wherein he was married to one *Queene*,
 and (as he said of *Tigranes*) to a thou-
 sand *Vertues*. A Raigne like that $\Sigma\epsilon\iota\eta\eta\ \chi\epsilon\upsilon\text{-}$
 $\rho\epsilon\iota\eta$, or golden chaine in *Homer*, whereof
 $\Pi\acute{\alpha}\nu\lambda\epsilon\varsigma\ \tau\epsilon\ \delta\epsilon\omicron\iota$, $\pi\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\epsilon\ \delta\epsilon\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\alpha$, the seuerall links
 were seuerall blessings, with the one
 end fastened to his *Cradle*; and the other
 dropping into his *Grave*. And surely
 God Almighty, to let vs know that it is
^a by him that Kings doe raigne, makes
 them sometimes to gouerne *States* (and
 that very well) before they be able to
 gouerne themselves. ^b *Varanes* his childe
 was crowned King, while he was yet in
 his *Mother's* womb. ^c *Fradericke* the se-
 cond, when he was but three yeares old.
^d *Ioas*, when hee was but seuen. *Salo-*
mon, (as some ^e *Rabbins* thinke) when
 hee was but ten. ^f *Charles* the ninth,
 when hee was but eleuen. ^g *St. Lewis*,
 when he was but twelue. And our late
Soueraigne aged but le more then *seua-*
nty moneths. Thus God stockes these

Iliad. 1.
^a *Prou.* 8. 17.
^b *Agathias libr.* 4. applicata ad veterum corona.
^c King of Sicilie. *Polychron.*
^d 4 *Reg.* 11. 12.
^e Rabbi David Kimchi apud Lyram. Salomonem dccennem regni initio suscepisse filium Rhehobeam. Although all the Grecke and Latine Fathers, make him to be 12. yeares old. & these opinions do make his raigne with his Fathers to haue beene for many yeares. Whereas the late writers, Protestants & Romanists, making that raigne to be but for two yeares, doe make *Salomon* of the age of 18 or 19. yeares, when hee began his raigne.
^f Inuentor of France. in *Car.* 9.
^g Ludouico susceptus est Ludouicus filius, annos duodecim natus. *Gaguinus.* *Compendij* *supra* *lib.* 7.
^h *Regnum* *cessit* *fi-*
lido *vix* *duodecim*
menses *nato.*
Camb. Eli. p. 119.

Kings with Daies, whom he meanes to stocke with Goodnesse. Thus our Deare Master, who raigned better, raigned also longer then King Salomon, whole Raigne in Hierusalem ouer all Israel, was no more then fortie yeares: And so much of the seuenth Circumstance.

AND hitherto, Most High and Mightie, most Honourable, Worshipfull, and welbeloued, you may imagine I haue offered vnto your thoughts, not only a *Statue* of King *Salomon*, but withall, as the *Gracians* did in their *Hercules*, and *Xenophon* in his *Cyrus*, an *Idea*, or Repraesentation of all the perfections requir'd in a *King*. But, out alas! those *Statues* of theirs are (as the *Soule* that frames them) *lasting*, and *immortall*, but this of ours made of *Flesh* and *Bloud*, *Maiore nostrum damno, quam suo* (as ^a hec said of *Titus*) to our losse, but his great Aduantage, is proued *Mortall*. I, but did you not know before (will some men say) that the *King* was

^a Sueton. in Tiro.
Non memini me legisse mala morte mortuum, qui libenter opera pietatis exersuit. Hieron. disc. 13.

was mortall? I did indeed; And I know withall, the state of Christendome doth require, that such a King, as this, of these Sayings, and Doings, and Wisedome, and Experience of 8. yeeres, should haue beene immortall,

*Verum oneranda mihi non sunt,
memoranda recepi.*

Fata —

Our onely comfort is this, that as he liued like a King, so he died like a Saint. He did rather (as Saint Hierome said of Nepotian) *migrare, quam mori*; or (as Saint Bernard writes of Habertus) *abire, quam obire*, hee did not dye, but fall a sleepe, *Dormiuitque Salomon*, And Salomon^b slept. Neuer haue you read of any King, that left this world more resolved, more prepared, as though hee had vnbract himselfe for his Bed, rather then for his Graue. And it was his fashion so to doe, when hee was summoned by any sicknesse. God dealt with this Blessed Prince, as he did with^c Ezechia, for

^a Aufon. Burdig. profess. cap. 19.

^b *Felix somnus cum
reque, requies cum
voluptate, voluptas
cum aternitate.*
Petrus Damia-
nus de Stephano.
*Dulcis simul &
beatus somnus.*
Gregor. Nyssen.
de eod.

^c 4 Reg. 20. 6.

^a Taken by Mr. Deane of Winchester, and shewed, and approved by the King in his life time. M. S.

certaine yeeres before his *Death*, hee was call'd vpon by his sicknesse at *Royston* to set his *House in Order*. Lord, what a ^a *Speech* hee then made to his Sonne our praesent *Soueraigne*? *O Verba Bracteata*. Not a syllable in all the same, but deserues to be written in letters of Gold. How powerfully did hee charge him with the care of *Religion* and *Justice*, the two Pillars (as hee tearm'd them) of his future throne? How did he recommend vnto his loue, the *Nobilitie*, the *Clergie*, and the *Communitie* in the generall? How did he thrust, as it were into his inward bosome, his *Bishops*, his *Judges*, his neere *Seruants*; and that *Disciple* of his whom he so loued in particular? And concluded with that heavenly *Advice*, to his Sonne, concerning that great *Act* of his future *marriage*. To marrie like himselfe, and marrie where hee would. But if hee did marrie the *Daughter* of that *King*, hee should marrie her *Person*, but hee should not marrie her *Religion*. But now at this sicknesse

Κατὰ εἰαυτόν ἐ-
λάτ. Solon apud
Plutarch.

sicknesse more shaken with the fits of a raging Feuer; the neerer Death drew vnto him, the more he prepar'd himselfe for it. All his *Latter dayes* hee spent in prayer; sending his thoughts before into *Heauen*, to bee the *Harbingers* of his happy *Soule*. Some foure dayes before his end, he desired to receiue the *Blessed Sacrament*, *Viaticum Aeternitatis*, as it is term'd in the *Ancient Councils*, a blessed *Bait*, that the *deuout soule* vseth for the most part to take in *this life*, when it is ready to trauaile for the *other life*. Being demanded, if hee was prepared in point of *Faith*, and *Charitie* for so great a *Deuotion*; He said hee was, and gaue humble thanks to God for the same. Being desir'd to declare his *Faith*, and what he thought of those *Bookes* he had written in that kinde, Hee repeated the *Articles* of the *Creede* one by one, and said hee beleued them all, as they were receiued and expounded by that part of the *Catholique Church* which was established here in *England*. And said with

a kinde of sprightfulnesse, and viuacitie, that what euer bee had written of this Faith in his life, he was now ready to seale with his Death. Being questioned in point of Charitie; He answered presently, that hee forgauē all Men that offended him, and desir'd to be forgiuen by all Christians, whom hee in any wise had offended. Being told, that Men in Holy Orders in the Church of England doe challenge a power, as inhærent in their Function, not in their Person, to pronounce and declare Remission of sins, to such as being penitent doe call for the same; And that they haue a forme of Absolution for that very purpose, set down in the Booke of Common Prayers; He answered suddenly; I haue euer beleeu'd, there was that power in you, that be in Orders in the Church of England. And that, amongst others, was vnto me an euident demonstration, that the Church of England is without all question the Church of Christ. And therefore I a miserable sinner doe humbly desire Almighty God to absolue

^a So his Maiestie had done before, saying, that it was Apostolicall, and a very good ordinance, in that it was giuen in the name of Christ, to one that desired it, and vpon the clearing of his conscience. Confer. at Hampt. Court. pag. 13. also it is retained in the confessions of Augusta, Bohem, and Saxon.

Absolve me of my finnes, and you, that are his seruant in that high place, to affoord me this beauenly comfort. And after the Absolution read, and pronounced, hee receiued the Sacrament with that Zeale, and Deuotion, as if hee had not beene a fraile Man, but a Cherubin cloathed with flesh, and blood. And some houre after, he said vnto his Sonne, the Duke, and others that stood about him, that they could not imagine what ease, and comfort he found in himselfe, sithence his receiuing of the blessed Sacrament. O, saith hee, that all my Lords would doe but thus, when they are visited with the like sicknesse. Themselues would bee more comforted in their Soules, and the world lesse troubled with questioning their Religion. From this time, to the houre of his death, the sicknesse preuailed more and more vpon his Body, and his Sense, and Memory not much impaired, Prayers were multiplied accordingly from houre to houre, for the comfort of his Soule. And as ^a Nazianzen saith of Saint Basil, that

In eius vita.

he did desire to dye μετὰ πίστεως καὶ εὐσεβείας, with some sentence of pietie in his mouth: so there were selected in English, and Latine, some short sentences of Devotion to raise, and lift vp his Soule into Heauen, before it came thither. With this he was so rauished, and Comforted, that as all his Seruants (neuer sufficiently commended for Diligence, and Devotion) can beare witnesse, when he groaned now vnder the pangs of Death, yet was hee euer still, and as quiet, as a Lambe, when these Eiaculations were infused into Him. To one of them he said, *Me cum eris in Paradiso*, hee replied presently, *Vox Christi*, that it was the voice, and promise of Christ. And another, *Domine Iesu*, *Dei cetero*, hee saide, or thrice repeated. And a while after, his hastning on forward towards his End, hastned vs also to that Prayer usually said at the houre of Death, the which was no sooner ended with that sentence, *In manus tuas Domine Commendo spiritum meum*, but his Lords, and Seruants

^a Est magnificum, quod te ab omni cognatione vitiorum reprimis, ac reuocas; sed magnificentius, quod tuos.

Quanto enim magis arduum est, alios prestare quam se; tanto laudabilius, quod cum ipse sis optimus, omnes circa te similes tui effecisti. Plin. sec. de Traiano in Paneg.

^b μόνον ἑαυτὸν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐφύλαττε καθαρός. Plutarch. de Catone Maiore.

wants kneeling on the one side, his Arch-
bishop, Bishops, and other of his Chap-
laines on the other side of his Bed, with-
out any pangs, or Convulsion at all, Dor-
munt Salomon. Salomon slept. And so
much of this eight, a most bitter Cir-
cumstance.

AND yet this Bitternesse is like
the bitternesse of Myrre, very
unpleasing unto vs; but very
preservative unto him. *Mors immor-
talitatis.* He had no way, but by this Mor-
talitie, to cloath himselfe with Immorta-
litie. Were it not for this Sleeping, how
had hee obtain'd this eternall *Dea-
ming*? which his Soule sever'd from the
dragges of the Bodie, doth now enjoy in
the presence of God, environ'd no more
with Lords, and Knights, but with
troupes of Angels, and the Soules of the
Blessed, call'd in this Text, his Fore-run-
ners, or Fathers. And Salomon slept with
his Fathers. And therefore as *Papinius
Statius* reports of the old Arcadians, that

^a Cui peregrinatio
dulcis est, non amat
patriam. August.
in Psal. 93.

Cur hanc vitam
adeo amamus, ubi
quanto diutius quis
fuerit, tanto maio-
ri operatur Sarci-
na peccatorum?

Ambros. de bono
mortis. cap. 2.

Nam cur mortem
adeo detrectamus?

Ne videamus ni-
mirum descripta
in Apocalypsis Jo-
annis. Cypr. lib.
de mortal. Sect.
17.

^b Si tamen fas est
aut flere, aut omni-
no mortem vocare,
quod tanti viri mor-
talitas magis finita,
quam vita est. De
Verginio. Rufo.

Plin. sec. l. 2. ep. 1.

^c Dormiunt mortui,
non solum propter
facilitatem resusci-
tandi, sed etiam
propter iucunda
insomnia, quae ani-
mae à corporibus
separate habent,
dum Deum facie
ad faciem, &c.

Salmer. tom. 6.
tract. 44.

^d Thebaid. 4.

mourning all night for the setting of the Sunne, they were comforted notwithstanding at the *breake of day*, when they saw him in his *Spheare* againe. And as the people enraged at the death of *Romulus*, were quieted by and by with ^a *Proculus* his newes, that he saw him in glory riding up to *Heauen*: Much more must we *Christians* remain full of hope at the death of a ^b *Saint*, that is gone to his *Fathers*; *Dormiuitq̄, Salomon cum Patribus suis, And Salomon slept with his Fathers.* And no more of this ninth *Circumstance.*

AND I must say lesse of the *Last* of all, praented therein by the *Magnificence* of his *Maiestie*: Because, for any thing wee reade in the *Scriptures*, the *Funeralls* of the first, came nothing neare the *Stately Funerals* of our second *Salomon*. Shall I say therefore of my present *Master*, that he is a great, and a hopefull *King*? All that is true; but I leaue it to another, that hath

time

Plin. secund. de
viris illustribus. c. 2.

^b So the *Aegyptians* mourn'd for
Iacob 70. daies;
Ioseph but 7.
daies. Gen. 50.
3. & 10.

So of the blef-
sed *Virgin* at the
death of *Christus*
Stantem lego, flentem non lego. Am-
bros. in *Luc.*

time to enlarge it. I will onely say, as *S^c.^a Ambrose* said of *Theodosius*, *Summam votorum complexus est, pius est*; He hath shew'd himselfe, as we desir'd he should, a *pious Sonne* of a *most pious Father*. He layes, with all possible solemnity, the Bodie of his *Father* in the Sepulchre of the Kings, erected by *Henry the seventh* his great *Grandfather*, *Tanquam in Ciuitate David Patris eius*; Iust as this other *Salomon* was, In the *Citie of David* his *Father*.

^a Orat. Funebr. de Morte Theodos. Imperat.

ANd yet, with due reuerence to his *Maiestie*, I must be bold to say, that all this is nothing to that *Honour*, which God hath done to the *Funeralls* of his *Father*. So ^b *deare in the sight of the Lord is the Death of his Saints*. For God hath prouided another *Statue* yet to adorne the *Exequies* of our *Late Soueraigne*. I doe not meane this *Artificiall Representation* within the *Hearse*; for this shews no more then his outward *Body*; or rather the *Bodie of his Bodie*, his *cloathes* and *Ornaments*. But I meane

^b P^sal. 115. 15.

Te ad sidera tollis
omnia. Plin. se-
cund. in Panegyr.

ζών ἀγάλμα
Cyrus Prodrum.
ἢ sua ὀργάνων:
ἢ Gregor. Theol.

that *Statue* which (beyond all former presidents of *Pietie*) ^a walk't on foot this day after the *Hearse*, one of *Myrons Statues*, *Qui panè Hominic animas effinxerit*, which came so neare to the *Soules* of Men, ^b *A breathing Statue* of all his *Vertues*. This God hath done for *Him*, or rather for *Vs*. For as he hath made a lively *Representation* of the *Vertues* of *Salomon*, in the Person of *King James*. So hath he done a like *Representation* of the *Vertues* of *King James*, in the Person of *King Charles* our *Gracious Sovereign*. **A**nd I will therefore conclude these *Exequies* of *Salomon*, with a saying spoken by that imitator of *Salomon*, *Mortuus est Pater, & quasi non est mortuus, Similem enim reliquit sibi post se*. Though his *Father* be dead, yet is he, as though hee were not dead, for he hath left *One* behinde him most like himselfe. *Whom God long prosper, and preserve.*

Ecclij. 30. 47

The Grace of our Lord &c.

FINIS.

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