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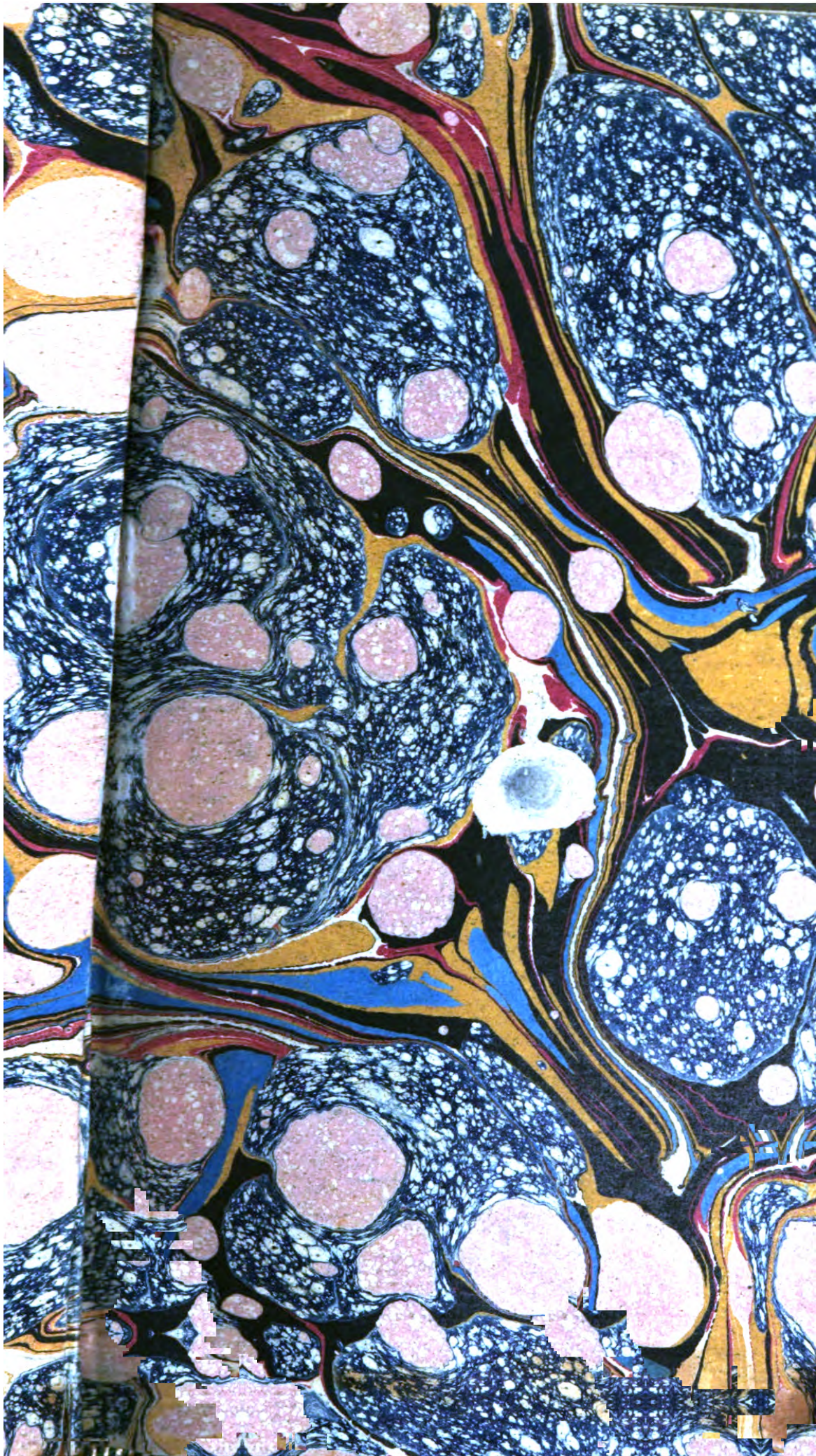


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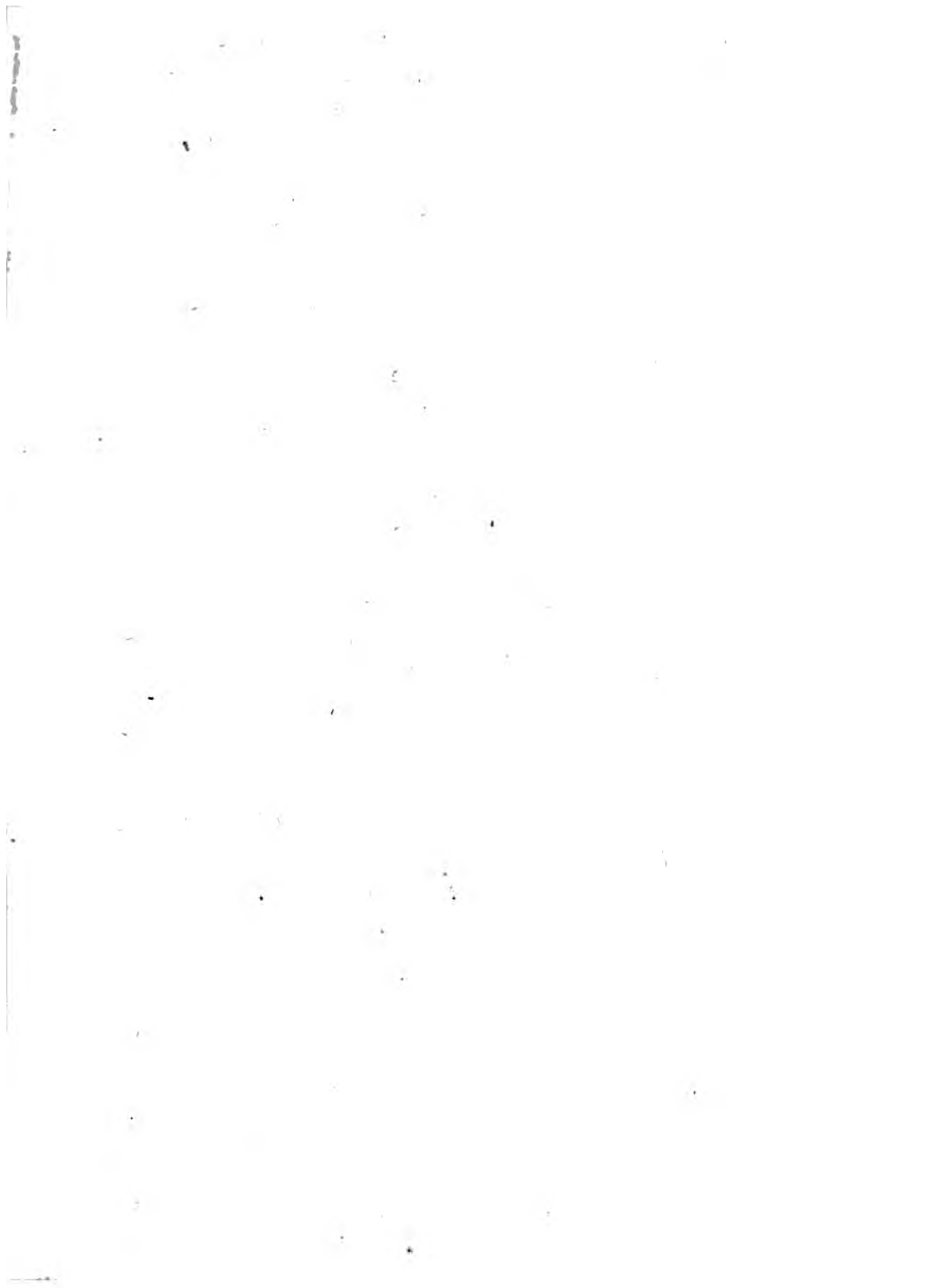
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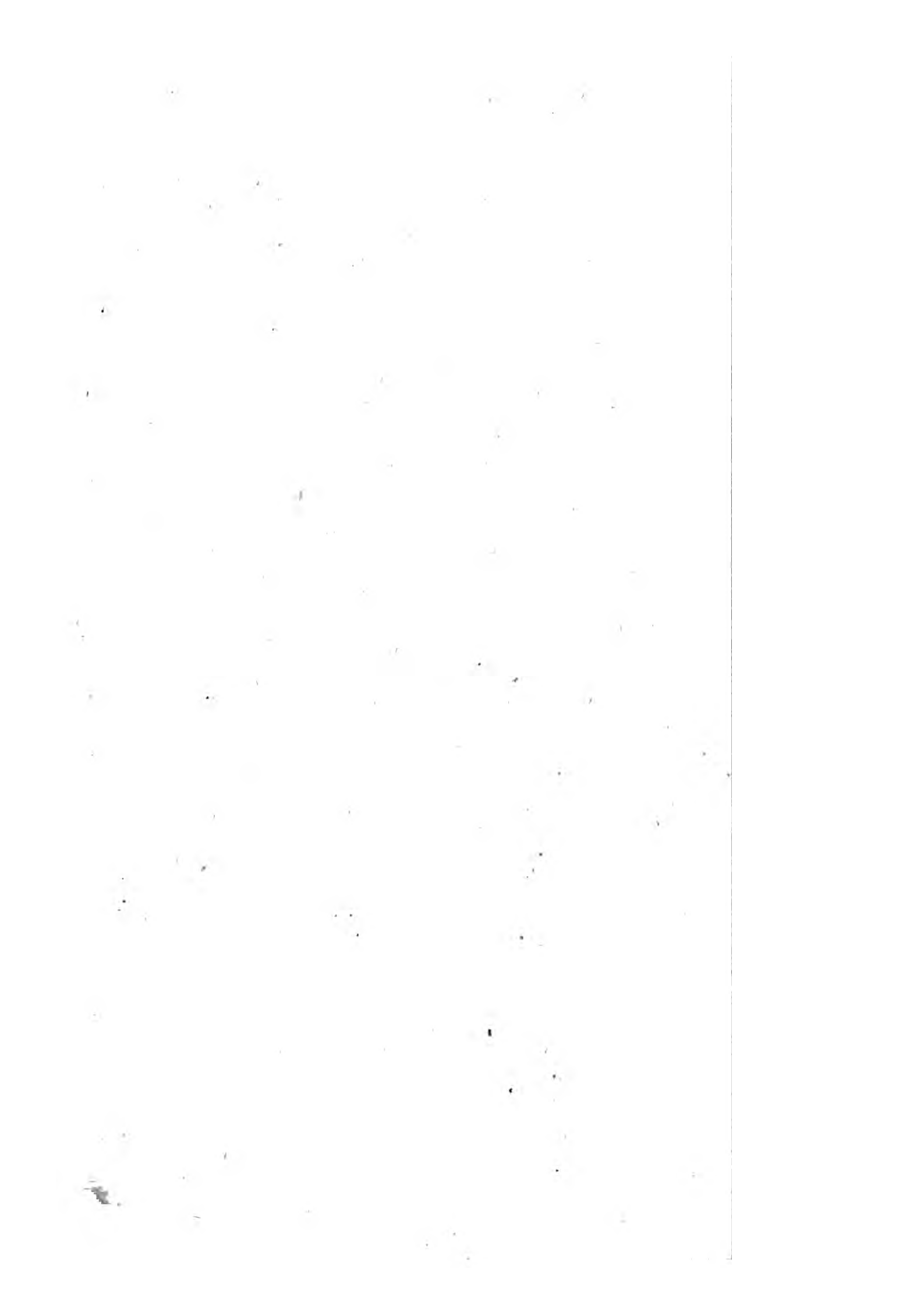
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MISCELLANEOUS  
AND  
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CONSISTING OF

*Essays, Dissertations, Prefaces, Reviews,  
Lives, &c. &c.*

—  
BY SAMUEL JOHNSON, L. L. D.  
—

To which is prefixed,  
*The Life of the Author.*

—  
IN TWO VOLUMES.  
—

VOL. II.

—  
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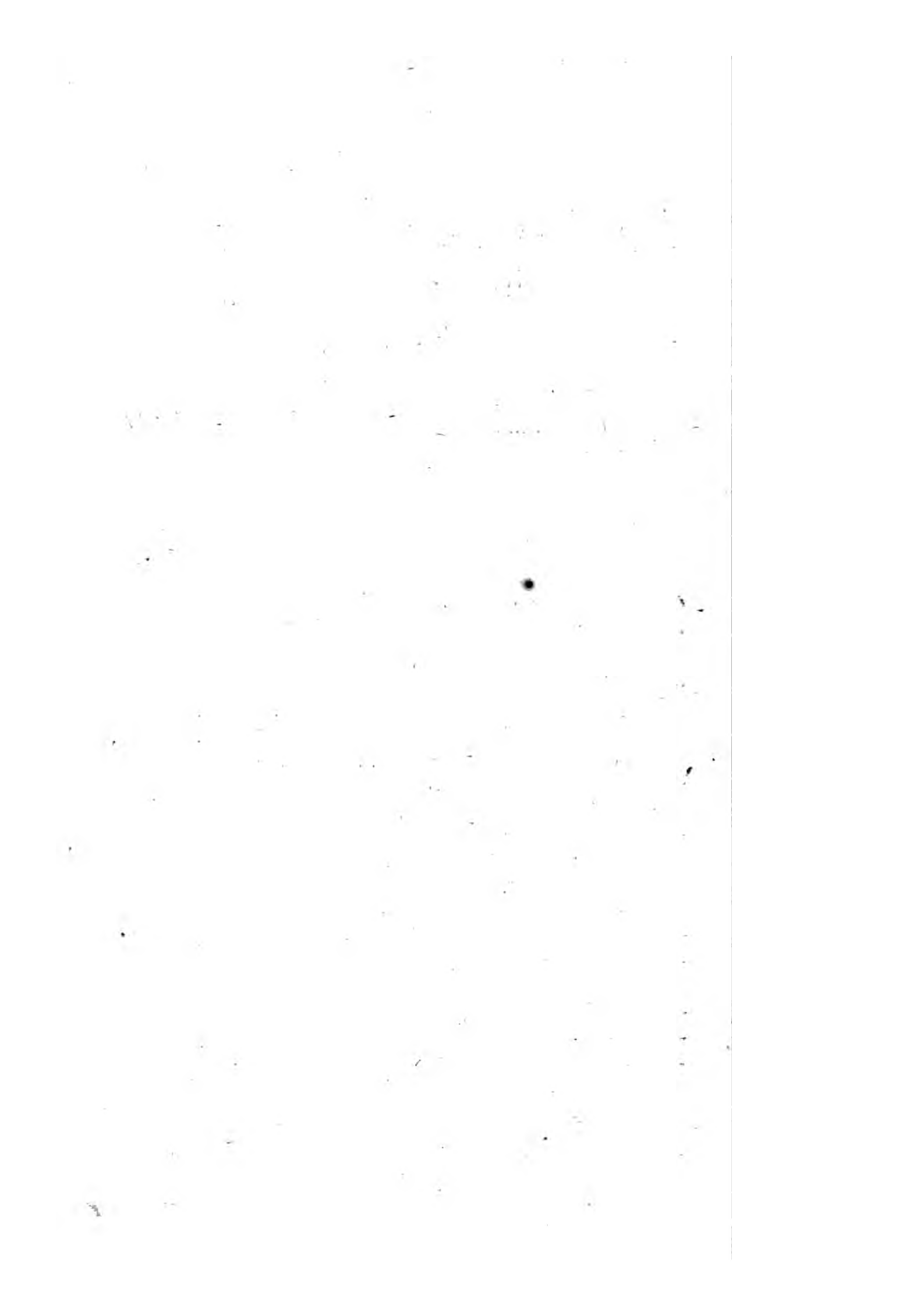


# CONTENTS

## TO THE SECOND VOLUME.



	Page
<i>THE Vision of Theodore, the Hermit of Teneriffe</i> .....	1
<i>The Picture of Human Life, from the Greek of Cebes</i> .....	17
<i>An Essay on Epitaphs</i> .....	38
<i>Reply to a Paper in the Gazetteer</i> .....	47
<i>Introduction to the proceedings of the committee for cloathing French prisoners of war</i> .....	54
<i>On the bravery of the English common soldiers</i> .....	57
<i>Considerations on the plans for the construction of Black-friar's Bridge</i> .....	60
<i>Some thoughts on Agriculture, ancient and modern</i> .....	69
<i>Further thoughts on Agriculture</i> .....	75
<i>Life of Father Paul Sarpi</i> .....	82
——— <i>Morin</i> .....	89
——— <i>Cheyne</i> .....	96
——— <i>Sir Francis Drake</i> .....	115
——— <i>Blake</i> .....	196
——— <i>Barretier</i> .....	217
——— <i>Burman</i> .....	227
——— <i>Boerhaave</i> .....	238
——— <i>Sydenham</i> .....	265
——— <i>Cave</i> .....	274
——— <i>King of Prussia</i> .....	283
——— <i>Sir Thomas Browne</i> .....	331
——— <i>Ascham</i> .....	366



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THE  
VISION OF THEODORE,  
*The HERMIT of TENERIFFE,*

FOUND IN HIS CELL.

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**S**ON of Perseverance, whoever thou art, whose curiosity has led thee hither, read and be wise. He that now calls upon thee is Theodore, the Hermit of Teneriffe, who in the fifty-seventh year of his retreat left this instruction to mankind, lest his solitary hours should be spent in vain.

I was once what thou art now, a groveller on the earth, and a gazer at the sky; I trafficked and heaped wealth together, I loved and was favoured, I wore the robe of honour and heard the musick of adulation; I was ambitious, and rose to greatness; I was unhappy, and retired. I sought for some time what I at length found here, a place where all real wants might be easily supplied, and where I might not be under the necessity of purchasing the assistance of men by the toleration of their follies. Here I saw fruits and herbs and water, and here determined to wait the hand of death, which I hope, when at last it comes, will fall lightly upon me.

Forty-eight years had I now passed in forgetfulness of all mortal cares, and without any inclination to wander farther than the necessity of procuring sustenance required; but as I stood one day beholding the rock that overhangs my cell, I found in myself a desire to climb it; and

when I was on its top, was in the same manner determined to scale the next, till by degrees I conceived a wish to view the summit of the mountain, at the foot of which I had so long resided. This motion of my thoughts I endeavoured to suppress, not because it appeared criminal, but because it was new; and all change, not evidently for the better, alarms a mind taught by experience to distrust itself. I was often afraid that my heart was deceiving me, that my impatience of confinement arose from some earthly passion, and that my ardour to survey the works of nature was only a hidden longing to mingle once again in the scenes of life. I therefore endeavoured to settle my thoughts into their former state, but found their distraction every day greater. I was always reproaching myself with the want of happiness within my reach, and at last began to question whether it was not laziness rather than caution that restrained me from climbing to the summit of Teneriffe.

I rose therefore before the day, and began my journey up the steep of the mountain; but I had not advanced far, old as I was and burthened with provisions, when the day began to shine upon me; the declivities grew more precipitous, and the sand slid from beneath my feet; at last, fainting with labour, I arrived at a small plain almost inclosed by rocks, and open only to the east. I sat down to rest awhile, in full persuasion, that when I had recovered my strength I should proceed on my design; but when once I had tasted ease, I found many reasons against disturbing it. The branches spread a shade over my head, and the gales of spring wafted odours to my bosom.

As I sat thus, forming alternately excuses for delay, and resolutions to go forward, an irresistible heaviness suddenly surprised me; I laid my head upon the bank, and resigned myself to sleep: when methought I heard the sound as of the flight of eagles, and a being of more than human dignity stood before me. While I was deliberating how to address him, he took me by the hand with an air of kindness, and asked me solemnly, but without severity, "Theodore, whither art thou going?" "I am climbing," answered I, "to the top of the mountain, to enjoy a more extensive prospect of the works of nature." "Attend first," said he, "to the prospect which this place affords, and what thou dost not understand I will explain. I am one of the benevolent beings who watch over the children of the dust, to preserve them from those evils which will not ultimately terminate in good, and which they do not, by their own faults, bring upon themselves. Look round therefore without fear: observe, contemplate, and be instructed."

Encouraged by this assurance, I looked and beheld a mountain higher than Teneriffe, to the summit of which the human eye could never reach; when I had tired myself with gazing upon its height, I turned my eyes towards its foot, which I could easily discover, but was amazed to find it without foundation, and placed inconceivably in emptiness and darkness. Thus I stood terrified and confused; above were tracts inscrutable, and below was total vacuity. But my protector, with a voice of admonition, cried out, Theodore, be not affrighted, but raise thy eyes again; the Mountain of Existence is before thee, survey it and be wise.

#### 4 THE VISION OF THEODORE,

I then looked with more deliberate attention, and observed the bottom of the mountain to be a gentle rise, and overspread with flowers; the middle to be more steep, embarrassed with crags and interrupted by precipices, over which hung branches loaded with fruits, and among which were scattered palaces and bowers. The tracts which my eye could reach nearest the top were generally barren; but there were among the clefts of the rocks a few hardy ever-greens, which though they did not give much pleasure to the sight or smell, yet seemed to cheer the labour and facilitate the steps of those who were clambering among them.

Then, beginning to examine more minutely the different parts, I observed at a great distance a multitude of both sexes issuing into view from the bottom of the mountain. Their first actions I could not accurately discern; but, as they every moment approached nearer, I found that they amused themselves with gathering flowers under the superintendance of a modest virgin in a white robe, who seemed not over solicitous to confine them to any settled pace or certain track; for she knew that the whole ground was smooth and solid, and that they could not easily be hurt or bewildered. When, as it often happened, they plucked a thistle for a flower, Innocence, so was she called, would smile at the mistake. Happy, said I, are they who are under so gentle a government, and yet are safe. But I had no opportunity to dwell long on the consideration of their felicity; for I found that Innocence continued her attendance but a little way, and seemed to consider only the flowery bottom of the mountain as her proper province. Those whom she abandoned scarcely knew that they were left, be-

fore they perceived themselves in the hands of Education, a nymph more severe in her aspect and imperious in her commands, who confined them to certain paths, in their opinion too narrow and too rough. These they were continually solicited to leave, by Appetite, whom Education could never fright away, though she sometimes awed her to such timidity, that the effects of her presence were scarcely perceptible. Some went back to the first part of the mountain, and seemed desirous of continuing busied in plucking flowers, but were no longer guarded by Innocence; and such as Education could not force back, proceeded up the mountain by some miry road, in which they were seldom seen, and scarcely ever regarded.

As Education led her troop up the mountain, nothing was more observable than that she was frequently giving them cautions to beware of Habits; and was calling out to one or another at every step, that a Habit was ensnaring them; that they would be under the dominion of Habit before they perceived their danger: and that those whom Habit should once subdue, had little hope of regaining their liberty.

Of this caution, so frequently repeated, I was very solicitous to know the reason, when my protector directed my regard to a troop of pygmies, which appeared to walk silently before those that were climbing the mountain, and each to smooth the way before her follower. I found that I had missed the notice of them before, both because they were so minute as not easily to be discerned, and because they grew every moment nearer in their colour to the objects with which they were surrounded. As the followers of Education did



## 6 THE VISION OF THEODORE,

not appear to be sensible of the presence of these dangerous associates, or, ridiculing their diminutive size, did not think it possible that human beings should ever be brought into subjection by such feeble enemies; they generally heard her precepts of vigilance with wonder: and, when they thought her eye withdrawn, treated them with contempt. Nor could I myself think her cautions so necessary as her frequent inculcations seemed to suppose, till I observed that each of these petty beings held secretly a chain in her hand, with which she prepared to bind those whom she found within her power. Yet these Habits under the eye of Education went quietly forward, and seemed very little to increase in bulk or strength; for though they were always willing to join with Appetite, yet when Education kept them apart from her, they would very punctually obey command, and make the narrow roads in which they were confined easier and smoother.

It was observable, that their stature was never at a stand, but continually growing or decreasing, yet not always in the same proportions: nor could I forbear to express my admiration, when I saw in how much less time they generally gained than lost bulk. Though they grew slowly in the road of Education, it might however be perceived that they grew; but if they once deviated at the call of Appetite, their stature soon became gigantick; and their strength was such, that Education pointed out to her tribe many that were led in chains by them, whom she could never more rescue from their slavery. She pointed them out, but with little effect; for all her pupils appeared confident of their own superiority to the strongest Habit, and some seemed

in secret to regret that they were hindered from following the triumph of Appetite.

It was the peculiar artifice of Habit not to suffer her power to be felt at first. Those whom she led, she had the address of appearing only to attend, but was continually doubling her chains upon her companions; which were so slender in themselves, and so silently fastened, that while the attention was engaged by other objects, they were not easily perceived. Each link grew tighter as it had been longer worn, and when by continual additions they became so heavy as to be felt, they were very frequently too strong to be broken.

When Education had proceeded in this manner to the part of the mountain where the declivity began to grow craggy, she resigned her charge to two powers of superior aspect. The meaner of them appeared capable of presiding in senates, or governing nations, and yet watched the steps of the other with the most anxious attention, and was visibly confounded and perplexed if ever she suffered her regard to be drawn away. The other seemed to approve her submission as pleasing, but with such a condescension as plainly shewed that she claimed it as due; and indeed so great was her dignity and sweetness, that he who would not reverence, must not behold her.

“Theodore,” said my protector, “be fearless, and be wise; approach these powers, whose dominion extends to all the remaining part of the Mountain of Existence.” I trembled, and ventured to address the inferior nymph, whose eyes, though piercing and awful, I was not able to sustain. “Bright Power,” said I, “by whatever name it is lawful to address thee,

## 8 THE VISION OF THEODORE,

“ tell me, thou who presidest here, on what  
“ condition thy protection will be granted ?”  
“ It will be granted ?” said she, “ only to obe-  
“ dience. I am Reason, of all subordinate be-  
“ ings the noblest and the greatest; who, if thou  
“ wilt receive my laws, will reward thee like the  
“ rest of my votaries, by conducting thee to Re-  
“ ligion.” Charmed by her voice and aspect,  
I professed my readiness to follow her. She  
then presented me to her mistress, who looked  
upon me with tenderness. I bowed before her,  
and she smiled.

When Education delivered up those for whose happiness she had been so long solicitous, she seemed to expect that they should express some gratitude for her care, or some regret at the loss of that protection which she had hitherto afforded them. But it was easy to discover, by the alacrity which broke out at her departure, that her presence had been long displeasing, and that she had been teaching those who felt in themselves no want of instruction. They all agreed in rejoicing that they should no longer be subject to her caprices, or disturbed by her documents, but should be now under the direction only of Reason, to whom they made no doubt of being able to recommend themselves by a steady adherence to all her precepts. Reason counselled them, at their first entrance upon her province, to inlist themselves among the votaries of Religion; and informed them, that if they trusted to her alone, they would find the same fate with her other admirers, whom she had not been able to secure against Appetites and Passions, and who having been seized by Habits in the Regions of Desire, had been dragged away to the caverns of Despair. Her admonition was vain, the greater

number declared against any other direction, and doubted not but by her superintendency they should climb with safety up the Mountain of Existence. “ My power,” said Reason, “ is to advise, not to compel; I have already told you the danger of your choice. The path seems now plain and even, but there are asperities and pitfalls, over which Religion only can conduct you. Look upwards, and you perceive a mist before you settled upon the highest visible part of the mountain; a mist by which my prospect is terminated, and which is pierced only by the eyes of Religion. Beyond it are the temples of Happiness, in which those who climb the precipice by her direction, after the toil of their pilgrimage, repose for ever. I know not the way, and therefore can only conduct you to a better guide. Pride has sometimes reproached me with the narrowness of my view, but, when she endeavoured to extend it, could only shew me, below the mist, the bowers of Content; even they vanished as I fixed my eyes upon them; and those whom she persuaded to travel towards them were chained by Habits, and engulfed by Despair, a cruel tyrant, whose caverns are beyond the darkness on the right side and on the left, from whose prisons none can escape, and whom I cannot teach you to avoid.”

Such was the declaration of Reason to those who demanded her protection. Some that recollected the dictates of Education, finding them now seconded by another authority, submitted with reluctance to the strict decree, and engaged themselves among the followers of Religion, who were distinguished by the uniformity of their

march, though many of them were women, and by their continual endeavours to move upwards without appearing to regard the prospects which at every step courted their attention.

All those who determined to follow either Reason or Religion, were continually importuned to forsake the road, sometimes by Passions, and sometimes by Appetites, of whom both had reason to boast the success of their artifices; for so many were drawn into by paths, that any way was more populous than the right. The attacks of the Appetites were more impetuous, those of the Passions longer continued. The Appetites turned their followers directly from the true way, but the Passions marched at first in a path nearly in the same direction with that of Reason and Religion; but deviated by slow degrees, till at last they entirely changed their course. Appetite drew aside the dull, and Passion the sprightly. Of the Appetites, Lust was the strongest; and of the Passions, Vanity. The most powerful assault was to be feared, when a Passion and an Appetite joined their enticements; and the path of Reason was best followed, when a Passion called to one side, and an Appetite to the other.

These seducers had the greatest success upon the followers of Reason, over whom they scarcely ever failed to prevail, except when they counteracted one another. They had not the same triumphs over the votaries of Religion; for though they were often led aside for a time, Religion commonly recalled them by her emissary Conscience, before Habit had time to enchain them. But they that professed to obey Reason; if once they forsook her seldom returned; for she had no messenger to summon them but Pride, who generally betrayed her confidence, and em-

ployed all her skill to support Passion; and if ever she did her duty, was found unable to prevail, if Habit had interposed.

I soon found that the great danger to the followers of Religion was only from Habit; every other power was easily resisted, nor did they find any difficulty when they inadvertently quitted her, to find her again by the direction of Conscience, unless they had given time to Habit to draw her chain behind them, and bar up the way by which they had wandered. Of some of those, the condition was justly to be pitied, who turned at every call of Conscience, and tried, but without effect, to burst the chains of Habit: saw Religion walking forward at a distance, saw her with reverence, and longed to join her; but were, whenever they approached her, withheld by Habit, and languished in sordid bondage, which they could not escape, though they scorned and hated it.

It was evident that the Habits were so far from growing weaker by these repeated contests, that if they were not totally overcome, every struggle enlarged their bulk and increased their strength; and a Habit opposed and victorious was more than twice as strong as before the contest. The manner in which those who were weary of their tyranny endeavoured to escape from them, appeared by the event to be generally wrong; they tried to loose their chains one by one, and to retreat by the same degrees as they advanced; but before the deliverance was completed, Habit always threw new chains upon her fugitive; nor did any escape her but those who, by an effort sudden and violent, burst their shackles at once, and left her at a distance; and even of these, many, rushing too precipitately

forward, and hindered by their terrors from stopping where they were safe, were fatigued with their own vehemence, and resigned themselves again to that power from whom an escape must be so dearly bought, and whose tyranny was little felt, except when it was resisted.

Some however there always were, who when they found Habit prevailing over them, called upon Reason or Religion for assistance; each of them willingly came to the succour of her suppliant, but neither with the same strength, nor the same success. Habit, insolent with her power, would often presume to parley with Reason, and offer to loose some of her chains if the rest might remain. To this Reason, who was never certain of victory, frequently consented, but always found her concession destructive, and saw the captive led away by Habit to his former slavery. Religion never submitted to treaty, but held out her hand with certainty of conquest; and if the captive to whom she gave it did not quit his hold, always led him away in triumph, and placed him in the direct path to the temple of Happiness, where Reason never failed to congratulate his deliverance, and encourage his adherence to that power to whose timely succour he was indebted for it.

When the traveller was again placed in the road of Happiness, I saw Habit again gliding before him, but reduced to the stature of a dwarf, without strength and without activity; but when the Passions or Appetites, which had before seduced him, made their approach, Habit would on a sudden start into size, and with unexpected violence push him towards them. The wretch, thus impelled on one side, and allured on the other, too frequently quitted the road of Happi-

ness, to which, after his second deviation from it, he rarely returned : but, by a timely call upon Religion, the force of Habit was eluded, her attacks grew fainter, and at last her correspondence with the enemy was entirely destroyed. She then began to employ those restless faculties in compliance with the power which she could not overcome; and as she grew again in stature and in strength, cleared away the asperities of the road to happiness.

From this road I could not easily withdraw my attention, because all who travelled it appeared cheerful and satisfied; and the farther they proceeded, the greater appeared their alacrity, and the stronger their conviction of the wisdom of their guide. Some, who had never deviated but by short excursions, had Habit in the middle of their passage vigorously supporting them, and driving off their Appetites and Passions which attempted to interrupt their progress. Others, who had entered this road late, or had long forsaken it, were toiling on without her help at least, and commonly against her endeavours. But I observed, when they approached to the barren top, that few were able to proceed without some support from Habit: and that they, whose Habits were strong, advanced towards the mists with little emotion, and entered them at last with calmness and confidence; after which, they were seen only by the eye of Religion; and though Reason looked after them with the most earnest curiosity, she could only obtain a faint glimpse, when her mistress, to enlarge her prospect, raised her from the ground. Reason, however, discerned that they were safe, but Religion saw that they were happy.



“ Now, Theodore,” said my protector,  
 “ withdraw thy view from the regions of obscu-  
 “ rity, and see the fate of those who, when they  
 “ were dismissed by Education, would admit no  
 “ direction but that of Reason. Survey their  
 “ wanderings, and be wise.”

I looked then upon the Road of Reason, which was indeed, so far as it reached, the same with that of Religion, nor had Reason discovered it but by her instruction. Yet when she had once been taught it, she clearly saw that it was right ; and Pride had sometimes incited her to declare that she discovered it herself, and persuaded her to offer herself as a guide to Religion: whom after many vain experiments she found it her highest privilege to follow. Reason was however at last well instructed in part of the way, and appeared to teach it with some success, when her precepts were not misrepresented by Passion, or her influence overborne by Appetite. But neither of these enemies was she able to resist. When Passion seized upon her votaries, she seldom attempted opposition : she seemed indeed to contend with more vigour against Appetite, but was generally overwearied in the contest ; and if either of her opponents had confederated with Habit, her authority was wholly at an end. When Habit endeavoured to captivate the votaries of Religion, she grew by slow degrees, and gave time to escape ; but in seizing the unhappy followers of Reason, she proceeded as one that had nothing to fear, and enlarged her size, and doubled her chains without intermission, and without reserve.

Of those who forsook the directions of Reason, some were led aside by the whispers of Ambition, who was perpetually pointing to stately palaces,

situated on eminences on either side, recounting the delights of affluence, and boasting the security of power. They were easily persuaded to follow her, and Habit quickly threw her chains upon them; they were soon convinced of the folly of their choice, but few of them attempted to return. Ambition led them forward from precipice to precipice, where many fell and were seen no more. Those that escaped were, after a long series of hazards, generally delivered over to Avarice, and enlisted by her in the service of Tyranny, where they continued to heap up gold till their patrons or their heirs pushed them headlong at last into the caverns of Despair.

Others were inticed by Intemperance to ramble in search of those fruits that hung over the rocks, and filled the air with their fragrance. I observed, that the Habits which hovered about these soon grew to an enormous size, nor were there any who less attempted to return to Reason, or sooner sunk into the gulfs that lay before them. When these first quitted the road, Reason looked after them with a frown of contempt, but had little expectations of being able to reclaim them; for the bowl of intoxication was of such qualities as to make them lose all regard but for the present moment; neither Hope nor Fear could enter their retreats; and Habit had so absolute a power, that even Conscience, if Religion had employed her in their favour, would not have been able to force an entrance.

There were others whose crime it was rather to neglect Reason than to disobey her; and who retreated from the heat and tumult of the way, not to the bowers of Intemperance, but to the maze of Indolence. They had this peculiarity in their condition, that they were always in sight

## 16 THE VISION OF THEODORE.

of the road of Reason, always wishing for her presence, and always resolving to return to-morrow. In these was most eminently conspicuous the subtlety of Habit, who hung imperceptible shackles upon them, and was every moment leading them farther from the road, which they always imagined that they had the power of reaching. They wandered on from one double of the labyrinth to another with the chains of Habit hanging secretly upon them, till, as they advanced, the flowers grew paler, and the scents fainter; they proceeded in their dreary march without pleasure in their progress, yet without power to return; and had this aggravation above all others, that they were criminal but not delighted. The drunkard for a time laughed over his wine; the ambitious man triumphed in the miscarriage of his rival; but the captives of Indolence had neither superiority nor merriment. Discontent lowered in their looks, and Sadness hovered round their shades; yet they crawled on reluctant and gloomy, till they arrived at the depth of the recess, varied only with poppies and nightshade, where the dominion of Indolence terminates, and the hopeless wanderer is delivered up to Melancholy: the chains of Habit are rivetted for ever; and Melancholy, having tortured her prisoner for a time, consigns him at last to the cruelty of Despair.

While I was musing on this miserable scene, my protector called out to me, "Remember, Theodore, and be wise, and let not Habit prevail against thee." I started, and beheld myself surrounded by the rocks of Teneriffe; the birds of light were singing in the trees, and the glances of the morning darted upon me.

THE  
 PICTURE  
 OF  
 HUMAN LIFE.

*Translated from the Greek of CEBES, a Disciple  
 of SOCRATES.*

AS we were walking in the temple of *Saturn*, and observing several of the presents dedicated to that god, we were particularly struck with a picture hung up before one of the chapels. Both the manner and the subject of it seemed to be foreign; so that we were at a loss to know either whence, or what it was. What it represented was neither a city nor a camp; but an inclosure, containing two other inclosures, the one larger, and the other less. To the outer inclosure there was a portal, with a great number of persons standing before it, and several females within; and an aged man standing by the portal, in the attitude of giving directions to those who were going in.

After we had been debating among ourselves for some time, what all these things should mean, an elderly person, who happened to be by, addressed himself to us in the following manner:

*Old Citizen.* As you are strangers, 'tis no wonder that you should be at a loss to find out the meaning of this picture; since several of the natives of this city themselves know not the true intent of it: and indeed it was not placed here by any of our citizens, but by a stranger who

## 18 THE PICTURE OF HUMAN LIFE :

visited these parts several years ago. He was a very sensible man, and a great philosopher ; and, both in his conversation and practice, seemed to approach nearer to the doctrines of *Pythagoras* and *Parmenides*, than to any other of our sects. It was he who built this temple and dedicated this picture in it to *Saturn*.

*Stranger*. Have you then seen the very person who gave it ? and was you acquainted with him ?

*O. C.* Yes, I was both well acquainted with him, and admired him very much ; for though he was rather young, his conversation was full of wisdom ; and, among other things, I have often heard him explaining the subject of the picture before us.

*S.* I intreat you, if it will not be too troublesome, to acquaint us with his explanation of it, for it is what we were all longing to know.

*O. C.* That will be rather a pleasure than any trouble to me ; but I ought to forewarn you of one thing before I begin, which is this, that the hearing it, is attended with some danger.

*S.* What danger can there be in that ?

*O. C.* It is no less than this, that if you observe and follow the lesson that it gives you, it will make you wise and happy ; but if you neglect it, you will be most miserable and wretched all your days. So that the explaining of this, is not unlike the riddle said to have been proposed to people by the sphynx, which if the hearer understood, he was saved ; but if not, he was to be destroyed. It is much the same in the present case ; for ignorance is full as dangerous in life, as the sphynx was supposed to be in the fable. Now the picture before us includes all the doctrine of what is good in life, what is bad, and what indifferent ; so that if you should take it

wrong, you will be destroyed by it ; not indeed all at once, as the people were by that monster ; but by little and little, through all the residue of your life, as those are who are given up to be put to death by slow tortures. On the contrary, if you understand it aright, then will your ignorance be destroyed, and you will be saved, and become happy and blest for all the rest of your days. Do you, therefore, attend carefully to what I shall say to you, and observe it as you ought.

*S.* O heavens, how have you increased our longing to hear, what may be of such very great importance to us!

*O. C.* It is certainly of the greatest that can be.

*S.* Explain it then to us immediately, we beseech you; and be assured, that we will listen to you with all the care and attention, that a matter which concerns us so greatly must demand.

*O. C.* You see this grand inclosure. All this circuit, is the **CIRCUIT OF HUMAN LIFE**, and that great number of people standing before the portal, are those who are to enter into life. This aged person, who stands by the entrance holding a paper in one of his hands, and pointing with the other, is the **GENIUS** who directs all that are going in, what they should do after they are entered into life; and shews them which way they ought to take in order to be happy in it.

*S.* And which is the way that he shews them? where is it?

*O. C.* Do you see that seat on the other side, before the portal; and the woman sitting on it, with a cup in her hand? She who is so finely dressed out, and makes so plausible an appearance?

20 THE PICTURE OF HUMAN LIFE.

*S.* I see her? and pray who is she?

*O. C.* She is **DECEIT**, the misleader of man.

*S.* And what does she do there?

*O. C.* As they are entering into life, she offers them to drink of her cup.

*S.* And what does her cup contain?

*O. C.* Ignorance and error; of which when they have drunk, they enter into life.

*S.* And do all drink of this cup?

*O. C.* All drink of it; but some more, and some less. A little farther, within the portal, dont you see a company of loose women, with a great deal of variety both in their dress and airs?

*S.* I see them.

*O. C.* Those are the **OPINIONS, DESIRES, and PLEASURES**; who, as the multitude enter, fly to them; embrace each of them with great earnestness; and then lead them away with them.

*S.* And whither do they lead them?

*O. C.* Some to the way of safety; and others, to perdition through their folly.

*S.* Ah, why did they drink of that liquor before they came in?

*O. C.* All of them alike tell those whom they are embracing, that they will lead them to what is best, and will make their lives quite happy; whilst the new comers, blinded by the large draughts they have taken from the cup of **DECEIT**, are incapable of distinguishing which is the true way in life; and wander about inconsiderately, here and there, as you see they do. You may observe too, that they who have been in some time, go about just as these direct them.

*S.* They do so. But, pray, who is that woman who seems to be both blind and mad, and who stands on that round stone there?

*O. C.* That is FORTUNE; and she is really not only mad and blind, but deaf too.

*S.* What then can her business be?

*O. C.* She flies about every where, and snatches what he has from one, to give it to another; and then takes it away again from him, to give it to a third; without any manner of meaning, or any degree of certainty: which latter is very aptly signified by her figure here.

*S.* How so?

*O. C.* By her standing on that round stone, which shew that there is no stability or security in her favours; as all who trust to her find, by some great and unexpected fall.

*S.* And what does all that company about her want of her? and how are they called?

*O. C.* They are called, THE INCONSIDERATES, and are begging for some of those things which she flings about her.

*S.* And why do they appear with such a diversity of passions? some of them as overjoyed, and others as very much distress?

*O. C.* They who smile and rejoice, are such as have received something from her hand; and these call her by the title of GOOD FORTUNE: and such as weep and mourn, are they from whom she has resumed what she had before given them; and these call her BAD FORTUNE.

*S.* And what is it she gives, that should make the former rejoice so much on the receiving it, and the latter lament so much at the loss of it?

*O. C.* All those things which the greater part of mankind think good, such as wealth, and glory, and nobility, and offspring, and dignities, and crowns; and all such sort of things.

*S.* And are not these really good things?



## 22 THE PICTURE OF HUMAN LIFE :

*O. C.* As to that we may talk more at large another time ; but at present, if you please, let us stick to our picture. You see then, after entering this portal, there is another inclosure, on a raised ground, and several women standing before it, dressed out too, much like ladies of pleasure.

*S.* They are so.

*O. C.* Of these, this is **INTEMPERANCE**, that **LUXURY** ; this is **AVARICE** ; and that other **FLATTERY**.

*S.* And what do they stand there for ?

*O. C.* They are waiting for those who have received any thing from **FORTUNE** ; and as they meet with them, they embrace them with the greatest fondness, attach themselves to them, do every thing they can to please them, and beg them to stay with them ; promise them to render their whole lives delightful, easy, and free from all manner of care or trouble. Now whoever is carried away by them to **VOLUPTUOUSNESS**, will find their company agreeable to him at first, whilst they are fondling and tickling his passions ; but it is soon quite otherwise ; for when he recovers his senses, he perceives that he did not enjoy them, but was enjoyed by them ; and that they prey upon him, and destroy him. And when he has, by their means, consumed all that he had received from **FORTUNE**, then is he obliged to become their slave, to bear all the insults they are pleased to impose upon him, to yield to all the most scandalous practices, and in the end, to commit all sorts of villanies for their sake ; such as betraying, defrauding, robbing, sacrilege, perjury, and the like : and when all these fail him, then is he given up to **PUNISHMENT**.

*S.* And where is she ?

*O. C.* Don't you see there, a little behind those women, a narrow dark cavern, with a small sort of door to it, and some miserable women that appear within, clad only in filth and rags ?

*S.* I see them.

*O. C.* She who holds up the scourge in her hand, is PUNISHMENT ; this, with her head sunk almost down to her knees, is SORROW ; and that other tearing her hair, is ANGUISH OF MIND.

*S.* - And pray, who is that meagre figure of a man without any cloaths on, just by them ? and that lean woman, that resembles him so much in her make and face ?

*O. C.* Those are REPINING, and his sister DESPAIR. To all these is the wretch I was speaking of delivered up, and lives with them in torments, till finally he is cast into the house of MISERY ; where he passes the remainder of his days in all kinds of wretchedness ; unless, by chance, REPENTANCE should fall in his way.

*S.* What happens then ?

*O. C.* If REPENTANCE should chance to meet with him, she will take him out of the evil situation he was in, and will place a different OPINION and DESIRE before him : one, of those which lead to TRUE SCIENCE ; and the other, of those which lead to SCIENCE falsely so called.

*S.* And what then ?

*O. C.* If he embraces that which leads to TRUE SCIENCE, he is renewed and saved, and becomes a happy man for all his days ; but if the other, he is bewildered again by FALSE SCIENCE.

*S.* Good Heaven ! what a new danger do you tell me of ! And pray, which is FALSE SCIENCE ?

*O. C.* Do you see that second inclosure ?

24 THE PICTURE OF HUMAN LIFE:

*S.* Very plainly.

*O. C.* And don't you see a woman standing without the inclosure, just by the entrance into it, of a very striking appearance, and very well dressed?

*S.* As plainly.

*O. C.* That is she whom the multitude, and all the unthinking part of mankind, call by the name of Science; though she is really FALSE SCIENCE. Now those who are saved out of the house of misery call in here, in their passage to TRUE SCIENCE.

*S.* Is there then no other way to TRUE SCIENCE but this?

*O. C.* Yes, there is.

*S.* And pray who are those men that are walking to and fro within the inclosure?

*O. C.* Those who have attached themselves to False Science, mistaking her for the True.

*S.* And what are they?

*O. C.* Some of them are poets, some rhetoricians, some logicians, some students in music, arithmetic, and geometry, pleasers, peripatetics, critics, and several others of the same rank.

*S.* And who are those women who seem so busy among them, and are so like INTEMPERANCE, and her companions, in the first inclosure?

*O. C.* They are the very same.

*S.* Are they then admitted into this second inclosure?

*O. C.* Yes indeed; but not so readily, or frequently, as in the first.

*S.* And are the OPINIONS too admitted?

*O. C.* Undoubtedly; for the persons who belong to this inclosure, have not yet got rid of the draught which they took out of the cup of Deceit.

*S.* What then, IGNORANCE remains still with them ?

*O. C.* That it does, and FOLLY too ; nor can they get rid of the OPINIONS, nor all the rest of this vile train, till they quit False Science, and get into the way of the True ; till they drink of her purifying liquor, and wash away all the dregs of the evils that remain in them ; which that, and that only, is capable of doing. Such therefore as fix their abode with False Science will never be delivered ; nor can all their studies clear them from any one of those evils.

*S.* Which then is the way to True Science ?

*O. C.* Do you see that place on high there, that looks as if it were uninhabited ?

*S.* I do.

*O. C.* And do you discern a little opening between the rocks, and a small track leading to it, which is scarce beaten ; and with very few people walking in it, as it is all rough, and stony, and difficult ?

*S.* I discern it very plainly.

*O. C.* And don't you see a high cliff on the hill, almost inaccessible, and with several precipices about it ?

*S.* I see it.

*O. C.* That is the way which leads to TRUE SCIENCE.

*S.* It is frightful only to look upon it.

*O. C.* And up above that cliff, don't you see a large rising rock, all surrounded with precipices ?

*S.* I see it.

*O. C.* Then you see also the two women that stand upon it ; with so much firmness and beauty

in their make, and how earnestly they extend their hands.

*S.* I do so; and pray who are they?

*O. C.* Those two are sisters, and are called **TEMPERANCE** and **PERSEVERANCE**.

*S.* And why do they extend their hands so earnestly?

*O. C.* They are encouraging those who are arrived to that rock, and calling out to them to be of good heart, and not to despond, because they have but a little more to suffer, and then will find the road all easy and pleasant before them.

*S.* But how can they ever get up upon that rock itself? for I don't see any the least path to ascend it by.

*O. C.* The two sisters descend to meet them, and help them up. Then they order them to rest a little, inspire them with new strength and resolution, and promise to conduct them to **TRUE SCIENCE**; point out the way to them, make them observe how even, and easy, and charming it is; and how free from all manner of difficulty or danger, as you see is represented here.

*S.* How well does it answer the description;

*O. C.* You see before that grove, the ground that extends itself into a beautiful meadow, with such a lively light over it.

*S.* Very plainly.

*O. C.* Then you see the third inclosure, in the midst of that meadow, and the portal to it.

*S.* I do so; and pray what do you call this place?

*O. C.* The habitation of the blest; for here it is that **HAPPINESS**, and all the **VIRTUES** dwell.

*S.* What a charming place have they to dwell in!

*O. C.* And do you observe the lady near the portal, with so beautiful and steady a look; of a middle age, or rather a little past it, and dressed in a plain long robe, without any the least affectation of ornaments? She is standing there, not on a round stone, but a square one, firmly fixed in the ground; and by her are two other women, who look as if they were her daughters.

*S.* They do so.

*O. C.* Of these, she in the midst is SCIENCE, and the other two are TRUTH and PERSUASION.

*S.* And why does SCIENCE stand on that square stone?

*O. C.* To signify that her ways are ways of certainty, and that the presents which she gives to those that arrive to her, are firm and lasting.

*S.* And what is that she gives to them?

*O. C.* Strength and tranquillity of mind, arising from a full assurance, that they shall never undergo any evil again in their whole lives.

*S.* O heavens, how desirable are her presents! But why does she stand thus without the inclosure?

*O. C.* To receive those that arrive thither, and give them to drink of her purifying liquor, and to conduct them into the presence of the VIRTUES within, when they are thoroughly cleansed by it.

*S.* I don't rightly understand what you mean by this cleansing.

*O. C.* I will make that clearer to you. Suppose any friend of yours was afflicted with some dangerous fit of illness; if he goes to some knowing physician, and takes what he prescribes, in order to root out the causes of his disease, he may be restored to a perfect state of health; but if he refuses to take what is ordered him, his

physician will give him up, and leave him to be destroyed by his distemper.

*S.* That is clear enough.

*O. C.* In the very same manner, when any one comes to SCIENCE, she takes him under her care, and gives him a draught of her cup to cleanse him, and drive out all the noxious things that are in him.

*S.* And what are those noxious things?

*O. C.* The error and ignorance that he drank out of the cup of DECEIT; and his arrogance, and lust, and intemperance, and anger, and covetousness; in short, all the evil impressions and habits that he had contracted in his passage through the first inclosure.

*S.* And when she has cleansed him from all these, whither does she send him.

*O. C.* In through that portal, to KNOWLEDGE, and the other VIRTUES.

*S.* And where are they?

*O. C.* Don't you see, within the portal, a select company of ladies, of singular beauty and decency, both in their look and dress; and in a word, with every thing handsome, and nothing affected about them?

*S.* I see them, and should be glad to know their names.

*O. C.* That at the head of them is KNOWLEDGE, and the rest are all her sisters, FORTITUDE, JUSTICE, HONESTY, PRUDENCE, DECENCY, FREEDOM, TEMPERANCE, and CLEMENCY.

*S.* What beauties they are! and what a longing desire do they inspire one with to enjoy their companies!

*O. C.* That you may do, if you are wise enough to follow the way that I have shewn you.

*S.* That will I strive to do as far as I am able.

*O. C.* Then you will arrive safely to them.

*S.* And when these have received any one, whither do they carry him?

*O. C.* To their mother.

*S.* And who is she?

*O. C.* HAPPINESS.

*S.* And where?

*O. C.* Do you see the way which leads to that high edifice, which appears above all the inclosures, as a citadel does above all the buildings in a city?

*S.* Yes.

*O. C.* And do you see that composed, beautiful lady, sitting on a throne in the portico to it, with so easy and disengaged an air, and with that beautiful chaplet of fresh flowers on her head?

*S.* How beautiful does she look!

*O. C.* She is HAPPINESS.

*S.* And when any one arrives to her, what does she do to him?

*O. C.* HAPPINESS, assisted by all the Virtues, crowns him with her own influence; in the same manner as they are crowned, who have obtained the greatest conquests.

*S.* But what conquests has he obtained?

*O. C.* The greatest conquests, and over the most terrible of monsters, which formerly devoured and tormented, and enslaved him. All these has he conquered, and driven from him; and is become so much master both of himself and them, as to make those things obey him, which he himself obeyed before.

*S.* I don't yet comprehend what monsters you mean; and should be very glad to know.

*O. C.* In the first place, his ignorance and error; will you not allow them to be monsters?



### 30 THE PICTURE OF HUMAN LIFE:

*S.* Yes, and very dangerous ones too.

*O. C.* Then, his sorrows, and repinings, and covetings, and intemperance, and every thing that is bad. All these has he subdued, and is not subdued by them as he used to be.

*S.* O glorious exploits! and most noble of all victories! But be so good as to inform me yet farther, what may be the influence of the crown, with which you were saying he was to be crowned?

*O. C.* It is that which renders him happy: for he who has it once on his head, immediately becomes easy and blest; and does not place his hopes of happiness in any thing without him, but possesses it in his own breast.

*S.* How desirable is such an acquisition! And after he is crowned, what does he do? or whither does he go?

*O. C.* The VIRTUES take him, and lead him to the place that he had left, and bid him observe those who continue there, amidst what difficulties and troubles they pass their time; and how they are shipwrecked in life, or wander about in it; or are conquered and led along like captives, some by INTEMPERANCE, and others by ARROGANCE; here by COVETOUSNESS, and there by VAIN-GLORY, or any other of the VICES: whose chains they are in vain striving to get loose from, that they might escape and get to this place of rest: so that their whole life seems to be nothing but one ineffectual struggle. And all this they suffer from their mistaking the right way, and forgetting the orders given them by the directing GENIUS.

*S.* That appears to me to be the case; but I don't so clearly see, why the VIRTUES lead the

person that has been crowned, back to the place that he had left.

*O. C.* Because he had never formed a full and exact idea of the things that passed there, but at best had only guessed and doubted about them: for, from the draught of ignorance and error that he had taken at his entrance, he had imagined things that were bad to be good, and things that were good to be bad; by which means he had lived wretchedly, as indeed all do while they are there. But now that he has obtained the knowledge of what is really good, he can both live happily himself, and can see how very unhappy the others are.

*S.* And when he has taken a full view there, what does he do, or whither does he go?

*O. C.* Wherever he pleases, for every where is he as safe as one that is got into the *Corycian* cave; so that wheresoever he goes, he lives in full security, and undisturbed happiness; and is received by all others with as much pleasure as a good physician is by his patients.

*S.* And has he no longer any dread of those females which you called monsters? nor any apprehension of being hurt by them?

*O. C.* Not in the least; for he will never any more be molested either by ANGUISH or SORROW, or INTemperance, or COVETOUSNESS, or POVERTY, or any other evil; for he is now master of them all, and superior to every thing that formerly gave him any trouble. As they who practise the catching of vipers, are never hurt by the bite of those creatures, which is so venomous and even mortal to others, because they have an antidote against their poison; so he is safe from any influence of all these evils, because he has the antidote against them.

## 32 THE PICTURE OF HUMAN LIFE:

*S.* That you have explained to me very well ; but I beg you will tell me yet farther, who they are that are descending from the middle of the rock, some of them crowned, and with an air of joy on their countenances ; and others without crowns, that seem to have been rejected, and have the marks of several falls about them, and are followed by certain women.

*O. C.* They who are crowned, are such as got safe to SCIENCE, and are delighted with the reception that she has given them ; and those without crowns, who seem to have been rejected by her, and are returned in so bad a condition, are such as found their hearts fail them, when they came to the precipice where PATIENCE stands ; and turned back from that point, and are now wandering irregularly they know not whither.

*S.* And who are the women that are following them ?

*O. C.* They are SORROW and ANGUISH, and DESPAIR and INFAMY, and IGNORANCE.

*S.* By your account they are attended by every thing that is bad !

*O. C.* Undoubtedly they are, but when they are got down into the first inclosure, to VOLUPTUOUSNESS and INTEMPERANCE, they don't lay the blame on themselves, but immediately say all the ill things they can of SCIENCE, and of those who are going to her ; and tell how miserable and wretched those poor people are, and how much they suffer, who leave the life they might have enjoyed below, and the good things bestowed there.

*S.* And what are the good things which they mean ?

*O. C.* Luxury and Intemperance, to say all in two words; for to indulge their passions like brute beasts, is what they look upon as the completion of all their happiness.

*S.* And those other women that are coming down there, who look so gay and so well pleased with themselves, what are they?

*O. C.* The OPINIONS, who, after conducting those to SCIENCE, who have gained admission to the VIRTUES, are returning to bring up others, and to acquaint them how happy those are whom they have already conducted up thither.

*S.* And have they been admitted to the VIRTUES themselves?

*O. C.* By no means; for 'tis not allowable for OPINION to enter, where KNOWLEDGE has her dwelling. Their business therefore was only to conduct them to SCIENCE; and when she has received them, they turn back again to bring others; like transport-ships, which as soon as they have delivered one freight, return for another.

*S.* You have now, I think, very well explained all the figures in the picture; but you have not yet told us what directions they were, which the Genius at the first portal gives to those that are entering into life.

*O. C.* He bids them be of good courage. Wherefore be you also of good courage; for I will tell you the whole, and leave no one thing unexplained to you.

*S.* We shall be extremely obliged to you.

*O. C.* You see that blind woman there on the round stone, who I told you before was FORTUNE.

*S.* I see her.

*O. C.* As to that woman, he orders them not to place any confidence in her, nor to look on.

### 34 THE PICTURE OF HUMAN LIFE :

any of her gifts as firm or secure, nor to consider them as their property ; for there is no hindering her from resuming them, and giving them to any body else ; and 'tis what she is extremely apt to do. He therefore orders them to regard all her presents with indifference, and not to rejoice if she makes them any, nor to be dejected if she takes them away, and to think neither well nor ill of her ; for whatever she does is done without thought, and all by mere chance and accident, as I have acquainted you already. 'Tis on this account that the Genius commands them, not to attach themselves to any thing she can give ; nor to be like those simple bankers, who when they have received any sum of money in trust, are apt to be pleased with it, and look upon it as their own ; and, when they are called upon to repay it, grow uneasy, and think it very hard ; not considering that it was deposited in their hands on that very condition, that the true owners might demand it again whenever they pleased. Just thus the GENIUS commands men to look upon all the gifts of FORTUNE : and to be aware that she may recall them whenever she has a fancy to do it ; or may send in more, and, if she pleases, may resume that and the former all together. He therefore commands those who are entering into life, to receive whatever she offers them, and, as soon as they have received it, to go on in quest of a more lasting acquisition.

*S.* What acquisition do you mean ?

*O. C.* That which they may obtain from SCIENCE, if they can arrive safe to her.

*S.* And what is that she gives them ?

*O. C.* The true knowledge of what is really good, and the firm, certain, and unchangeable possession of it. He therefore commands them.

to quit Fortune immediately, in pursuit of this; and when they come to those women, who, as I told you before, were **INTEMPERANCE** and **VOLUPTUOUSNESS**, to leave them too directly, and not to mind whatever they can say; but to go on for the inclosure of **FALSE SCIENCE**; there he bids them stay a little while, to get what may be useful to them on the rest of their road, and then to leave her directly too, and go on for **TRUE SCIENCE**. These are the orders which the **GENIUS** gives to all that enter into life; and whoever transgresses or neglects them will be a miserable wretch. I have now explained the whole of the parable contained in this painting; but if you have any particular question to ask in relation to any thing that I have said, I am very ready to answer it.

*S.* We are much obliged to you. Pray then, what is it that the **GENIUS** orders them to get in the inclosure of Science, falsely so called?

*O. C.* Whatever may be of use to them.

*S.* And what is there, that may be of use to them?

*O. C.* Literature, and so much of the sciences as *Plato* says may serve people in the beginning of their lives as a bridle, to keep them from being drawn away by idler pursuits.

*S.* And is it necessary for all who would arrive at True Science, to do this?

*O. C.* No, it is not necessary, but it may be useful; though, in truth, these things themselves do not contribute towards making them the better men.

*S.* Not contribute at all towards making them better!

*O. C.* Not at all, for they may be as good without them. And yet they are not wholly un-

36 THE PICTURE OF HUMAN LIFE:

useful; for they may sometimes help us, as interpreters do, to the meaning of a language we don't understand; but, after all, 'tis better to understand the language ourselves, than to have any need of an interpreter; and we may be good, without the assistance of learning.

*S.* In what then have the learned any advantage over others towards becoming better men?

*O. C.* Why do you imagine they should have any advantage; since you see they are deceived like others, as to what is good or bad; and continue to be as much involved in all manner of vices? for there is nothing that hinders a man, who is a master of literature, and knowing in all the sciences, from being at the same time a drunkard, or intemperate, or covetous, or unjust, or villainous, or, in one word, imprudent in all his ways.

*S.* 'Tis true, we see too many instances of such.

*O. C.* Of what advantage then is their learning, toward making them better men?

*S.* You have made it appear, that it is of none; but pray what is the reason of it?

*O. C.* The reason is this: that when they are got into the second inclosure, they fix there as if they were arrived at True Science. And what can they get by that? since we see several persons, who go on directly from INTEMPERANCE, and the other vices in the first inclosure, to the inclosure of TRUE SCIENCE, without ever calling in where these learned persons have taken up their abode. How then can the learned be said to have any advantage over them? On the contrary, they are less apt to exert themselves, or to be instructed, than the former,

*S.* How can that be?

*O. C.* Because they who are in the second inclosure, not to mention any other of their faults, at least profess to know what they do not know : so that they acquiesce in their ignorance, and have no motive to stir them up toward the seeking of TRUE SCIENCE. Besides, do you not observe another thing ; that the OPINIONS, from the first inclosure, enter in among them, and converse with them, as freely as with the former ? so that they are not at all better even than they ; unless REPENTANCE should come to them, and should convince them, that it is not Science they have been embracing all this while ; but only the false appearance of her, which has deceived them. But while they continue in the same mind they are in, there is no hope left for them. To close all, my friends, what I would entreat of you is, to think over every thing I have said to you, to weigh it well in your minds, and to practice accordingly. Get a habit of doing right, whatever pain it costs you ; let no difficulties deter you, in the way to Virtue : and account every thing else despicable, in comparison of this. Then will the lesson that I have taught you, prove to yourselves a lesson of HAPPINESS.



## AN ESSAY

ON

*EPITAPHS.*

**T**HOUGH criticism has been cultivated in every age of learning, by men of great abilities and extensive knowledge, till the rules of writing are become rather burthensome than instructive to the mind; though almost every species of composition has been the subject of particular treatises, and given birth to definitions, distinctions, precepts, and illustrations; yet no critic of note, that has fallen within my observation, has hitherto thought *sepulchral inscriptions* worthy of a minute examination, or pointed out with proper accuracy their beauties and defects.

The reasons of this neglect it is useless to enquire, and perhaps impossible to discover; it might be justly expected that this kind of writing would have been the favourite topic of criticism, and that self-love might have produced some regard for it, in those authors that have crowded libraries with elaborate dissertations upon *Homer*; since to afford a subject for heroic poems is the privilege of very few, but every man may expect to be recorded in an epitaph, and therefore finds some interest in providing that his memory may not suffer by an unskilful panegyric.

If our prejudices in favour of antiquity deserve to have any part in the regulation of our studies, EPITAPHS seem entitled to more than common regard, as they are probably of the same age with the art of writing. The most ancient structures

in the world, the Pyramids, are supposed to be sepulchral monuments, which either pride or gratitude erected; and the same passions which incited men to such laborious and expensive methods of preserving their own memory, or that of their benefactors, would doubtless incline them not to neglect any easier means by which the same ends might be obtained. Nature and reason have dictated to every nation, that to preserve good actions from oblivion, is both the interest and duty of mankind: and therefore we find no people acquainted with the use of letters, that omitted to grace the tombs of their heroes and wise men with panegyric inscriptions.

To examine, therefore, in what the perfection of EPITAPHS consists, and what rules are to be observed in composing them, will be at least of as much use as other critical enquiries; and for assigning a few hours to such disquisitions, great examples at least, if not strong reasons, may be pleaded.

An EPITAPH, as the word itself implies, is an *inscription on the tomb*, and in its most extensive import may admit indiscriminately satire or praise. But as malice has seldom produced monuments of defamation, and the tombs hitherto raised have been the work of friendship and benevolence, custom has contracted the original latitude of the *word*, so that it signifies in the general acceptance an *inscription engraven on a tomb in honour of the person deceased*.

As honours are paid to the dead in order to incite others to the imitation of their excellences, the principal intention of EPITAPHS is to perpetuate the examples of virtue, that the tomb of a good man may supply the want of his presence, and veneration for his memory produce the same

effect as the observation of his life. Those EPI-TAPHS are therefore, the most perfect, which set virtue in the strongest light, and are best adapted to exalt the reader's ideas and rouse his emulation.

To this end it is not always necessary to recount the actions of a hero, or enumerate the writings of a philosopher; to imagine such informations necessary, is to detract from their characters, or to suppose their works mortal, or their achievements in danger of being forgotten. The bare name of such men answers every purpose of a long inscription.

Had only the name of Sir ISAAC NEWTON been subjoined to the design upon his monument, instead of a long detail of his discoveries, which no philosopher can want, and which none but a philosopher can understand, those, by whose direction it was raised, had done more honour both to him and to themselves.

This indeed is a commendation which it requires no genius to bestow, but which can never become vulgar or contemptible, if bestowed with judgment; because no single age produces many men of merit superior to panegyric. None but the first names can stand unassisted against the attacks of time; and if men raised to reputation by accident or caprice, have nothing but their names engraved on their tombs, there is danger lest in a few years the inscription require an interpreter. Thus have their expectations been disappointed who honoured *Picus* of *Mirandola* with this pompous epitaph:

*Hic situs est PICUS MIRANDOLA, cætera nount  
Et Tagus et Ganges, Jorsan et Antipodes.*

His name, then celebrated in the remotest cor-

ners of the earth, is now almost forgotten ; and his works, then studied, admired, and applauded, are now mouldering in obscurity.

Next in dignity to the bare name is a short character simple and unadorned without exaggeration, superlatives, or rhetoric. Such were the inscriptions in use among the *Romans*, in which the victories gained by their emperors were commemorated by a single epithet ; as *Cæsar Germanicus*, *Cæsar Dacicus*, *Germanicus Illyricus*. Such would be this epitaph, ISAACUS NEWTONUS, *naturæ legibus investigatis, hic quiescit*,

But to far the greatest part of mankind a longer encomium is necessary for the publication of their virtues, and the preservation of their memories ; and in the composition of these it is that art is principally required, and precepts therefore may be useful.

In writing EPITAPHS, one circumstance is to be considered, which affects no other composition ; the place in which they are now commonly found restrains them to a particular air of solemnity, and debars them from the admission of all lighter or gayer ornaments. In this it is that the stile of an EPITAPH necessarily differs from that of an ELEGY. The custom of burying our dead either in or near our churches, perhaps originally founded on a rational design of fitting the mind for religious exercises, by laying before it the most affecting proof of the uncertainty of life, makes it proper to exclude from our EPITAPHS all such allusions as are contrary to the doctrines for the propagation of which the churches are erected, and to the end for which those who peruse the monuments must be supposed to come thither. Nothing is, therefore, more ridiculous than to copy the *Roman* inscriptions which were

engraven on stones by the highway, and composed by those who generally reflected on mortality only to excite in themselves and others a quicker relish of pleasure, and a more luxurious enjoyment of life, and whose regard for the dead extended no farther than a wish that *the earth might be light upon them.*

All allusions to the heathen mythology are therefore absurd, and all regard for the senseless remains of a dead man impertinent and superstitious. One of the first distinctions of the primitive christians, was their neglect of bestowing garlands on the dead, in which they are very rationally defended by their apologist in *Minutius Felix*. “ We lavish no flowers nor odours on the “ dead” says he, “ because they have no sense “ of fragrance or of beauty.” We profess to reverence the dead, not for their sake, but for our own. It is therefore always with indignation or contempt that I read the epitaph on *Cowley*, a man, whose learning and poetry were his lowest merits :

*Aurea dum late volitant tua scripta per orbem,  
Et fama eternum vivis, divine Pœta,  
Hic placida jaceas requie, custodiat urnam  
Cana Fides, vigilantque perenni lampade Musæ !  
Sit sacer ille locus, nec quis temerarius ausit  
Sacilega turbare manu venerabile bustum.  
Intacti maneant, maneant per sæcula dulces  
COWLEYI cineres, servantque immobile saxum*

To pray that the ashes of a friend may lie undisturbed, and that the divinities that favoured him in his life, may watch for ever round him to preserve his tomb from violation, and drive sacrilege away, is only rational in him who believes the soul interested in the repose of the

body, and the powers which he invokes for its protection able to preserve it. To censure such expressions as contrary to religion, or as remains of heathen superstition, would be too great a degree of severity. I condemn them only as unstructive and unaffecting, as too ludicrous for reverence or grief, for christianity and a temple.

That the designs and decorations of monuments ought likewise to be formed with the same regard to the solemnity of the place, cannot be denied: it is an established principle, that all ornaments owe their beauty to their propriety. The same glitter of dress that adds grace to gaiety and youth, would make age and dignity contemptible. *Charon* with his boat is far from heightening the awful grandeur of the universal judgment, though drawn by *Angelo* himself; nor is it easy to imagine a greater absurdity than that of gracing the walls of a christian temple with the figure of *Mars* leading a hero to battle, or *Cupids* sporting round a virgin. The pope who defaced the statues of the deities at the tomb of *Sannazarius* is, in my opinion, more easily to be defended, than he that erected them.

It is for the same reason improper to address the EPITAPH to the passenger, a custom which an injudicious veneration for antiquity introduced again at the revival of letters, and which, among many others, *Passeratius* suffered to mislead him in his EPITAPH upon the heart of *Henry* king of *France*, who was stabbed by *Clement* the monk, which yet deserves to be inserted, for the sake of shewing how beautiful even improprieties may become, in the hands of a good writer:

*Adsta, viator, et dole regum vices.  
Cor Regis isto conditur sub marmore.*

*Qui jura Gallis, jura Sarmatis dedit.  
Tectus cucullo hunc sustulit sicarius.  
Abi, viator, et dole regum vices.*

In the monkish ages, however ignorant and unpolished, the EPITAPHS were drawn up with far greater propriety than can be shewn in those which more enlightened times have produced.

*Orate pro Anima—miserimmi Peccatoris,*

was an address to the last degree striking and solemn, as it flowed naturally from the religion then believed, and awakened in the reader sentiments of benevolence for the deceased, and of concern for his own happiness. There was nothing trifling or ludicrous, nothing that did not tend to the noblest end, the propagation of piety and the increase of devotion.

It may seem very superfluous to lay it down as the first rule for writing EPITAPHS, that the name of the deceased is not to be omitted; nor should I have thought such a precept necessary, had not the practice of the greatest writers shewn that it has not been sufficiently regarded. In most of the poetical EPITAPHS, the names for whom they were composed, may be sought to no purpose, being only prefixed on the monument. To expose the absurdity of this omission, it is only necessary to ask how the EPITAPHS, which have outlived the stones on which they were inscribed, would have contributed to the information of posterity, had they wanted the names of those whom they celebrated.

In drawing the character of the deceased, there are no rules to be observed which do not equally relate to other compositions. The praise ought not to be general, because the mind is lost in the extent of any indefinite idea, and cannot be affect-

ed with what it cannot comprehend. When we hear only of a good or great man, we know not in what class to place him, nor have any notion of his character, distinct from that of a thousand others; his example can have no effect upon our conduct, as we have nothing remarkable or eminent to propose to our imitation. The EPITAPH composed by *Ennius* for his own tomb, has both the faults last mentioned:

*Nemo me deceat lacrumis, nec funera, fetu  
Faxit. Cur? volito virou' per ora virum.*

The reader of this EPITAPH receives scarce any idea from it; he neither conceives any veneration for the man to whom it belongs, nor is instructed by what methods this boasted reputation is to be obtained.

Though a sepulchral inscription is professedly a panegyric, and, therefore, not confined to historical impartiality, yet it ought always to be written with regard to truth. No man ought to be commended for virtues which he never possessed, but whoever is curious to know his faults must inquire after them in other places; the monuments of the dead are not intended to perpetuate the memory of crimes, but to exhibit patterns of virtue. On the tomb of *Mæcenas* his luxury is not to be mentioned with his munificence, nor is the proscription to find a place on the monument of *Augustus*.

The best subject for EPITAPHS is private virtue; virtue exerted in the same circumstances in which the bulk of mankind are placed, and which therefore, may admit of many imitators. He that has delivered his country from oppression, or freed the world from ignorance and error, can excite the emulation of a very small number;



Distress and terror often discover to us those faults with which we should never have reproached ourselves in a happy state. Yet, dejected as I am, when I review the transaction between me and this writer, I cannot find that I have been deficient in reverence. When his book was first printed, he hints that I procured a sight of it before it was published. How the sight of it was procured I do not now very exactly remember; but if my curiosity was greater than my prudence, if I laid rash hands on the fatal volume, I have surely suffered like him who burst the box from which evil rushed into the world.

I took it, however, and inspected it as the work of an author not higher than myself; and was confirmed in my opinion, when I found that these letters were *not written to be printed*. I concluded, however, that though *not written to be printed*, they were *printed to be read*, and inserted one of them in the collection of *November* last. Not many days after I received a note, informing me, that I ought to have waited for a more correct edition. This injunction was obeyed. The edition appeared, and I supposed myself at liberty to tell my thoughts upon it, as upon any other book, upon a royal manifesto, or an act of parliament. But see the fate of ignorant temerity! I now find, but find too late, that instead of a writer whose only power is in his pen; I have irritated an important member of an important corporation; a man who, as he tells us in his letters, puts horses to his chariot.

It was allowed to the disputant of old to yield up the controversy with little resistance to the master of forty legions. Those who know how weakly naked truth can defend her advocates, would forgive me if I should pay the same re-

spect to a Governor of the Foundlings. Yet the consciousness of my own rectitude of intention incites me to ask once again, how I have offended.

There are only three subjects upon which my unlucky pen has happened to venture. Tea; the author of the Journal; and the Foundling Hospital.

Of Tea what have I said? That I have drank it twenty years without hurt, and therefore believe it not to be poison: that if it dries the fibres, it cannot soften them; that if it constringes, it cannot relax. I have modestly doubted whether it has diminished the strength of our men, or the beauty of our women; and whether it much hinders the progress of our woollen or iron manufacturers; but I allowed it to be a barren superfluity, neither medicinal nor nutritious, that neither supplied strength nor cheerfulness, neither relieved weariness, nor exhilarated sorrow; I inserted, without charge or suspicion of falshood, the sums exported to purchase it; and proposed a law to prohibit it for ever.

Of the author I unfortunately said, that his injunction was somewhat too magisterial. This I said before I knew that he was a Governor of the Foundlings; but he seems inclined to punish this failure of respect, as the czar of *Muscovy* made war upon *Sweden*, because he was not treated with sufficient honours when he passed through the country in disguise. Yet was not this irreverence without extenuation. Something was said of the merit of *meaning well*, and the Journalist was declared to be a man *whose failings might well be pardoned for his virtues*. This is

the highest praise which human gratitude can confer upon human merit; praise that would have more than satisfied *Titus* or *Augustus*, but which I must own to be inadequate and penurious, when offered to the member of an important corporation.

I am asked whether I meant to satirize the man or criticise the writer, when I say that *he believes; only perhaps because he has inclination to believe it, that the English and Dutch consume more Tea than the vast empire of China?* Between the writer and the man I did not at that time consider the distinction. The writer I found not of more than mortal might, and I did not immediately recollect that the man put horses to his chariot. But I did not write wholly without consideration. I knew but two causes of belief, evidence and inclination. What evidence the Journalist could have of the *Chinese* consumption of Tea, I was not able to discover. The officers of the *East-India* Company are excluded, they best know why, from the towns and the country of *China*; they are treated as we treat gypsies and vagrants, and obliged to retire every night to their own hovel. What intelligence such travellers may bring is of no great importance. And though the missionaries boast of having once penetrated further, I think they have never calculated the Tea drank by the *Chinese*. There being thus no evidence for his opinion, to what could I ascribe it but to inclination?

I am yet charged more heavily for having said, that *he has no intention to find any thing right at home*. I believe every reader restrained this imputation to the subject which produced it, and supposed me to insinuate only that he meant to

spare no part of the Tea-table, whether essence or circumstance. But this line he has selected as an instance of virulence and acrimony, and confutes it by a lofty and splendid panegyrick on himself. He asserts, that he finds many things right at home, and that he loves his country almost to enthusiasm.

I had not the least doubt that he found in his country many things to please him; nor did I suppose that he desired the same inversion of every part of life, as of the use of Tea. The proposal of drinking Tea sour shewed indeed such a disposition to practical paradoxes, that there was reason to fear least some succeeding letter should recommend the dress of the *Picts*, or the cookery of the *Eskimaux*. However, I met with no other innovations, and therefore was willing to hope that he found something right at home.

But his love of his country seemed not to rise quite to enthusiasm, when, amidst his rage against Tea, he made a smooth apology for the *East India Company*, as men who might not think themselves obliged to be political arithmeticians. I hold, though no enthusiastic patriot, that every man who lives and trades under the protection of a community, is obliged to consider whether he hurts or benefits those who protect him; and that the most which can be indulged to private interest is a neutral traffick, if any such can be, by which our country is not injured, though it may not be benefited.

But he now renews his declamation against Tea, notwithstanding the greatness or power of those that have interest or inclination to support it. I know not of what power or greatness he may dream. The importers only have an inter-

est in defending it. I am sure they are not great, and I hope they are not powerful. Those whose inclination leads them to continue this practice, are too numerous, but I believe their power is such, as the Journalist may defy without enthusiasm. The love of our country, when it rises to enthusiasm, is an ambiguous and uncertain virtue: when a man is enthusiastic, he ceases to be reasonable, and when he once departs from reason, what will he do but drink sour Tea? As the Journalist, though enthusiastically zealous for his country, has, with regard to smaller things, the placid happiness of philosophical indifference, I can give him no disturbance by advising him to restrain even the love of his country within due limits, lest it should sometimes swell too high, fill the whole capacity of his soul, and leave less room for the love of truth.

Nothing now remains but that I review my positions concerning the Foundling-Hospital. What I declared last month, I declare now once more, that I found none of the children that appeared to have heard of the catechism. It is inquired how I wandered, and how I examined? There is doubtless subtilty in the question; I know not well how to answer it. Happily I did not wander alone; I attended some ladies with another gentleman, who all heard and assisted the enquiry with equal grief and indignation. I did not conceal my observations. Notice was given of this shameful defect soon after, at my request, to one of the highest names of the society. This I am now told is incredible; but since it is true, and the past is out of human power, the most important corporation cannot make it false. But why is it incredible? Because in the rules of the hospital the children are ordered to learn the ru-

diments of religion. Orders are easily made, but they do not execute themselves. They say their catechism, at stated times, under an able master. But this able master was, I think, not elected before last *February*; and my visit was, if I mistake not, in *November*. The children were shy when interrogated by a stranger. This may be true, but the same shyness I do not remember to have hindered them from answering other questions: and I wonder why children so much accustomed to new spectators should be eminently shy.

My opponent, in the first paragraph, calls the inference that I made from this negligence, a hasty conclusion: to the decency of this expression I had nothing to object: but as he grew hot in his career, his enthusiasm began to sparkle; and in the vehemence of his postscript, he charges my assertions, and my reasons for advancing them, with folly and malice. His argumentation being somewhat enthusiastical, I cannot fully comprehend, but it seems to stand thus: my insinuations are foolish or malicious, since I know not one of the Governors of the Hospital; for he that knows not the Governors of the Hospital, must be very foolish or malicious.

He has, however, so much kindness for me, that he advises me to consult my safety when I talk of corporations. I know not what the most important corporation can do, becoming manhood, by which my safety is endangered. My reputation is safe, for I can prove the fact; my quiet is safe, for I meant well; and for any other safety, I am not used to be very solicitous.

I am always sorry when I see any being labouring in vain; and in return for the Journalist's attention to my safety, I will confess some

compassion for his tumultuous resentment ; since all his invectives fume into the air, with so little effect upon me, that I still esteem him as one that has the *merit of meaning well*; and still believe him to be *a man whose failings may be justly pardoned for his virtues.*

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## INTRODUCTION

TO THE

### Proceedings of the Committee

APPOINTED TO MANAGE THE

*Contributions begun at London, Dec. 18, 1758,  
for cloathing French Prisoners of War.*



THE Committee intrusted with the money contributed to the relief of the subjects of *France*, now prisoners in the *British* dominions, here lay before the public an exact account of all the sums received and expended, that the donors may judge how properly their benefactions have been applied.

Charity would lose its name, were it influenced by so mean a motive as human praise: it is therefore not intended to celebrate by any particular memorial, the liberality of single persons, or distinct societies; it is sufficient that their works praise them.

Yet he who is far from seeking honour, may very justly obviate censure. If a good example has been set, it may lose its influence by mis-

representation; and to free charity from reproach, is itself a charitable action.

Against the relief of the *French* only one argument has been brought; but that one is so popular and specious, that if it were to remain unexamined, it would by many be thought irrefragable. It has been urged that charity, like other virtues, may be improperly and unseasonably exerted; that while we are relieving *Frenchmen*, there remain many *Englishmen* unrelieved; that while we lavish pity on our enemies, we forget the misery of our friends.

Grant this argument all it can prove, and what is the conclusion?—That to relieve the *French* is a good action, but that a better may be conceived. This is all the result, and this all is very little. To do the best can seldom be the lot of man; it is sufficient if when opportunities are presented, he is ready to do good. How little virtue could be practised, if beneficence were to wait always for the most proper objects, and the noblest occasions; occasions that may never happen, and objects that may never be found?

It is far from certain, that a single *Englishman* will suffer by the charity to the *French*. New scenes of misery make new impressions; and much of the charity which produced these donations, may be supposed to have been generated by a species of calamity never known among us before. Some imagine that the laws have provided all necessary relief in common cases, and remit the poor to the care of the public; some have been deceived by fictitious misery, and are afraid of encouraging imposture; many have observed want to be the effect of vice, and consider casual almsgivers as pa-



trons of idleness. But all these difficulties vanish in the present case: we know that for the Prisoners of War there is no legal provision; we see their distress, and are certain of its cause; we know that they are poor and naked, and poor and naked without a crime.

But it is not necessary to make any concessions. The opponents of this charity must allow it to be good, and will not easily prove it not to be the best. That charity is best, of which the consequences are most extensive: the relief of enemies has a tendency to unite mankind in fraternal affection; to soften the acrimony of adverse nations, and dispose them to peace and amity: in the mean time, it alleviates captivity, and takes away something from the miseries of war. The rage of war, however mitigated, will always fill the world with calamity and horror: let it not then be unnecessarily extended; let animosity and hostility cease together; and no man be longer deemed an enemy, than while his sword is drawn against us.

The effects of these contributions may, perhaps, reach still further. Truth is best supported by virtue: we may hope from those who feel or who see our charity, that they shall no longer detest as heresy that religion, which makes its professors the followers of him, who has commanded us to "do good to them that hate us."

ON THE  
**BRAVERY**  
 OF THE  
 ENGLISH COMMON SOLDIERS.

**B**Y those who have compared the military genius of the *English* with that of the *French* nation, it is remarked, that *the French officers will always lead, if the soldiers will follow*; and that *the English soldiers will always follow, if their officers will lead*.

In all pointed sentences, some degree of accuracy must be sacrificed to conciseness; and, in this comparison, our officers seem to lose what our soldiers gain. I know not any reason for supposing that the *English* officers are less willing than the *French* to lead; but it is, I think, universally allowed, that the *English* soldiers are more willing to follow. Our nation may boast, beyond any other people in the world, of a kind of epidemic bravery, diffused equally through all its ranks. We can shew a peasantry of heroes, and fill our armies with clowns, whose courage may vie with that of their general.

There may be some pleasure in tracing the causes of this plebeian magnanimity. The qualities which commonly make an army formidable, are long habits of regularity, great exactness of discipline, and great confidence in the commander. Regularity, may in time, produce a kind of mechanical obedience to signals and commands, like that which the perverse *Cartesians* impute to animals; discipline may impress such an awe

upon the mind, that any danger shall be less dreaded than the danger of punishment; and confidence in the wisdom or fortune of the general, may induce the soldiers to follow him blindly to the most dangerous enterprize.

What may be done by discipline and regularity, may be seen in the troops of the *Russian* empress and *Prussian* monarch. We find that they may be broken without confusion, and repulsed without flight.

But the *English* troops have none of these requisites in any eminent degree. Regularity is by no means part of their character: they are rarely exercised, and therefore shew very little dexterity in their evolutions as bodies of men, or in the manual use of their weapons as individuals; they neither are thought by others, nor by themselves, more active or exact than their enemies, and therefore derive none of their courage from such imaginary superiority.

The manner in which they are dispersed in quarters over the country during times of peace, naturally produces laxity of discipline: they are very little in sight of their officers; and, when they are not engaged in the slight duty of the guard, are suffered to live every man his own way.

The equality of *English* privileges, the impartiality of our laws, the freedom of our tenures, and the prosperity of our trade, dispose us very little to reverence of superiors. It is not to any great esteem of the officers that the *English* soldier is indebted for his spirit in the hour of battle; for perhaps it does not often happen that he thinks much better of his leader than of himself. The *French* count, who has lately published the *Art of War*, remarks how much soldiers are ani-

mated, when they see all their dangers shared by those who were born to be their masters, and whom they consider as beings of a different rank. The *Englishman* despises such motives of courage; he was born without a master; and looks not on any man, however dignified by lace or titles, as deriving from nature any claims to his respect, or inheriting any qualities superior to his own.

There are some, perhaps, who would imagine that every *Englishman* fights better than the subjects of absolute governments, because he has more to defend. But what has the *English* more than the *French* soldier? Property they are both commonly without. Liberty is, to the lowest rank of every nation, little more than the choice of working or starving; and this choice is, I suppose, equally allowed in every country. The *English* soldier seldom has his head very full of the constitution; nor has there been, for more than a century, any war that put the property or liberty of a single *Englishman* in danger.

Whence then is the courage of the *English* vulgar? It proceeds, in my opinion, from that dissolution of dependance which obliges every man to regard his own character. While every man is fed by his own hands, he has no need of any servile arts; he may always have wages for his labour; and is no less necessary to his employer, than his employer is to him. While he looks for no protection from others, he is naturally roused to be his own protector; and having nothing to abate his esteem of himself, he consequently aspires to the esteem of others. Thus every man that crowds our streets is a man of honour, disdainful of obligation, impatient of reproach, and desirous of extending his reputation

among those of his own rank ; and as courage is in most frequent use, the fame of courage is most eagerly pursued. From this neglect of subordination I do not deny that some inconveniencies may from time to time proceed: the power of the law does not always sufficiently supply the want of reverence, or maintain the proper distinction between different ranks : but good and evil will grow up in this world together ; and they who complain, in peace, of the insolence of the populace, must remember, that their insolence in peace is bravery in war.

## CONSIDERATIONS

ON THE

PLANS offered for the Construction of  
BLACK-FRIARS BRIDGE.

*In three Letters to the Printer of the Gazetteer.*

### LETTER I.

SIR,

*Dec. 1, 1759.*

THE Plans which have been offered by different architects, of different reputation and abilities, for the Construction of the Bridge intended to be built at *Black-Friars*, are, by the rejection of the greater part, now reduced to a small number ; in which small number three are supposed to be much superior to the rest ; so that only three architects are now properly competitors for the honour of this great employment ;

by two of whom are proposed semicircular and by the other *elliptical arches*.

The question is, therefore, whether an elliptical or semicircular arch is to be preferred?

The first excellence of a bridge built for commerce over a large river, is strength; for a bridge which cannot stand, however beautiful, will boast its beauty but a little while; the stronger arch is therefore to be preferred, and much more to be preferred, if with greater strength it has greater beauty.

Those who are acquainted with the mathematical principles of architecture, are not many; and yet fewer are they who will, upon any single occasion endure any laborious stretch of thought, or harass their minds with unaccustomed investigations. We shall therefore attempt to shew the *weakness of the elliptical arch*, by arguments which appeal simply to common reason, and which will yet stand the test of geometrical examination.

All arches have a certain degree of weakness. No hollow building can be equally strong with a solid mass, of which every upper part presses perpendicularly upon the lower. Any weight laid upon the top of an arch, has a tendency to force that top into the vacuity below: and the arch thus loaded on the top, stands only because the stones that form it, being wider in the upper than in the lower parts, that part that fills a wider space cannot fall through a space less wide; but the force which laid upon a flat would press directly downwards, is dispersed each way in a lateral direction, as the parts of a beam are pushed out to the right and left by a wedge driven between them. - In proportion as the stones are

wider at the top than at the bottom, they can less easily be forced downwards, and as their lateral surfaces tend more from the center to each side, to so much more is the pressure directed laterally towards the piers, and so much less perpendicularly towards the vacuity.

Upon this plain principle the semicircular arch may be demonstrated to excel in strength the elliptical arch, which approaching nearer to a straight line, must be constructed with stones whose diminution downwards is very little, and of which the pressure is almost perpendicular.

It has yet been sometimes asserted by hardy ignorance, that the elliptical arch is stronger than the semicircular; or in other terms, that any mass is more strongly supported the less it rests upon the supporters. If the elliptical arch be equally strong with the semicircular, that is, if an arch, by approaching to a straight line, loses none of its stability, it will follow, that all arcuation is useless, and that the bridge may at last, without any inconvenience, consist of stone laid in straight lines from pillar to pillar. But if a straight line will bear no weight, which is evident at the first view, it is plain likewise, that an ellipsis will bear very little; and that as the arch is more curved, its strength is increased.

Having thus evinced the superior strength of the semicircular arch, we have sufficiently proved, that it ought to be preferred; but to leave no objection unprevented, we think it proper likewise to observe, that the elliptical arch must always appear to want elevation and dignity; and that if beauty be to be determined by suffrages, the elliptical arch will have little to boast, since the only bridge of that kind has now stood *two hundred years without imitation.*

If in opposition to these arguments, and in defiance at once of right reason and general authority, the elliptical arch should at last be chosen, what will the world believe, than that some other motive than reason influenced the determination? And some degree of partiality cannot but be suspected by him, who has been told that one of the judges appointed to decide this question, is Mr. *M—ll—r*, who having by ignorance or thoughtlessness, already preferred the elliptical arch, will probably think himself obliged to maintain his own judgment, though his opinion will avail but little with the public, when it is known that Mr. *S—ps—n* declares it to be false.

He that in the list of the committee chosen for the superintendency of the bridge, reads many of the most illustrious names of this great city, will hope that the greater number will have more reverence for the opinion of posterity, than to disgrace themselves, and the metropolis of the kingdom, in compliance with any man, who, instead of voting, aspires to dictate, perhaps without any claim to such superiority, either by greatness of birth, dignity of employment, extent of knowledge, or largeness of fortune.

## LETTER II.

SIR,

*Dec. 8, 1759.*

**I**N questions of general concern, there is no law of government, or rule of decency, that forbids open examination and public discussion. I shall therefore not betray, by a mean apology, that right which no man has power, and, I suppose, no wise man has desire to refuse me; but shall consider the Letter published by you last *Friday*, in defence of Mr. *M—*'s design for a new bridge.



Mr. *M*— proposes elliptical arches. It has been objected that elliptical arches are weak, and therefore improper for a bridge of commerce, in a country where greater weights are ordinarily carried by land than perhaps in any other part of the world. That there is an elliptical bridge at *Florence* is allowed, but the objectors maintain, that its stability is so much doubted, *that carts* are not permitted to pass over it.

To this no answer is made, but that it was built for coaches; and if it had been built for carts, it would have been made stronger: thus all the controvertists agree, that the bridge is too weak for carts; and it is of little importance, whether carts are prohibited because the bridge is weak, or whether the architect, knowing that carts were prohibited, voluntarily constructed a weak bridge. The instability of the elliptical arch has been sufficiently proved by argument, and *Ammanuti's* attempt has proved it by example.

The iron rail, whether gilt or varnished, appears to me unworthy of debate. I suppose every judicious eye will discern it to be minute and trifling, equally unfit to make a part of a great design, whatever be its colour. I shall only observe how little the writer understands his own positions, when he recommends it to be cast in whole pieces from pier to pier. That iron forged is stronger than iron cast, every smith can inform him; and if it be cast in large pieces, the fracture of a single bar must be repaired by a new piece.

The abrupt rise, which is feared from firm circular arches, may be easily prevented, by a little extension of the abutment at each end, which will take away the objection, and add almost nothing to the expence.

PLANS OF BLACK-FRIARS BRIDGE. 65

The whole of the argument in favour of Mr. *M*—, is only that there is an elliptical bridge at *Florence*, and an iron ballustrade at *Rome*; the bridge is owned to be weak, and the iron ballustrade we consider as mean; and are loth that our own country should unite two follies in a public work.

The architrave of *Perault*, which has been pompously produced, bears nothing but its entablature; and is so far from owing its support to the artful section of the stone, that it is held together by cramps of iron; to which I am afraid Mr. *M*— must have recourse, if he persists in his ellipsis, or, to use the words of his vindicator, forms his arch of four segments of circles drawn from four different centres.

That Mr. *M*— obtained the prize of the architecture at *Rome*, a few months ago, is willingly confessed; nor do his opponents doubt that he obtained it by deserving it. May he continue to obtain whatever he deserves; but let it not be presumed that a prize granted at *Rome*, implies an irresistible degree of skill. The competition is only between boys, and the prize given to excite laudable industry, not to reward consummate excellence. Nor will the suffrage of the *Romans* much advance any name among those who know, what no man of science will deny, that architecture has for some time degenerated at *Rome* to the lowest state, and that the Pantheon is now deformed by petty decorations.

I am, SIR,

Yours, &c.

## LETTER III.

SIR,

Dec. 15, 1759.

**I**T is the common fate of erroneous positions, that they are betrayed by defence, and obscured by explanation; that their authors deviate from the main question into incidental disquisitions, and raise a mist where they should let in light.

Of all these concomitants of errors, the Letter of Dec. 10, in favour of elliptical arches, has afforded examples. A great part of it is spent upon digressions. The writer allows, that *the first excellence of a bridge is undoubtedly strength*; but this concession affords him an opportunity of telling us, that strength, or provision against decay, has its limits; and of mentioning the Monument and Cupola, without any advance towards evidence or argument.

The *first excellence of a bridge* is now allowed to be *strength*; and it has been asserted, that a semi-ellipsis has less strength than a semicircle. To this he first answers, that *granting* this position *for a moment*, the semi-ellipsis may yet have strength sufficient for the purposes of commerce. This grant, which was made but for a moment, needed not to have been made at all; for before he concludes his letter, he undertakes to prove, that the *elliptical arch must in all respects be superior in strength to the semicircle*. For this daring assertion he made way by the intermediate paragraphs; in which he observes, that *the convexity of a semi-ellipsis may be increased at will to any degree that strength may require*; which is, that an elliptical arch may be made less elliptical, to be made less weak; or that an arch, which by its elliptical form is superior in strength to the

semicircle, may become almost as strong as a semicircle, by being made almost semicircular.

That the longer diameter of an ellipsis may be shortened, till it shall differ little from a circle, is indisputably true; but why should the writer forget the semicircle differs as little from such an ellipsis? It seems that the difference, whether small or great, is to the advantage of the semicircle; for he does not promise that the elliptical arch, with all the convexity that his imagination can confer, will stand without *cramps of iron, and melted lead, and large stones, and a very thick arch*; assistances which the semicircle does not require, and which can be yet less required by a semi-ellipsis, which is *in all respects superior in strength*.

Of a man who loves opposition so well, as to be thus at variance with himself, little doubt can be made of his contrariety to others; nor do I think myself entitled to complain of disregard from one, with whom the performances of antiquity have so *little weight*; yet in defiance of all this contemptuous superiority, I must again venture to declare, that *a strait line will bear no weight*; being convinced, that not even the science of *Vasari* can make that form strong which the laws of nature have condemned to weakness. By the position, that *a strait line will bear nothing*, is meant, that *it receives no strength from straitness*; for that many bodies, laid in strait lines, will support weight by the cohesion of their parts, every one has found, who has seen dishes on a shelf, or a thief upon the gallows. It is not denied, that stones may be so crushed together by enormous pressure on each side, that a heavy mass may safely be laid upon them; but the strength must be derived merely

from the lateral resistance; and the line so loaded will be itself part of the load.

The semi-elliptical arch has one recommendation yet unexamined; we are told that it is difficult of execution. Why difficulty should be chosen for its own sake, I am not able to discover; but it must not be forgotten, that as the convexity is increased, the difficulty is lessened, and I know not well whether this writer, who appears equally ambitious of difficulty and studious of strength, will wish to increase the convexity for the gain of strength, or to lessen it for the love of difficulty.

The friend of Mr. *M*—, however he may be mistaken in some of his opinions, does not want the appearance of reason, when he prefers facts to theories; and that I may not dismiss the question without some appeal to facts, I will borrow an example, suggested by a great artist, and recommended to those who may still doubt which of the two arches is the stronger, to press an egg first on the ends, and then upon the sides.

I am, SIR,

Yours, &c.

## Some Thoughts on Agriculture,

BOTH

*ANCIENT & MODERN:*

With an Account of the Honour due to an

*English Farmer.\**

**A**GRICULTURE, in the primeval ages, was the common parent of traffick; for the opulence of mankind then consisted in cattle, and the product of tillage; which are now very essential for the promotion of trade in general, but more particularly so to such nations as are most abundant in cattle, corn, and fruits. The labour of the Farmer gives employment to the manufacturer, and yields a support for the other parts of a community: it is now the spring which sets the whole grand machine of commerce in motion; and the sale could not be spread without the assistance of the plough. But, though the Farmers are of such utility in a state, we find them in general too much disregarded among the politer kind of people in the present age: while we cannot help observing the honour that antiquity has always paid to the profession of the husbandman: which naturally leads us into some reflections upon that occasion.

Though mines of gold and silver should be exhausted, and the species made of them lost; though diamonds and pearls should remain concealed in the bowels of the earth, and the womb of the sea; though commerce with strangers be

\* From the Visiter, for *February*, 1756, p. 59.

## 70 THOUGHTS ON AGRICULTURE.

prohibited; though all arts, which have no other object than splendor and embellishment, should be abolished; yet, the fertility of the earth alone would afford an abundant supply for the occasions of an industrious people, by furnishing subsistence for them, and such armies as should be mustered in their defence. We, therefore, ought not to be surprized, that Agriculture was in so much honour among the ancients: for it ought rather to seem wonderful that it should ever cease to be so, and that the most necessary and most indispensable of all professions should have fallen into any contempt.

Agriculture was in no part of the world in higher consideration than *Egypt*, where it was the particular object of government and policy: nor was any country ever better peopled, richer, or more powerful. The *Satrapæ*, among the *Assyrians* and *Persians*, were rewarded, if the lands in their governments were well cultivated; but were punished, if that part of their duty was neglected. *Africa* abounded in corn; but the most famous countries were *Thrace*, *Sardinia* and *Sicily*.

*Cato*, the censor, has justly called *Sicily* the magazine and nursing mother of the *Roman* people, who were supplied from thence with almost all their corn, both for the use of the city, and the subsistence of her armies: though we also find in *Livy*, that the *Romans* received no inconsiderable quantities of corn from *Sardinia*. But, when *Rome* had made herself mistress of *Carthage* and *Alexandria*, *Africa* and *Egypt* became her store-houses: for those cities sent such numerous fleets every year, freighted with corn to *Rome*, that *Alexandria* alone annually supplied twenty millions of bushels: and, when

## THOUGHTS ON AGRICULTURE. 71

the harvest happened to fail in one of these provinces, the other came into its aid, and supported the metropolis of the world; which, without this supply, would have been in danger of perishing by famine. *Rome* actually saw herself reduced to this condition under *Augustus*; for there remained only three days provision of corn in the city: and that prince was so full of tenderness for the people, that he had resolved to poison himself; if the expected fleets did not arrive before the expiration of that time; but they came; and the preservation of the *Romans* was attributed to the good fortune of their emperor: but wise precautions were taken to avoid the like danger for the future.

When the seat of empire was transplanted to *Constantinople*, that city was supplied in the same manner: and when the emperor *Septimius Severus*, died, there was corn in the public magazines for seven years, expending daily 75,000 bushels in bread, for 600,000 men.

The ancients were no less industrious in the cultivation of the vine than in that of corn, though they applied themselves to it later: for *Noah* planted it by order, and discovered the use that might be made of the fruit, by pressing out, and preserving the juice. The vine was carried by the offspring of *Noah* into the several countries of the world: but *Asia* was the first to experience the sweets of this gift; from whence it was imparted to *Europe* and *Africa*. *Greece* and *Italy*, which were distinguished in so many other respects, were particularly so by the excellency of their wines. *Greece* was most celebrated for the wines of *Cyprus*, *Lesbos*, and *Chio*; the former of which is in great esteem at present; though the cultivation of the vine has



## 72 THOUGHTS ON AGRICULTURE.

been generally suppressed in the *Turkish* dominions. As the *Romans* were indebted to the *Grecians* for the arts and sciences, so were they likewise for the improvement of their wines; the best of which were produced in the country of *Capua*, and were called the *Massic*, *Calenian*, *Formian*, *Cæcuban*, and *Falernian*, so much celebrated by *Horace*. *Domitian* passed an edict for destroying all the vines, and that no more should be planted throughout the greatest part of the west; which continued almost two hundred years afterwards, when the emperor *Probus* employed his soldiers in planting vines in *Europe*, in the same manner as *Hannibal* had formerly employed his troops in planting olive-trees in *Africa*. Some of the ancients have endeavoured to prove, that the cultivation of vines is more beneficial than any other kind of husbandry: but, if this was thought so in the time of *Columello*, it is very different at present; nor were all the ancients of his opinion, for several gave the preference to pasture lands.

The breeding of cattle has always been considered as an important part of Agriculture. The Riches of *Abraham*, *Laban*, and *Job*, consisted in their flocks and herds. We also find from *Latinus* in *Virgil*, and *Ulysses* in *Homer*, that the wealth of those princes consisted in cattle. It was likewise the same among the *Romans*, till the introduction of money, which put a value upon commodities, and established a new kind of barter. *Varro* has not disdained to give an extensive account of all the beasts that are of any use to the country, either for tillage, breed, carriage, or any other conveniencies of man. And *Cato*, the censor, was of opinion, that the

## THOUGHTS ON AGRICULTURE. 73

feeding of cattle was the most certain and speedy method of enriching a country.

Luxury, avarice, injustice, violence, and ambition, take up their ordinary residence in populace cities: while the hard and laborious life of the husbandman will not admit of these vices. The honest Farmer lives in a wise and happy state, which inclines him to justice, temperance, sobriety, sincerity and every virtue that can dignify human nature. This gave room for the poets to feign, that *Astræa*, the goddess of justice, had her last residence among husbandmen, before she quitted the earth. *Hesiod* and *Virgil* have brought the assistance of the muses in praise of Agriculture. Kings, generals, and philosophers have not thought it unworthy their birth, rank, and genius, to leave precepts to posterity upon the utility of the husbandman's profession. *Hiero*, *Attalus*, and *Archelaus*, kings of *Syracuse*, *Pergamus*, and *Capadocia*, have composed books for supporting and augmenting the fertility of their different countries. The *Carthaginian* general, *Mago*, wrote twenty-eight volumes upon this subject; and *Cato*, the censor, followed his example. Nor have *Plato*, *Xenophon*, and *Aristotle*, omitted this article, which makes an essential part of their politicks. And *Cicero*, speaking of the writings of *Xenophon*, says, "how fully and excellently does he, in that book called his *Oeconomics*, set out the advantages of husbandry, and a country life."

When *Britain* was subject to the *Romans*, she annually supplied them with great quantities of corn; and the *Isle of Anglesea* was then looked upon as the granary for the western provinces: but the *Britons*, both under the *Romans* and

## 74 THOUGHTS ON AGRICULTURE.

*Saxons*, were employed like slaves at the plough. On the intermixture of the *Danes* and *Normans*, possessions were better regulated, and the state of vassalage gradually declined, till it was entirely wore of under the reigns of *Henry VII.* and *Edward VI.* for they hurt the old nobility by favouring the commons, who grew rich by trade, and purchased estates.

The wines of *France*, *Portugal*, and *Spain*, are now the best; while *Italy* can only boast of the wine made in *Tuscany*. The breeding of cattle is now chiefly confined to *Denmark* and *Ireland*. The corn of *Sicily* is still in great esteem, as well as what is produced in the northern countries: but *England* is the happiest spot in the universe for all the principal kinds of Agriculture, and especially its produce of corn.

The improvement of our landed estates, is the enrichment of the kingdom: for, without this, how could we carry on our manufactures, or prosecute our commerce? We should look upon the *English* Farmer as the most useful member of society. His arable grounds not only supply his fellow-subjects with all kinds of the best grain, but his industry enables him to export great quantities to other kingdoms, which might otherwise starve; particularly *Spain* and *Portugal*: for, in one year, there have been exported 51,520 quarters of barley, 219,781 of malt, 1920 of oatmeal, 1329 of rye, and 153,343 of wheat; the bounty on which amounted to 72,433 pounds. What a fund of treasure arises from his pasture lands, which breed such innumerable flocks of sheep, and afford such fine herds of cattle, to feed *Britons*, and cloath mankind? He rears flax and hemp for the making of linen;

## THOUGHTS ON AGRICULTURE. 75

while his plantations of apples and hops supply him with generous kinds of liquors.

The land tax, when at four shillings in the pound, produces 2,000,000 pounds a year. This arises from the labour of the husbandman: it is a great sum: but how greatly is it increased by the means it furnishes for trade? Without the industry of the Farmer, the manufacturer could have no goods to supply the merchant, nor the merchant find any employment for the mariners: trade would be stagnated; riches would be of no advantage to the great; and labour of no service to the poor.

The *Romans* as historians all allow,  
Sought, in extreme distress, the rural plough;  
*To triumph!* for the village swain  
Retir'd to be a \* nobleman again.

\* *Cincinnatus.*

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## FURTHER THOUGHTS ON AGRICULTURE.\*

AT my last *visit*, I took the liberty of mentioning a subject, which, I think, is not considered with attention proportionate to its importance. Nothing can more fully prove the ingratitude of mankind, a crime often charged upon them, and often denied, than the little regard which the disposers of honorary rewards have paid to *Agriculture*; which is treated as a

\* From the *Visiter*, for *March*, 1756, p. 111.

subject so remote from common life, by all those who do not immediately hold the plough, or give fodder to the ox, that I think there is room to question, whether a great part of mankind has yet been informed that life is sustained by the fruits of the earth. I was once indeed provoked to ask a lady of great eminence for genius, *Whether she knew of what bread is made?*

I have already observed, how differently *Agriculture* was considered by the heroes and wise men of the *Roman* commonwealth, and shall now only add, that even after the emperors had made great alteration in the system of life, and taught men to portion out their esteem to other qualities than usefulness, *Agriculture* still maintained its reputation, and was taught by the polite and elegant *Celsus* among the other arts.

The usefulness of *Agriculture* I have already shewn; I shall now, therefore, prove its necessity: and having before declared, that it produces the chief riches of a nation, I shall proceed to shew, that it gives its only riches, the only riches which we can call our own, and of which we need not fear either deprivation or diminution.

Of nations, as of individuals, the first blessing is independence. Neither the man nor the people can be happy to whom any human power can deny the necessaries or conveniencies of life. There is no way of living without the need of foreign assistance, but by the product of our own land, improved by our own labour. Every other source of plenty is perishable or casual.

Trade and manufactures must be confessed often to enrich countries; and we ourselves are indebted to them for those ships by which we now command the sea, from the equator to the poles, and for those sums with which we have shewn

ourselves able to arm the nations of the north in defence of regions in the western hemisphere. But trade and manufactures, however profitable, must yield to the cultivation of lands in usefulness and dignity.

Commerce, however we may please ourselves with the contrary opinion, is one of the daughters of fortune, inconstant and deceitful as her mother; she chuses her residence where she is least expected, and shifts her abode, when her continuance is in appearance most firmly settled. Who can read of the present distresses of the *Genoese*, whose only choice now remaining is, from what monarch they shall solicit protection? Who can see the *Hanseatick* towns in ruins, where perhaps the inhabitants do not always equal the number of the houses; but he will say to himself, These are the cities, whose trade enabled them once to give laws to the world, to whose merchants princes sent their jewels in pawn, from whose treasuries armies were paid, and navies supplied! And who can then forbear to consider trade as a weak and uncertain basis of power, and wish to his own country greatness more solid, and felicity more durable?

It is apparent, that every trading nation flourishes, while it can be said to flourish, by the courtesy of others. We cannot compel any people to buy from us, or to sell to us. A thousand accidents may prejudice them in favour of our rivals; the workmen of another nation may labour for less price, or some accidental improvement, or natural advantage; may procure a just preference to their commodities; as experience has shewn, that there is no work of the hands,

## 78 THOUGHTS ON AGRICULTURE.

which, at different times, is not best performed in different places.

Traffick, even while it continues in its state of prosperity, must owe its success to *Agriculture*; the materials of manufacture are the produce of the earth. The wool which we weave into cloth, the wood which is formed into cabinets, the metals which are formed into weapons, are supplied by nature with the help of art. Manufactures, indeed, and profitable manufactures, are sometimes raised from imported materials, but then we are subjected a second time to the caprice of our neighbours. The natives of *Lombardy* might easily resolve to retain their silk at home, and employ workmen of their own to weave it. And this will certainly be done when they grow wise and industrious, when they have sagacity to discern their true interest, and vigour to pursue it.

Mines are generally considered as the great sources of wealth, and superficial observers have thought the possession of great quantities of precious metals the first national happiness. But *Europe* has long seen, with wonder and contempt, the poverty of *Spain*, who thought himself exempted from the labour of tilling the ground, by the conquest of *Peru*, with its veins of silver. Time, however, has taught even this obstinate and haughty nation, that without *Agriculture* they may indeed be the transmitters of money, but can never be the possessors. They may dig it out of the earth, but must immediately send it away to purchase cloth or bread, and it must at last remain with some people wise enough to sell much, and to buy little; to live upon their own lands, without a wish for those things which nature has denied them.

## THOUGHTS ON AGRICULTURE. 79

Mines are themselves of no use, without some kind of *Agriculture*. We have, in our own country, inexhaustible stores of iron, which lie useless in the ore for want of wood. It was never the design of Providence to feed man without his own concurrence: we have from nature only what we cannot provide for ourselves; she gives us wild fruits which art must meliorate, and drossy metals, which labour must refine.

Particular metals are valuable, because they are scarce; and they are scarce, because the mines that yield them are emptied in time. But the surface of the earth is more liberal than its caverns. The field, which is this autumn laid naked by the sickle will be covered, in the succeeding summer, by a new harvest; the grass, which the cattle are devouring, shoots up again when they have passed over it.

*Agriculture*, therefore, and *Agriculture* alone, can support us without the help of others, in certain plenty and genuine dignity. Whatever we buy from without, the sellers may refuse; whatever we sell, manufactured by art, the purchasers may reject; but, while our ground is covered with corn and cattle, we can want nothing; and if imagination should grow sick of native plenty, and call for delicacies or embellishments from other countries, there is nothing which corn and cattle will not purchase.

Our country is, perhaps, beyond all others, productive of things necessary to life. The pine apple thrives better between the tropicks, and better furs are found in the northern regions. But let us not envy these unnecessary privileges. Mankind cannot subsist upon the indulgencies of nature, but must be supported by her more common gifts. They must feed upon bread, and be



## 80 THOUGHTS ON AGRICULTURE.

cloathed with wool; and the nation that can furnish these universal commodities, may have her ships welcomed at a thousand ports, or sit at home and receive the tribute of foreign countries, enjoy their arts, or treasure up their gold.

It is well known to those who have examined the state of other countries, that the vineyards of *France* are more than equivalent to the mines of *America*; and that one great use of *Indian* gold, and *Peruvian* silver, is to procure the wines of *Champagne* and *Burgundy*. The advantage is indeed always rising on the side of *France*, who will certainly have wines, when *Spain*, by a thousand natural or accidental causes, may want silver. But surely the vallies of *England* have more certain stores of wealth. Wines are chosen by caprice; the products of *France* have not always been equally esteemed; but there never was any age, or people, that reckoned bread among superfluities, when once it was known. The price of wheat and barley suffers not any variation, but what is caused by the uncertainty of seasons.

I am far from intending to persuade my countrymen to quit all other employments for that of manuring the ground. I mean only to prove, that we have, at home, all that we can want, and that therefore we need feel no great anxiety about the schemes of other nations for improving their arts, or extending their traffick. But there is no necessity to infer, that we should cease from commerce, before the revolution of things shall transfer it to some other regions! Such vicissitudes the world has often seen; and therefore such we have reason to expect. We hear many clamours of declining trade, which are not, in my opinion, always true; and many imputa-

tions of that decline to governors and ministers, which may be sometimes just, and sometimes calumnious. But it is foolish to imagine; that any care or policy can keep commerce at a stand, which almost every nation has enjoyed and lost, and which we must expect to lose as we have long enjoyed it.

There is some danger, lest our neglect of *Agriculture* should hasten its departure. Our industry has for many ages been employed in destroying the woods which our ancestors have planted. It is well known that commerce is carried on by ships, and that ships are built out of trees; and therefore, when I travel over naked plains, to which tradition has preserved the name of forests, or see hills arising on either hand, barren and useless, I cannot forbear to wonder, how that commerce, of which we promise ourselves the perpetuity, shall be continued by our descendants; nor can restrain a sigh, when I think on the time, a time at no great distance, when our neighbours may deprive us of our naval influence, by refusing us their timber.

By *Agriculture* only can commerce be perpetuated; and by *Agriculture* alone can we live in plenty without intercourse with other nations. This, therefore, is the great art, which every government ought to protect, every proprietor of lands to practise, and every inquirer into nature to improve.

THE LIFE  
OF  
FATHER PAUL SARPI.

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FATHER PAUL, whose name, before he entered into the monastic life, was Peter Sarpi, was born at Venice, August 14, 1552. His father followed merchandize, but with so little success, that, at his death, he left his family very ill provided for, but under the care of a mother, whose piety was likely to bring the blessing of Providence upon them, and whose wise conduct supplied the want of fortune by advantages of greater value.

Happily for young Sarpi, she had a brother, master of a celebrated school, under whose direction he was placed by her. Here he lost no time, but cultivated his abilities, naturally of the first rate, with unwearied application. He was born for study, having a natural aversion to pleasure and gaiety, and a memory so tenacious, that he could repeat thirty verses upon once hearing them.

Proportionable to his capacity was his progress in literature: at thirteen, having made himself master of school-learning, he turned his studies to philosophy and the mathematicks, and entered upon logick under Capella of Cremona, who, though a celebrated master of that science, confessed himself in a very little time unable to give his pupil farther instructions.

As Capella was of the order of the Servites, his scholar was induced, by his acquaintance with him, to engage in the same profession,

though his uncle and his mother represented to him the hardships and austerities of that kind of life, and advised him with great zeal against it. But he was steady in his resolutions, and in 1566 took the habit of the order, being then only in his 14th year, a time of life in most persons very improper for such engagements, but in him attended with such maturity of thought, and such a settled temper, that he never seemed to regret the choice he then made, and which he confirmed by a solemn public profession in 1572.

At a general chapter of the Servites, held at Mantua, Paul (for so we shall now call him) being then only twenty years old, distinguished himself so much in a publick disputation by his genius and learning, that William duke of Mantua, a great patron of letters, solicited the consent of his superiors to retain him at his court, and not only made him publick professor of divinity in the cathedral, but honoured him with many proofs of his esteem.

But Father Paul, finding a court life not agreeable to his temper, quitted it two years afterwards, and retired to his beloved privacies, being then not only acquainted with the Latin, Greek, Hebrew, and Chaldee languages, but with philosophy, the mathematicks, canon and civil law, all parts of natural philosophy, and chemistry itself; for his application was unintermitted, his head clear, his apprehension quick, and his memory retentive.

Being made a priest at twenty-two, he was distinguished by the illustrious cardinal Borromeo with his confidence, and employed by him on many occasions, not without the envy of persons of less merit, who were so far exasperated as to lay a charge against him, before the in-

quisition, for denying that the Trinity could be proved from the first chapter of genesis; but the accusation was too ridiculous to be taken notice of.

After this he passed successively through the dignities of his order, and in the intervals of his employment applied himself to his studies with so extensive a capacity, as left no branch of knowledge untouched. By him Acquedent, the great anatomist, confesses that he was informed how vision is performed; and there are proofs that he was not a stranger to the circulation of the blood. He frequently conversed upon astronomy with mathematicians, upon anatomy with surgeons, upon medicine with physicians, and with chemists upon the analysis of metals, not as a superficial enquirer, but as a complete master.

But the hours of repose, that he employed so well, were interrupted by a new information in the inquisition, where a former acquaintance produced a letter written by him in cyphers, in which he said, "that he detested the court of Rome, and that no preferment was obtained there but by dishonest means." This accusation, however dangerous, was passed over on account of his great reputation, but made such impression on that court, that he was afterwards denied a bishoprick by Clement VIII. After these difficulties were surmounted, Father Paul again retired to his solitude, where he appears, by some writings drawn up by him at that time, to have turned his attention more to improvements in piety and learning. Such was the care with which he read the scriptures, that, it being his custom to draw a line under any passage which he intended more nicely to consider, there

was not a single word in his New Testament but was underlined; the same marks of attention appeared in his Old Testament, Psalter, and Breviary.

But the most active scene of his life began about the year 1615, when Pope Paul Vth, exasperated by some degrees of the senate of Venice that interfered with the pretended rights of the church, laid the whole state under an interdict.

The senate, filled with indignation at this treatment, forbade the bishops to receive or publish the Pope's bull; and convening the rectors of the churches, commanded them to celebrate divine service in the accustomed manner, with which most of them readily complied; but the Jesuits and some others refusing, were by a solemn edict expelled the state.

Both parties, having proceeded to extremities, employed their ablest writers to defend their measures: on the Pope's side, among others, Cardinal Bellarmine entered the lists, and with his confederate authors defended the papal claims with great scurrility of expression, and very sophistical reasonings, which were confuted by the Venetian apologists in much more decent language, and with much greater solidity of argument.

On this occasion Father Paul was most eminently distinguished, by his *Defence of the Rights of the supreme Magistrate*, his *Treatise of Excommunication* translated from Gerson, with an *Apology*, and other writings, for which he was cited before the inquisition at Rome; but it may be easily imagined that he did not obey the summons.

The Venetian writers, whatever might be the abilities of their adversaries, were at least superior to them in the justice of their cause. The propositions maintained on the side of Rome were these: That the Pope is invested with all the authority of heaven and earth. That all princes are his vassals, and that he may annul their laws at pleasure. That kings may appeal to him, as he is temporal monarch of the whole earth. That he can discharge subjects from their oaths of allegiance, and make it their duty to take up arms against their sovereign. That he may depose kings without any fault committed by them, if the good of the church requires it: that the clergy are exempt from all tribute to kings, and are not accountable to them even in cases of high treason. That the Pope cannot err: that his decisions are to be received and obeyed on pain of sin, though all the world should judge them to be false: that the Pope is God upon earth; that his sentence and that of God are the same; and that to call his power in question, is to call in question the power of God: maxims equally shocking, weak, pernicious, and absurd; which did not require the abilities or learning of Father Paul, to demonstrate their falsehood, and destructive tendency.

It may be easily imagined that such principles were quickly overthrown, and that not court but that of Rome thought it for its interest to favour them. The Pope, therefore, finding his authority confuted, and his cause abandoned, was willing to conclude the affair by treaty, which, by the mediation of Henry IV. of France, was accommodated upon terms very much to the honour of the Venetians.

But the defenders of the Venetian rights were, though comprehended in the treaty, excluded by the Romans from the benefit of it; some upon different pretences were imprisoned, some sent to the galleys, and all debarred from preferment. But their malice was chiefly aimed against Father Paul, who soon found the effects of it; for as he was going one night to his convent, about six months after the accommodation, he was attacked by five ruffians armed with stilettoes, who gave him no less than fifteen stabs, three of which wounded him in such a manner, that he was left for dead. The murderers fled for refuge to the nuncio, and were afterwards received into the Pop's dominions, but were pursued by divine justice, and all, except one man who died in prison, perished by violent deaths.

This and other attempts upon his life obliged him to confine himself to his convent, where he engaged in writing the history of the Council of Trent, a work unequalled for the judicious disposition of the matter, and artful texture of the narration, commended by Dr. Burnet as the completest model of historical writing, and celebrated by Mr. Wotton as equivalent to any production of antiquity; in which the reader finds  
“ Liberty without licentiousness, piety without  
“ hypocrisy, freedom of speech without neglect  
“ of decency, severity without rigour, and ex-  
“ tensive learning without ostentation.”

In this, and other works of less consequence, he spent the remaining part of his life, to the beginning of the year 1622, when he was seized with a cold and fever, which he neglected till it became incurable. He languished more than twelve months, which he spent almost wholly in a preparation for his passage into eternity; and



among his prayers and aspirations was often heard to repeat, *Lord! now let thy servant depart in peace.*

On Sunday the eighth of January of the next year, he rose, weak as he was, to mass, and went to take his repast with the rest, but on Monday was seized with a weakness that threatened immediate death; and on Thursday prepared for his change by receiving the *Viaticum* with such marks of devotion, as equally melted and edified the beholders.

Through the whole course of his illness to the last hour of his life, he was consulted by the senate in public affairs, and returned answers, in his greatest weakness, with such presence of mind as could only arise from the consciousness of Innocence.

On Sunday, the day of his death, he had the passion of our blessed Saviour read to him out of St. John's gospel, as on every other day of that week, and spoke of the mercy of his Redeemer, and his confidence in his merits.

As his end evidently approached, the brethren of the convent came to pronounce the last prayers, with which he could only join in his thoughts, being able to pronounce no more than these words, *Esto perpetua, Mayst thou last for ever;* which was understood to be a prayer for the prosperity of his country.

Thus died Father Paul, in the 71st year of his age: hated by the Romans as their most formidable enemy, and honoured by all the learned for his abilities, and by the good for his integrity. His detestation of the corruption of the Roman church appears in all his writings, but particularly in this memorable passage of one of his letters: "There is nothing more essential than to ruin

“ the reputation of the Jesuits : by the ruin of  
 “ the Jesuits, Rome will be ruined ; and if Rome  
 “ is ruined, religion will reform of itself ”

He appears by many passages of his life to have had a high esteem of the church of England ; and his friend, Father Fulgentio, who had adopted all his notions, made no scruple of administering to Dr. Duncomb, an English gentleman that fell sick at Venice, the communion in both kinds, according to the Common Prayer which he had with him in Italian.

He was buried with great pomp at the public charge, and a magnificent monument was erected to his memory.

THE LIFE  
 OF  
 MORIN.\*

**L**EWIS MORIN was born at Mans, on the 11th of July 1635, of parents eminent for their piety. He was the eldest of sixteen children, a family to which their estate bore no proportion, and which, in persons less resigned to Providence, would have caused great uneasiness and anxiety.

His parents omitted nothing in his education, which religion requires, and which their fortune could supply. Botany was the study that ap-

\* Translated from an eloge by Fontenelle, and first printed in the Gentleman's Magazine for 1741.

peared to have taken possession of his inclination, as soon as the bent of his genius could be discovered. A countryman, who supplied the apothecaries of the place, was his first master, and was paid by him for his instructions with the little money that he could procure, or that which was given him to buy something to eat after dinner. Thus abstinence and generosity discovered themselves with his passion for botany, and the gratification of a desire indifferent in itself was procured by the exercise of two virtues.

He was soon master of all his instructor's knowledge, and was obliged to enlarge his acquaintance with plants, by observing them himself in the neighbourhood of Mans. Having finished his grammatical studies, he was sent to learn philosophy at Paris, whither he travelled on foot like a student in botany, and was careful not to lose such an opportunity of improvement.

When his course of philosophy was completed, he was determined by his love of botany, to the profession of physic, and from that time engaged in a course of life, which was never exceeded either by the ostentation of a philosopher, or the severity of an anchorite; for he confined himself to bread and water, and at most allowed himself no indulgence beyond fruits. By this method, he preserved a constant freedom and serenity of spirits, always equally proper for study; for his soul had no pretences to complain of being overwhelmed with matter.

This regimen, extraordinary as it was, had many advantages; for it preserved his health, an advantage which very few sufficiently regard; it gave him an authority to preach diet and abstinence to his patients; and it made him rich without the assistance of fortune: rich, not for him-

self, but for the poor, who were the only persons benefited by that artificial affluence, which of all others, is most difficult to acquire. It is easy to imagine, that, while he practised in the midst of Paris the severe temperance of a hermit, Paris differed no otherwise with regard to him, from a hermitage, than as it supplied him with books, and the conversation of learned men.

In 1662 he was admitted doctor of physic. About that time Dr. Fagon, Dr. Longuet, and Dr. Galois, all eminent for their skill in botany, were employed in drawing up a catalogue of the plants in the Royal Garden, which was published in 1665, under the name of Dr. Vallot, then first physician: during the prosecution of this work, Dr. Morin was often consulted, and from those conversations it was that Dr. Fagon conceived a particular esteem of him, which he always continued to retain.

After having practised physic some years, he was admitted Expectant at the Hotel Dieu, where he was regularly to have been made Pensionary physician upon the first vacancy; but mere unassisted merit advances slowly, if, what is not very common, it advances at all. Morin had no acquaintance with the arts necessary to carry on schemes of preferment; the moderation of his desires preserved him from the necessity of studying them, and the privacy of his life debarred him from any opportunity.

At last, however, justice was done him in spite of artifice and partiality; but his advancement added nothing to his condition, except the power of more extensive charity; for all the money which he received as a salary, he put into the chest of the hospital, always, as he imagined, without being observed. Not content with serv-

ing the poor for nothing, he paid them for being served.

His reputation rose so high in Paris, that mademoiselle de Guise was desirous to make him her physician, but it was not without difficulty that he was prevailed upon by his friend, Dr. Dodart, to accept the place. He was by this new advancement laid under the necessity of keeping a chariot, an equipage very unsuitable to his temper; but while he complied with those exterior appearances which the public had a right to demand from him, he remitted nothing of his former austerity in the more private and essential parts of his life, which he had always the power of regulating according to his own disposition.

In two years and a half the princess fell sick, and was despaired of by Morin, who was a great master of prognosticks. At the time when she thought herself in no danger, he pronounced her death inevitable; a declaration to the highest degree disagreeable, but which was made more easy to him than to any other by his piety and artless simplicity. Nor did his sincerity produce any ill consequences to himself; for the princess, affected by his zeal, taking a ring from her finger, gave it him as the last pledge of her affection, and rewarded him still more to his satisfaction, by preparing for death with a true christian piety. She left him by will a yearly pension of two thousand livres, which was always regularly paid him.

No sooner was the princess dead, but he freed himself from the incumbrance of his chariot, and retired to St. Victor without a servant having, however, augmented his daily allowance with a little rice boiled in water.

Dodart, who had undertaken the charge of being ambitious on his account, procured him, at the restoration of the academy in 1699, to be nominated associate botanist; not knowing, what he would doubtless have been pleased with the knowledge of, that he introduced into that assembly the man that was to succeed him in his place of Pensionary.

Dr. Morin was not one who had upon his hands the labour of adapting himself to the duties of his condition, but always found himself naturally adapted to them. He had, therefore, no difficulty in being constant at the assemblies of the academy, notwithstanding the distance of places, while he had strength enough to support the journey. But his regimen was not equally effectual to produce vigour as to prevent distempers; and being 64 years old at his admission, he could not continue his assiduity more than a year after the death of Dodart, whom he succeeded in 1707.

When Mr. Tournefort went to pursue his botanical enquiries in the Levant, he desired Dr. Morin to supply his place of Demonstrator of the Plants in the Royal Garden, and rewarded him for the trouble, by inscribing to him a new plant which he brought from the east, by the name of *Morina Orientalis*, as he named others the *Dodarto*, the *Fagonne*, the *Bignonne*, the *Phelipee*. These are compliments proper to be made by the botanists, not only to those of their own rank, but to the greatest persons; for a plant is a monument of a more durable nature than a medal or an obelisk; and yet, as a proof that even these vehicles are not always sufficient to transmit to futurity the name conjoined with

them, the *Nicotiana* is now scarcely known by any other term than that of tobacco.

Dr. Morin advancing far in age, was now forced to take a servant, and what was yet a more essential alteration, prevailed upon himself to take an ounce of wine a day, which he measured with the same exactness as a medicine bordering upon poison. He quitted at the same time all his practice in the city, and confined it to the poor of his neighbourhood, and his visits at the Hotel Dieu; but his weakness increasing, he was forced to increase his quantity of wine, which yet he always continued to adjust by weight\*.

At 78 his legs could carry him no longer, and he scarcely left his bed; but his intellects continued unimpaired, except in the last six months of his life. He expired, or, to use a more proper term, went out, on the first of March 1714, at the age of 80 years, without any distemper, and merely for want of strength, having enjoyed by the benefit of his regimen a long and healthy life, and a gentle and easy death.

This extraordinary regimen was but part of the daily regulation of his life, of which all the offices were carried on with a regularity and exactness nearly approaching to that of the planetary motions.

He went to bed at seven, and rose at two, throughout the year. He spent in the morning

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\* The practice of Dr. Morin is forbidden, I believe, by every writer that has left rules for the preservation of health, and is directly opposite to that of Cornaro, who by his regimen repaired a broken constitution, and protracted his life, without any painful infirmities, or any decay of his intellectual abilities, to more than a hundred years; it is generally agreed, that as men advance in years, they ought to take lighter sustenance, and in less quantities; and reason seems easily to discover that as the concoctive powers grow weaker they ought to labour less. *Orig. Edit.*

three hours at his devotions, and went to the Hotel Dieu in the summer between five and six, and in the winter between six and seven, hearing mass for the most part at Notre Dame. After his return he read the holy scripture, dined at eleven, and when it was fair weather walked till 2 in the royal garden, where he examined the new plants, and gratified his earliest and strongest passion. For the remaining part of the day, if he had no poor to visit, he shut himself up, and read books of literature or physic, but chiefly physic, as the duty of his profession required. This likewise was the time he received visits, if any were paid him. He often used this expression, "Those that come to see me, do me honour; and those that stay, away do me a favour." It is easy to conceive that a man of this temper was not crowded with salutations: there was only now and then an Antony that would pay Paul a visit.

Among his papers was found a Greek and Latin index to Hippocrates, more copious and exact than that of Pini, which he had finished only a year before his death. Such a work required the assiduity and patience of an hermit\*.

There is likewise a journal of the weather, kept without interruption, for more than forty years, in which he has accurately set down the state of the barometer and thermometer, the dryness and moisture of the air, the variations of the wind in the course of the day, the rain, the thunders, and even the sudden storms, in a very commodious and concise method, which exhibits,

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\* This is an instance of the disposition generally found in writers of lives, to exalt every common occurrence and action into wonders. Are not indexes daily written by men who neither receive nor expect very loud applauses for their labours? *Orig. Edit.*



in a little room, a great train of different observations. What numbers of such remarks had escaped a man of less uniform in his life, and whose attention had been extended to common objects!

All the estate which he left is a collection of medals, another of herbs, and a library rated at two thousand crowns. Which make it evident that he spent much more upon his mind than upon his body.

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THE  
*LIFE OF CHEYNEL.\**

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**T**HERE is always this advantage in contending with illustrious adversaries, that the combatant is equally immortalized by conquest or defeat. He that dies by the sword of a hero will always be mentioned when the acts of his enemy are mentioned. The man, of whose life the following accounts is offered to the public, was indeed eminent among his own party, and had qualities which, employed in a good cause, would have given him some claim to distinction; but no one is now so much blinded with bigotry, as to imagine him equal either to Hammond or Chillingworth; nor would his memory, perhaps, have been preserved, had he not, by being conjoined with illustrious names, become the object of public curiosity.

Francis Cheynel was born in 1608 at Oxford,† where his father Dr. John Cheynel, who had

\* First printed in *The Student*, 1751.

† Vide Wood's *Ath. Ox. Orig. Editt.*

been fellow of Corpus Christi college, practised physic with great reputation. He was educated in one of the grammar schools of his native city, and in the beginning of the year 1623 became a member of the university.

It is probable that he lost his father when he was very young; for it appears, that before 1629, his mother had married Dr. Abbot, bishop of Salisbury, whom she had likewise buried. From this marriage he received great advantage; for his mother being now allied to Dr. Brent, then warden of Merton college, exerted her interest so vigorously, that he was admitted there a probationer, and afterwards obtained a fellowship\*.

Having taken the degree of master of arts, he was admitted to orders according to the rites of the church of England, and held a curacy near Oxford, together with his fellowship. He continued in his college till he was qualified by his years of residence for the degree of bachelor of divinity, which he attempted to take in 1641, but was denied his grace†, for disputing concerning predestination, contrary to the king's injunctions.

This refusal of his degree he mentions in his dedication to his account of Mr. Chillingworth:  
 " Do not conceive that I snatch up my pen in  
 " an angry mood, that I might vent my danger-  
 " ous wit, and ease my overburned spleen;  
 " no, no, I have almost forgotten the visitation  
 " of Merton college, and the denial of my grace,  
 " the plundering of my house and little library :

\* Vide Wood's Ath. Ox. *Orig. Edit.*

† Vide Wood's Hist. Univ. Ox. *Orig. Edit.*

“ I know when, and where, and of whom, to  
 “ demand satisfaction for all these injuries and  
 “ indignities. I have learnt *centum plagas Spar-*  
 “ *tana nobilitate concoquere.* I have not learnt  
 “ how to plunder others of goods, or living, and  
 “ make myself amends by force of arms. I will  
 “ not take a living which belonged to any civil,  
 “ studious, learned delinquent; unless it be the  
 “ much neglected *commendam* of some lordly  
 “ prelate, condemned by the known laws of the  
 “ land, and the highest court of the kingdom,  
 “ for some offence of the first magnitude.”

It is observable, that he declares himself to have almost forgot his injuries and indignities, though he recounts them with an appearance of acrimony, which is no proof that the impression is much weakened; and insinuates his design of demanding, at a proper time, satisfaction for them.

These vexations were the consequence, rather of the abuse of learning, than the want of it; no one that reads his works can doubt that he was turbulent, obstinate, and petulant, and ready to instruct his superiors, when he most needed instruction from them. Whatever he believed (and the warmth of his imagination naturally made him precipitate in forming his opinions) he thought himself obliged to profess; and what he professed he was ready to defend, without that modesty which is always prudent, and generally necessary, and which, though it was not agreeable to Mr. Cheynel's temper, and therefore readily condemned by him, is a very useful associate to truth, and often introduces her by degrees, where she never could have forced her way by argument or declamation.

A temper of this kind is generally inconvenient and offensive in any society, but in a place of

education is least to be tolerated; for, as authority is necessary to instruction, whoever endeavours to destroy subordination, by weakening that reverence which is claimed by those to whom the guardianship of youth is committed by their country, defeats at once the institution; and may be justly driven from a society, by which he thinks himself too wise to be governed, and in which he is too young to teach, and too opinionative to learn.

This may be readily supposed to have been the case of Cheynel; and I know not how those can be blamed for censuring his conduct, or punishing his disobedience, who had a right to govern him, and who might certainly act with equal sincerity, and with greater knowledge.

With regard to the visitation of Merton college, the account is equally obscure. Visitors are well known to be generally called to regulate the affairs of colleges, when the members disagree with their head, or with one another; and the temper that Dr. Cheynel discovers will easily incline his readers to suspect that he could not long live in any place without finding some occasion for debate; nor debate any question without carrying his opposition to such a length as might make a moderator necessary. Whether this was his conduct at Merton, or whether an appeal to the visitor's authority was made by him, or his adversaries, or any other member of the college, is not to be known; it appears only, that there was a visitation, that he suffered by it, and resented his punishment.

He was afterwards presented to a living of great value, near Banbury, where he had some dispute with archbishop Laud. Of this dispute I have found no particular account. Calamy

only says he had a ruffle with bishop Laud, while at his height.

Had Cheynel been equal to his adversary in greatness and learning, it had not been easy to have found either a more proper opposite; for they were both, to the last degree, zealous, active, and pertinacious, and would have afforded mankind a spectacle of resolution and boldness not often to be seen. But the amusement of beholding the struggle would hardly have been without danger, as they were too fiery not to have communicated their heat, though it should have produced a conflagration of their country.

About the year 1641, when the whole nation was engaged in the controversy about the rights of the church, and necessity of episcopacy, he declared himself a presbyterian, and an enemy to bishops, liturgies, ceremonies, and was considered as one of the most learned and acute of his party; for, having spent much of his life in a college, it cannot be doubted that he had a considerable knowledge of books, which the vehemence of his temper enabled him often to display, when a more timorous man would have been silent, though in learning not his inferior.

When the war broke out, Mr. Cheynel, in consequence of his principles, declared himself for the Parliament: and as he appears to have held it as a first principle, that all great and noble spirits abhor neutrality, there is no doubt but that he exerted himself to gain proselytes, and to promote the interest of that party which he had thought it his duty to espouse. These endeavours were so much regarded by the parliament, that, having taken the covenant, he was nominated one of the assembly of divines, who

were to meet at Westminster for the settlement of the new discipline.

This distinction drew necessarily upon him the hatred of the cavaliers; and his living being not far distant from the king's head-quarters, he received a visit from some of the troops, who, as he affirms, plundered his house and drove him from it. His living, which was, I suppose considered as forfeited by his absence, (though he was not suffered to continue upon it,) was given to a clergyman, of whom he says, that he would become a stage better than a pulpit; a censure which I can neither confute nor admit, because I have not discovered who was his successor. He then retired into Sussex, to exercise his ministry among his friends, in a place where, as he observes, there had been little of the power of religion either known or practised. As no reason can be given why the inhabitants of Sussex should have less knowledge or virtue than those of other places, it may be suspected that he means nothing more than a place where the presbyterian discipline or principles had never been received. We now observe, that the Methodists, where they scatter their opinions, represent themselves as preaching the gospel to unconverted nations; and enthusiasts of all kinds have been inclined to disguise their particular tenets with pompous appellations, and to imagine themselves the great instruments of salvation; yet it must be confessed that all places are not equally enlightened; that in the most civilized nations there are many corners which may be called barbarous, where neither politeness, nor religion, nor the common arts of life, have yet been cultivated; and it is likewise certain, that the inhabitants of Sussex

have been sometimes mentioned as remarkable for brutality.

From Sussex he went often to London, where, in 1643, he preached three times before the parliament; and, returning in November to Colchester, to keep the monthly fast there, as was his custom, he obtained a convoy of sixteen soldiers, whose bravery or good fortune was such, that they faced and put to flight more than two hundred of the king's forces.

In this journey he found Mr. Chillingworth in the hands of the parliament's troops, of whose sickness and death he gave the account, which has been sufficiently made known to the learned world by Mr. Maizeaux, in his *Life of Chillingworth*.

With regard to this relation it may be observed that it is written with an air of fearless veracity, and with the spirit of a man who thinks his cause just, and his behaviour without reproach; nor does there appear any reason for doubting that Cheynel spoke and acted as he relates; for he does not publish an apology, but a challenge, and writes not so much to obviate calumnies, as to gain from others that applause which he seems to have bestowed very liberally upon himself for his behaviour on that occasion.

Since, therefore, this relation is credible, a great part of it being supported by evidence which cannot be refuted, Mr. Maizeaux seems very justly, in his *Life of Mr. Chillingworth*, to oppose the common report, that his life was shortened by the inhumanity of those to whom he was a prisoner; for Cheynel appears to have preserved, amidst all his detestation of the opinions which he imputed to him, a great kindness to his person, and veneration for his capacity:

nor does he appear to have been cruel to him, otherwise than by that incessant importunity of disputation, to which he was doubtless incited by a sincere belief of the danger of his soul, if he should die without renouncing some of his opinions.

The same kindness which made him desirous to convert him before his death, would incline him to preserve him from dying before he was converted; and accordingly we find, that when the castle was yielded, he took care to procure him a commodious lodging: when he was to have been unseasonably removed, he attempted to shorten his journey, which he knew would be dangerous; when the physician was disgusted by Chillingworth's distrust, he prevailed upon him, as the symptoms grew more dangerous, to renew his visits; and when death left no other act of kindness to be practised, procured him the rites of burial, which some would have denied him.

Having done thus far justice to the humanity of Cheynel, it is proper to enquire how far he deserves blame. He appears to have extended none of that kindness to the opinions of Chillingworth, which he shewed to his person; for he interprets every word in the worst sense, and seems industrious to discover in every line heresies, which might have escaped for ever any other apprehension: he appears always suspicious of some latent malignity, and ready to persecute what he only suspects, with the same violence as if it had been openly avowed: in all his procedure he shews himself sincere, but without candour.

About this time Cheynel, in pursuance of his natural ardour, attended the army under the command of the Earl of Essex, and added the



praise of valour to that of learning ; for he distinguished himself so much by his personal bravery, and obtained so much skill in the science of war, that his commands were obeyed by the colonels with as much respect as those of the general. He seems, indeed, to have been born a soldier, for he had an intrepidity which was never to be shaken by any danger, and a spirit of enterprise not to be discouraged by difficulty, which were supported by an unusual degree of bodily strength. His services of all kinds were thought of so much importance by the parliament, that they bestowed upon him the living of Petworth, in Sussex. This living was of the value of £700 per annum, from which they had ejected a man remarkable for his loyalty, and therefore, in their opinion, not worthy of such revenues. And it may be enquired, whether in accepting this preferment, Cheynel did not violate the protestation which he makes in the passage already recited, and whether he did not suffer his resolutions to be overborne by the temptations of wealth.

In 1646, when Oxford was taken by the forces of the parliament, and the reformation of the University was resolved, Mr. Cheynel was sent, with six others, to prepare the way for a visitation; being authorised by the parliament to preach in any of the churches, without regard to the right of the members of the university, that their doctrine might prepare their hearers for the changes which were intended.

When they arrived at Oxford, they began to execute their commission, by possessing themselves of the pulpits; but if the relation of Wood\* is to be regarded, were heard with very little veneration. Those who had been accus-

\* Vide Wood's Hist. Antiq. Oxon. *Orig. Edit.*

tomed to the preachers of Oxford, and the liturgy of the church of England, were offended at the emptiness of their discourses, which were noisy and unmeaning; at the unusual gestures, the wild distortions, and the uncouth tone with which they were delivered: at the coldness of their prayers for the king, and the vehemence and exuberance of those which they did not fail to utter for *the blessed councils* and actions of the parliament and army; and at, what was surely not to be remarked without indignation, their omission of the Lord's Prayer.

But power easily supplied the want of reverence, and they proceeded in their plan of reformation; and thinking sermons not so efficacious to conversion as private interrogatories and exhortations, they established a weekly meeting for *freeing tender consciences from scruple*, at a house that, from the business to which it was appropriated, was called the *Scruple-shop*.

With this project they were so well pleased, that they sent to the parliament an account of it, which was afterwards printed, and is ascribed by Wood to Mr. Cheynel. They continued for some weeks to hold their meetings regularly, and to admit great numbers, whom curiosity, or a desire of conviction, or a compliance with the prevailing party, brought thither. But their tranquillity was quickly disturbed by the turbulence of the Independents, whose opinions then prevailed among the soldiers, and were very industriously propagated by the discourses of William Earbury, a preacher of great reputation among them, who one day gathering a considerable number of his most zealous followers, went to the house appointed for the resolution of scruples, on a day which was set apart for the

disquisition of the dignity and office of a minister, and began to dispute with great vehemence against the Presbyterians whom he denied to have any true ministers among them, and whose assemblies he affirmed not to be the true church. He was opposed with equal heat by the Presbyterians, and at length they agreed to examine the point another day, in a regular disputation. Accordingly they appointed the twelfth of November for an enquiry, "whether, in the Christian church, the office of minister is committed to any particular persons?"

On the day fixed, the antagonists appeared each attended by great numbers; but when the question was proposed, they began to wrangle, not about the doctrine which they had engaged to examine, but about the terms of the proposition, which the Independents alleged to be changed since their agreement; and at length the soldiers insisted that the question should be, "Whether those who call themselves ministers have more right or power to preach the gospel than any other man that is a Christian?" This question was debated for some time with great vehemence and confusion, but without any prospect of a conclusion. At length, one of the soldiers, who thought they had an equal right with the rest to engage in the controversy, demanded of the Presbyterians, whence they themselves received their orders, whether from bishops or any other persons? This unexpected interrogatory put them to great difficulties; for it happened that they were all ordained by the bishops, which they durst not acknowledge, for fear of exposing themselves to a general censure, and being convicted from their own declarations, in which they had frequently condemned Episco-

pacy as contrary to Christianity ; nor durst they deny it, because they might have been confuted, and must at once have sunk into contempt. The soldiers, seeing their perplexity, insulted them ; and went away boasting of their victory : nor did the presbyterians, for some time, recover spirit enough to renew their meetings, or to proceed in the work of easing consciences.

Earbury, exulting at the victory, which, not his own abilities, but the subtlety of the soldier had procured him, began to vent his notions of every kind without scruple, and at length asserted, that “ the Saints had an equal measure of the divine nature with our Saviour, though not equally manifest.” At the same time he took upon him the dignity of a prophet, and began to utter predictions relating to the affairs of England and Ireland.

His prophecies were not much regarded, but his doctrine was censured by the Presbyterians in their pulpits ; and Mr. Cheynel challenged him to a disputation, to which he agreed, and at his first appearance in St. Mary’s church addressed his audience in the following manner :

“ Christian friends, kind fellow-soldiers, and  
“ worthy students, I, the humble servant of all  
“ mankind, am this day drawn, against my will,  
“ out of my cell into this public assembly, by the  
“ double chain of accusation and a challenge  
“ from the pulpit. I have been charged with  
“ heresy ; I have been challenged to come hither  
“ in a letter written by Mr. Francis Cheynel.  
“ Here then I stand in defence of myself and my  
“ doctrine, which I shall introduce with only this  
“ declaration, that I claim not the office of a mi-  
“ nister on account of any outward call, though  
“ I formerly received ordination, nor do I boast

“ of *illumination*, or the knowledge of our Sa-  
 “ viour, though I have been held in esteem by  
 “ others, and formerly by myself. For I now  
 “ declare, that I know nothing, and am nothing,  
 “ nor would I be thought of otherwise than as  
 “ an enquirer and seeker.”

He then advanced his former position in strong-  
 er terms, and with additions equally detestable,  
 which Cheynel attacked with the vehemence  
 which, in so warm a temper, such horrid assertions  
 might naturally excite. The dispute, frequently  
 interrupted by the clamours of the audience, and  
 tumults raised to disconcert Cheynel, who was  
 very unpopular, continued about four hours, and  
 then both the controvertists grew weary, and re-  
 tired. The Presbyterians afterwards thought  
 they should more speedily put an end to the he-  
 resies of Earbury by power than by argument;  
 and, by soliciting General Fairfax, procured his  
 removal.

Mr. Cheynel published an account of this dis-  
 pute under the title of “ Faith triumphing over  
 “ Error and Heresy in a Revelation,” &c. nor  
 can it be doubted but he had the victory, where  
 his cause gave him so great superiority.

Somewhat before this, his captious and petu-  
 lant disposition engaged him in a controversy,  
 from which he could not expect to gain equal  
 reputation. Dr. Hammond had not long before  
 published his *Practical Catechism*, in which Mr.  
 Cheynel, according to his custom, found many  
 errors implied, if not asserted; and therefore, as  
 it was much read, thought it convenient to cen-  
 sure it in the pulpit. Of this Dr. Hammond  
 being informed, desired him in a letter to com-  
 municate his objections; to which Mr. Cheynel  
 returned an answer, written with his usual tem-

per, and therefore somewhat perverse. The controversy was drawn out to a considerable length; and the papers on both sides were afterwards made public by Dr. Hammond.

In 1647, it was determined by Parliament, that the reformation of Oxford should be more vigorously carried on; and Mr. Cheynel was nominated one of the visitors. The general process of the visitation, the firmness and fidelity of the students, the address by which the enquiry was delayed, and the steadiness with which it was opposed, which are very particularly related by Wood, and after him by Walker, it is not necessary to mention here, as they relate not more to Dr. Cheynel's life than to those of his associates.

There is indeed some reason to believe that he was more active and virulent than the rest, because he appears to have been charged in a particular manner with some of their most unjustifiable measures. He was accused of proposing that the members of the University should be denied the assistance of counsel, and was lampooned by name, as a madman, in a satire written on the visitation.

One action, which shews the violence of his temper, and his disregard both of humanity and decency, when they came in competition with his passions, must not be forgotten. The visitors being offended at the obstinacy of Dr. Fell, Dean of Christ-church, and Vice-chancellor of the University, having first deprived him of his vice-chancellorship, determined afterwards to dispossess him of his deanery; and, in the course of their proceedings, thought it proper to seize upon his chambers in the college. This was an act which most men would willingly have refer-

red to the officers to whom the law assigned it; but Cheynel's fury prompted him to a different conduct. He, and three more of the visitors, went and demanded admission; which, being steadily refused them, they obtained by the assistance of a file of soldiers, who forced the doors with pick-axes. Then entering, they saw Mrs. Fell in the lodgings; Dr. Fell being in prison at London, and ordered her to quit them; but found her not more obsequious than her husband. They repeated their orders with menaces, but were not able to prevail upon her to remove. They then retired, and left her exposed to the brutality of the soldiers, whom they commanded to keep possession, which Mrs. Fell however did not leave. About nine days afterwards she received another visit of the same kind from the new chancellor, the earl of Pembroke; who having, like the others, ordered her to depart without effect, treated her with reproachful language, and at last commanded the soldiers to take her up in her chair, and carry her out of doors. Her daughters, and some other gentlewomen that were with her, were afterwards treated in the same manner; one of whom predicted, without dejection, that she should enter the house again with less difficulty, at some other time; nor was she mistaken in her conjecture, for Dr. Fell lived to be restored to his deanery.

At the reception of the chancellor, Cheynel, as the most accomplished of the visitors, had the province of presenting him with the ensigns of his office, some of which were counterfeit, and addressing him with a proper oration. Of this speech, which Wood has preserved, I shall give some passages, by which a judgment may be made of his oratory.

Of the staves of the beadles he observes, that "some are stained with double guilt, that some are pale with fear, and that others have been made use of as crutches, for the support of bad causes and desperate fortunes;" and he remarks of the book of statutes which he delivers, that "the ignorant may perhaps admire the splendor of the cover, but the learned know that the real treasure is within." Of these two sentences it is easily discovered, that the first is forced and unnatural, and the second trivial and low.

Soon afterwards Mr. Cheynel was admitted to the degree of Bachelor of Divinity, for which his grace had been denied him in 1641, and, as he then suffered for an ill-timed assertion of the Presbyterian doctrines, he obtained that his degree should be dated from the time at which he was refused it; an honour, which, however, did not secure him from being soon after publicly reproached as a madman.

But the vigour of Cheynel was thought by his companions to deserve profit as well as honour; and Dr. Bailey, the president of St. John's College, being not more obedient to the authority of the parliament than the rest, was deprived of his revenues and authority, with which Mr. Cheynel was immediately invested; who, with his usual coolness and modesty, took possession of the lodgings soon after by breaking open the doors.

This preferment being not thought adequate to the deserts or abilities of Mr. Cheynel, it was therefore desired, by the committee of parliament, that the visitors would recommend him to the lectureship of divinity founded by the Lady Margaret. To recommend him and to choose



was at that time the same ; and he had now the pleasure of propagating his darling doctrine of predestination, without interruption, and without danger.

Being thus flushed with power and success, there is little reason for doubting that he gave way to his natural vehemence, and indulged himself in the utmost excesses of raging zeal, by which he was indeed so much distinguished, that, in a satire mentioned by Wood, he is dignified by the title of Arch-visitor ; an appellation which he seems to have been industrious to deserve by severity and inflexibility : for, not contented with the commission which he and his colleagues had already received, he procured six or seven of the members of parliament to meet privately in Mr. Rouse's lodgings, and assume the style and authority of a committee, and from them obtained a more extensive and tyrannical power, by which the visitors were enabled to force the *solemn League and Covenant* and the *negative Oath* upon all the members of the University, and to prosecute those for a contempt who did not appear to a citation, at whatever distance they might be, and whatever reasons they might assign for their absence.

By this method he easily drove great numbers from the University, whose places he supplied with men of his own opinion, whom he was very industrious to draw from other parts, with promises of making a liberal provision for them out of the spoils of heretics and malignants.

Having in time almost extirpated those opinions which he found so prevalent at his arrival, or at least obliged those, who would not recant, to an appearance of conformity, he was at leisure for employments which deserve to be recorded

with greater commendation. About this time, many Socinian writers began to publish their notions with great boldness, which the Presbyterians considering as heretical and impious, thought it necessary to confute; and therefore Cheynel, who had now obtained his doctor's degree, was desired, in 1649, to write a vindication of the doctrine of the Trinity, which he performed, and published the next year.

He drew up likewise a confutation of some Socinian tenets advanced by John Fry; a man who spent great part of his life in ranging from one religion to another, and who sat as one of the judges on the king, but was expelled afterwards from the house of commons, and disabled from sitting in parliament. Dr. Cheynel is said to have shewn himself evidently superior to him in the controversy, and was answered by him only with an opprobrious book against the Presbyterian clergy.

Of the remaining part of his life there is found only an obscure and confused account. He quitted the presidentship of St. John's, and the professorship, in 1650, as Calamy relates, because he would not take the engagement; and gave a proof that he could suffer as well as act in a cause which he believed just. We have, indeed, no reason to question his resolution, whatever occasion might be given to exert it; nor is it probable that he feared affliction more than danger, or that he would not have borne persecution himself for those opinions which inclined him to prosecute others.

He did not suffer much upon this occasion; for he retained the living of Petworth, to which he thenceforward confined his labours, and where

he was very assiduous, and, as Calamy affirms, very successful in the exercise of his ministry, it being his peculiar character to be warm and zealous in all his undertakings.

This heat of his disposition, increased by the uncommon turbulence of the times in which he lived, and by the opposition to which the unpopular nature of some of his employments exposed him, was at last heightened to distraction, so that he was for some years disordered in his understanding, as both Wood and Calamy relate, but with such difference as might be expected from their opposite principles. Wood appears to think, that a tendency to madness was discoverable in a great part of his life; Calamy, that it was only transient and accidental, though, in his additions to his first narrative, he pleads it as an extenuation of that fury with which his kindest friends confess him to have acted on some occasions. Wood declares, that he died little better than distracted; Calamy, that he was perfectly recovered to a sound mind before the Restoration, at which time he retired to Preston, a small village in Sussex, being turned out of his living at Petworth.

It does not appear that he kept his living till the general ejection of the Nonconformists; and it is not unlikely that the asperity of his carriage, and the known virulence of his temper, might have raised him enemies who were willing to make him feel the effects of persecution which he had so furiously incited against others; but of this incident of his life there is no particular account.

• After his deprivation, he lived (till his death, which happened in 1665) at a small village near

Chichester, upon a paternal estate, not augmented by the large preferments wasted upon him in the triumphs of his party; having been remarkable, throughout his life, for hospitality and contempt of money.

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THE LIFE  
OF  
SIR FRANCIS DRAKE.\*



FRANCIS DRAKE was the son of a clergyman in Devonshire, who being inclined to the doctrine of the Protestants, at that time much opposed by Henry VIII. was obliged to fly from his place of residence into Kent for refuge, from the persecution raised against him, and those of the same opinion, by the law of the six articles.

How long he lived there, or how he was supported, was not known; nor have we any account of the first years of Sir Francis Drake's life, of any disposition to hazards and adventures which might have been discovered in his childhood, or of the education which qualified him for such wonderful attempts.

We are only informed, that he was put apprentice by his father to the master of a small vessel that traded to France and the Low Countries, under whom he probably learned the rudiments of navigation, and familiarised himself to the dangers and hardships of the sea.

\* This Life was first printed in the Gentleman's Magazine for 1740.

But how few opportunities soever he might have in this part of his life for the exercise of his courage, he gave so many proofs of diligence and fidelity, that his master dying unmarried left him his little vessel in reward of his services; a circumstance that deserves to be remembered, not only as it may illustrate the private character of this brave man, but as it may hint, to all those who may hereafter propose his conduct for their imitation. That virtue is the surest foundation both of reputation and fortune, and that the first step to greatness is to be honest.

If it were not improper to dwell longer on an incident at the first view so inconsiderable, it might be added, That it deserves the reflection of those, who, when they are engaged in affairs not adequate to their abilities, pass them over with a contemptuous neglect, and while they amuse themselves with chimerical schemes, and plans of future undertakings, suffer every opportunity of smaller advantage to slip away as unworthy their regard. They may learn from the example of Drake, that diligence in employments of less consequence is the most successful introduction to greater enterprizes.

After having followed for some time his master's profession, he grew weary of so narrow a province, and, having sold his little vessel, ventured his effects in the new trade to the West-Indies, which, having not been long discovered, and very little frequented by the English till that time, were conceived so much to abound in wealth, that no voyage thither could fail of being recompensed by great advantages. Nothing was talked of among the mercantile or adventurous part of mankind, but the beauty and riches of this new world. Fresh discoveries were fre-

quently made, new countries and nations never heard of before were daily described, and it may easily be concluded that the relaters did not diminish the merit of their attempts, by suppressing or diminishing any circumstance that might produce wonder, or excite curiosity. Nor was their vanity only engaged in raising admirers, but their interest likewise in procuring adventurers, who were indeed easily gained by the hopes which naturally arise from new prospects, though through ignorance of the American seas, and by the malice of the Spaniards, who from the first discovery of those countries considered every other nation that attempted to follow them as invaders of their rights, the best concerted designs often miscarried.

Among those who suffered most from the Spanish injustice, was Captain John Hawkins, who, having been admitted by the viceroy to traffic in the bay of Mexico, was, contrary to the stipulation then made between them, and in violation of the peace between Spain and England, attacked without any declaration of hostilities, and obliged, after an obstinate resistance, to retire with the loss of four ships, and a great number of his men, who were either destroyed or carried into slavery.

In this voyage Drake had adventured almost all his fortune, which he in vain endeavoured to recover, both by his own private interest, and by obtaining letters from Queen Elizabeth; for the Spaniards, deaf to all remonstrances, either vindicated the injustice of the viceroy, or at least forbore to redress it.

Drake, thus oppressed and impoverished, retained at least his courage and his industry, that ardent spirit that prompted him to adventures, and that indefatigable patience that enabled him

to surmount difficulties. He did not sit down idly to lament misfortunes which heaven had put it in his power to remedy, or to repine at poverty while the wealth of his enemies was to be gained. But having made two voyages to America for the sake of gaining intelligence of the state of the Spanish settlements, and acquainted himself with the seas and coasts, he determined on a third expedition of more importance, by which the Spaniards should find how imprudently they always act who injure and insult a brave man.

On the 24th of May, 1572, Francis Drake set sail from Plymouth in the *Pascha* of seventy tons, accompanied by the *Swan* of twenty-five tons, commanded by his brother John Drake, having in both the vessels seventy-three men and boys, with a year's provision, and such artillery and ammunition as was necessary for his undertaking, which, however incredible it may appear to such as consider rather his force than his fortitude, was no less than to make reprisals upon the most powerful nation in the world.

The wind continuing favourable, they entered June 29, between Guadalupe and Dominica, and on July 6th saw the island of Santa Martha; then continuing their course, after having been becalmed for some time, they arrived at Port Pheasant, so named by Drake in a former voyage to the East of *Nombre de Dios*. Here he proposed to build his pinnaces, which he had brought in pieces ready-framed from Plymouth, and was going ashore with a few men unarmed, but, discovering a smock at a distance, ordered the other boat to follow him with a greater force.

Then marching towards the fire, which was in the top of a high tree, he found a plate of lead

nailed to another tree, with an inscription engraved upon it by one Garret, an Englishman, who had left that place but five days before, and had taken this method of informing him that the Spaniards had been advertised of his intention to anchor at that place, and that it therefore would be prudent to make a very short stay there.

But Drake knowing how convenient this place was for his designs, and considering that the hazard and waste of time, which could not be avoided in seeking another station, was equivalent to any other danger which was to be apprehended from the Spaniards, determined to follow his first resolution; only, for his greater security, he ordered a kind of palisade, or fortification, to be made, by felling large trees, and laying the trunks and branches one upon another by the side of the river.

On July 20, having built their pinnaces, and being joined by one Capt. Rause, who happened to touch at the same place with a bark of fifty men, they set sail towards Nombre de Dios, and taking two frigates at the island of Pines, were informed by the negroes which they found in them, that the inhabitants of that place were in expectation of some soldiers, which the governor of Panama had promised, to defend them from the Symerons, or fugitive negroes, who having escaped from the tyranny of their masters in great numbers, had settled themselves under two kings, or leaders, on each side of the way between Nombre de Dios and Panama, and not only asserted their natural right to liberty and independence, but endeavoured to revenge the cruelties they had suffered, and had lately put the inhabitants of Nombre de Dios into the utmost consternation.



Those Negroes the captain set on shore on the main land, so that they might, by joining the Symerons, recover their liberty, or at least might not have it in their power to give the people of Nombre de Dios any speedy information of his intention to invade them.

Then selecting fifty-three men from his own company, and twenty from the crew of his new associate captain Rause, he embarked with them in his pinnaces, and set sail for Nombre de Dios.

On July the 28th, at night, he approached the town undiscovered, and dropt his anchors under the shore, intending, after his men were refreshed, to begin the attack; but finding that they were terrifying each other with formidable accounts of the strength of the place, and the multitude of the inhabitants, he determined to hinder the panic from spreading farther, by leading them immediately to action; and therefore ordering them to their oars, he landed without any opposition, there being only one gunner upon the bay, though it was secured with six brass cannons of the largest size ready mounted. But the gunner, while they were throwing the cannons from their carriages, alarmed the town, as they soon discovered by the bell, the drums, and the noise of the people.

Drake leaving twelve men to guard the pinnaces, marched round the town with no great opposition, the men being more hurt by treading on the weapons left on the ground by the flying enemy, than by the resistance which they encountered.

At length having taken some of the Spaniards, Drake commanded them to shew him the governor's house, where the mules that bring the silver from Panama were unloaded; there they found

the door open, and entering the room where the silver was repositied, found it heaped up in bars in such quantities as almost exceeded belief, the pile being, they conjectured, seventy feet in length, ten in breadth, and twelve in height, each bar weighing between thirty and forty-five pounds.

It is easy to imagine, that, at the sight of this treasure, nothing was thought on by the English, but by what means they might best convey it to their boats; and doubtless it was not easy for Drake, who, considering their distance from the shore, and the numbers of their enemies, was afraid of being intercepted in his retreat, to hinder his men from encumbering themselves with so much silver as might have retarded their march, and obstructed the use of their weapons; however, by promising to lead them to the king's treasure-house, where there was gold and jewels to a far greater value, and where the treasure was not only more portable, but nearer the coast, he persuaded them to follow him, and rejoin the main body of his men then drawn up under the command of his brother in the market-place.

Here he found his little troop much discouraged by the imagination, that if they stayed any longer the enemy would gain possession of their pinnaces, and that they should then, without any means of safety, be left to stand alone against the whole power of that country. Drake, not indeed easily terrified, but sufficiently cautious, sent to the coast to enquire the truth, and see if the same terror had taken possession of the men whom he had left to guard his boats; but finding no foundation for these dreadful apprehensions, he persisted in his first design, and led the troop

forward to the treasure house. In their way there fell a violent shower of rain, which wet some of their bow-strings, and extinguished many of their matches; a misfortune which might soon have been repaired, and which perhaps the enemy might suffer in common with them, but which however on this occasion very much embarrassed them, as the delay produced by it repressed that ardour which sometimes is only to be kept up by continued action, and gave time to the timorous and slothful to spread their insinuations, and propagate their cowardice. Some, whose fear was their predominant passion, were continually magnifying the numbers and courage of their enemies, and represented whole nations as ready to rush upon them; others, whose avarice mingled with their concern for their own safety, were more solicitous to preserve what they had already gained, than to acquire more; and others, brave in themselves, and resolute, began to doubt of success in an undertaking in which they were associated with cowardly companions. So that scarcely any man appeared to proceed in their enterprize with that spirit and alacrity which could give Drake a prospect of success.

This he perceived, and with some emotion told them, that if, after having had the chief treasure of the world within their reach, they should go home and languish in poverty, they could blame nothing but their own cowardice; that he had performed his part, and was still desirous to lead them on to riches and to honour.

Then finding that either shame or conviction made them willing to follow him, he ordered the treasure house to be forced, and commanding his brother, and Oxenham of Plymouth, a man known afterwards for his bold adventures in the

same parts, to take charge of the treasure, he commanded the other body to follow him to the market place, that he might be ready to oppose any scattered troops of the Spaniards, and hinder them from uniting into one body.

But as he stepped forward, his strength failed him on a sudden, and he fell down speechless. Then it was that his companions perceived a wound in his leg, which he had received in the first encounter, but hitherto concealed, lest his men, easily discouraged, should make their concern for his life a pretence for returning to their boats. Such had been his loss of blood, as was discovered upon nearer observation, that it had filled the prints of his footsteps, and it appeared scarce credible that after such effusion of blood, life should remain.

The bravest were now willing to retire: neither the desire of honour nor of riches was thought enough to prevail in any man over his regard for his leader. Drake, whom cordials had now restored to his speech, was the only man who could not be prevailed on to leave the enterprize unfinished. It was to no purpose that they advised him to submit to go on board to have his wound dressed, and promised to return with him and complete their design; he well knew how impracticable it was to regain the opportunity when it was once lost, and could easily foresee that a respite, of but a few hours, would enable the Spaniards to recover from their consternation, to assemble their forces, refit their batteries, and remove their treasure. What he had undergone so much danger to obtain was now in his hands, and the thought of leaving it untouched was too mortifying to be patiently borne.

However, as there was little time for consultation, and the same danger attended their stay in that perplexity and confusion, as their return, they bound up his wound with his scarf, and partly by force, partly by entreaty, carried him to the boats, in which they all embarked by break of day.

Then taking with them, out of the harbour, a ship loaded with wines, they went to the Bastimentes, an island about a league from the town, where they stayed two days to repose the wounded men, and to regale themselves with the fruits which grew in great plenty in the gardens of that island.

During their stay here, there came over from the main land a Spanish gentleman, sent by the governor, with instructions to enquire whether the captain was that Drake who had been before on their coast, whether the arrows with which many of their men were wounded were not poisoned, and whether they wanted provisions or other necessaries. The messenger likewise extolled their courage with the highest encomiums, and expressed his admiration of their daring undertaking. Drake, though he knew the civilities of an enemy are always to be suspected, and that the messenger, amidst all his professions of regard, was no other than a spy, yet knowing that he had nothing to apprehend, treated him with the highest honours that his condition admitted of. In answer to his enquiries, he assured him that he was the same Drake with whose character they were before acquainted, that he was a rigid observer of the laws of war, and never permitted his arrows to be poisoned: he then dismissed him with considerable presents, and told him that, though he had unfortunately failed in this at-

tempt, he would never desist from his design, till he had shared with Spain the treasures of America.

They then resolved to return to the isle of Pines, where they had left their ships, and consult about the measures they were now to take, and having arrived August 1, at their former station, they dismissed Captain Rause, who judging it unsafe to stay any longer on the coast, desired to be no longer engaged in their designs.

But Drake, not to be discouraged from his purpose by a single disappointment, after having enquired of a negro, whom he took on board at Nombre de Dios, the most wealthy settlements, and weakest parts of the coast, resolved to attack Carthagena; and setting sail without loss of time, came to anchor, August 13, between Charesha and St. Barnards, two islands at a little distance from the harbour of Carthagena; then passing with his boats round the island he entered the harbour, and in the mouth of it found a frigate with only an old man in it, who voluntarily informed them, that about an hour before a pinnace had passed by with sails and oars, and all the appearance of expedition and importance; that, as she passed, the crew on board her bid them take care of themselves; and that, as soon as she touched the shore, they heard the noise of cannon fired as a warning, and saw the shipping in the port drawn up under the guns of the castle.

The captain, who had himself heard the discharge of the artillery, was soon convinced that he was discovered, and that therefore nothing could be attempted with any probability of success. He therefore contented himself with taking a ship of Seville, of two hundred and forty tons,

which the relater of this voyage mentions as a very large ship, and two small frigates, in which he found letters of advice from Nombre de Dios, intended to alarm that part of the coast.

Drake now finding his pinnaces of great use, and not having a sufficient number of sailors for all his vessels, was desirous of destroying one of his ships, that his pinnaces might be better manned: this, necessary as it was, could not easily be done without disgusting his company, who having made several prosperous voyages in that vessel, would be unwilling to have it destroyed. Drake well knew that nothing but the love of their leaders could animate his followers to encounter such hardships as he was about to expose them to, and therefore rather chose to bring his designs to pass by artifice than authority. He sent for the carpenter of the Swan, took him into his cabin, and, having first engaged him to secrecy, ordered him in the middle of the night to go down into the well of the ship, and bore three holes through the bottom, laying something against them that might hinder the bubbling of the water from being heard. To this the carpenter, after some expostulation, consented, and the next night performed his promise.

In the morning, August 15, Drake going out with his pinnace a fishing, rowed up to the Swan, and having invited his brother to partake of his diversions, enquired, with a negligent air, why their bark was so deep in the water; upon which the steward going down, returned immediately with an account that the ship was leaky, and in danger of sinking in a little time. They had recourse immediately to the pump; but, having laboured till three in the afternoon, and gained very little upon the water, they willingly, ac-

according to Drake's advice, set the vessel on fire, and went on board the pinnaces.

Finding it now necessary to lie concealed for some time, till the Spaniards should forget their danger, and remit their vigilance, they set sail for the Sound of Darien, and without approaching the coast, that their course might not be observed, they arrived there in six days.

This being a convenient place for their reception, both on account of privacy, as it was out of the road of all trade, and as it was well supplied with wood, water, wild fowl, hogs, deer, and all kinds of provisions, he stayed here fifteen days to clean his vessels, and refresh his men, who worked interchangeably, on one day the one half, and on the next the other.

On the fifth day of September, Drake left his brother with the ship at Darien, and set out with two pinnaces towards the Rio Grande, which it reached in three days, and on the ninth were discovered by a Spaniard from the bank, who believing them to be his countrymen, made a signal to them to come on shore, with which they very readily complied; but he soon finding his mistake abandoned his plantation, where they found great plenty of provisions, with which having laden their vessels, they departed. So great was the quantity of provisions which they amassed here and in other places, that in different parts of the coast they built four magazines or storehouses, which they filled with necessaries for the prosecution of their voyage. These they placed at such a distance from each other, that the enemy, if he should surprise one, might yet not discover the rest.

In the mean time, his brother, Captain John Drake, went, according to the instructions that



had been left him, in search of the Symerons or fugitive negroes, from whose assistance alone they had now any prospect of a successful voyage; and touching upon the main land, by means of the negro whom they had taken from Nombre de Dios, engaged two of them to come on board his pinnace, leaving two of their own men as hostages for their returning. These men, having assured Drake of the affection of their nation, appointed an interview between them and their leaders. So leaving Port Plenty, in the isle of Pines, so named by the English from the great stores of provisions which they had amassed at that place, they came by the direction of the Symerons, into a secret bay among beautiful islands covered with trees, which concealed their ship from observation, and where the channel was so narrow and rocky, that it was impossible to enter it by night; so that there was no danger of a sudden attack.

Here they met and entered into engagements, which common enemies and common dangers preserved from violation. But the first conversation informed the English that their expectations were not immediately to be gratified; for upon their enquiries after the most probable means of gaining gold and silver, the Symerons told them, that had they known sooner the chief end of their expedition, they could easily have gratified them; but that during the rainy season, which was now begun, and which continues six months, they could not recover the treasure, which they had taken from the Spaniards, out of the rivers in which they had concealed it.

Drake therefore proposing to wait in this place till the rains were past, built, with the assistance of the Symerons, a fort of earth and tim-

ber, and leaving part of his company with the Symerons, set out with three pinnaces towards Carthagena, being of a spirit too active to lie still patiently, even in a state of plenty and security, and with the most probable expectations of immense riches.

On the 16th of October, he anchored within sight of Carthagena without landing, and on the 17th, going out to sea took a Spanish bark, with which they entered the harbour, where they were accosted by a Spanish gentleman, whom they had some time before taken, and set at liberty; who coming to them in a boat, as he pretended, without the knowledge of the governor, made them great promises of refreshment, and professions of esteem; but Drake having waited till the next morning without receiving the provisions he had been prevailed upon to expect, found that all his pretended kindness was no more than a stratagem to amuse him, while the governor was raising forces for his destruction.

October 20, they took two frigates coming out of Carthagena without lading. Why the Spaniards, knowing Drake to lie at the mouth of the harbour, sent out their vessels on purpose to be taken, does not appear. Perhaps they thought that, in order to keep possession of his prizes, he would divide his company, and by that division be more easily destroyed.

In a few hours afterwards, they sent out two frigates well manned, which Drake soon forced to retire, and having sunk one of his prizes, and burnt the other in their sight, leaped afterwards ashore, single, in defiance of their troops, which hovered at a distance in the woods and on the hills, without ever venturing to approach within reach of the shot from the pinnaces.

To leap upon an enemy's coast in sight of a superior force, only to show how little they were feared, was an act that would in these times meet with little applause; nor can the general be seriously commended, or rationally vindicated, who exposes his person to destruction, and by consequence, his expedition to miscarriage, only for the pleasure of an idle insult, an insignificant bravado. All that can be urged in his defence, is that, perhaps it might contribute to heighten the esteem of his followers, as few men, especially of that class, are philosophical enough to state the exact limits of prudence and bravery, or not to be dazzled with an intrepidity how improperly soever exerted. It may be added, that perhaps the Spaniards, whose notions of courage are sufficiently romantic, might look upon him as a more formidable enemy, and yield more easily to a hero of whose fortitude they had so high an idea.

However, finding the whole country advertised of his attempts, and in arms to oppose him, he thought it not proper to stay longer where there was no probability of success, and where he might in time be overpowered by multitudes, and therefore determined to go forwards to Rio de Heha.

This resolution, when it was known by his followers, threw them into astonishment, and the company of one of his pinnaces remonstrated to him, that though they placed the highest confidence in his conduct, they could not think of undertaking such a voyage without provisions, having only a gammon of bacon, and a small quantity of bread for seventeen men; Drake answered them, that there was on board his vessel even a greater scarcity; but yet, if they

would adventure to share his fortune, he did not doubt of extricating them from all their difficulties.

Such was the heroic spirit of Drake, that he never suffered himself to be diverted from his designs by any difficulties, nor ever thought of relieving his exigencies, but at the expence of his enemies.

Resolution and success reciprocally produce each other. He had not sailed more than three leagues, before they discovered a large ship, which they attacked with all the intrepidity that necessity inspires, and happily found it laden with excellent provisions.

But finding his crew growing faint and sickly with their manner of living in the pinnaces, which was less commodious than on board the ships, he determined to go back to the Symerons, with whom he left his brother and part of his force, and attempt by their conduct to make his way over, and invade the Spaniards in the inland parts, where they would probably never dream of an enemy.

When they arrived at Port Diego, so named from the negro who had procured them their intercourse with the Symerons, they found Captain John Drake and one of his company dead, being killed, in attempting, almost unarmed, to board a frigate well provided with all things necessary for its defence. The captain was unwilling to attack it, and represented to them the madness of their proposal; but, being overborne by their clamours and importunities, to avoid the imputation of cowardice, complied to his destruction. So dangerous is it for the chief commander to be absent.

Nor was this their only misfortune, for in a very short time many of them were attacked by the calenture, a malignant fever, very frequent in the hot climates, which carried away, among several others, Joseph Drake, another brother of the commander.

While Drake was employed in taking care of the sick men, the Symerons, who ranged the country for intelligence, brought him an account, that the Spanish fleet was arrived at Nombre de Dios, the truth of which was confirmed by a pinnace, which he sent out to make observations.

This, therefore, was the time for their journey, when the treasures of the American mines were to be transported from Panama, over land, to Nombre de Dios. He therefore, by the direction of the Symerons, furnished himself with all things necessary, and on February 3, set out from Port Diego.

Having lost already twenty-eight of his company, and being under the necessity of leaving some to guard his ship, he took with him only eighteen English, and thirty Symerons, who not only served as guides to shew the way, but as purveyors to procure provisions.

They carried not only arrows for war, but for hunting, and fowling; the heads of which are proportioned in size to the game which they are pursuing: for oxen, stags, or wild boars, they have arrows, or javelins, with heads weighing a pound and half, which they discharge near hand, and which scarcely ever fail of being mortal. The second sort are about half as heavy as the other, and are generally shot from their bows; these are intended for smaller beasts. With the third sort, of which the heads are an ounce in weight, they kill birds. As this nation is in a

state that does not set them above continual cares for the immediate necessities of life, he that can temper iron best is among them most esteemed, and, perhaps, it would be happy for every nation, if honours and applauses were as justly distributed, and he were most distinguished whose abilities were most useful to society. How many chimerical titles to precedence, how many false pretences to respect, would this rule bring to the ground!

Every day, by sun-rising, they began to march, and, having travelled till ten, rested near some river till twelve, then travelling again till four, they reposed all night in houses, which the Symerons had either left standing in their former marches, or very readily erected for them, by setting up three or four posts in the ground, and laying poles from one to another in form of a roof, which they thatched with palmetto boughs and plantane leaves. In the vallies, where they were sheltered from the winds, they left three or four feet below open; but on the hills, where they were more exposed to the chill blasts of the night, they thatched them close to the ground, leaving only a door for entrance, and a vent in the middle of the room for the smoke of three fires, which they made in every house.

In their march they met not only with plenty of fruits upon the banks of the rivers, but with wild swine in great abundance, of which the Symerons, without difficulty, killed, for the most part, as much as was wanted. One day, however, they found an otter, and were about to dress it; at which Drake expressed his wonder, was asked by Pedro, the chief Symeron, "Are you a man of war and in want, and yet doubt

“ whether this be meat that hath blood in it?” For which Drake in private rebuked him, says the relator; whether justly or not, it is not very important to determine. There seems to be in Drake’s scruple somewhat of superstition, perhaps not easily to be justified; and the negro’s answer was, at least, martial, and will, I believe, be generally acknowledged to be rational.

On the third day of their march, Feb. 26, they came to a town of the Symerons, situated on the side of a hill, and encompassed with a ditch and a mud wall, to secure it from a sudden surprize: here they lived with great neatness and plenty, and some observation of religion, paying great reverence to the cross; a practice, which Drake prevailed upon them to change for the use of the Lord’s prayer. Here they importuned Drake to stay for a few days, promising to double his strength; but he either thinking greater numbers unnecessary, or fearing that, if any difference should arise, he should be overborne by the number of Symerons, or that they would demand to share the plunder that should be taken in common, or for some other reason that might easily occur, refused any addition to his troop, endeavouring to express his refusal in such terms as might heighten their opinion of his bravery.

\* He then proceeded on his journey through cool shades, and lofty woods, which sheltered them so effectually from the sun, that their march was less toilsome than if they had travelled in England during the heat of the summer. Four of the Symerons, that were acquainted with the way, went about a mile before the troop, and scattered branches to direct them; then followed twelve Symerons, after whom

came the English, with the two leaders, and the other Symerons closed the rear.

On February 11, they arrived at the top of a very high hill, on the summit of which grew a tree of wonderful greatness, in which they had cut steps for the more easy ascent to the top, where there was a kind of tower, to which they invited Drake, and from thence shewed him not only the North Sea, from whence they came, but the great South Sea, on which no English vessel had ever sailed. This prospect exciting his natural curiosity and ardour for adventures and discoveries, he lifted up his hands to God, and implored his blessing upon the resolution, which he then formed, of sailing in an English ship on that sea.

Then continuing their march, they came, after two days, into an open, level country, where their passage was somewhat incommoded with the grass, which is of a peculiar kind, consisting of a stalk like that of wheat, and a blade, on which the oxen and other cattle feed, till it grows too high for them to reach; then the inhabitants set it on fire, and in three days it springs up again; this they are obliged to do thrice a year, so great is the fertility of the soil.

At length, being within view of Panama, they left all frequented roads for fear of being discovered, and posted themselves in a grove near the way between Panama and Nombre de Dios; then they sent a Symeron in the habit of a negro of Panama, to enquire on what night the recoes, or drivers of mules, on which the treasure is carried, were to set forth. The messenger was so well qualified for his undertaking, and so industrious in the prosecution of it, that he soon returned with an account that the treasure of



Lima, intending to return to Europe, would pass that night, with eight mules laden with gold, and one with jewels.

Having received this information, they immediately marched towards Venta Cruz, the first town on the way to Nombre de Dios, sending, for security, two Symérons before, who, as they went, perceived, by the scent of a match, that some Spaniard was before them, and going silently forwards, surprised a soldier asleep upon the ground. They immediately bound him, and brought him to Drake, who, upon enquiry, found that their spy had not deceived them in his intelligence. The soldier, having informed himself of the captain's name, conceived such a confidence in his well-known clemency, that, after having made an ample discovery of the treasure that was now at hand, he petitioned not only that he would command the Symérons to spare his life, but, that, when the treasure should fall into his hands, he would allow him as much as might maintain him and his mistress, since they were about to gain more than their whole company could carry away.

Drake then ordered his men to lie down in the long grass, about fifty paces from the road, half on one side, with himself, and half on the other, with Oxenham and the captain of the Symérons, so much behind, that one company might seize the foremost recoe, and the other the hindermost, for the mules of these recoes, or drivers, being tied together, travel on a line, and are all guided by leading the first.

When they had lain about an hour in this place, they began to hear the bells of the mules on each hand; upon which orders were given, that the droves which came from Venta Cruz

should pass unmolested, because they carried nothing of great value, and those only be intercepted which were travelling thither, and that none of the men should rise up till the signal be given. . But one Robert Pike, heated with strong liquor, left his company, and prevailed upon one of the Symerons to creep with him to the way side, that they might signalize themselves by seizing the first mule, and hearing the trampling of a horse, as he lay, could not be restrained by the Symeron from rising up to observe who was passing by. This he did so imprudently, that he was discovered by the passenger, for by Drake's order the English had put their shirts on over their coats, that the night and tumult might not hinder them from knowing one another.

The gentleman was immediately observed by Drake to change his trot into a gallop: but, the reason of it not appearing, it was imputed to his fear of the robbers that usually infest that road, and the English still continued to expect the treasure.

In a short time one of the recoes that were passing towards Venta Cruz, came up, and was eagerly seized by the English, who expected nothing less than half the revenue of the Indies; nor is it easy to imagine their mortification and perplexity when they found only two mules laden with silver, the rest having no other burden than provisions.

The driver was brought immediately to the captain, and informed him that the horseman, whom he had observed pass by with so much precipitation, had informed the treasurer of what he had observed, and advised him to send back.

the mules that carried his gold and jewels, and suffer only the rest to proceed, that he might by that cheap experiment discover whether there was any ambush on the way.

That Drake was not less disgusted than his followers at the disappointment, cannot be doubted; but there was now no time to be spent in complaints. The whole country was alarmed, and all the force of the Spaniards was summoned to overwhelm him. He had no fortress to retire to, Every man was his enemy, and every retreat better known to the Spaniards than to himself.

This was an occasion that demanded all the qualities of an hero, an intrepidity never to be shaken, and a judgment never to be perplexed. He immediately considered all the circumstances of his present situation, and found that it afforded him only the choice of marching back by the same way through which he came, or forcing his passage to Venta Cruz.

To march back was to confess the superiority of his enemies, and to animate them to the pursuit; the woods would afford opportunities of ambush, and his followers must often disperse themselves in search of provisions, who would become an easy prey, dispirited by their disappointment, and fatigued by their march. On the way to Venta Cruz he should have nothing to fear but from open attacks, and expected enemies.

Determining therefore to pass forward to Venta Cruz, he asked Pedro, the leader of the Syme-rons, whether he was resolved to follow him: and having received from him the strongest assurances that nothing should separate them, commanded his men to refresh themselves, and prepare to set forward.

When they came within a mile of the town, they dismissed the mules which they had made use of for their more easy and speedy passage, and continued their march along a road cut through thick woods, in which a company of soldiers, who were quartered in the place to defend it against the Symerons, had posted themselves, together with a convent of friars headed by one of their brethren, whose zeal against the northern heresy had incited him to hazard his person, and assume the province of a general.

Drake, who was advertised by two Symerons, whom he sent before, of the approach of the Spaniards, commanded his followers to receive the first volley without firing.

In a short time he heard himself summoned by the Spanish captain to yield, with a promise of protection and kind treatment, to which he answered with defiance, contempt, and the discharge of his pistol.

Immediately the Spaniards poured in their shot, by which only one man was killed, and Drake, with some others, slightly wounded; upon which the signal was given by Drake's whistle to fall upon them. The English, after discharging their arrows and shot, pressed furiously forward, and drove the Spaniards before them, which the Symerons, whom the terror of the shot had driven to some distance, observed, and recalling their courage, animated each other with songs in their own language, and rushed forward with such impetuosity, that they overtook them near the town, and, supported by the English, dispersed them with the loss of only one man, who, after he had received his wound, had strength and resolution left to kill his assailant.

They pursued the enemy into the town, in which they met with some plunder, which was given to the Symérons, and treated the inhabitants with great clemency, Drake himself going to the Spanish ladies to assure them that no injuries should be offered them; so inseparable is humanity from true courage.

Having thus broken the spirits, and scattered the forces of the Spaniards, he pursued his march to his ship, without any apprehension of danger, yet with great speed, being very solicitous about the state of the crew; so that he allowed his men, harrassed as they were, but little time for sleep or refreshment, but by kind exhortations, gentle authority, and a chearful participation of all their hardships, prevailed upon them to bear, without murmurs, not only the toil of travelling, but on some days the pain of hunger.

In this march he owed much of his expedition to the assistance of the Symérons, who being accustomed to the climate, and naturally robust, not only brought him intelligence, and shewed the way, but carried necessaries, provided victuals, and built lodgings, and when any of the English fainted in the way, two of them would carry him between them for two miles together; nor was their valour less than their industry, after they had learned, from their English companions, to despise the fire-arms of the Spaniards.

When they were within five leagues of the ships, they found a town built in their absence by the Symérons, at which Drake consented to halt, sending a Symeron to the ship with his gold tooth pick as a token, which, though the master knew it, was not sufficient to gain the messenger credit, till upon examination he found that the captain, having ordered him to regard no message

without his handwriting, had engraven his name upon it with the point of his knife. He then sent the pinnace up the river, which they met, and afterwards sent to the town for those whose weariness had made them unable to march farther. On February 23, the whole company was re-united, and Drake, whose good or ill success never prevailed over his piety, celebrated their meeting with thanks to God.

Drake, not yet discouraged, now turned his thoughts to new prospects, and without languishing in melancholy reflections upon his past miscarriages, employed himself in forming schemes for repairing them. Eager of action, and acquainted with man's nature, he never suffered idleness to infect his followers with cowardice, but kept them from sinking under any disappointment by diverting their attention to some new enterprize.

Upon consultation with his own men and the Symérons he found them divided in their opinions: some declaring that before they engaged in any new attempt it was necessary to increase their stores of provisions, and others urging, that the ships in which the treasure was conveyed should be immediately attacked. The Symérons proposed a third plan, and advised him to undertake another march over land to the house of one Pezoro near Veragua, whose slaves brought him every day more than two hundred pounds sterling from the mines, which he heaped together in a strong stone house, which might by the help of the English be easily forced.

Drake, being unwilling to fatigue his followers with another journey, determined to comply with both the other opinions; and manning his two pinnaces, the Bear and the Minion, he sent

John Oxenham in the *Bear* towards Tolon, to seize upon provisions, and went himself in the *Minion* to the Cabezas, to intercept the treasure that was to be transported from Veragua and that coast to the fleet at Nombre de Dios, first dismissing with presents those Symerons that desired to return to their wives, and ordered those that chose to remain to be entertained in the ship.

Drake took at the Cabezas a frigate of Nicaragua, the pilot of which informed him that there was in the harbour of Veragua, a ship freighted with more than a million of gold, to which he offered to conduct him (being well acquainted with the soundings) if he might be allowed his share of the prize; so much was his avarice superior to his honesty.

Drake, after some deliberation, complying with the pilot's importunities, sailed towards the harbour, but had no sooner entered the mouth of it than he heard the report of artillery, which was answered by others at a greater distance; upon which the pilot told him that they were discovered, this being the signal appointed by the governor to alarm the coast.

Drake now thought it convenient to return to the ship, that he might enquire the success of the other pinnace, which he found with a frigate, that she had taken with twenty eight fat hogs, two hundred hens, and great store of maiz, or Indian corn. The vessel itself was so strong and well built, that he fitted it out for war, determining to attack the fleet at Nombre de Dios.

On March the 21st he set sail with the new frigate and the *Bear* towards the Cabezas, at which he arrived in about two days, and found there Tetù, a Frenchman, with a ship of war, who after having received from him a supply of

water and other necessaries, intreated that he might join with him in his attempt, which Drake consenting to, admitted him to accompany him with twenty of his men, stipulating to allow them an equal share of whatever booty they should gain. Yet were they not without some suspicions of danger from this new ally, he having eighty men, and they being now reduced to thirty-one.

Then manning the frigate and two pinnaces, they set sail for the Cabezas, where they left the frigate, which was too large for the shallows over which they were to pass, and proceeded to Rio Francisco. Here they landed, and having ordered the pinnaces to return to the same place on the fourth day following, travelled through the woods towards Nombre de Dios, with such silence and regularity, as surprised the French, who did not imagine the Symérons so discreet or obedient as they appeared, and were therefore in perpetual anxiety about the fidelity of their guides, and the probability of their return. Nor did the Symérons treat them with that submission and regard which they paid to the English, whose bravery and conduct they had already tried.

At length, after a laborious march of more than seven leagues, they began to hear the hammers of the carpenters in the bay, it being the custom in that hot season to work in the night, and in a short time they perceived the approach of the Recoes, or droves of mules from Panama. They now no longer doubted that their labours would be rewarded, and every man imagined himself secure from poverty and labour for the remaining part of his life. They, therefore, when the mules came up, rushed out and seized



them, with an alacrity proportioned to their expectations. The three droves consisted of one hundred and nine mules, each of which carried three hundred pounds weight of silver. It was to little purpose that the soldiers, ordered to guard the treasure, attempted resistance. After a short combat, in which the French captain, and one of the Symerons were wounded, it appeared with how much greater ardour men are animated by interest than fidelity.

As it was possible for them to carry away but a small part of this treasure, after having wearied themselves with hiding it in holes and shallow waters, they determined to return by the same way, and, without being pursued, entered the woods, where the French captain, being disabled by his wound, was obliged to stay, two of his company continuing with him.

When they had gone forward about two leagues, the Frenchmen missed another of their company, who upon enquiry was known to be intoxicated with wine, and supposed to have lost himself in the woods, by neglecting to observe the guides.

But common prudence not allowing them to hazard the whole company by too much solicitude for a single life, they travelled on towards Rio Francisco, at which they arrived April the 3d; but, looking out for their pinnaces, were surprised with the sight of seven Spanish shallops, and immediately concluded that some intelligence of their motions had been carried to Nombre de Dios, and that these vessels had been fitted out to pursue them, which might undoubtedly have overpowered the pinnaces and their feeble crew. Nor did their suspicion stop here; but immediately it occurred to them, that their

men had been compelled by torture to discover where their frigate and ship were stationed, which being weakly manned, and without the presence of the chief commander, would fall into their hands, almost without resistance, and all possibility of escaping be entirely cut off.

These reflections sunk the whole company into despair; and every one, instead of endeavouring to break through the difficulties that surrounded him, resigned up himself to his ill fortune; when Drake, whose intrepidity was never to be shaken, and whose reason was never to be surprised or embarrassed, represented to them that, though the Spaniards should have made themselves masters of their pinnaces, they might yet be hindered from discovering the ships. He put them in mind that the pinnaces could not be taken, the men examined, their examinations compared, the resolutions formed, their vessels sent out, and the ships taken in an instant. Some time must necessarily be spent before the last blow could be struck; and, if that time were not negligently lost, it might be possible for some of them to reach the ships before the enemy, and direct them to change their station.

They were animated with this discourse, by which they discovered that their leader was not without hope; but when they came to look more nearly into their situation, they were unable to conceive upon what it was founded. To pass by land was impossible, as the way lay over high mountains, through thick woods and deep rivers; and they had not a single boat in their power, so that a passage by water seemed equally impracticable. But Drake, whose penetration immediately discovered all the circumstances and incon-

veniencies of every scheme, soon determined upon the only means of success which their condition afforded them; and ordering his men to make a raft out of the trees that were then floating on the river, offered himself to put off to sea upon it, and cheerfully asked who would accompany him. John Owen, John Smith, and two Frenchmen, who were willing to share his fortune, embarked with him on the raft, which was fitted out with a sail made of a bisket sack, and an oar to direct its course instead of a rudder.

Then, having comforted the rest with assurances of his regard for them, and resolution to leave nothing unattempted for their deliverance, he put off, and after having, with much difficulty, sailed three leagues, descried two pinnaces hasting towards him, which, upon a nearer approach, he discovered to be his own, and perceiving that they anchored behind a point that jutted out into the sea, he put to shore, and, crossed the land on foot, was received by his company with that satisfaction which is only known to those that have been acquainted with dangers and distresses.

The same night they rowed to Rio Francisco, where they took in the rest, with what treasure they had been able to carry with them through the woods; then sailing back with the utmost expedition, they returned to their frigate, and soon after to their ship, where Drake divided the gold and silver equally between the French and the English.

Here they spent about fourteen days in fitting out their frigate more completely, and then dismissing the Spaniards with their ship, lay a few days among the Cabezas; while twelve English and sixteen Symérons travelled once more into

the country, as well to recover the French captain, whom they had left wounded, as to bring away the treasure which they had hid in the sands. Drake, whom his company would not suffer to hazard his person in another land expedition, went with them to Rio Francisco, where he found one of the Frenchmen who had stayed to attend their captain, and was informed by him, upon his enquiries after his fortune, that, half an hour after their separation, the Spaniards came upon them, and easily seized upon the wounded captain; but that his companions might have escaped with him, had he not preferred money to life; for seeing him throw down a box of jewels that retarded him, he could not forbear taking it up, and with that, and the gold which he had already, was so loaded that he could not escape. With regard to the bars of gold and silver, which they had concealed in the ground, he informed them that two thousand men had been employed in digging for them.

The men, however, either mistrusting the informer's veracity, or confident that what they had hidden could not be found, pursued their journey; but upon their arrival at the place, found the ground turned up for two miles round, and were able to recover no more than thirteen bars of silver, and a small quantity of gold. They discovered afterwards that the Frenchman who was left in the woods, falling afterwards into the hands of the Spaniards, was tortured by them till he confessed where Drake had concealed his plunder. So fatal to Drake's expedition was the drunkenness of his followers.

Then dismissing the French, they passed by Carthagena with their colours flying, and soon after took a frigate laden with provisions and ho-

ney, which they valued as a great restorative, and then sailed away to the Cabezas.

Here they stayed about a week to clean their vessels, and fit them for a long voyage, determining to set sail for England; and, that the faithful Symérons might not go away unrewarded, broke up their pinnaces, and gave them the iron, the most valuable present in the world to a nation whose only employments were war and hunting, and amongst whom show and luxury had no place.

Pedro, their captain, being desired by Drake to go through the ship, and to choose what he most desired, fixed his eye upon a scymeter set with diamonds, which the French captain had presented to Drake; and being unwilling to ask for so valuable a present, offered for it four large quoits, or thick plates of gold, which he had hitherto concealed; but Drake, desirous to shew him that fidelity is seldom without a recompence, gave it him with the highest professions of satisfaction and esteem. Pedro, receiving it with the utmost gratitude, informed him, that by bestowing it he had conferred greatness and honour upon him; for by presenting it to his king, he doubted not of obtaining the highest rank amongst the Symérons. He then persisted in his resolution of leaving the gold, which was generously thrown by Drake into the common stock; for he said, that those, at whose expences he had been sent out, ought to share in all the gain of the expedition, whatever pretence cavil and chicanery might supply for the appropriation of any part of it. Thus was Drake's character consistent with itself; he was equally superior to avarice and fear, and through whatever danger he might go in quest of gold, he thought

it not valuable enough to be obtained by artifice or dishonesty.

They now forsook the coast of America, which for many months they had kept in perpetual alarms, having taken more than two hundred ships of all sizes between Carthagena and Nombre de Dios, of which they never destroyed any, unless they were fitted out against them, nor ever detained the prisoners longer than was necessary for their own security or concealment, providing for them in the same manner as for themselves, and protecting them from the malice of the Symerons; a behaviour, which humanity dictates, and which, perhaps, even policy cannot disapprove. He must certainly meet with obstinate opposition, who makes it equally dangerous to yield as to resist, and who leaves his enemies no hopes but from victory.

What riches they acquired is not particularly related; but it is not to be doubted, that the plunder of so many vessels, together with the silver which they seized at Nombre de Dios, must amount to a very large sum, though the part that was allotted to Drake was not sufficient to lull him in effeminacy, or to repress his natural inclination to adventures.

They arrived at Plymouth on the 9th of Aug. 1573, on Sunday in the afternoon; and so much were the people delighted with the news of their arrival, that they left the preacher, and ran in crowds to the quay with shouts and congratulations.

Drake having, in his former expedition, had a view of the South sea, and formed a resolution to sail upon it, did not suffer himself to be diverted from his design by the prospect of any difficul-

ties that might obstruct the attempt, nor any dangers that might attend the execution; obstacles which brave men often find it much more easy to overcome, than secret envy and domestic treachery.

Drake's reputation was now sufficiently advanced to incite detraction and opposition; and it is easy to imagine that a man by nature superior to mean artifices, and bred from his earliest years, to the labour and hardships of a sea life, was very little acquainted with policy and intrigue, very little versed in the methods of application to the powerful and great, and unable to obviate the practices of those whom his merit had made his enemies.

Nor are such the only opponents of great enterprises: there are some men, of narrow views and grovelling conceptions, who, without the instigation of personal malice, treat every new attempt as wild and chimerical, and look upon every endeavour to depart from the beaten track as the rash effort of a warm imagination, or the glittering speculation of an exalted mind, that may please and dazzle for a time, but can produce no real or lasting advantage.

These men value themselves upon a perpetual scepticism, upon believing nothing but their own senses, upon calling for demonstration where it cannot possibly be obtained, and sometimes upon holding out against it when it is laid before them; upon inventing arguments against the success of any new undertaking, and, where arguments cannot be found, upon treating it with contempt and ridicule.

Such have been the most formidable enemies of the great benefactors to mankind, and to these we can hardly doubt but that much of the oppo-

sition which Drake met with is to be attributed ; for their notions and discourse are so agreeable to the lazy, the envious and the timorous, that they seldom fail of becoming popular, and directing the opinions of mankind.

Whatsoever were his obstacles, and whatsoever the motives that produced them, it was not till the year 1577, that he was able to assemble a force proportioned to his design, and to obtain a commission from the queen, by which he was constituted captain-general of a fleet consisting of five vessels, of which the Pelican, admiral, of an hundred tons, was commanded by himself; the Elizabeth vice-admiral, of eighty tons, by John Winter; the Marigold, of thirty tons, by John Thomas; the Swan of fifty tons, by John Chester; the Christopher, of fifteen tons, by Thomas Moche, the same, as it seems, who was carpenter in the former voyage, and destroyed one of the ships by Drake's direction.

These ships equipped partly by himself, and partly by other private adventurers, he manned with 164 stout sailors, and furnished with such provisions as he judged necessary for the long voyage in which he was engaged. Nor did he confine his concern to naval stores, or military preparations, but carried with him whatever he thought might contribute to raise in those nations, with which he should have any intercourse, the highest ideas of the politeness and magnificence of his native country. He therefore not only procured a complete service of silver for his own table, and furnished the cook room with many vessels of the same metal, but engaged several musicians to accompany him; rightly judging that nothing would more excite the admiration of any savage or uncivilized people.



Having been driven back by a tempest in their first attempt, and obliged to return to Plymouth, to repair the damages which they had suffered, they set sail again from thence on the 13th of December, 1577, and on the 25th had sight of Cape Cantire in Barbary, from whence they coasted on southward to the island of Mogadore, which Drake had appointed for the first place of rendezvous, and on the 27th brought the whole fleet to anchor in a harbour on the main land.

They were soon after their arrival discovered by the Moors that inhabited those coasts, who sent two of the principal men amongst them on board Drake's ship, receiving at the same time two of his company as hostages. These men he not only treated in the most splendid manner, but presented with such things as they appeared most to admire; it being with him an established maxim, to endeavour to secure in every country a kind reception to such Englishmen as might come after him, by treating the inhabitants with kindness and generosity; a conduct at once just and politic, to the neglect of which may be attributed many of the injuries suffered by our sailors in distant countries, which are generally ascribed rather to the effects of wickedness and folly of our own commanders, than the barbarity of the natives, who seldom fall upon any unless they have been first plundered or insulted; and in revenging the ravages of one crew upon another of the same nation, are guilty of nothing but what is countenanced by the example of the Europeans themselves.

But this friendly intercourse was in appearance soon broken: for on the next day, observing the Moors making signals from the land,

they sent out their boat, as before, to fetch them to the ship and one John Fry leaped ashore, intending to become an hostage as on the former day, when immediately he was seized by the Moors, and the crew observing great numbers to start up from behind the rocks with weapons in their hands, found it madness to attempt his rescue, and therefore provided for their own security by returning to the ship.

Fry was immediately carried to the king, who being then in continual expectation of an invasion from Portugal, suspected that these ships were sent only to observe the coast, and discover a proper harbour for the main fleet; but being informed who they were, and whither they were bound, not only dismissed his captive, but made large offers of friendship and assistance, which Drake, however, did not stay to receive, but being disgusted at this breach of the laws of commerce, and afraid of farther violence, after having spent some days in searching for his man, in which he met with no resistance, left the coast on December 31, some time before Fry's return, who being obliged by this accident to somewhat a longer residence among the Moors was afterwards sent home in a merchant's ship.

On January 16, they arrived at Cape Blanc, having in their passage taken several Spanish vessels. Here while Drake was employing his men in catching fish, of which this coast affords great plenty, and various kinds, the inhabitants came down to the sea-side with their alisorges, or leather-bottles, to traffic for water, which they were willing to purchase with ambergrise and other gums. But Drake, compassionating the misery of their condition, gave them water when-

ever they asked for it, and left them their commodities to traffic with, when they should be again reduced to the same distress, without finding the same generosity to relieve them.

Here having discharged some Spanish ships which they had taken, they set sail towards the isles of Cape Verd, and on January 28, came to anchor before Mayo, hoping to furnish themselves with fresh water; but having landed, they found the town by the water's side entirely deserted, and, marching farther up the country, saw the vallies extremely fruitful, and abounding with ripe figs, cocoas, and plantains, but could by no means prevail upon the inhabitants to converse or traffic with them; however, they were suffered by them to range the country without molestation, but found no water, except at such a distance from the sea that the labour of conveying it to the ships was greater than it was at that time necessary for them to undergo. Salt, had they wanted it, might have been obtained with less trouble, being left by the sea upon the sand, and hardened by the sun during the ebb, in such quantities, that the chief traffic of their island is carried on with it.

January 31, they passed by St. Jago, an island at that time divided between the natives and the Portuguese, who, first entering these islands under the show of traffic, by degrees established themselves, claimed a superiority over the original inhabitants, and harassed them with such cruelty, that they obliged them either to fly to the woods and mountains, and perish with hunger, or to take arms against their oppressors, and under the insuperable disadvantages with which they contended, to die almost without a battle in

defence of their natural rights, and ancient possessions.

Such treatment had the natives of St. Jago received, which had driven them into the rocky parts of the island, from whence they made incursions into the plantations of the Portuguese, sometimes with loss, but generally with that success which desperation naturally procures; so that the Portuguese were in continual alarms, and lived with the natural consequences of guilt, terror, and anxiety. They were wealthy but not happy, and possessed the island, but not enjoyed it.

They then sailed on within sight of Fogo, an island so called from a mountain, about the middle of it, continually burning, and like the rest, inhabited by the Portuguese, two leagues to the south of which lies Brava, which has received its name from its fertility, abounding, though uninhabited, with all kinds of fruits, and watered with great numbers of springs and brooks, which would easily invite the possessors of the adjacent islands to settle in it, but that it affords neither harbour nor anchorage. Drake, after having sent out his boats with plummets, was not able to find any ground about it; and it is reported, that many experiments have been made with the same success; however, he took in water sufficient, and on the 2d of February set sail for the Straits of Magellan.

On Feb. 17, they passed the equator, and continued their voyage, with sometimes calms, and sometimes contrary winds, but without any memorable accident, to March 28, when one of their vessels with 28 men, and the greatest part of their fresh water on board, was, to their great discouragement, separated from them; but their per-

plexity lasted not long, for on the next day they discovered and rejoined their associates.

In their long course, which gave them opportunities of observing several animals, both in the air and water, at that time very little known, nothing entertained or surprised them more than the Flying Fish, which is near of the same size with a herring, and has fins of the length of his whole body, by the help of which, when he is pursued by the bonito, or great mackarel, as soon as he finds himself upon the point of being taken, he springs up into the air, and flies forward as long as his wings continue wet, moisture being, as it seems, necessary to make them pliant and moveable; and when they become dry and stiff, he falls down into the water, unless some bark or ship intercept him, and dips them again for a second flight. This unhappy animal is not only pursued by fishes in his natural element, but attacked in the air, where he hopes for security, by the don, or sparkite, a great bird that preys upon fish, and their species must surely be destroyed, were not their increase so great, that the young fry, in one part of the year, covers the sea.

There is another fish named the cuttil, of which whole shoals will sometimes rise at once out of the water, and of which a great multitude fell into their ship.

At length, having sailed without sight of land for sixty-three days, they arrived, April 5, at the coast of Brazil, where, on the 7th, the Christopher was separated again from them by a storm; after which they sailed near the land to the southward, and on the 14th anchored under a cape, which they afterwards called Cape Joy, because

in two days the vessel which they had lost returned to them.

Having spent a fortnight in the river of Plata, to refresh his men, after their long voyage, and then standing out to sea, he was again surprized by a sudden storm, in which they lost sight of the Swan. This accident determined Drake to contract the number of his fleet, that he might not only avoid the inconvenience of such frequent separations, but ease the labour of his men, by having more hands in each vessel.

For this purpose he sailed along the coast in quest of a commodious harbour, and, on May 13, discovered a bay, which seemed not improper for their purpose, but which they durst not enter till it was examined; an employment in which Drake never trusted any, whatever might be his confidence in his followers on other occasions. He well knew how fatal one moment's inattention might be, and how easily almost every man suffers himself to be surprized by indolence and security. He knew the same credulity, that might prevail upon him to trust another, might induce another to commit the same office to a third; and it must be, at length, that some of them would be deceived. He therefore, as at other times, ordered the boat to be hoisted out, and, taking the line into his hand, went on sounding the passage till he was three leagues from his ship; when, on a sudden, the weather changed, the skies blackened, the winds whistled, and all the usual forerunners of a storm began to threaten them; nothing was now desired but to return to the ship, but the thickness of the fog intercepting it from their sight, made the attempt little other than desperate. By so many unforeseen ac-

identsis prudence itself liable to be embarrassed! So difficult is it sometimes for the quickest sagacity, and most enlightened experience, to judge what measures ought to be taken! To trust another to sound an unknown coast, appeared to Drake folly and presumption; to be absent from his fleet, though but for an hour, proved nothing less than to hazard the success of their labours, hardships, and dangers.

In this perplexity, which Drake was not more sensible of than those whom he had left in the ships, nothing was to be omitted, however dangerous, that might contribute to extricate them from it, as they could venture nothing of equal value with the life of their general. Captain Thomas therefore, having the lightest vessel, steered boldly into the bay, and taking the general aboard, dropped anchor, and lay out of danger, while the rest that were in the open sea suffered much from the tempest, and the Mary, a Portuguese prize, was driven away before the wind; the others, as soon as the tempest was over, discovering by the fires which were made on shore where Drake was, repaired to him.

Here going on shore they met with no inhabitants, though there were several houses or huts standing, in which they found a good quantity of dried fowls, and among them a great number of ostriches, of which the thighs were as large as those of a sheep. These birds are too heavy and unwieldy to rise from the ground, but with the help of their wings run so swiftly, that the English could never come near enough to shoot at them. The Indians, commonly, by holding a large plume of feathers before them, and walking gently forward, drive the ostriches into some narrow neck, or point of land, then spreading a

strong net from one side to the other, to hinder them from returning back to the open fields, set their dogs upon them, thus confined between the net and the water, and when they are thrown on their backs, rush in and take them.

Not finding this harbour convenient, or well stored with wood and water, they left it on the 15th of May, and on the 18th entered another much safer, and more commodious, which they no sooner arrived at, than Drake, whose restless application never remitted, sent Winter to the southward, in quest of those ships which were absent, and immediately after sailed himself to the northward, and, happily meeting with the Swan; conducted it to the rest of the fleet; after which, in pursuance of his former resolution, he ordered it to be broken up, reserving the iron work for a future supply. The other vessel which they lost in the late storm could not be discovered.

While they were thus employed upon an island about a mile from the main land, to which, at low water, there was a passage on foot, they were discovered by the natives, who appeared upon a hill at a distance, dancing and holding up their hands, as beckoning the English to them; which Drake observing, sent out a boat, with knives, bells, and bugles, and such things as, by their usefulness or novelty, he imagined would be agreeable. As soon as the English landed, they observed two men running towards them, as deputed by the company, who came within a little distance, and then standing still could not be prevailed upon to come nearer. The English therefore tied their presents to a pole, which they fixed in the ground, and then retiring, saw the Indians advance, who, taking what they found upon the pole, left in return, such feathers as



they wear upon their heads, with a small bone about six inches in length, carved round the top, and burnished.

Drake, observing their inclination to friendship and traffic, advanced with some of his company towards the hill, upon sight of whom the Indians ranged themselves in a line from east to west, and one of them running from one end of the rank to the other, backwards and forwards, bowed himself towards the rising and setting of the sun, holding his hands over his head, and frequently stopping in the middle of the rank, leaping up towards the moon, which then shone directly over their heads; thus calling the sun and moon, the deities they worship, to witness the sincerity of their professions of peace and friendship. While this ceremony was performed, Drake and his company ascended the hill, to the apparent terror of the Indians, whose apprehensions when the English perceived, they peaceably retired; which gave the natives so much encouragement, that they came forward immediately, and exchanged their arrows, feathers, and bones, for such trifles as were offered them.

Thus they traded for some time; but by frequent intercourse finding that no violence was intended, they became familiar, and mingled with the English without the least distrust.

They go quite naked, except a skin of some animal, which they throw over their shoulders when they lie in the open air. They knit up their hair, which is very long, with a roll of ostrich feathers, and usually carry their arrows wrapped up in it, that they may not encumber them, they being made with reeds, headed with flint, and therefore not heavy. Their bows are about an ell long.

Their chief ornament is paint, which they use of several kinds, delineating generally upon their bodies the figures of the sun and moon, in honour of their deities.

It is observable, that most nations, amongst whom the use of cloaths is unknown, paint their bodies. Such was the practice of the first inhabitants of our own country. From this custom did our earliest enemies, the Picts, owe their denomination. As it is not probable that caprice or fancy should be uniform, there must be, doubtless, some reason for a practice so general and prevailing in distant parts of the world, which have no communication with each other. The original end of painting their bodies was, probably, to exclude the cold; an end, which, if we believe some relations, is so effectually produced by it, that the men thus painted never shiver at the most piercing blasts. But doubtless any people so hardened by continual severities, would, even without paint, be less sensible of the cold than the civilized inhabitants of the same climate. However, this practice may contribute, in some degree, to defend them from the injuries of winter, and, in those climates where little evaporates by the pores, may be used with no great inconvenience; but in hot countries, where perspiration in greater degree is necessary, the natives only use unction to preserve them from the other extreme of weather: so well do either reason or experience supply the place of science in savage countries.

They had no canoes like the other Indians, nor any method of crossing the water, which was probably the reason why the birds in the adjacent islands were so tame, that they might be

taken with the hand, having never been before frightened or molested. The great plenty of fowls and seals, which crowded the shallows in such numbers that they killed at their first arrival two hundred of them in an hour, contributed much to the refreshment of the English, who named the place Seal Bay, from that animal.

These seals seem to be the chief food of the natives, for the English often found raw pieces of their flesh half eaten, and left, as they supposed, after a full meal by the Indians, whom they never knew to make use of fire, or any art, in dressing or preparing their victuals.

Nor were their other customs less wild or uncouth than their way of feeding; one of them having received a cap off the general's head, and being extremely pleased as well with the honour as the gift, to express his gratitude, and confirm the alliance between them, retired to a little distance, and thrusting an arrow into his leg let the blood run upon the ground, testifying, as it is probable, that he valued Drake's friendship above life.

Having stayed 15 days among these friendly savages in 47 deg. 30 min. S. Lat. on June 3, they set sail towards the South sea, and six days afterwards stopped at another little bay to break up the Christopher. Then passing on, they cast anchor in another bay, not more than 20 leagues distant from the Straits of Magellan.

It was now time seriously to deliberate in what manner they should act with regard to the Portuguese prize, which, having been separated from them by the storm, had not yet rejoined them. To return in search of it was sufficiently mortifying; to proceed without it, was not only to deprive themselves of a considerable part of

their force, but to expose their friends and companions, whom common hardships and dangers had endeared to them, to certain death or captivity. This consideration prevailed; and therefore on the 18th, after prayers to God, with which Drake never forgot to begin an enterprize, he put to sea, and the next day, near Port Julian, discovered their associates, whose ship was now grown leaky, having suffered much, both in the first storm by which they were dispersed, and afterwards in fruitless attempts to regain the fleet.

Drake, therefore being desirous to relieve their fatigues, entered Port Julian, and, as it was his custom always to attend in person when any important business was in hand, went ashore with some of the chief of his company, to seek for water, where he was immediately accosted by two natives, of whom Magellan left a very terrible account, having described them as a nation of giants and monsters; nor is his narrative entirely without foundation, for they are of the largest size, though not taller than some Englishmen; their strength is proportioned to their bulk, and their voice loud, boisterous, and terrible. What were their manners before the arrival of the Spaniards, it is not possible to discover; but the slaughter made of their countrymen, perhaps without provocation, by these cruel intruders, and the general massacre with which that part of the world had been depopulated, might have raised in them a suspicion of all strangers, and by consequence made them inhospitable, treacherous, and bloody.

The two who associated themselves with the English appeared much pleased with their new guests, received willingly what was given them,

and very exactly observed every thing that passed, seeming more particularly delighted with seeing Oliver, the master-gunner, shoot an English arrow. They shot themselves likewise in emulation, but their arrows always fell to the ground far short of his.

Soon after this friendly contest came another, who observing the familiarity of his countrymen with the strangers, appeared much displeased, and, as the Englishmen perceived, endeavoured to dissuade them from such an intercourse. What effect his arguments had was soon after apparent, being desirous to show the third Indian a specimen of the English valour and dexterity, attempted likewise to shoot an arrow, but drawing it with his full force burst the bow-string; upon which the Indians, who were unacquainted with their other weapons, imagined him disarmed, followed the company, as they were walking negligently down towards their boat, and let fly their arrows, aiming particularly at Winter, who had the bow in his hand. He, finding himself wounded in the shoulder, endeavoured to refit his bow, and turning about was pierced with a second arrow in the breast. Oliver, the gunner, immediately presented his piece at the insidious assailants, which failing to take fire gave them time to level another flight of arrows, by which he was killed, nor perhaps, had any of them escaped, surprized and perplexed as they were, had not Drake, with his usual presence of mind, animated their courage, and directed their motions, ordering them, by perpetually changing their places, to elude, as much as they could, the aim of their enemies, and to defend their bodies with their targets; and instructing them, by his own example, to pick up, and break the arrows

as they fell; which they did with so much diligence, that the Indians were soon in danger of being disarmed. Then Drake himself taking the gun, which Oliver had so unsuccessfully attempted to make use of, discharged it at the Indian that first began the fray, and had killed the gunner, aiming it so happily, that the hail shot, with which it was loaded, tore open his belly, and forced him to such terrible outcries, that the Indians, though their numbers increased, and many of their countrymen shewed themselves from different parts of the adjoining wood, were too much terrified to renew the assault, and suffered Drake, without molestation, to withdraw his wounded friend, who, being hurt in his lungs, languished two days, and then dying, was interred with his companion, with the usual ceremony of a military funeral.

They stayed here two months afterwards, without receiving any other injuries from the natives, who, finding the danger to which they exposed themselves by open hostilities, and not being able any more to surprize the vigilance of Drake, preferred their safety to revenge.

But Drake had other enemies to conquer or escape, far more formidable than these Barbarians, and insidious practices to obviate, more artful and dangerous than the ambushes of the Indians; for in this place was laid open a design formed by one of the gentlemen of the fleet, not only to defeat the voyage, but to murder the general.

This transaction is related in so obscure and confused a manner, that it is difficult to form any judgment upon it. The writer, who gives the largest account of it, has suppressed the name of the criminal, which we learn, from a more suc-

cinct narrative, published in a collection of travels near that time, to have been Thomas Doughtie. What were his inducements to attempt the destruction of his leader, and the ruin of the expedition, or what were his views if his design had succeeded, what measures he had hitherto taken, whom he had endeavoured to corrupt, with what arts, or what success, we are no where told.

The plot, as the narrative assures us, was laid before their departure from England, and discovered, in its whole extent, to Drake himself in his garden at Plymouth, who nevertheless not only entertained the person so accused as one of his company, but, this writer very particularly relates, treated him with remarkable kindness and regard, setting him always at his own table, and lodging him in the same cabin with himself. Nor did he ever discover the least suspicion of his intentions, till they arrived at this place, but appeared, by the authority with which he invested him, to consider him, as one to whom, in his absence, he could most securely intrust the direction of his affairs. At length, in this remote corner of the world, he found out a design formed against his life, called together all his officers, laid before them the evidence on which he grounded the accusation, and summoned the criminal, who, full of all the horrors of guilt, and confounded at so clear a detection of his whole scheme, immediately confessed his crimes, and acknowledged himself unworthy of longer life: upon which the whole assembly, consisting of thirty persons, after having considered the affair with the attention which it required, and heard all that could be urged in extenuation of his offence, unanimously signed the sentence by which he was condemned to suffer death. Drake,

however, unwilling, as it seemed, to proceed to extreme severities, offered him his choice, either of being executed on the island, or set ashore on the main land, or being sent to England to be tried before the council; of which, after a day's consideration, he chose the first, alledging the improbability of persuading any to leave the expedition for the sake of transporting a criminal to England, and the danger of his future state among savages and infidels. His choice, I believe, few will approve; to be set ashore on the main land, was indeed only to be executed in a different manner; for what mercy could be expected from the natives so incensed, but the most cruel and lingering death? But why he should not rather have requested to be sent to England it is not easy to conceive. In so long a voyage he might have found a thousand opportunities of escaping, perhaps with the connivance of his keepers, whose resentment must probably in time have given way to compassion, or at least by their negligence, as it is easy to believe they would in times of ease and refreshment have remitted their vigilance: at least he would have gained longer life; and to make death desirable seems not one of the effects of guilt. However, he was, as it is related, obstinately deaf to all persuasions, and adhering to his first choice, after having received the communion, and dined cheerfully with the general, was executed in the afternoon with many proofs of remorse, but none of fear.

How far it is probable that Drake, after having been acquainted with this man's designs, should admit him into his fleet, and afterwards caress, respect, and trust him; or that Doughtie, who is represented as a man of eminent abilities, should



engage in so long and hazardous a voyage with no other view than that of defeating it; is left to the determination of the reader. What designs he could have formed with any hope of success, or to what actions worthy of death he could have proceeded without accomplices, for none are mentioned, is equally difficult to imagine. Nor on the other hand, though the obscurity of the account, and the remote place chosen for the discovery of this wicked project, seem to give some reason for suspicion, does there appear any temptation, from either hope, fear, or interest, that might induce Drake, or any commander in his state, to put to death an innocent man upon false pretences.

After the execution of this man, the whole company, either convinced of the justice of the proceeding, or awed by the severity, applied themselves without any murmurs, or appearance of discontent, to the prosecution of the voyage; and having broken up another vessel, and reduced the number of their ships to three, they left the port, and on August the 20th entered the Straits of Magellan, in which they struggled with contrary winds, and the various dangers to which the intricacy of that winding passage exposed them till night, and then entered a more open sea, in which they discovered an island with a burning mountain. On the 24th they fell in with three more islands to which Drake gave names, and, landing to take possession of them in the name of his Sovereign, found in the largest so prodigious a number of birds, that they killed three thousand of them in one day. This bird, of which they knew not the name, was somewhat less than a wild goose, without feathers, and covered with a kind of down, unable to fly

or rise from the ground, but capable of running and swimming with amazing celerity; they feed on the sea, and come to land only to rest at night or lay their eggs, which they deposit in holes like those of coneys.

From these islands to the South-sea, the strait becomes very crooked and narrow, so that sometimes, by the interposition of headlands, the passage seems shut up, and the voyage entirely stopped. To double these capes is very difficult, on account of the frequent alterations to be made in the course. There are indeed, as Magellan observes, many harbours, but in most of them no bottom is to be found.

The land on both sides rises into innumerable mountains: the tops of them are encircled with clouds and vapours, which being congealed fall down in snow, and increase their height by hardening into ice, which is never dissolved; but the vallies are, nevertheless, green, fruitful, and pleasant.

Here Drake finding the strait in appearance shut up, went in his boat to make farther discoveries, and having found a passage towards the north, was returning to his ships; but curiosity soon prevailed upon him to stop, for the sake of observing a canoe or boat, with several natives of the country in it. He could not at a distance forbear admiring the form of this little vessel, which seemed inclining to a semicircle, the stern and prow standing up, and the body sinking inward; but much greater was his wonder, when upon a nearer inspection, he found it made only of the barks of trees sewed together with thongs of seal-skin, so artificially that scarcely any water entered the seams. The people were well

shaped and painted, like those which have been already described. On the land they had a hut built with poles and covered with skins, in which they had water vessels and other utensils, made likewise of the barks of trees.

Among these people they had an opportunity of remarking, what is frequently observable in savage countries, how natural sagacity, and unwearyed industry, may supply the want of such manufactures, or natural productions, as appear to us absolutely necessary for the support of life. The inhabitants of these islands are wholly strangers to iron and its use, but instead of it make use of the shell of a muscle of prodigious size, found upon their coasts; this they grind upon a stone to an edge, which is so firm and solid, that neither wood nor stone is able to resist it.

September 6, they entered the great South-sea, on which no English vessel had ever been navigated before, and proposed to have directed their course towards the line, that their men who had suffered by the severity of the climate, might recover their strength in a warmer latitude. But their designs were scarce formed before they were frustrated; for on September 7, after an eclipse of the moon, a storm arose, so violent, that it left them little hopes of surviving it; nor was its fury so dreadful as its continuance, for it lasted with little intermission till October 28, fifty-two days, during which time they were tossed incessantly from one part of the ocean to another, without any power of spreading their sails, or lying upon their anchors, amidst shelving shores, scattered rocks, and unknown islands, the tempest continually roaring, and the waves dashing over them.

In this storm on the 30th of September, the *Marigold*, commanded by captain Thomas, was separated from them. On the 7th of October, having entered a harbour, where they hoped for some intermission of their fatigues, they were in a few hours forced out to sea by a violent gust, which broke the cable, at which time they lost sight of the *Elizabeth*, the vice-admiral, whose crew, as was afterwards discovered, wearied with labour, and discouraged by the prospect of future dangers, recovered the Straits on the next day, and, returning by the same passage through which they came, sailed along the coast of Brasil, and on the 2d of June in the year following arrived in England.

From this bay, they were driven southward to fifty-five degrees, where among some islands they stayed two days, to the great refreshment of the crew; but, being again forced into the main sea, they were tossed about with perpetual expectation of perishing, till soon after they again came to anchor near the same place, where they found the natives, whom the continuance of the storm had probably reduced to equal distress, rowing from one island to another, and providing the necessaries of life.

It is, perhaps, a just observation, that, with regard to outward circumstances, happiness and misery are equally diffused through all states of human life. In civilized countries, where regular policies have secured the necessaries of life, ambition, avarice, and luxury, find the mind at leisure for their reception, and soon engage it in new pursuits; pursuits that are to be carried on by incessant labour, and whether vain or successful, produce anxiety and contention. Among savage nations, imaginary wants find indeed no

place ; but their strength is exhausted by necessary toils, and their passions agitated not by contests about superiority, affluence, or precedence, but by perpetual care for the present day, and by fear of perishing for want of food.

But for such reflections as these they had no time ; for, having spent three days in supplying themselves with wood and water, they were by a new storm driven to the latitude of fifty-six degrees, where they beheld the extremities of the American coast, and the confluence of the Atlantic and southern ocean.

Here they arrived on the 28th of October, and at last were blessed with the sight of a calm sea, having for almost two months endured such a storm as no traveller has given an account of, and such as in that part of the world, though accustomed to hurricanes, they were before unacquainted with.

On the 30th of October they steered away towards the place appointed for the rendezvous of the fleet, which was in thirty degrees, and on the next day discovered two islands so well stocked with fowls, that they victualled their ships with them, and then sailed forwards along the coast of Peru till they came to thirty-seven degrees, where finding neither of their ships, nor any convenient port, they came to anchor, November the 25th, at Mucho, an island inhabited by such Indians as the cruelty of the Spanish conquerors had driven from the continent, to whom they applied for water and provisions, offering them in return such things as they imagined most likely to please them. The Indians seemed willing to traffic, and having presented them with fruits and two fat sheep, would have shewed them a place whither they should come for water,

The next morning, according to agreement, the English landed with their water-vessels, and sent two men forward towards the place appointed, who, about the middle of the way, were suddenly attacked by the Indians and immediately slain. Nor were the rest of the company out of danger; for behind the rocks were lodged an ambush of five hundred men, who, starting up from their retreat, discharged their arrows into the boat with such dexterity, that every one of the crew was wounded by them, the sea being then high, and hindering them from either retiring or making use of their weapons. Drake himself received an arrow under his eye, which pierced him almost to the brain, and another in his head. The danger of these wounds was much increased by the absence of their surgeon, who was in the vice-admiral, so that they had none to assist them but a boy, whose age did not admit of much experience or skill; yet so much were they favoured by Providence, that they all recovered.

No reason could be assigned for which the Indians should attack them with so furious a spirit of malignity, but that they mistook them for Spaniards, whose cruelties might very reasonably incite them to revenge, whom they had driven by incessant persecution from their country, wasting immense tracks of land by massacre and devastation.

On the afternoon of the same day, they set sail, and on the 30th of November dropped anchor in Philips bay, where their boat having been sent out to discover the country, returned with an Indian in his canoe, whom they had intercepted. He was of a graceful stature, dressed in a white coat or gown, reaching almost to

his knees, very mild, humble, and docile, such as perhaps were all the Indians, till the Spaniards taught them revenge, treachery, and cruelty.

This Indian, having been kindly treated, was dismissed with presents, and informed, as far as the English could make him understand, what they chiefly wanted, and what they were willing to give in return; Drake ordering his boat to attend him in his canoe, and to set him safe on the land.

When he was ashore, he directed them to wait till his return, and, meeting some of his countrymen, gave them such an account of his reception; that, within a few hours, several of them repaired with him to the boat with fowls, eggs, and a hog, and with them one of their captains, who willingly came into the boat, and desired to be conveyed by the English to their ship.

By this man Drake was informed, that no supplies were to be expected here; but that southward, in a place to which he offered to be his pilot, there was great plenty. This proposal was accepted, and on the 5th of December, under the direction of the good-natured Indian, they came to anchor in the harbour called, by the Spaniards, Valperizo, near the town of St. James of Chiuli, where they met not only with sufficient stores of provision, and with store-houses full of the wines of Chili, but with a ship called the Captain of Morial, richly laden, having together with large quantities of the same wines, some of the fine gold of Baldivia, and a great cross of gold set with emeralds.

Having spent three days in storing their ships with all kinds of provision in the utmost plenty, they departed, and landed their Indian pilot where they first received him, after having re-

warded him much above his expectations or desires.

They had now little other anxiety than for their friends who had been separated from them, and whom they now determined to seek; but considering that, by entering every creek and harbour with their ship, they exposed themselves to unnecessary dangers, and that their boat would not contain such a number as might defend themselves against the Spaniards, they determined to station their ship at some place, where they might commodiously build a pinnace, which, being of light burden, might easily sail where the ship was in danger of being stranded, and at the same time might carry a sufficient force to resist the enemy, and afford better accommodation than could be expected in the boat.

To this end on the 19th of December, they entered a bay near Cippo, a town inhabited by Spaniards, who discovering them, immediately issued out, to the number of an hundred horsemen, with about two hundred naked Indians running by their sides. The English observing their approach, retired to their boat without any loss, except of one man, whom no persuasions or entreaties could move to retire with the rest, and who, therefore, was shot by the Spaniards, who, exulting at the victory, commanded the Indians to draw the dead carcase from the rock on which he fell, and in the sight of the English beheaded it, then cut off the right hand, and tore out the heart, which they carried away, having first commanded the Indians to shoot their arrows all over the body. The arrows of the Indians were made of green wood for the immediate service of the day, the Spaniards, with the fear that always harasses oppressors, forbidding them to have any



weapons, when they do not want their present assistance.

Leaving this place they soon found a harbour more secure and convenient, where they built their pinnace, in which Drake went to seek his companions, but finding the wind contrary, he was obliged to return in two days.

Leaving this place soon after, they sailed along the coast in search of fresh water, and landing at Turapaca, they found a Spaniard asleep, with silver bars lying by him to the value of three thousand ducats; not all the insults which they had received from his countrymen could provoke them to offer any violence to his person, and therefore they carried away his treasure, without doing him any farther harm.

Landing in another place, they found a Spaniard driving eight Peruvian sheep, which are the beasts of burthen in that country, each laden with an hundred pounds weight of silver, which they seized likewise and drove to their boats.

Further along the coast lay some Indian towns from which the inhabitants repaired to the ship, on floats made of seal-skins, blown full of wind, two of which they fasten together, and sitting between them row with great swiftness, and carry considerable burthens. They very readily traded for glass and such trifles, with which the old and the young seemed equally delighted.

Arriving at Mormorena on the 26th of January, Drake invited the Spaniards to traffic with him, which they agreed to, and supplied him with necessaries, selling to him, among other provisions, some of those sheep which have been mentioned, whose bulk is equal to that of a cow, and whose strength is such that one of them can carry three tall men upon his back; their necks are

like a camel's, and their heads like those of our sheep. They are the most useful animals of this country, not only affording excellent fleeces and wholesome flesh, but serving as carriages over rocks and mountains where no other beast can travel, for their foot is of a peculiar form, which enables them to tread firm in the most steep and slippery places.

On all this coast, the whole soil is so impregnated with silver, that five ounces may be separated from an hundred pound weight of common earth.

Still coasting in hopes of meeting their friends, they anchored on the 7th of February before A-ria, where they took two barks with about eight hundred pound weight of silver, and, pursuing their course, seized another vessel laden with linens.

On the 15th of February, 1578, they arrived at Lima, and entered the harbour without resistance, though thirty ships were stationed there, of which seventeen were equipped for their voyage, and many of them are represented in the narrative as vessels of considerable force; so that their security seems to have consisted not in their strength, but in their reputation, which had so intimidated the Spaniards, that the sight of their own superiority could not rouse them to opposition. Instances of such panic terrors are to be met with in other relations; but as they are, for the most part, quickly dissipated by reason and reflection, a wise commander will rarely found his hopes of success on them; and, perhaps, on this occasion, the Spaniards scarcely deserve a severer censure for their cowardice, than Drake for his temerity.

In one of these ships they found fifteen hundred bars of silver; in another a chest of money;

and very rich lading in many of the rest, of which the Spaniards tamely suffered them to carry the most valuable part away, and would have permitted them no less peaceably to burn their ships; but Drake never made war with a spirit of cruelty or revenge, or carried hostilities further than was necessary for his own advantage or defence.

They set sail the next morning towards Panama, in quest of the *Caca Fuego*, a very rich ship, which had sailed fourteen days before, bound thither from Lima, which they overtook on the first of March, near Cape Francisco, and boarding it, found not only a quantity of jewels, and twelve chests of ryals of plate, but eighty pounds weight of gold, and twenty-six tons of uncoined silver, with pieces of wrought plate to a great value. In unlading this prize they spent six days, and then, dismissing the Spaniards, stood off to sea.

Being now sufficiently enriched, and having lost all hopes of finding their associates, and perhaps beginning to be infected with that desire of ease and pleasure which is the natural consequence of wealth obtained by dangers and fatigues, they began to consult about their return home, and, in pursuance of Drake's advice, resolved first to find out some convenient harbour, where they might supply themselves with wood and water, and then endeavour to discover a passage from the South-sea into the Atlantic ocean; a discovery which would not only enable them to return home with less danger, and in a shorter time, but would much facilitate the navigation in those parts of the world.

For this purpose they had recourse to a port in the island of Caines, where they met with fish, wood, and fresh water, and in their course took a

ship laden with silk and linen, which was the last that they met with on the coast of America.

But being desirous of storing themselves for a long course, they touched, April the 15th, at Guatulco, a Spanish island, where they supplied themselves with provisions, and seized a bushel of ryals of silver.

From Guatulco, which lies in 15 deg. 40 min. they stood out to sea, and without approaching any land, sailed forward, till on the night following, the 3d of June, being then in the latitude of 38 degrees, they were suddenly benumbed with such cold blasts, that they were scarcely able to handle the ropes. This cold increased upon them, as they proceeded, to such a degree, that the sailors were discouraged from mounting upon the deck; nor were the effects of the climate to be imputed to the warmth of the regions to which they had been lately accustomed, for the ropes were stiff with frost, and the meat could scarcely be conveyed warm to the table.

On June 17th they came to anchor in 38 deg. 30 min. when they saw the land naked, and the trees without leaves, and in a short time had opportunities of observing that the natives of that country were no less sensible of the cold than themselves; for the next day came a man rowing in his canoe towards the ship, and at a distance from it made a long oration, with very extraordinary gesticulations, and great appearance of vehemence, and a little time afterwards made a second visit in the same manner, and then returning a third time, he presented them, after his harangue was finished, with a kind of crown of black feathers, such as their kings wear upon their heads, and a basket of rushes filled with a particular herb, both which he fastened to a short

stick, and threw into the boat ; nor could he be prevailed upon to receive any thing in return, though pushed towards him upon a board ; only he took up a hat which was flung into the water.

Three days afterwards their ship having received some damage at sea, was brought nearer to land that the lading might be taken out. In order to which, the English, who had now learned not too negligently to commit their lives to the mercy of savage nations, raised a kind of fortification with stones, and built their tents within it. All this was not beheld by the inhabitants without the utmost astonishment, which incited them to come down in crowds to the coast, with no other view, as it appeared, than to worship the new divinities that had condescended to touch upon their country.

Drake was far from countenancing their errors, or taking advantage of their weakness to injure or molest them ; and therefore, having directed them to lay aside their bows and arrows, he presented them with linen, and other necessaries, of which he shewed them the use. They then returned to their habitations, about three quarters of a mile from the English camp, where they made such loud and violent outcries, that they were heard by the English, who found that they still persisted in their first notions, and were paying them their kind of melancholy adoration.

Two days afterwards they perceived the approach of a far more numerous company, who stopped at the top of a hill which overlooked the English settlement, while one of them made a long oration, at the end of which all the assembly bowed their bodies, and pronounced the syllable *Oh* with a solemn tone, as by way of confirmation of what had been said by the orator. Then

the men, laying down their bows, and leaving the women and children on the top of the hill, came down towards the tents, and seemed transported in the highest degree at the kindness of the general, who received their gifts, and admitted them to his presence. The women at a distance appeared seized with a kind of frenzy, such as that of old among the Pagans in some of their religious ceremonies, and in honour, as it seemed, of their guests, tore their cheeks and bosoms with their nails, and threw themselves upon the stones with their naked bodies till they were covered with blood.

These cruel rites, and mistaken honours, were by no means agreeable to Drake, whose predominant sentiments were notions of piety, and therefore, not to make that criminal in himself by his concurrence, which, perhaps, ignorance might make guiltless in them, he ordered his whole company to fall upon their knees, and, with their eyes lifted up to heaven, that the savages might observe that their worship was addressed to a Being residing there, they all joined in praying that this harmless and deluded people might be brought to the knowledge of the true religion, and the doctrines of our blessed Saviour; after which they sung psalms, a performance so pleasing to their wild audience, that in all their visits they generally first accosted them with a request that they would sing. They then returned all the presents which they had received, and retired.

Three days after this, on June 25, 1579, our general received two ambassadors from the Hi-oh, or king of the country, who, intending to visit the camp, required that some token might

be sent him of friendship and peace ; this request was readily complied with, and soon after came the king, attended by a guard of about an hundred tall men, and preceded by an officer of state, who carried a sceptre made of black wood, adorned with chains of a kind of bone or horn, which are marks of the highest honour among them, and having two crowns, made as before, with feathers fastened to it, with a bag of the same herb which was presented to Drake at his first arrival.

Behind him was the king himself, dressed in a coat of coney-skins, with a cawl woven with feathers upon his head, an ornament so much in estimation there, that none but the domestics of the king are allowed to wear it ; his attendants followed him, adorned nearly in the same manner ; and after them came the common people, with baskets plaited so artificially that they held water, in which, by way of sacrifice, they brought roots and fish.

Drake, not lulled into security, ranged his men in order of battle, and waited their approach, who coming nearer stood still while the sceptre-bearer made an oration, at the conclusion of which they again came forward to the foot of the hill, and then the sceptre-bearer began a song, which he accompanied with a dance, in both which the men joined, but the women danced without singing.

Drake now, distrusting them no longer, admitted them into his fortification, where they continued their song and dance a short time ; and then both the king, and some others of the company, made long harangues, in which it appeared, by the rest of their behaviour, that they entreated him to accept of their country, and to

take the government of it into his own hands; for the king, with the apparent concurrence of the rest, placed the crown upon his head, graced him with the chains and other signs of authority, and saluted him by the title of High.

The kingdom thus offered, though of no farther value to him than as it furnished him with present necessaries, Drake thought it not prudent to refuse; and therefore took possession of it in the name of Queen Elizabeth, not without ardent wishes that this acquisition might have been of use to his native country, and that so mild and innocent a people might have been united to the church of Christ.

The kingdom being thus consigned, and the grand affair at an end, the common people left their king and his domestics with Drake, and dispersed themselves over the camp; and when they saw any one that pleased them by his appearance more than the rest, they tore their flesh, and vented their outcries as before, in token of reverence and admiration.

They then proceeded to show them their wounds and diseases, in hopes of a miraculous and instantaneous cure; to which the English, to benefit and undeceive them at the same time, applied such remedies as they used on the like occasions.

They were now grown confident and familiar, and came down to the camp every day repeating their ceremonies and sacrifices, till they were more fully informed how disagreeable they were to those whose favour they were so studious of obtaining: they then visited them without adoration indeed, but with a curiosity so ardent, that it left them no leisure to provide the necessaries



of life, with which the English were therefore obliged to supply them.

They had then sufficient opportunity to remark the customs and dispositions of these new allies, whom they found tractable and benevolent, strong of body, far beyond the English, yet unfurnished with weapons, either for assault or defence, their bows being too weak for any thing but sport. Their dexterity in taking fish was such, that, if they saw them so near the shore, that they could come to them without swimming, they never missed them.

The same curiosity that had brought them in such crouds to the shore, now induced Drake, and some of his company, to travel up into the country, which they found, at some distance from the coast, very fruitful, filled with large deer, and abounding with a peculiar kind of coney, smaller than ours, with tails like that of a rat, and paws such as those of a mole; they have bags under their chin, in which they carry provisions to their young.

The houses of the inhabitants are round holes dug in the ground, from the brink of which they raise rafters, or piles shelving towards the middle, where they all meet, and are cramped together, they lie upon rushes, with the fire in the midst, and let the smook fly out at the door.

The men are generally naked; but the women make a kind of petticoat of bulrushes, which they comb like hemp, and throw the skin of a deer over their shoulders. They are very modest, tractable, and obedient to their husbands.

Such is the condition of this people; and not very different is, perhaps, the state of the greatest part of mankind. Whether more enlightened nations ought to look upon them with pity, as

less happy than themselves, some sceptics have made, very unnecessarily, a difficulty of determining. More, they say, is lost by the perplexities than gained by the instruction of science; we enlarge our vices with our knowledge, and multiply our wants with our attainments, and the happiness of life is better secured by ignorance of vice than by the knowledge of virtue.

The fallacy by which such reasoners have imposed upon themselves, seems to arise from the comparison which they make, not between two men equally inclined to apply the means of happiness in their power to the end of which Providence conferred them, but furnished in unequal proportions with the means of happiness, which is the true state of savage and polished nations, but between two men, of which he to whom Providence has been most bountiful destroys the blessings by negligence, or obstinate misuse; while the other, steady, diligent, and virtuous, employs his abilities and conveniences to their proper end. The question is not, whether a good Indian or a bad Englishman be most happy? but, which state is most desirable; supposing virtue and reason the same in both.

Nor is this the only mistake which is generally admitted in this controversy, for these reasoners frequently confound innocence with the mere incapacity of guilt. He that never saw, or heard, or thought of strong liquors, cannot be proposed as a pattern of sobriety.

This land was named, by Drake, Albion, from its white cliffs, in which it bore some resemblance to his native country; and the whole history of the resignation of it to the English was engraven on a piece of brass, then nailed on a post, and

fixed up before their departure, which being now discovered by the people to be near at hand, they could not forbear perpetual lamentations. When the English on the 23d of July weighed anchor, they saw them climbing to the tops of hills, that they might keep them in sight, and observed fires lighted up in many parts of the country, on which, as they supposed, sacrifices were offered.

Near this harbour they touched at some islands, where they found great numbers of seals; and, despairing now to find any passage through the northern parts, he, after a general consultation, determined to steer away to the Moluccas, and setting sail July 25th, he sailed for sixty-eight days without sight of land; and on September 30th arrived within view of some islands, situate about eight degrees northward from the line, from whence the inhabitants resorted to them in canoes, hollowed out of the solid trunk of a tree, and raised at both ends so high above the water, that they seemed almost a semicircle; they were burnished in such a manner that they shone like ebony, and were kept steady by a piece of timber, fixed on each side of them, with strong canes, that were fastened at one end to the boat, and at the other to the end of the timber.

The first company that came brought fruits, potatoes, and other things of no great value, with an appearance of traffic, and exchanged their lading for other commodities, with great shew of honesty and friendship; but having, as they imagined, laid all suspicion asleep, they soon sent another fleet of canoes, of which the crews behaved with all the insolence of tyrants, and all the rapacity of thieves; for, whatever

was suffered to come into their hands, they seemed to consider as their own, and would neither pay for it nor restore it; and at length, finding the English resolved to admit them no longer, they discharged a shower of stones from their boats, which insult Drake prudently and generously returned by ordering a piece of ordnance to be fired without hurting them, at which they were so terrified, that they leaped into the water, and hid themselves under the canoes.

Having for some time but little wind, they did not arrive at the Moluccas till the 3d of November, and then designing to touch at Tidore, they were visited, as they sailed by a little island belonging to the king of Ternate, by the viceroy of the place, who informed them, that it would be more advantageous for them to have recourse to his master for supplies and assistance than to the king of Ternate, who was in some degree dependant on the Portugese, and that he would himself carry the news of their arrival, and prepare their reception.

Drake was by the arguments of the viceroy prevailed upon to alter his resolution, and, on November 5, cast anchor before Ternate; and scarce was he arrived, before the viceroy, with others of the chief nobles, came out in three large boats, rowed by forty men on each side, to conduct the ship into a safe harbour; and soon after the king himself, having received a velvet cloak by a messenger from Drake, as a token of peace, came with such a retinue and dignity of appearance as was not expected in those remote parts of the world. He was received with discharges of cannons and every kind of musick, with which he was so much delighted, that, desiring the musicians to come down into the boat, he was

towed along in it at the stern of the ship.

The king was of a graceful stature, and regal carriage, of a mild aspect, and low voice; his attendants were dressed in white cotton or calicoe, of whom some, whose age gave them a venerable appearance, seemed his counsellors, and the rest officers or nobles; his guards were not ignorant of fire-arms, but had not many among them, being equipped for the most part with bows and darts.

The king having spent some time in admiring the multitude of new objects that presented themselves, retired as soon as the ship was brought to anchor, and promised to return on the day following; and in the mean time the inhabitants, having leave to traffick, brought down provisions in great abundance.

At the time when the king was expected, his brother came aboard, to request of Drake that he would come to the castle, proposing to stay himself as a hostage for his return. Drake refused to go, but sent some gentlemen, detaining the king's brother in the mean time.

These gentlemen were received by another of the king's brothers, who conducted them to the council-house near the castle, in which they were directed to walk: there they found three-score old men, privy counsellors to the king, and on each side of the door without stood four old men of foreign countries, who served as interpreters in commerce.

In a short time the king came from the castle, dressed in cloth of gold, with his hair woven into gold rings, a chain of gold upon his neck, and on his hands rings very artificially set with diamonds and jewels of great value; over his head was born a rich canopy; and by his chair of

state, on which he sat down when he had entered the house, stood a page with a fan set with sapphires, to moderate the excess of the heat. Here he received the compliments of the English, and then honourably dismissed them.

The castle, which they had some opportunity of observing, seemed of no great force; it was built by the Portuguese, who, attempting to reduce this kingdom into an absolute subjection, murdered the king, and intended to pursue their scheme by the destruction of all his sons; but the general abhorrence, which cruelty and perfidy naturally excites, armed all the nation against them, and procured their total expulsion from all the dominions of Ternate, which from that time increasing in power, continued to make new conquests, and to deprive them of other acquisitions.

While they lay before Ternate, a gentleman came on board attended by his interpreter. He was dressed somewhat in the European manner, and soon distinguished himself from the natives of Ternate, or any other country that they had seen, by his civility and apprehension. Such a visitant may easily be imagined to excite their curiosity, which he gratified by informing them that he was a native of China, of the family of the king then reigning; and that being accused of a crime, of which, though he was innocent, he had not evidence to clear himself, he had petitioned the king that he might not be exposed to a trial, but that his cause might be referred to Divine Providence, and that he might be allowed to leave his country, with a prohibition against returning, unless Heaven, in attestation of his innocence, should enable him to bring back to the king some intelligence that might be to the

honour and advantage to the empire of China. In search of such information he had now spent three years, and had left Tidore for the sake of conversing with the English general, from whom he hoped to receive such accounts as would enable him to return with honour and safety.

Drake willingly recounted all his adventures and observations, to which the Chinese exile listened with the utmost attention and delight, and having fixed them in his mind, thanked God for the knowledge he had gained. He then proposed to the English general to conduct him to China, recounting, by way of invitation, the wealth, extent, and felicity of that empire; but Drake could not be induced to prolong his voyage.

He therefore set sail on the 9th of November in quest of some convenient harbour, in a desert island, to refit his ship, not being willing, as it seems, to trust the generosity of the king of Ternate. Five days afterwards he found a very commodious harbour in an island overgrown with wood, where he repaired his vessel and refreshed his men without danger or interruption.

Leaving this place the 12th day of December, they sailed towards the Celebes; but, having a wind not very favourable, they were detained among a multitude of islands, mingled with dangerous shallows, till January 9, 1580. When they thought themselves clear, and were sailing forwards with a strong gale, they were at the beginning of the night surprised in their course by a sudden shock, of which the cause was easily discovered, for they were thrown upon a shoal, and by the speed of their course fixed too fast for any hope of escaping. Here even the intrepidity of Drake was shaken, and his dexterity

baffled; but his piety, however, remained still the same, and what he could not now promise himself from his own ability, he hoped from the assistance of Providence. The pump was plied, and the ship found free from new leaks.

The next attempt was to discover towards the sea some place where they might fix their boat, and from thence drag the ship into deep water; but upon examination it appeared that the rock, on which they had struck, rose perpendicularly from the water, and that there was no anchorage, nor any bottom to be found a boat's length from the ship. But this discovery, with its consequences, was by Drake wisely concealed from the common sailors, lest they should abandon themselves to despair, for which there was, indeed, cause; there being no prospect left but that they must there sink with the ship, which must undoubtedly be soon dashed to pieces, or perish in attempting to reach the shore in their boat, or be cut in pieces by barbarians if they should arrive at land.

In the midst of this perplexity and distress, Drake directed that the sacrament should be administered, and his men fortified with all the consolation which religion affords; then persuaded them to lighten the vessel by throwing into the sea part of their lading, which was cheerfully complied with, but without effect. At length, when their hopes had forsaken them, and no new struggles could be made, they were on a sudden relieved by a remission of the wind, which, having hitherto blown strongly against the side of the ship which lay towards the sea, held it upright against the rock; but when the blast slackened (being then low water), the ship lying higher with that part which rested on the rock than



with the other, and being born up no longer by the wind, reeled into the deep water, to the surprise and joy of Drake and his companions.

This was the greatest and most inextricable distress which they had ever suffered, and made such an impression on their minds, that for some time afterwards they durst not adventure to spread their sails, but went slowly forward with the utmost circumspection.

They thus continued their course without any observable occurrence, till on the 11th of March they came to anchor before the island of Java, and, sending to the king a present of cloth and silks, received from him, in return, a large quantity of provisions; and the day following Drake went himself on shore, and entertained the king with his music, and obtained leave to store his ship with provisions.

The island is governed by a great number of petty kings, or raias, subordinate to one chief; of these princes three came on board together a few days after their arrival; and, having upon their return recounted the wonders which they had seen, and the civility with which they had been treated, incited others to satisfy their curiosity in the same manner; and raia Donan, the chief king, came himself to view the ship, with the warlike armaments and instruments of navigation.

This intercourse of civilities somewhat retarded the business for which they came; but at length they not only victualled their ship, but cleansed the bottom, which, in the long course, was overgrown with a kind of shell-fish that impeded her passage.

Leaving Java on March 26, they sailed homewards by the Cape of Good Hope, which they

saw on June the 5th ; on the 15th of August passed the Tropic ; and on the 26th of September arrived at Plymouth, where they found that, by passing through so many different climates, they had lost a day in their account of time, it being Sunday by their journals, but Monday by the general computation.

In this hazardous voyage they had spent two years, ten months, and some odd days ; but were recompensed for their toils by great riches, and the universal applause of their countrymen. Drake afterwards brought his ship up to Deptford, where queen Elizabeth visited him on board his ship, and conferred the honour of knighthood upon him ; an honour in that illustrious reign not made cheap by prostitution, nor even bestowed without uncommon merit.

It is not necessary to give an account equally particular of the remaining part of his life, as he was no longer a private man, but engaged in public affairs, and associated in his expeditions with other generals, whose attempts, and the success of them, are related in the histories of those times.

In 1585, on the 12th of September, Sir Francis Drake set sail from Plymouth with a fleet of five and twenty ships and pinnaces, of which himself was admiral, Captain Martin Forbisher vice-admiral, and Captain Francis Knollis rear-admiral : they were fitted out to cruize upon the Spaniards ; and having touched at the isle of Bayonne, and plundered Vigo, put to sea again, and on the 16th of November arrived before St. Jago, which they entered without resistance, and rested there fourteen days, visiting in the mean time San Domingo, a town within the land, which they found

likewise deserted; and, carrying off what they pleased of the produce of the island, they at their departure destroyed the town and villages, in revenge of the murder of one of their boys, whose body they found mangled in a most inhuman manner.

From this island they pursued their voyage to the West-Indies, determining to attack St Domingo, in Hispaniola, as the richest place in that part of the world: they therefore landed a thousand men, and with small loss entered the town, of which they kept possession for a month without interruption or alarm; during which time a remarkable accident happened which deserves to be related.

Drake, having some intention of treating with the Spaniards, sent to them a negroe-boy with a flag of truce, which one of the Spaniards so little regarded, that he stabbed him through the body with a lance. The boy, notwithstanding his wound, came back to the general, related the treatment which he had found, and died in his sight. Drake was so incensed at this outrage, that he ordered two friars, then his prisoners, to be conveyed with a guard to the place where the crime was committed, and hanged up in the sight of the Spaniards, declaring that two Spanish prisoners should undergo the same death every day, till the offender should be delivered up by them: they were too well acquainted with the character of Drake not to bring him on the day following, when, to impress the shame of such actions more effectually upon them, he compelled them to execute him with their own hands. Of this town, at their departure, they demolished part, and admitted the rest to be ransomed for five and twenty thousand ducats.

From thence they sailed to Carthagena, where the enemy having received intelligence of the fate of St. Domingo, had strengthened their fortifications, and prepared to defend themselves with great obstinacy; but the English, landing in the night, came upon them by a way which they did not suspect, and being better armed, partly by surprize, and partly by superiority of order and valour, became masters of the place, where they stayed without fear or danger six weeks, and at their departure received an hundred and ten thousand ducats, for the ransom of the town.

They afterwards took St. Augustin, and touching at Virginia, took on board the governor, Mr. Lane, with the English that had been left there the year before by Sir Walter Raleigh, and arrived at Portsmouth on July 28, 1586, having lost in the voyage seven hundred and fifty men. The gain of this expedition amounted to sixty thousand pounds, of which forty were the share of the adventurers who fitted out the ships, and the rest, distributed among the several crews, amounted to six pounds each man. So cheaply is life sometimes hazarded.

The transactions against the Armada 1588, are in themselves far more memorable, but less necessary to be recited in this succinct narrative; only let it be remembered, that the post of vice-admiral of England, to which Sir Francis Drake was then raised, is a sufficient proof, that no obscurity of birth, or meanness of fortune, is unsurmountable to bravery and diligence.

In 1595 Sir Francis Drake and Sir John Hawkins were sent with a fleet to the West Indies, which expedition was only memorable for the destruction of Nombre de Dios, and the death of

the two commanders, of whom Sir Francis Drake died January 9, 1597, and was thrown into the sea in a leaden coffin, with all the pomp of naval obsequies. It is reported by some that the ill success of this voyage hastened his death. Upon what this conjecture is grounded does not appear; and we may be allowed to hope, for the honour of so great a man, that it is without foundation; and that he, whom no series of success could ever betray to vanity or negligence, could have supported a change of fortune without impatience or dejection.

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## LIFE OF BLAKE.

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**A**T a time when a nation is engaged in a war with an enemy, whose insults, ravages, and barbarities, have long called for vengeance, an account of such English commanders as have merited the acknowledgments of posterity, by extending the powers and raising the honour of their country, seems to be no improper entertainment for our readers\*. We shall therefore attempt a succinct narration of the life and actions of admiral Blake, in which we have nothing farther in view than to do justice to his bravery and conduct, without intending any parallel between his achievements and those of our present admirals.

**ROBERT BLAKE**, was born at Bridgewater, in Somersetshire, in August 1598, his father being

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a merchant of that place, who had acquired a considerable fortune by the Spanish trade. Of his earliest years we have no account, and therefore can amuse the reader with none of those prognostics of his future actions, so often met with in memoirs.

In 1615, he entered into the university of Oxford, where he continued till 1623, though without being much countenanced or caressed by his superiors, for he was more than once disappointed in his endeavours after academical preferments. It is observable that Mr. Wood (in his *Athæna Oxonienses*) ascribes the repulse he met with at Wadham College, where he was competitor for a fellowship, either to want of learning, or of stature. With regard to the first objection, the same writer had before informed us, that he was an *early riser* and *studious*, though he sometimes relieved his attention by the amusements of fowling and fishing. As it is highly probable that he did not want capacity, we may therefore conclude, upon this confession of his diligence, that he could not fail of being learned, at least in the degree requisite to the enjoyment of a fellowship; and may safely ascribe his disappointment to his want of stature, it being the custom of Sir Henry Savil, then warden of that college, to pay much regard to the outward-appearance of those who solicited preferment in that society. So much do the greatest events owe sometimes to accident or folly!

He afterwards retired to his native place where  
“ he lived,” says Clarendon, “ without any ap-  
“ pearance of ambition to be a greater man than  
“ he was, but inveighed with great freedom  
“ against the licence of the times, and power of  
“ the court.”

In 1640 he was chosen burgess for Bridgewater by the Puritan party, to whom he had recommended himself by the disapprobation of bishop Laud's violence and severity, and his non-compliance with those new ceremonies which he was then endeavouring to introduce.

When the civil-war broke out, Blake, in conformity with his avowed principles, declared for the parliament; and, thinking a bare declaration for right not all the duty of a good man, raised a troop of dragoons for his party, and appeared in the field with so much bravery, that he was in a short time advanced, without meeting any of those obstructions which he had encountered in the university.

In 1645 he was governor of Taunton, when the Lord Goring came before it with an army of 10,000 men. The town was ill fortified, and unsupplied with almost every thing necessary for supporting a siege. The state of this garrison encouraged Colonel Windham, who was acquainted with Blake, to propose a capitulation; which was rejected by Blake with indignation and contempt: nor were either menaces or persuasions of any effect, for he maintained the place under all its disadvantages, till the siege was raised by the parliament's army.

He continued, on many other occasions, to give proofs of an insuperable courage, and a steadiness of resolution not to be shaken; and, as a proof of his firm adherence to the parliament, joined with the borough of Taunton in returning thanks for their resolution to make no more addresses to the king. Yet was he so far from approving the death of Charles I. that he made no scruple of declaring, that he would venture his

life to save him, as willingly as he had done to serve the parliament.

In February 1648-9, he was made a commissioner of the navy, and appointed to serve on that element, for which he seems by nature to have been designed. He was soon afterwards sent in pursuit of prince Rupert, whom he shut up in the harbour of Kingsale in Ireland for several months, till want of provisions and despair of relief, excited the prince to make a daring effort for his escape, by forcing through the parliament's fleet: this design he executed with his usual intrepidity, and succeeded in it, though with the loss of three ships. He was pursued by Blake to the coast of Portugal where he was received into the Tagus, and treated with great distinction by the Portuguese.

Blake, coming to the mouth of that river, sent to the king a messenger, to inform him, that the fleet in his port belonging to the public enemies of the commonwealth of England, he demanded leave to fall upon it. This being refused, though the refusal was in very soft terms, and accompanied with declarations of esteem, and a present of provisions, so exasperated the admiral, that, without any hesitation, he fell upon the Portuguese fleet, then returning from Brasil, of which he took seventeen ships, and burnt three. It was to no purpose that the king of Portugal, alarmed at so unexpected a destruction, ordered prince Rupert to attack him, and retake the Brasil ships. Blake carried home his prizes without molestation, the prince not having force enough to pursue him, and well pleased with the opportunity of quitting a port where he could no longer be protected.





Blake soon supplied his fleet with provision, and received orders to make reprisals upon the French, who had suffered their privateers to molest the English trade; an injury which, in those days, was always immediately resented, and if not repaired, certainly punished. Sailing with this commission, he took in his way a French man of war valued at a million. How this ship happened to be so rich, we are not informed; but as it was a cruiser, it is probable the rich lading was the accumulated plunder of many prizes. Then following the unfortunate Rupert, whose fleet by storms and battles was now reduced to five ships, into Carthagena, he demanded leave of the Spanish governor to attack him in the harbour, but received the same answer which had been returned before by the Portuguese: "That they had a right to protect all ships that came into their dominions; that if the admiral were forced in thither, he should find the same security; and that he required him not to violate the peace of a neutral port." Blake withdrew upon this answer into the Mediterranean; and Rupert then leaving Carthagena entered the port of Malaga, where he burnt and sunk several English merchant ships. Blake, judging this to be an infringement of the neutrality professed by the Spaniards, now made no scruple to fall upon Rupert's fleet in the harbour of Malaga, and having destroyed three of his ships, obliged him to quit the sea, and take sanctuary at the Spanish court.

In February 1650-1, Blake still continuing to cruise in the Mediterranean, met a French ship of considerable force, and commanded the captain to come on board, there being no war declared between the two nations. The captain

when he came, was asked by him, whether "he was willing to lay down his sword, and yield?" which he gallantly refused, though in his enemy's power. Blake, scorning to take advantage of an artifice, and detesting the appearance of treachery, told him, "that he was at liberty to go back to his ship, and defend it as long as he could." The captain willingly accepted his offer, and after a fight of two hours confessed himself conquered, kissed his sword, and surrendered it.

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

ger threatening them, or any avowed design of attacking their neighbours. This unusual armament was not beheld by the English without some jealousy, and care was taken to fit out such a fleet as might secure the trade from interruption, and the coasts from insults; of this Blake was constituted admiral for nine months. In this situation the two nations remained, keeping a watchful eye upon each other, without acting hostilities on either side, till the 18th of May, 1652, when Van Trump appeared in the Downs with a fleet of forty five men of war. Blake, who had then but twenty ships, upon the approach of the Dutch admiral saluted him with three single shots, to require that he should, by striking his flag, shew that respect to the English which is due to every nation in their own dominions; to which the Dutchman answered with a broadside; and Blake, perceiving that he intended to dispute the point of honour, advanced with his own ship before the rest of his fleet, that, if it were possible, a general battle might be prevented. But the Dutch, instead of admitting him to treat, fired upon him from their whole fleet, without any regard to the customs of war, or the law of nations. Blake for some time stood alone against their whole force, till the rest of his squadron coming up, the fight was continued from between four and five in the afternoon till nine at night, when the Dutch retired with the loss of two ships, having not destroyed a single vessel, nor more than fifteen men, most of which were on board the admiral, who, as he wrote to the parliament, was himself engaged for four hours with the main body of the Dutch fleet, being the mark at which they aimed; and, as Whitlock relates, received above a thousand shot.

Blake, in his letter, acknowledges the particular blessing and preservation of God, and ascribes his success to the justice of the cause, the Dutch having first attacked him upon the English coast. It is indeed little less than miraculous that a thousand great shot should not do more execution; and those who will not admit the interposition of Providence, may draw at least this inference from it, that *the bravest man is not always in the greatest danger.*

In July he met the Dutch fishery fleet with a convoy of twelve men of war, all which he took, with 100 of their herring-busses. And in September, being stationed in the Downs with about sixty sail, he discovered the Dutch admirals De Witt and De Ruyter with near the same number, and advanced towards them; but the Dutch being obliged, by the nature of their coast, and shallowness of their rivers, to build their ships in such a manner that they require less depth of water than the English vessels, took advantage of the form of their shipping, and sheltered themselves behind a flat, called *Kentish knock*; so that the English, finding some of their ships aground, were obliged to alter their course; but perceiving early the next morning that the Hollanders had forsaken their station, they pursued them with all the speed that the wind, which was weak and uncertain, allowed, but found themselves unable to reach them with the bulk of their fleet; and therefore detached some of the lightest frigates to chase them. These came so near as to fire upon them about three in the afternoon; but the Dutch, instead of tacking about, hoisted their sails, steered towards their own coast, and finding themselves the next day followed by the whole English fleet, retired into Goree. The

sailors were eager to attack them in their own harbours; but a council of war being convened, it was judged imprudent to hazard the fleet upon the shoals, or to engage in any important enterprise without a fresh supply of provisions.

That in this engagement the victory belonged to the English is beyond dispute, since, without the loss of one ship, and with no more than forty men killed, they drove the enemy into his own ports, took the rear admiral and another vessel, and so discouraged the Dutch admirals, who had not agreed in their measures, that De Ruyter, who had declared against hazarding a battle, desired to resign his commission, and De Witt, who had insisted upon fighting, fell sick, as it was supposed, with vexation. But how great the loss of the Dutch was, is not certainly known; that two ships were taken they are too wise to deny, but affirm that those two were all that were destroyed. The English, on the other side, affirm that three of their vessels were disabled at the first encounter, that their numbers on the second day were visibly diminished, and that on the last day they saw three or four ships sink in their flight.

De Witt being now discharged by the Hollanders as unfortunate, and the chief command restored to Van Trump, great preparations were made for retrieving their reputation, and repairing their losses. Their endeavours were assisted by the English themselves, now made factious by success; the men who were intrusted with the civil administration being jealous of those whose military commands had procured so much honour, lest they who raised them should be eclipsed by them. Such is generally the revolution of affairs in every state; danger

and distress produce unanimity and bravery, virtues which are seldom unattended with success; but success is the parent of pride, and pride of jealousy and faction; faction makes way for calamity, and happy is that nation whose calamities renew their unanimity. Such is the rotation of interests, that equally tend to hinder the total destruction of a people, and to obstruct an exorbitant increase of power.

Blake had weakened his fleet by many detachments, and lay with no more than forty sail in the Downs, very ill provided both with men and ammunition, and expecting new supplies from those whose animosity hindered them from providing them, and who chose rather to see the trade of their country distressed than the sea-officers exalted by a new acquisition of honour and influence.

Van Trump, desirous of distinguishing himself at the resumption of his command by some remarkable action, had assembled eighty ships of war, and ten fireships, and steered towards the Downs, where Blake, with whose condition and strength he was probably acquainted, was then stationed. Blake, not able to restrain his natural ardour, or perhaps not fully informed of the superiority of his enemies, put out to encounter them, though his fleet was so weakly manned, that half of his ships were obliged to lie idle without engaging, for want of sailors. The force of the whole Dutch fleet was therefore sustained by about twenty-two ships. Two of the English frigates, named the Vanguard and the Victory, after having for a long time stood engaged amidst the whole Dutch fleet, broke thro' without much injury, nor did the English lose

any ships till the evening, when the *Garland*, carrying forty guns, was boarded at once by two great ships, which were opposed by the English till they had scarcely any men left to defend the decks; then retiring into the lower part of the vessel, they blew up their decks, which were now possessed by the enemy, and at length were overpowered and taken. The *Bonaventure*, a stout well-built merchant-ship going to relieve the *Garland*, was attacked by a man of war, and, after a stout resistance, in which the captain, who defended her with the utmost bravery, was killed, was likewise carried off by the Dutch. Blake, in the *Triumph*, seeing the *Garland* in distress, pressed forward to relieve her, but in his way had his foremast shattered, and was himself boarded; but beating off the enemies, he disengaged himself, and retired into the Thames with the loss only of two ships of force, and four small frigates, but with his whole fleet much shattered. Nor was the victory gained at a cheap rate, notwithstanding the unusual disproportion of strength; for of the Dutch flag-ships one was blown up, and the other two disabled; a proof of the English bravery, which should have induced Van Trump to have spared the insolence of carrying a broom at his top-mast in his triumphant passage through the channel, which he intended as a declaration that he would sweep the seas of the English shipping; this, which he had little reason to think of accomplishing, he soon after perished in attempting.

There are sometimes observations and enquiries, which all historians seem to decline by agreement, of which this action may afford us an example: nothing appears at the first view more to demand our curiosity, or afford matter for ex-

amination, than this wild encounter of twenty-two ships with a force, according to their accounts who favour the Dutch, three times superior. Nothing can justify a commander in fighting under such disadvantages, but the impossibility of retreating. But what hindered Blake from retiring as well before the fight as after it? To say he was ignorant of the strength of the Dutch fleet, is to impute to him a very criminal degree of negligence; and, at least, it must be confessed that, from the time he saw them, he could not but know that they were too powerful to be opposed by him, and even then there was time for retreat. To urge the ardour of his sailors, is to divest him of the authority of a commander, and to charge him with the most reproachful weakness that can enter into the character of a general. To mention the impetuosity of his own courage, is to make the blame of his temerity equal to the praise of his valour; which seems indeed to be the most gentle censure that the truth of history will allow. We must then admit, amidst our eulogies and applauses, that the great, the wise, and the valiant Blake was once betrayed to an inconsiderate and desperate enterprize, by the resistless ardour of his own spirit, and a noble jealousy of the honour of his country.

It was not long before he had an opportunity of revenging his loss, and restraining the insolence of the Dutch. On the 18th of February 1652-3, Blake being at the head of eighty sail, and assisted, at his own request, by colonels Moak and Dean, espied Van Trump with a fleet of above 100 men of war as Clarendon relates, of 70 by their own public accounts, and 300 merchant-ships under his convoy. The English,



with their usual intrepidity, advanced towards them; and Blake in the *Triumph*, in which he always led his fleet, with twelve ships more, came to an engagement with the main body of the Dutch fleet, and by the disparity of their force was reduced to the last extremity, having received in his hull no fewer than 700 shots, when Lawson in the *Fairfax* came to his assistance. The rest of the English fleet now came in, and the fight was continued with the utmost degree of vigour and resolution, till the night gave the Dutch an opportunity of retiring, with the loss of one flag-ship, and six other men of war. The English had many vessels damaged, but none lost. On board Lawson's ship were killed 100 men, and as many on board Blake's, who lost his captain and secretary, and himself received a wound in the thigh.

Blake having set ashore his wounded men, sailed in pursuit of Van Trump, who sent his convoy before, and himself retired fighting towards Bulloign. Blake ordered his light frigates to follow the merchants, still continued to harass Van Trump, and on the third day, the 20th of February, the two fleets came to another battle, in which Van Trump once more retired before the English, and making use of the peculiar form of his shipping, secured himself in the shoals. The accounts of this fight, as of all the others, are various; but the Dutch writers themselves confess that they lost eight men of war, and more than twenty merchant ships; and it is probable that they suffered much more than they are willing to allow, for these repeated defeats provoked the common people to riots and insurrections, and obliged the States to ask, though ineffectually, for peace.

In April following, the form of government in England was changed, and the supreme authority assumed by Cromwell ; upon which occasion Blake, with his associates, declared that, notwithstanding the change in the administration, they should still be ready to discharge their trust, and to defend the nation from insults, injuries, and encroachments. " It is not," says Blake, " the business of a seaman to mind state affairs, " but to hinder foreigners from fooling us." This was the principle from which he never deviated, and which he always endeavoured to inculcate in the fleet, as the surest foundation of unanimity and steadiness. " Disturb not one another with domestic disputes, but remember " that we are English, and our enemies are foreigners. Enemies ! which, let what party " soever prevail, it is equally the interest of our " country to humble and restrain."

After the 30th of April, 1653, Blake, Monk, and Dean, sailed out of the English harbours with 100 men of war, and, finding the Dutch with seventy sail on their own coasts, drove them to the Texel, and took fifty doggers. Then they sailed northward in pursuit of Van Trump, who, having a fleet of merchants under his convoy, durst not enter the channel, but steered towards the Sound, and by great dexterity and address escaped the three English admirals, and brought all his ships into their harbour, then, knowing that Blake was still in the North, came before Dover, and fired upon that town, but was driven off by the castle.

Monk and Dean stationed themselves again at the mouth of the Texel, and blocked up the Dutch in their own ports with eighty sail ; but

hearing that Van Trump, was at Goree with 120 men of war, they ordered all ships of force in the river and ports to repair to them.

On June 3d, the two fleets came to an engagement, in the beginning of which Dean was carried off by a cannon ball; yet the fight continued from about twelve to six in the afternoon, when the Dutch gave way, and retreated fighting.

On the 4th, in the afternoon, Blake came up with eighteen fresh ships, and procured the English a complete victory; nor could the Dutch any otherwise preserve their ships than by retiring once more into the flats and shallows, where the largest of the English vessels could not approach.

In this battle Van Trump boarded vice-admiral Pen; but was beaten off, and himself boarded, and reduced to blow up his decks, of which the English had gotten possession. He was then entered at once by Pen and another; nor could possibly have escaped, had not De Ruyter and De Witt arrived at that instant and rescued him.

However the Dutch may endeavour to extenuate their loss in this battle, by admitting no more than eight ships to have been taken or destroyed, it is evident that they must have received much greater damages, not only by the accounts of more impartial historians, but by the remonstrances and exclamations of their admirals themselves; Van Trump declaring before the States, that "without a numerous reinforcement of large men of war, he could serve them no more;" and De Witt crying out before them, with the natural warmth of his character, "Why should I be silent before my lords and masters? The English are our masters, and by consequence masters of the sea."

In November, 1654, Blake was sent by Cromwell into the Mediterranean with a powerful fleet, and may be said to have received the homage of all that part of the world, being equally courted by the haughty Spaniards, the surly Dutch, and the lawless Algerines.

In March 1656, having forced Algiers to submission, he entered the harbour of Tunis, and demanded reparation for the robberies practised upon the English by the pirates of that place, and insisted that the captives of his nation should be set at liberty. The governor having planted batteries along the shore, and drawn up his ships under the castles sent Blake an haughty and insolent answer, "There are our castles of Goletta, and Porto Ferino," said he, "upon which you may do your worst;" adding other menaces and insults, and mentioning in terms of ridicule the inequality of a fight between ships and castles. Blake had likewise demanded leave to take in water, which was refused him. Fired with this inhuman and insolent treatment, he curled his whiskers, as was his custom when he was angry, and entering Porto Ferino with his great ships, discharged his shot so fast upon the batteries and castles, that in two hours the guns were dismounted, and the works forsaken, though he was at first exposed to the fire of sixty cannon. He then ordered his officers to send out their long boats well manned to seize nine of the piratical ships lying in the road, himself continuing to fire upon the castle. This was so bravely executed, that with the loss of only twenty-five men killed, and forty-eight wounded, all the ships were fired in the sight of Tunis. Thence sailing to Tripoly, he concluded a peace with that nation; then returning to Tunis, he found

nothing but submission. And such indeed was his reputation, that he met with no farther opposition, but collected a kind of tribute from the princes of those countries, his business being to demand reparation for all the injuries offered to the English during the civil wars. He exacted from the duke of Tuscany 60,000*l.* and, as it is said, sent home sixteen ships laden with the effects, which he had received from several states.

The respect with which he obliged all foreigners to treat his countrymen, appears from a story related by bishop Burnet. When he lay before Malaga, in a time of peace with Spain, some of his sailors went ashore, and meeting a procession of the host, not only refused to pay any respect to it, but laughed at those that did. The people, being put by one of the priests upon resenting this indignity, fell upon them and beat them severely. When they returned to their ship, they complained of their ill treatment; upon which Blake sent to demand the priest who had procured it. The viceroy answered that, having no authority over the priests, he could not send him: to which Blake replied, "that he did not enquire into the extent of the viceroy's authority, but that if the priest was not sent within three hours he would burn the town." The viceroy then sent the priest to him, who pleaded the provocation given by the seamen. Blake bravely and rationally answered, that if he had complained to him, he would have punished them severely, for he would not have his men affront the established religion of any place; but that he was angry that the Spaniards should assume that power, for he would have all the world know "that an Englishman was only to be punished by an Englishman." So having used the priest civi-

ly, he sent him back, being satisfied that he was in his power. This conduct so much pleased Cromwell, that he read the letter in council with great satisfaction; and said, "he hoped to make the name of an Englishman as great as ever that of a Roman had been."

In 1656, the Protector having declared War against Spain, dispatched Blake with twenty-five men of war to infest their coasts, and intercept their shipping. In pursuance of these orders he cruised all winter about the Streights, and then lay at the mouth of the harbour of Cales, where he received intelligence that the Spanish plate-fleet lay at anchor in the bay of Santa-Cruz, in the isle of Teneriffe. On the 13th of April 1657, he departed from Cales, and on the 20th arrived at Santa-Cruz, where he found sixteen Spanish vessels. The bay was defended on the northside by a castle well mounted with cannon, and in other parts with seven forts with cannon proportioned to the bigness, all united by a line of communication manned with musqueteers. The Spanish admiral drew up his small ships under the cannon of the castle, and stationed six great galleons with their broadsides to the sea; an advantageous and prudent disposition, but of little effect against the English commander; who determining to attack them, ordered Stayner to enter the bay with his squadron; then, posting some of his larger ships to play upon the fortifications, himself attacked the galleons, which, after a gallant resistance, were at length abandoned by the Spaniards, though the least of them was bigger than the biggest of Blake's ships. The forts and smaller vessels being now shattered and forsaken, the whole fleet was set on fire, the galleons by Blake, and the smallest vessels by

Stayner, the English vessels being too much shattered in the fight to bring them away. Thus was the whole plate fleet destroyed, "and the " Spaniards," according to Rapin's remark, "sustained a great loss of ships, money, men, " and merchandize, while the English gained " nothing but glory." As if he that increases the military reputation of a people did not increase their power, and he that weakens his enemy in effect strengthens himself.

"The whole action," says Clarendon, "was " so incredible, that all men, who knew the " place, wondered that any sober man, with " what courage soever endowed, would ever have " undertaken it, and they could hardly persuade " themselves to believe what they had done: " while the Spaniards comforted themselves " with the belief, that they were devils and not " men who had destroyed them in such a man- " ner. So much a strong resolution of bold and " courageous men can bring to pass, that no re- " sistance or advantage of ground can disappoint " them; and it can hardly be imagined how " small a loss the English sustained in this unpa- " ralleled action, not one ship being left behind, " and the killed and wounded not exceeding " 200 men; when the slaughter on board the " Spanish ships and on shore was incredible." The general cruised for some time afterwards with his victorious fleet at the mouth of Cales, to intercept the Spanish shipping; but finding his constitution broken by the fatigue of the last three years, determined to return home, and died before he came to land.

His body was embalmed, and having lain some time in state at Greenwich house, was buried in Henry VIIth's chapel, with all the funeral solem-

nity due to the remains of a man so famed for his bravery, and so spotless in his integrity ; nor is it without regret that I am obliged to relate the treatment his body met a year after the Restoration, when it was taken up by express command, and buried in a pit in St. Margaret's church-yard. Had he been guilty of the murder of Charles I. to insult his body had been a mean revenge ; but as he was innocent, it was, at least, inhumanity, and perhaps, ingratitude. "Let no man," says the oriental proverb "pull a dead lion by the beard."

But that regard which was denied his body has been paid to his better remains, his name and his memory. Nor has any writer dared to deny him the praise of intrepidity, honesty, contempt of wealth, and love of his country. "He was the first man," says Clarendon, "that declined the old track, & made it apparent that the sciences might be attained in less time than was imagined. He was the first man that brought ships to contemn castles on shore, which had ever been thought very formidable, but were discovered by him to make a noise only, and to fright those who could rarely be hurt by them. He was the first that infused that proportion of courage into seamen, by making them see, by experience, what mighty things they could do if they were resolved, and taught them to fight in fire as well as upon the water : and though he has been very well imitated and followed, was the first that gave the example of that kind of naval courage, and bold and resolute atchievements."

To this attestation of his military excellence, it may be proper to subjoin an account of his moral character from the author of *Lives English and Foreign*. "He was jealous," says that writer, "of the liberty of the subject, and the



“ glory of his nation ; and as he made use of no  
 “ mean artifices to raise himself to the highest  
 “ command at sea, so he needed no interest but  
 “ his merit to support him in it. He scorned  
 “ nothing more than money, which, as fast as  
 “ it came in, was laid out by him in the service  
 “ of the state, and to shew that he was animated  
 “ by that brave public spirit, which has since  
 “ been reckoned rather romantic than heroick.  
 “ And he was so disinterested, though no man  
 “ had more opportunities to enrich himself than  
 “ he, who had taken so many millions from the  
 “ enemies of England, yet he threw it all into  
 “ the publick treasury, and did not die 500%.  
 “ richer than his father left him ; which the au-  
 “ thor avers from his personal knowledge of his  
 “ family and their circumstances, having been  
 “ bred up in it, and often heard his brother give  
 “ this account of him. He was religious ac-  
 “ cording to the pretended purity of these times,  
 “ but would frequently allow himself to be  
 “ merry with his officers, and by his tenderness  
 “ and generosity to the seamen had so endeared  
 “ himself to them, that when he died they la-  
 “ mented his loss as that of a common father.”

Instead of more testimonies, his character may  
 be properly concluded with one incident of his  
 life, by which it appears how much the spirit of  
 Blake superior to all private views. His bro-  
 ther, in the last action with the Spaniards, hav-  
 ing not done his duty, was at Blake's desire dis-  
 carded, and the ship was given to another ; yet  
 was he not less regardful of him as a brother, for  
 when he died he left him his estate, knowing  
 him well qualified to adorn or enjoy a private  
 fortune, though he had found him unfit to serve  
 his country in a public character, and had there-  
 fore not suffered him to rob it.

*THE LIFE*

OF

**BARRETIER.\***

**H**AVING not been able to procure materials for a complete life of Mr. Barretier, and being nevertheless willing to gratify the curiosity justly raised in the public by his uncommon attainments, we think the following extracts of letters, written by his father, proper to be inserted in our collection, as they contain many remarkable passages, and exhibit a general view of his genius and learning.

JOHN PHILIP BARRETIER was born at Schwabach, January 19, 1720-21. His father was a Calvinist minister of that place, who took upon himself the care of his education. What arts of instruction he used, or by what method he regulated the studies of his son, we are not able to inform the public; but take this opportunity of intreating those, who have received more compleat intelligence, not to deny mankind so great a benefit as the improvement of education. If Mr. Le Fevre thought the method in which he taught his children, worthy to be communicated to the learned world, how justly may Mr. Barretier claim the universal attention of mankind to a scheme of education that has produced such a stupendous progress! The authors, who have endeavoured to teach certain and unfailing rules

\* This article was first printed in the Gentleman's Magazine for 1740.

for obtaining a long life, however they have failed in their attempts, are universally confessed to have, at least, the merit of a great and noble design, and to have deserved gratitude and honour. How much more then is due to Mr. Barretier, who has succeeded in what they have only attempted? for to prolong life, and improve it, are nearly the same. If to have all that riches can purchase, is to be rich; if to do all that can be done in a long time, is to live long; he is equally a benefactor to mankind, who teaches them to protract the duration, or shorten the business of life.

That there are few things more worthy our curiosity than this method, by which the father assisted the genius of the son, every man will be convinced, that considers the early proficiency at which it enabled him to arrive; such a proficiency as no one has yet reached at the same age, and to which it is therefore probable that every advantageous circumstance concurred.

At the age of nine years, he not only was master of five languages, an attainment in itself almost incredible, but understood, says his father, the holy writers, better in their original tongues, than in his own. If he means by this assertion, that he knew the sense of many passages in the original, which were obscure in the translation, the account, however wonderful, may be admitted; but if he intends to tell his correspondent, that his son was better acquainted with the two languages of the Bible, than with his own, he must be allowed to speak hyperbolically, or to admit that his son had somewhat neglected the study of his native language; or we must own, that the fondness of a parent has transported him into some natural exaggerations.

Part of this letter I am tempted to suppress, being unwilling to demand the belief of others to that which appears incredible to myself; but as my incredulity may, perhaps, be the product rather of prejudice than reason, as envy may, beget a disinclination to admit so immense a superiority, and as an account is not to be immediately censured as false, merely because it is wonderful, I shall proceed to give the rest of his father's relation, from his letter of the 3d of March, 1729-30. He speaks, continues he, German, Latin, and French, equally well. He can, by laying before him a translation, read any of the books of the Old or New Testament in its original language, without hesitation or perplexity. He is no stranger to biblical criticism or philosophy, nor unacquainted with ancient and modern geography, and is qualified to support a conversation with learned men, who frequently visit and correspond with him.

In his eleventh year, he not only published a learned letter in Latin, but translated the travels of Rabbi Benjamin from the Hebrew into French, which he illustrated with notes, and accompanied with dissertations; a work in which his father, as he himself declares, could give him little assistance, as he did not understand the rabbinical dialect.

The reason for which his father engaged him in this work, was only to prevail upon him to write a fairer hand than he had hitherto accustomed himself to do, by giving him hopes, that, if he should translate some little author, and offer a fair copy of his version to some bookseller, he might, in return for it, have other books which he wanted, and could not afford to purchase.

Incited by this expectation, he fixed upon the "Travels of Rabbi Benjamin," as most proper for his purpose, being a book neither bulky nor common, and in one month completed his translation, applying only one or two hours a day to that particular task. In another month, he drew up the principal notes; and, in the third, wrote some dissertations upon particular passages, which seemed to require a larger examination.

These notes contain so many curious remarks and enquiries out of the common road of learning, and afford so many instances of penetration, judgment, and accuracy, that the reader finds in every page some reason to persuade him that they cannot possibly be the work of a child, but of a man long accustomed to these studies, enlightened by reflection, and dextrous by long practice in the use of books. Yet, that it is the performance of a boy thus young, is not only proved by the testimony of his father, but by the concurrent evidence of Mr. Le Maitre, his associate in the church of Schwabach, who not only asserts his claim to this work, but affirms that he heard him at six years of age explain the Hebrew text as if it had been his native language; so that the fact is not to be doubted without a degree of incredulity, which it will not be very easy to defend.

This copy was however far from being written with the neatness which his father desired; nor did the booksellers, to whom it was offered, make proposals very agreeable to the expectations of the young translator; but after having examined the performance in their manner, and determined to print it upon conditions not very advantageous, returned it to be transcribed, that the printers might not be embarrassed with a copy so difficult to read.

Barretier was now advanced to the latter end of his twelfth year, and had made great advances in his studies, notwithstanding an obstinate tumour in his left hand, which gave him great pain and obliged him to a tedious and troublesome method of cure; and reading over his performance, was so far from contenting himself with barely transcribing it, that he altered the greatest part of the notes, new-modelled the dissertations, and augmented the book to twice its former bulk.

The few touches which his father bestowed upon the revisal of the book, though they are minutely set down by him in the preface, are so inconsiderable that it is not necessary to mention them; and it may be much more agreeable, as well as useful, to exhibit the short account which he there gives of the method by which he enabled his son to shew so early how easy an attainment is the knowledge of the languages, a knowledge which some men spend their lives in cultivating, to the neglect of more valuable studies, and which they seem to regard as the highest perfection of human nature.

What applauses are due to an old age, wasted in a scrupulous attention to particular accents and etymologies, may appear, says his father, by seeing how little time is required to arrive at such an eminence in these studies as many even of those venerable doctors have not attained for want of rational methods and regular application.

This censure is doubtless just upon those who spend too much of their lives upon useless niceties, or who appear to labour without making any progress; but as the knowledge of language is necessary, and a minute accuracy sometimes requisite, they are by no means to be blamed, who,

in compliance with the particular bent of their own minds, make the difficulties of dead languages their chief study, and arrive at excellence proportionate to their application, since it was to the labour of such men that his son was indebted for his own learning.

The first languages which Barretier learned were the French, German, and Latin, which he was taught not in the common way by a multitude of definitions, rules, and exceptions, which fatigue the attention and burthen the memory, without any use proportionate to the time which they require, and the disgust which they create. The method by which he was instructed was easy and expeditious, and therefore pleasing. He learned them all in the same manner, and almost at the same time, by conversing in them indifferently with his father.

The other languages of which he was master, he learned by a method yet more uncommon. The only book which he made use of was the Bible, which his father laid before him in the language that he then proposed to learn, accompanied with a translation, being taught by degrees the inflections of nouns and verbs. This method, says his father, made the Latin more familiar to him in his fourth year than any other language.

When he was near the end of his sixth year, he entered upon the study of the Old Testament in its original language, beginning with the book of Genesis, to which his father confined him for six months; after which he read cursorily over the rest of the historical books, in which he found very little difficulty, and then applied himself to the study of the poetical writers, and the prophets, which he read over so often, with so close an attention and so happy a memory, that he

could not only translate them without a moment's hesitation into Latin or French, but turn with the same facility the translations into the original language in his tenth year.

Growing at length weary of being confined to a book which he could almost entirely repeat, he deviated by stealth into other studies, and, as his translation of Benjamin is a sufficient evidence, he read a multitude of writers of various kinds. In his twelfth year he applied more particularly to the study of the fathers, and councils of the six first centuries, and began to make a regular collection of their canons, he read every author in the original, having discovered so much negligence or ignorance in most translations, that he paid no regard to their authority.

Thus he continued his studies, neither drawn aside by pleasures nor discouraged by difficulties. The greatest obstacle to his improvement was want of books, with which his narrow fortune could not liberally supply him; so that he was obliged to borrow the greatest part of those which his studies required, and to return them when he had read them, without being able to consult them occasionally, or to recur to them when his memory should fail him.

It is observable, that neither his diligence, unintermitted as it was, nor his want of books, a want of which he was in the highest degree sensible, ever produced in him that asperity, which a long and recluse life, without any circumstance of disquiet, frequently creates. He was always gay, lively, and facetious, a temper which contributed much to recommend his learning, and which some students much superior in age would consult their ease, their reputation, and their interest, by copying from him.



In the year 1735, he published *Anti-Artemonius, sive Initium Evangelii S. Joannis, adversus Artemonium vindicatum*, and attained such a degree of reputation, that not only the public, but princes, who are commonly the last by whom merit is distinguished, began to interest themselves in his success, for the same year the king of Prussia, who had heard of his early advances in literature on account of a scheme for discovering the longitude, which had been sent to the Royal Society of Berlin, and which was transmitted afterwards by him to Paris and London, engaged to take care of his fortune, having received further proofs of his abilities at his own court.

Mr. Barretier, being promoted to the cure of the church of Stetin, was obliged to travel with his son thither from Schwabach, through Leipsic and Berlin, a journey very agreeable to his son, as it would furnish him with new opportunities of improving his knowledge, and extending his acquaintance among men of letters. For this purpose they staid some time at Leipsic, and then travelled to Hall, where young Barretier so distinguished himself in his conversation with the professors of the university, that they offered him his degree of doctor in philosophy, a dignity correspondent to that of master of arts among us. Barretier drew up that night some positions in philosophy, and the mathematics, which he sent immediately to the press, and defended the next day in a crowded auditory, with so much wit, spirit, presence of thought, and strength of reason, that the whole university was delighted and amazed; he was then admitted to his degree, and attended by the whole concourse to his lodgings, with compliments and acclamations.

His *Theses* or philosophical positions, which he printed in compliance with the practice of that university, ran through several editions in a few weeks, and no testimony of regard was wanting that could contribute to animate him in his progress.

When they arrived at Berlin, the king ordered him to be brought into his presence, and was so much pleased with his conversation, that he sent for him almost every day during his stay at Berlin; and diverted himself with engaging him in conversations upon a multitude of subjects, and in disputes with learned men; on all which occasions he acquitted himself so happily, that the king formed the highest ideas of his capacity, and future eminence. And thinking, perhaps with reason, that active life was the noblest sphere of a great genius, he recommended to him the study of modern history, the customs of nations, and those parts of learning, that are of use in public transactions and civil employments, declaring that such abilities properly cultivated might exalt him, in ten years, to be the greatest minister of state in Europe. Barretier, whether we attribute it to his moderation or inexperience, was not dazzled by the prospect of such high promotion, but answered, that he was too much pleased with science and quiet, to leave them for such inextricable studies, or such harassing fatigues. A resolution so displeasing to the king, that his father attributes to it the delay of those favours which they had hopes of receiving, the king having, as he observes, determined to employ him in the ministry.

It is not impossible that paternal affection might suggest to Mr. Barretier some false conception of the king's design; for he infers from the intro-

duction of his son to the young princes, and the caresses which he received from them, that the king intended him for their preceptor; a scheme, says he, which some other resolution happily destroyed.

Whatever was originally intended, and by whatever means these intentions were frustrated; Barretier, after having been treated with the highest regard by the whole royal family, was dismissed with a present of 200 crowns; and his father, instead of being fixed at Stetin, was made pastor of the French church at Hall; a place more commodious for study, to which they retired; Barretier being first admitted into the Royal Society at Berlin, and recommended by the king to the university at Hall.

At Hall he continued his studies with his usual application and success, and, either by his own reflections or the persuasions of his father, was prevailed upon to give up his own inclinations to those of the king, and direct his enquiries to those subjects that had been recommended by him.

He continued to add new acquisitions to his learning, and to increase his reputation by new performances, till, in the beginning of his nineteenth year, his health began to decline, and his indisposition, which, being not alarming or violent, was perhaps not at first sufficiently regarded, increased by slow degrees for eighteen months, during which he spent days among his books, and neither neglected his studies, nor left his gaiety, till his distemper, ten days before his death, deprived him of the use of his limbs; he then prepared himself for his end, without fear or emotion, and on the 5th of October 1740, resigned his soul into the hands of his Saviour, with confidence and tranquility.

## THE LIFE

OF

*BURMAN*\*.

**P**PETER BURMAN was born at Utrecht, on the 26th day of June 1668. The family from which he descended has for several generations produced men of great eminence for piety and learning; and his father, who was professor of divinity in the university, and pastor of the city of Utrecht, was equally celebrated for the strictness of his life, the efficacy and orthodoxy of his sermons, and the learning and perspicuity of his academical lectures.

From the assistance and instruction which such a father would doubtless have been encouraged by the genius of this son not to have omitted, he was unhappily cut off at eleven years of age, being at that time by his father's death thrown entirely under the care of his mother, by whose diligence, piety, and prudence, his education was so regulated, that he had scarcely any reason, but filial tenderness, to regret the loss of his father.

He was about this time sent to the public school of Utrecht to be instructed in the learned languages; and it will convey no common idea of his capacity and industry to relate, that he had passed through the classes, and was admitted into the university in his thirteenth year.

This account of the rapidity of his progress in the first part of his studies is so stupendous, that though it is attested by his friend, Dr. Osterdyke,

\* First printed in the Gentleman's Magazine for 1742.

of whom it cannot be reasonably suspected that he is himself deceived, or that he can desire to deceive others, it must be allowed far to exceed the limits of probability if it be considered, with regard to the methods of education practised in our country, where it is not uncommon for the highest genius, and most comprehensive capacity, to be entangled for ten years, in those thorny paths of literature, which Burman is represented to have passed in less than two; and we must doubtless confess the most skilful of our masters much excelled by the address of the Dutch teachers, or the abilities of our greatest scholars far surpassed by those of Burman.

But, to reduce this narrative to credibility, it is necessary that admiration should give place to inquiry, and that it be discovered what proficiency in literature is expected from a student, requesting to be admitted into a Dutch university. It is to be observed that in the universities in foreign countries, they have professors of philology, or humanity, whose employment is to instruct the younger classes in grammar, rhetoric, and languages; nor do they engage the study of philosophy, till they have passed through a course of philological Lectures and exercises, to which, in some places, two years, are commonly allotted.

The English scheme of education, which with regard to academical studies is more vigorous, and sets literary honours at a higher price than that of any other country, exacts from the youth, who are initiated in our colleges, a degree of philological knowledge sufficient to qualify them for lectures in philosophy, which are read to them in Latin, and to enable them to proceed in other studies without assistance; so that it may be conjectured, that Burman, at his entrance into the

university, had no such skill in languages, nor such ability of composition, as are frequently to be met with in the higher classes of an English school; nor was perhaps more than moderately skilled in Latin, and taught the first rudiments in Greek.

In the university he was committed to the care of the learned Grævius, whose regard for his father inclined him to superintend his studies with more than common attention, which was soon confirmed and increased by his discoveries of the genius of his pupil, and his observation of his diligence.

One of the qualities which contributed eminently to qualify Grævius for an instructor of youth, was the sagacity by which he readily discovered the predominant faculty of each pupil, and the peculiar designation by which nature had allotted him to any species of literature, and by which he was soon able to determine, that Burman was remarkably adapted to classical studies, and predict the great advances that he would make, by industriously pursuing the direction of his genius.

Animated by the encouragement of a tutor so celebrated, he continued the vigour of his application, and, for several years, not only attended the lectures of Grævius, but made use of every other opportunity of improvement, with such diligence, as might justly be expected to produce an uncommon proficiency.

Having thus attained a sufficient degree of classical knowledge, to qualify him for inquiries into other sciences, he applied himself to the study of the law, and published a dissertation, "de Vicesima Hæreditatum," which he publicly defended, under the professor Van Muyden, with

such learning and eloquence, as procured him great applause.

Imagining, then, that the conversation of other men of learning might be of use towards his farther improvement, and rightly judging, that notions formed in any single seminary are for the greatest part contracted and partial; he went to Leyden, where he studied philosophy for a year; under M. de Volder, whose celebrity was so great, that the schools assigned to the sciences, which it was his province to teach, were not sufficient, though very spacious, to contain the audience that crowded his lectures, from all parts of Europe.

Yet he did not suffer himself to be engrossed by philosophical disquisitions, to the neglect of those studies in which he was more early engaged, and to which he was perhaps by nature better adapted; for he attended at the same time Rycnius's explanations of Tacitus, and James Gronovius's lectures on the Greek writers, and has often been heard to acknowledge, at an advanced age, the assistance which he received from them.

Having thus passed a year at Leyden with great advantage, he returned to Utrecht, and once more applied himself to philological studies, by the assistance of Grævius, whose early hopes of his genius were now raised to a full confidence of that excellence at which he afterwards arrived.

At Utrecht, in March 1688, in the twentieth year of his age, he was advanced to the degree of doctor of laws; on which occasion he published a learned dissertation, "de Transactionibus," and defended it with his usual eloquence, learning, and success.

The attainment of this honour was far from having upon Burman that effect which has been too

often observed to be produced in others, who, having in their own opinion no higher object of ambition, have elapsed into idleness and security, and spent the rest of their lives in a lazy enjoyment of their academical dignities. Burman aspired to farther improvements, and, not satisfied with the opportunities of literary conversation which Utrecht afforded, travelled into Switzerland and Germany, where he gained an increase both of fame and learning.

At his return from this excursion, he engaged in the practice of the law, and pleaded several causes with such reputation, as might be hoped by a man who had joined to his knowledge of the law, the embellishments of polite literature, and the strict ratiocination of true philosophy, and who was able to employ on every occasion the graces of eloquence and the power of argumentation.

While Burman was hastening to high reputation in the courts of justice, and to those riches and honours which always follow it, he was summoned in 1691, by the magistrates of Utrecht, to undertake the charge of collector of the tenths, an office in that place of great honour, and which he accepted therefore as a proof of their confidence and esteem.

While he was engaged in this employment, he married Eve Clotterboke, a young lady of a good family, and uncommon genius and beauty, by whom he had ten children, of which eight died young; and only two sons, Francis and Caspar, lived to console their mother for their father's death.

Neither public business, nor domestic cares, detained Burman from the prosecution of his literary enquiries, by which he so much endeared



himself to Grævius, that he was recommended by him to the regard of the university of Utrecht, and accordingly, in 1696, was chosen professor of eloquence and history, to which was added, after some time, the professorship of the Greek language, and afterwards that of politics; so various did they conceive his abilities, and so extensive his knowledge.

At his entrance upon this new province, he pronounced an oration upon eloquence and poetry.

Having now more frequent opportunities of displaying his learning, he arose, in a short time, to a high reputation, of which the great number of his auditors was a sufficient proof, and which the proficiency of his pupils shewed not to be accidental or undeserved.

In 1714, he formed a resolution of visiting Paris, not only for the sake of conferring in person, upon questions of literature, with the learned men of that place, and of gratifying his curiosity with a more familiar knowledge of those writers whose works he admired, but with a view more important, of visiting the libraries, and making those enquiries which might be of advantage to his darling study.

The vacation of the university allowed him to stay at Paris but six weeks, which he employed with so much dexterity and industry, that he had searched the principal libraries, collated a great number of manuscripts and printed copies, and brought back a great treasure of curious observations.

In this visit to Paris he contracted an acquaintance, among other learned men, with the celebrated father Montfaucon: with whom he conversed, at his first interview, with no other cha-

racter but that of a traveller ; but, their discourse turning upon ancient learning, the stranger soon gave such proofs of his attainments, that Montfaucon declared him a very uncommon traveller, and confessed his curiosity to know his name ; which he no sooner heard, than he rose from his seat, and, embracing him with the utmost ardour, expressed his satisfaction at having seen the man whose productions of various kinds he had so often praised ; and, as a real proof of his regard, offered not only to procure him an immediate admission to all the libraries of Paris, but to those in remoter provinces, which are not generally open to strangers, and undertook to ease the expences of his journey by procuring him entertainment in all monasteries of his order.

This favour Burman was hindered from accepting, by the necessity of returning to Utrecht at the usual time of beginning a new course of lectures, to which there was always so great a concourse of students, as much increased the dignity and fame of the university in which he taught.

He had already extended, to distant parts, his reputation for knowledge of ancient history by a treatise " de Vectigalibus Populi Romani," on the revenues of the Romans ; and for his skill in Greek learning, and in ancient coins, by a tract called " Jupiter Fulgurator ;" and after his return from Paris, he published " Phædrus," first with the notes of various commentators, and afterwards with his own. He printed many poems, and made many orations upon different subjects, and procured an impression of the epistles of Gadius and Sanavius.

While he was thus employed, the professorships of history, eloquence, and the Greek language, became vacant at Leyden, by the death of Perizonius, which Burman's reputation incited the curators of the university to offer him upon very generous terms, and which, after some struggles with his fondness for his native place, his friends, and his colleagues, he was prevailed on to accept, finding the solicitations from Leyden warm and urgent, and his friends at Utrecht, though unwilling to be deprived of him, yet not zealous enough for the honour and advantage of their university, to endeavour to detain him by great liberality.

At his entrance upon this new professorship, which was conferred upon him in 1715, he pronounced an oration upon the duty and office of a professor of polite literature; "*De publici humanioris Disciplinæ professoris proprio officio et munere;*" and shewed by the usefulness and perspicuity of his lectures, that he was not confined to speculative notions on that subject, having a very happy method of accommodating his instructions to the different abilities and attainments of his pupils.

Nor did he suffer the public duties of this station to hinder him from promoting learning by labours of a different kind, for, besides many poems and orations which he recited on different occasions, he wrote several prefaces to the works of others, and published many useful editions of the best Latin writers, with large collections of notes from various commentators.

He was twice rector, or chief governor of the university, and discharged that important office with equal equity and ability, and gained by his conduct in every station so much esteem, that

when the professorship of history of the United Provinces became vacant, it was conferred on him, as an addition to his honours and revenues, which he might justly claim; and afterwards, as a proof of the continuance of their regard, and a testimony that his reputation was still increasing, they made him chief librarian, an office which was the more acceptable to him, as it united his business with his pleasure, and gave him an opportunity at the same time of superintending the library, and carrying on his studies.

Such was the course of his life, till, in his old age, leaving off his practice of walking and other exercises, he began to be afflicted with the scurvy, which discovered itself by very tormenting symptoms of various kinds; sometimes disturbing his head with vertigos, sometimes causing faintness in his limbs, and sometimes attacking his legs with anguish so excruciating, that all his vigour was destroyed, and the power of walking entirely taken away, till at length his left foot became motionless. The violence of his pain produced irregular fevers, deprived him of rest, and entirely debilitated his whole frame.

This tormenting disease he bore, though not without some degree of impatience, yet without any unbecoming or irrational despondency, and applied himself in the intermission of his pains to seek for comfort in the duties of religion.

While he lay in this state of misery he received an account of the promotion of two of his grandsons, and a catalogue of the king of France's library, presented to him by the command of the king himself, and expressed some satisfaction on all these occasions; but soon diverted his thoughts to the more important consideration of his eternal

state, into which he passed on the 31st of March 1741, in the 73d year of his age.

He was a man of moderate stature, of great strength and activity, which he preserved by temperate diet, without medical exactness, and by allotting proportions of his time to relaxation and amusement, not suffering his studies to exhaust his strength, but relieving them by frequent intermissions; a practice consistent with the most exemplary diligence, and which he that omits will find at last, that time may be lost, like money, by unseasonable avarice.

In his hours of relaxation he was gay, and sometimes gave way so far to his temper, naturally satirical, that he drew upon himself the ill-will of those who had been unfortunately the subjects of his mirth; but enemies so provoked, he thought it beneath him to regard or to pacify; for he was fiery, but not malicious, disdained dissimulation, and in his gay or serious hours preserved a settled detestation of falsehood. So that he was an open and undisguised friend or enemy, entirely unacquainted with the artifices of flatterers, but so judicious in the choice of friends, and so constant in his affection to them, that those with whom he had contracted familiarity in his youth, had for the greatest part his confidence in his old age.

His abilities, which would probably have enabled him to have excelled in any kind of learning, were chiefly employed, as his station required, on polite literature, in which he arrived at very uncommon knowledge, which, however, appears rather from judicious compilations than original productions. His stile is lively and masculine, but not without harshness and constraint, nor, perhaps, always polished to that purity.

which some writers have attained. He was at least instrumental to the instruction of mankind, by the publication of many valuable performances, which lay neglected by the greatest part of the learned world; and if reputation be estimated by usefulness, he may claim a higher degree in the ranks of learning than some others of happier elocution, or more vigorous imagination.

The malice or suspicion of those who either did not know, or did not love him, had given rise to some doubts about his religion, which he took an opportunity of removing on his death-bed by a voluntary declaration of his faith, his hope of everlasting salvation from the revealed promises of God, and his confidence in the merits of our Redeemer, of the sincerity of which declaration his whole behaviour in his long illness was an incontestable proof; and he concluded his life, which had been illustrious for many virtues, by exhibiting an example of true piety.

Of his works we have not been able to procure a complete catalogue; he published.

“ Quintilianus,” 2 vols. 4to.

“ Valerius Flaccus,”

“ Ovidius,” 3 vols. 4to.

“ Poetæ Latini Minores”; 2 vols.  
4to.

“ Buchanani Opera,” 2 vols. 4to.

} Cum notis  
} Variorum.

*THE LIFE*  
OF  
**BOERHAAVE.**



THE following account of the late Dr. BOERHAAVE, so loudly celebrated, and so universally lamented through the whole learned world, will, we hope, be not unacceptable to our readers: We could have made it much larger, by adopting flying reports, and inserting unattested facts; a close adherence to certainty has contracted our narrative, and hindered it from swelling to that bulk, at which modern histories generally arrive.

Dr. Herman Boerhaave was born on the last day of December, 1668, about one in the morning, at Voorhout, a village two miles distant from Leyden: his father, James Boerhaave, was minister of Voorhout, of whom his son\*, in a small account of his own life, has given a very amiable character, for the simplicity and openness of his behaviour, for his exact frugality in the management of a narrow fortune, and the prudence, tenderness, and diligence, with which he educated a numerous family of nine children. He was eminently skilled in history and genealogy, and versed in the Latin, Greek, and Hebrew languages.

\* "Erat Hermanni Genitor Latine, Græce, Hebræice sciens: peritus valde historiarum & gentium. Vir apertus, candidus, simplex: paterfamilias optimus amore, cura, diligentia, frugalitate, prudentia. Qui non magna in re, sed plenus virtutis, novem liberis educandis exemplum præbuit singulare, quid exacta parsimonia polleat, & frugalitas." *Crig. Edit.*

His mother was Hagar Daelder, a tradesman's daughter of Amsterdam, from whom he might, perhaps, derive an hereditary inclination to the study of physic, in which she was very inquisitive, and had obtained a knowledge of it not common in female students.

This knowledge, however, she did not live to communicate to her son, for she died in 1673, ten years after her marriage.

His father, finding himself encumbered with the care of seven children, thought it necessary to take a second wife, and in July 1674, was married to Eve du Bois, daughter of a minister of Leyden, who, by her prudent and impartial conduct, so endeared herself to her husband's children, that they all regarded her as their own mother.

Herman Boerhaave was always designed by his father for the ministry, and with that view instructed by him in grammatical learning, and the first elements of languages; in which he made such a proficiency, that he was, at the age of eleven years, not only master of the rules of grammar, but capable of translating with tolerable accuracy, and not wholly ignorant of critical niceties.

At intervals, to recreate his mind, and strengthen his constitution, it was his father's custom to send him into the fields, and employ him in agriculture and such kind of rural occupations, which he continued through all his life to love and practice; and by this vicissitude of study and exercise preserved himself, in a great measure, from those distempers and depressions which are frequently the consequences of indiscreet diligence, and uninterrupted application; and from which students, not well acquainted with the constitu-



tion of the human body, sometimes fly for relief to wine instead of exercise, and purchase temporary ease by the hazard of the most dreadful consequences.

The studies of young Boerhaave were, about this time, interrupted by an accident, which deserves a particular mention, as it first inclined him to that science, to which he was by nature so well adapted, and which he afterwards carried to so great perfection.

In the twelfth year of his age, a stubborn, painful, and malignant ulcer, broke out upon his left thigh; which, for near five years, defeated all the art of the surgeons and physicians, and not only afflicted him with most excruciating pains, but exposed him to such sharp and tormenting applications, that the disease and remedies were equally insufferable. Then it was that his own pain taught him to compassionate others, and his experience of the inefficacy of the methods then in use incited him to attempt the discovery of others more certain.

He began to practice at least honestly, for he began upon himself; and his first essay was a prelude to his future success, for, having laid aside all the prescriptions of his physicians, and all the applications of his surgeons, he, at last, by tormenting the part with salt and urine, effected a cure.

That he might, on this occasion, obtain the assistance of surgeons with less inconvenience and expence, he was brought by his father, at fourteen, to Leyden, and placed in the fourth class of the public school, after being examined by the master: here his application and abilities were equally conspicuous. In six months, by gaining the first prize in the fourth class, he was

raised to the fifth; and in six months more, upon the same proof of the superiority of his genius, rewarded with another prize, and translated to the sixth; from whence it is usual in six months more to be removed to the university.

Thus did our young student advance in learning and reputation, when, as he was within view of the university, a sudden and unexpected blow threatened to defeat all his expectations.

On the 12th of November, in 1682, his father died, and left behind him a very slender provision for his widow and nine children, of which the eldest was not yet seventeen years old.

This was a most afflicting loss to the young scholar, whose fortune was by no means sufficient to bear the expences of a learned education, and who therefore seemed to be now summoned by necessity to some way of life more immediately and certainly lucrative; but, with a resolution equal to his abilities, and a spirit not so depressed and shaken, he determined to break through the obstacles of poverty, and supply, by diligence, the want of fortune.

He therefore asked and obtained the consent of his guardians to prosecute his studies as long as his patrimony would support him; and, continuing his wonted industry, gained another prize.

He was now to quit the school for the university, but, on account of the weakness yet remaining in his thigh, was, at his own entreaty, continued six months longer under the care of his master, the learned Winschotan, where he once more was honoured with the prize.

At his removal to the university, the same genius and industry met with the same encouragement and applause. The learned Triglandius,

one of his father's friends, made soon after professor of divinity at Leyden, distinguished him in a particular manner, and recommended him to the friendship of Mr. Van Apphen, in whom he found a generous and constant patron.

He became now a diligent hearer of the most celebrated professors, and made great advances in all the sciences; still regulating his studies with a view principally to divinity, for which he was originally intended by his father, and for that reason exerted his utmost application to attain an exact knowledge of the Hebrew tongue.

Being convinced of the necessity of mathematical learning, he began to study those sciences in 1687, but without that intense industry with which the pleasure he found in that kind of knowledge induced him afterwards to cultivate them.

In 1690, having performed the exercises of the university with uncommon reputation, he took his degree in philosophy; and on that occasion discussed the important and arduous subject of the distinct natures of the soul and body, with such accuracy, perspicuity, and subtlety, that he entirely confuted all the sophistry of Epicurus, Hobbes, and Spinoza, and equally raised the characters of his piety and erudition.

Divinity was still his great employment, and the chief aim of all his studies. He read the scriptures in their original languages, and when difficulties occurred, consulted the interpretations of the most antient fathers, whom he read in order of time, beginning with Clemens Romanus.

In the perusal of those early writers, he was struck with the profoundest veneration of the simplicity and purity of their doctrines, the holiness of their lives, and the sanctity of the discipline practised by them; but, as he descended to the

lower ages, found the peace of christianity broken by useless controversies, and its doctrines sophisticated by the subtilities of the schools. He found the holy writers interpreted according to the notions of philosophers, and the chimeras of metaphysicians adopted as articles of faith. He found difficulties raised by niceties, and fomented to bitterness and rancour. He saw the simplicity of the christian doctrine corrupted by the private fancies of particular parties, while each adhered to its own philosophy, and orthodoxy was confined to the sect in power.

Having now exhausted his fortune in the pursuit of his studies, he found the necessity of applying to some profession, that, without engrossing all his time, might enable him to support himself; and having obtained a very uncommon knowledge of the mathematics, he read lectures in those sciences to a select number of young gentlemen in the university.

At length, his propension to the study of physic grew too violent to be resisted; and, though he still intended to make divinity the great employment of his life, he could not deny himself the satisfaction of spending some time upon the medical writers, for the perusal of which he was so well qualified by his acquaintance with the mathematics and philosophy.

But this science corresponded so much with his natural genius, that he could not forbear making that his business which he intended only as his diversion; and still growing more eager, as he advanced further, he at length determined wholly to master that profession, and to take his degree in physic, before he engaged in the duties of the ministry.

It is, I believe, a very just observation, that men's ambition is generally proportioned to their capacity. Providence seldom sends any into the world with an inclination to attempt great things, who have not abilities likewise to perform them. To have formed the design of gaining a complete knowledge of medicine by way of digression from theological studies, would have been little less than madness in most men, and would have only exposed them to ridicule and contempt. But Boerhaave was one of those mighty geniuses, to whom scarce any thing appears impossible, and who think nothing worthy of their efforts but what appears insurmountable to common understandings.

He began this new course of study by a diligent perusal of Vesalius, Bartholine, and Fallopius; and, to acquaint himself more fully with the structure of bodies, was a constant attendant upon Nuck's public dissections in the theatre, and himself very accurately inspected the bodies of different animals.

Having furnished himself with this preparatory knowledge, he began to read the ancient physicians in the order of time, pursuing his enquiries downwards from Hippocrates through all the Greek and Latin writers.

Finding, as he tells us himself, that Hippocrates was the original source of all medical knowledge, and that all the later writers were little more than transcribers from him, he returned to him with more attention, and spent much time in making extracts from him, digesting his treatises into method, and fixing them in his memory.

He then descended to the moderns, among whom none engaged him longer, or improved him more, than Sydenham, to whose merit he has

left this attestation, "that he frequently perused him, and always with greater eagerness."

His insatiable curiosity after knowledge engaged him now in the practice of chymistry, which he prosecuted with all the ardour of a philosopher, whose industry was not to be wearied, and whose love of truth was too strong to suffer him to acquiesce in the reports of others.

Yet did he not suffer one branch of science to withdraw his attention from others: anatomy did not withhold him from chymistry, nor chymistry, enchanting as it is, from the study of botany, in which he was no less skilled than in other parts of physic. He was not only a careful examiner of all the plants in the garden of the university, but made excursions for his further improvement into the woods and fields, and left no place unvisited where any increase of botanical knowledge could be reasonably hoped for.

In conjunction with all these enquiries he still pursued his theological studies, and still, as we are informed by himself, "proposed, when he had made himself master of the whole art of physic, and obtained the honour of a degree in that science, to petition regularly for a licence to preach, and to engage in the cure of souls," and intended in his theological exercise to discuss this question, "why so many were formerly converted to Christianity by illiterate persons, and so few at present by men of learning."

In pursuance of this plan he went to Hardewich, in order to take the degree of doctor in physic, which he obtained in July 1693. having performed a public disputation, "*de utilitate explorationum excrementorum in ægris, ut signorum.*"

Then returning to Leyden full of his pious design of undertaking the ministry, he found to his surprise unexpected obstacles thrown in his way, and an insinuation dispersed through the university that made him suspected, not of any slight deviation from received opinions, not of any pertinacious adherence to his own notions in doubtful and disputable matters, but of no less than Spinosism, or, in plainer terms, of Atheism itself.

How so injurious a report came to be raised, circulated, and credited, will be doubtless very eagerly inquired: we shall therefore give the relation, not only to satisfy the curiosity of mankind, but to shew that no merit, however exalted, is exempt from being not only attacked, but wounded, by the most contemptible whispers. Those who cannot strike with force, can however poison their weapon, and weak as they are, give mortal wounds, and bring a hero to the grave: so true is that observation, that many are able to do hurt, but few to do good.

This detestable calumny owed its rise to an incident from which no consequence of importance could be possibly apprehended. As Boerhaave was sitting in a common boat, there arose a conversation among the passengers upon the impious and pernicious doctrine of Spinosism, which, as they all agreed, tends to the utter overthrow of all religion. Boerhaave sat, and attended silently to this discourse for some time, till one of the company, willing to distinguish himself by his zeal, instead of confuting the positions of Spinosism by argument, began to give a loose to contumelious language, and virulent invectives, which Boerhaave was so little pleased with, that at last he could not forbear asking him, whether he had ever read the author he declaimed against.

The orator, not being able to make much answer, was checked in the midst of his invectives, but not without feeling a secret resentment against the person who had at once interrupted his harangue, and exposed his ignorance.

This was observed by a stranger who was in the boat with them; he enquired of his neighbour the name of the young man, whose question had put an end to the discourse, and having learned it, set it down in his pocket book, as it appears, with a malicious design, for in a few days it was the common conversation at Leyden, that Boerhaave had revolted to Spinoza.

It was in vain that his advocates and friends pleaded his learned and unanswerable confutation of all atheistical opinions, and particularly of the system of Spinoza, in his discourse of the distinction between soul and body. Such calumnies are not easily suppressed, when they are once become general. They are kept alive and supported by the malice of bad, and sometimes by the zeal of good men, who though they do not absolutely believe them, think it yet the securest method to keep not only guilty but suspected men out of public employments, upon this principle, that the safety of many is to be preferred before the advantage of few.

Boerhaave, finding this formidable opposition raised against his pretensions to ecclesiastical honours or preferments, and even against his design of assuming the character of a divine, thought it neither necessary nor prudent to struggle with the torrent of popular prejudice, as he was equally qualified for a profession, not indeed of equal dignity or importance, but which must undoubtedly claim the second place among those which are of the greatest benefit to mankind.



He therefore applied himself to his medical studies with new ardour and alacrity, reviewed all his former observations and enquiries, and was continually employed in making new acquisitions.

Having now qualified himself for the practice of physic, he began to visit patients, but without that encouragement which others, not equally deserving, have sometimes met with. His business was, at first, not great, and his circumstances by no means easy; but still, superior to any discouragement, he continued his search after knowledge, and determined that prosperity, if ever he was to enjoy it, should be the consequence not of mean art, or disingenuous solicitations, but of real merit, and solid learning.

His steady adherence to his resolutions appears yet more plainly from this circumstance: he was, while he yet remained in this displeasing situation, invited by one of the first favourites of King William III. to settle at the Hague, upon very advantageous conditions; but declined the offer. For having no ambition but after knowledge, he was desirous of living at liberty, without any restraint upon his looks, his thoughts, or his tongue, and at the utmost distance from all contentions, and state-parties. His time was wholly taken up in visiting the sick, studying, making chymical experiments, searching into every part of medicine with the utmost diligence, teaching the mathematics, and reading the scriptures, and those authors who profess to teach a certain method of loving God.\*

\* “ Circa hoc tempus, laetis conditionibus, lautioribus promissis, invitatus, plus vice simplici, a viro primariae dignationis, qui gratia flagrantissima florebat regis Gulielmi III. ut Hagam comitum sedem caperet fortunarum, declinavit constans. Contentus videlicet vita libera, remota a turbis, studiisque porro percolendis unice impensa, ubi non cogereetur alia dicere & simulare, alia sentire & dissimulare: af-

This was his method of living to the year 1701, when he was recommended by Van Berg to the university as a proper person, to succeed Drelincurtius in the professorship of physic, and elected without any solicitations on his part, and almost without his consent, on the 18th of May.

On this occasion, having observed, with grief, that Hippocrates, whom he regarded not only as the father but as the prince of physicians, was not sufficiently read or esteemed by young students, he pronounced an oration, "de commendando Studio Hippocratico;" by which he restored that great author to his just and ancient reputation.

He now began to read public lectures with great applause, and was prevailed upon by his audience to enlarge his original design, and instruct them in chymistry.

This he undertook, not only to the great advantage of his pupils, but to the great improvement of the art itself, which had been hitherto treated only in a confused and irregular manner, and was little more than a history of particular experiments, not reduced to certain principles, nor connected one with another: this vast chaos he reduced to order, and made that clear and easy which was before to the last degree difficult and obscure.

His reputation began now to bear some proportion to his merit, and extended itself to distant universities; so that in 1703 the professorship of physic being vacant at Groningen, he

*fectum studiis rapi, regi. Sic tuum vita erat, ægros visere, mox domi in musæo se condere, officinam Vulcani exercere; omnes medicinæ partes acerrime persequi; mathematica etiam aliis tradere; sacra legere, et auctores qui profitentur docere rationem certam amandi Deum." Orig. Edit.*

was invited thither, but he chose to continue his present course of life, and therefore refused to quit Leyden.

This invitation and refusal being related to the governors of the university of Leyden, they had so grateful a sense of his regard for them, that they immediately voted an honorary increase of his salary, and promised him the first professorship that should be vacant.

On this occasion he pronounced an oration upon the use of mechanics in the science of physic; in which he endeavoured to recommend a rational and mathematical inquiry into the causes of diseases and the structure of bodies; and to shew the folly and weakness of the jargon introduced by Paracelsus, Helmont, and other chymical enthusiasts, who have obtruded airy dreams upon the world, and instead of enlightening their readers with explications of nature, have darkened the plainest appearances, and bewildered mankind in error and obscurity.

Boerhaave had now for nine years read physical lectures, but without the title or dignity of a professor, when, by the death of professor Hotton, the professorship of physic and botany fell to him of course.

On this occasion he asserted the simplicity and facility of the science of physic, in opposition to those who think that obscurity contributes to the dignity of learning, and that to be admired it is necessary not to be understood.

His profession of botany made it a part of his duty to superintend the physical garden, which improved so much by the immense number of new plants which he procured, that it was enlarged to twice its original extent.

In 1714 he was deservedly advanced to the highest dignities of the university, and in the same year made physician of St. Augustin's hospital in Leyden, into which the students are admitted twice a week to learn the practice of physic.

This was of equal advantage to the sick and to the students, for the success of his practice was the best demonstration of the soundness of his principles.

When he laid down his office of governor of the university, in 1715, he made an oration upon the subject "of attaining to certainty in natural philosophy;" in which he declares himself, in the strongest terms, a favourer of experimental knowledge, and reflects with just severity upon those arrogant philosophers who are too easily disguised with the slow methods of obtaining true notions by frequent experiments, and who, possessed with too high an opinion of their own abilities, rather chuse to consult their own imaginations, than inquire into nature; and are better pleased with the charming amusement of forming hypotheses, than the toilsome drudgery of making observations.

The emptiness and uncertainty of all those systems, whether venerable for their antiquity, or agreeable for their novelty, he has evidently shewn; and not only declared, but proved, that we are entirely ignorant of the principles of things; and that all the knowledge we have is of such qualities alone as are discoverable by experience, or such as may be deduced from them by mathematical demonstration.

This discourse, filled as it was with piety, and a true sense of the greatness of the supreme being, and the incomprehensibility of his works,

gave such offence to a professor of Franeker, who having long entertained a high esteem for Descartes, considered his principles as the bulwark of orthodoxy, that he appeared in vindication of his darling author, and complained of the injury done him with the greatest vehemence, declaring little less than that the Cartesian system and the christian must inevitably stand and fall together; and that to say we were ignorant of the principles of things, was not only to enlist among the scepticks, but to sink into atheism itself. So far can prejudice darken the understanding, as to make it consider precarious and uncertain systems as the chief support of sacred and unvariable truth.

This treatment of Boerhaave was so far resented by the governors of his university, that they procured from Franeker a recantation of the invective that had been thrown out against him; this was not only complied with, but offers were made him of more ample satisfaction, to which he returned an answer not less to his honour than the victory he gained, "that he should think himself sufficiently compensated, if his adversary received no farther molestation on his account."

So far was this weak and injudicious attack from shaking a reputation not casually raised by fashion or caprice, but founded upon solid merit, that the same year his correspondence was desired upon botany and natural philosophy by the academy of sciences at Paris, of which he was, upon the death of count Marsigli, in the year 1728, elected a member.

Nor were the French the only nation by which this great man was courted and distinguished, for two years after he was elected fellow of our royal society.

It cannot be doubted but, thus caressed and honoured with the highest and most public marks of esteem by other nations, he became more celebrated in the university; for Boerhaave was not one of those learned men, of whom the world has seen too many, that disgrace their studies by their vices, and by unaccountable weaknesses make themselves ridiculous at home, while their writings procure them the veneration of distant countries, where their learning is known, but not their follies.

Not that his countrymen can be charged with being insensible of his excellencies till other nations taught them to admire him; for in 1718 he was chosen to succeed Le Mort in the professorship of chymistry; on which occasion he pronounced an oration "*De chemia errores suos expurgante,*" in which he treated that science with an elegance of style not often to be found in chymical writers, who seem generally to have affected not only a barbarous, but unintelligible phrase, and to have, like the Pythagoreans of old, wrapt up their secrets in symbols and ænigmatical expressions, either because they believed that mankind would reverence most what they least understood, or because they wrote not from benevolence but vanity, and were desirous to be praised for their knowledge, though they could not prevail upon themselves to communicate it.

In 1722, his course both of lectures and practice was interrupted by the gout, which, as he relates it in his speech after his recovery, he brought upon himself, by an imprudent confidence in the strength of his own constitution, and by transgressing those rules which he had a thousand times inculcated to his pupils and acquaint-

ance. Rising in the morning before day, he went immediately, hot and sweating, from his bed into the open air, and exposed himself to the cold dews.

The history of his illness can hardly be read without horror: he was for five months confined to his bed, where he lay upon his back without daring to attempt the least motion, because any effort renewed his torments, which were so exquisite, that he was at length not only deprived of motion but of sense. Here art was at a stand, nothing could be attempted, because nothing could be proposed with the least prospect of success. At length having, in the sixth month of his illness, obtained some remission, he took simple medicines\* in large quantities, and at length wonderfully recovered.

His recovery, so much desired, and so unexpected, was celebrated on Jan. 11, 1723, when he opened his school again, with general joy and public illuminations.

It would be an injury to the memory of Boerhaave not to mention what was related by himself to one of his friends, that when he lay whole days and nights without sleep, he found no method of diverting his thoughts so effectual as meditation upon his studies, and that he often relieved and mitigated the sense of his torments by the recollection of what he had read, and by reviewing those stores of knowledge which he had repositèd in his memory.

This is perhaps an instance of fortitude and steady composure of mind, which would have

\* " Succos pressos bibit Noster herbarem Cichoreæ, Endivie, Fumariæ, Nasturtii aquatici, Veronicæ aquaticæ latifoliæ, copia ingenti; simul deglutiens abundantissime gummi ferulaceæ Asiaticæ"  
*Crig. Edit.*

been for ever the boast of the Stoic schools, and increased the reputation of Seneca or Cato. The patience of Boerhaave, as it was more rational, was more lasting than theirs; it was that *patientia Christiana* which Lipsius, the great master of the Stoical Philosophy, begged of God in his last hours; it was founded on religion, not vanity, not on vain reasonings, but on confidence in God.

In 1727 he was seized with a violent burning fever, which continued so long that he was once more given up by his friends.

From this time he was frequently afflicted with returns of his distemper, which yet did not so far subdue him, as to make him lay aside his studies or his lectures till in 1729 he found himself so worn out that it was improper for him to continue any longer the professorships of botany and chymistry, which he therefore resigned April 28, and upon his resignation spoke a "Sermo Academicus," or oration, in which he asserts the power and wisdom of the Creator from the wonderful fabric of the human body; and confutes all those idle reasoners, who pretend to explain the formation of parts, or the animal operations, to which he proves that art can produce nothing equal, nor any thing parallel. One instance I shall mention, which is produced by him, of the vanity of any attempt to rival the work of God. Nothing is more boasted by the admirers of chymistry, than that they can, by artificial heats and digestion, imitate the productions of Nature. "Let all these heroes of science meet together," says Boerhaave; "let them take bread and wine, the food that forms the blood of man, and by assimilation contributes to the growth of the body: let them try all their arts, they shall not be able from these materials to produce a single drop



of blood. So much is the most common act of Nature beyond the utmost efforts of the most extended Science!"

From this time Boerhaave lived with less public employment indeed, but not an idle or an useless life; for, besides his hours spent in instructing his scholars, a great part of his time was taken up by patients which came, when the distemper would admit it, from all parts of Europe to consult him, or by letters which, in more urgent cases, were continually sent, to enquire his opinion, and ask his advice.

Of his sagacity, and the wonderful penetration with which he often discovered and described, at the first sight of a patient, such distempers as betray themselves by no symptoms to common eyes, such wonderful relations have been spread over the world, as, though attested beyond doubt, can scarcely be credited. I mention none of them, because I have no opportunity of collecting testimonies, or distinguishing between those accounts which are well proved, and those which owe their rise to fiction and credulity.

Yet I cannot but implore, with the greatest earnestness, such as have been conversant with this great man, that they will not so far neglect the common interest of mankind, as to suffer any of these circumstances to be lost to posterity. Men are generally idle, and ready to satisfy themselves, and intimidate the industry of others, by calling that impossible which is only difficult. The skill to which Boerhaave attained, by a long and unwearied observation of nature, ought therefore to be transmitted in all its particulars to future ages, that his successors may be ashamed to fall below him, and that none may hereafter ex-

ease his ignorance by pleading the impossibility of clearer knowledge.

Yet so far was this great master from presumptuous confidence in his abilities, that, in his examinations of the sick, he was remarkably circumstantial and particular. He well knew that the originals of distempers are often at a distance from their visible effects; that to conjecture, where certainty may be obtained, is either vanity or negligence; and that life is not to be sacrificed, either to an affectation of quick discernment, or of crowded practice, but may be required, if trifled away, at the hand of the physician.

About the middle of the year 1737, he felt the first approaches of that fatal illness that brought him to the grave, of which we have inserted an account, written by himself Sept. 8, 1738, to a friend at London\*; which deserves not only to be preserved as an historical relation of the disease which deprived us of so great a man, but as a proof of his piety and resignation to the divine will.

In this last illness, which was to the last degree lingering, painful, and afflictive, his constancy and firmness did not forsake him. He neither

\* “Ætas, labor, corporisque opima pinguetudo, effecerant, ante annum, ut inertibus refertum, grave, hebes, plenitudine turgens corpus, anhelum ad motus minimos, cum sensu suffocationis, pulsu mirifice anomalo, ineptam evaderet ad ullum motum. Urgebat præcipue subsistens prorsus & intercepta respiratio ad prima somni initia: unde somnus prorsus prohibebatur, cum formidabili strangulationis molestia. Hinc hydrops pedum, crurum, femorum, scroti, præputii, & abdominis. Quæ tamen omnia sublata. Sed dolor manet in abdomine, cum anxietate summa, anhelitu suffocante, & debilitate incredibili: somno paucò, eoque vago, per somnia, turbatissimo: animus vero rebus agendis imper. Cum his luctor fessus nec emergo: patienter expectans Dei jussa, quibus resigno data, quæ sola amo, & bono ro. nuce.” *Orig. Edit.*

intermitted the necessary cares of life, nor forgot the proper preparations for death. Though dejection and lowness of spirit was, as he himself tells us, part of his distemper, yet even this, in some measure, gave way to that vigour, which the soul receives from a consciousness of innocence.

About three weeks before his death he received a visit at his country house from the Rev. Mr. Schultens, his intimate friend, who found him sitting without door, with his wife, sister, and daughter: after the compliments of form, the ladies withdrew, and left them to private conversation; when Boerhaave took occasion to tell him what had been, during his illness, the chief subject of his thoughts. He had never doubted of the spiritual and immaterial nature of the soul; but declared that he had lately had a kind of experimental certainty of the distinction between corporeal and thinking substances, which mere reason and philosophy cannot afford, and opportunities of contemplating the wonderful and inexplicable union of soul and body, which nothing but long sickness can give. This he illustrated by a description of the effects which the infirmities of his body had upon his faculties, which yet they did not so oppress or vanquish, but his soul was always master of itself, and always resigned to the pleasure of its Maker.

He related with great concern, that once his patience so far gave way to extremity of pain, that, after having lain fifteen hours in exquisite tortures, he prayed to God that he might be set free by death.

Mr. Schultens, by way of consolation, answered, that he thought such wishes, when forced by continued and excessive torments, unavoidable in the present state of human nature; that the best

men, even Job himself, were not able to refrain from such starts of impatience. This he did not deny; but said, "He that loves God, ought to think nothing desirable but what is most pleasing to the supreme goodness."

Such were his sentiments, and such his conduct, in this state of weakness and pain: as death approached nearer, he was so far from terror or confusion, that he seemed even less sensible of pain, and more cheerful under his torments, which continued till the 23d day of September 1738, on which he died, between four and five in the morning, in the 70th year of his age.

Thus died Boerhaave, a man formed by nature for great designs, and guided by religion in the exertion of his abilities. He was of a robust and athletic constitution of body, so hardened by early severities, and wholesome fatigue, that he was insensible of any sharpness of air, or inclemency of weather. He was tall, and remarkable for extraordinary strength. There was in his air and motion something rough and artless, but so majestic and great at the same time, that no man ever looked upon him without veneration, and a kind of tacit submission to the superiority of his genius.

The vigour and activity of his mind sparkled visibly in his eyes; nor was it ever observed, that any change of his fortune, or alteration in his affairs, whether happy or unfortunate, affected his countenance.

He was always cheerful, and desirous of promoting mirth by a facetious and humourous conversation; he was never soured by calumny and detraction, nor ever thought it necessary to confute them; "for they are sparks," said he,

“ which if you do not blow them, will go out of  
“ themselves.

Yet he took care never to provoke enemies by severity of censure, for he never dwelt on the faults or defects of others, and was so far from inflaming the envy of his rivals by dwelling on his own excellencies, that he rarely mentioned himself or his writings.

He was not to be overawed or depressed by the presence, frowns, or insolence of great men, but persisted on all occasions in the right, with a resolution always present and always calm. He was modest, but not timorous, and firm without rudeness.

He could, with uncommon readiness and certainty, make a conjecture of men's inclinations and capacity by their aspect.

His method of life was to study in the morning and evening, and to allot the middle of the day to his public business. His usual exercise was riding, till, in his latter years, his distempers made it more proper for him to walk: when he was weary, he amused himself with playing on the violin.

His greatest pleasure was to retire to his house in the country, where he had a garden stored with all the herbs and trees which the climate would bear; here he used to enjoy his hours unmolested, and prosecute his studies without interruption.

The diligence with which he pursued his studies, is sufficiently evident from his success. Statesmen and generals may grow great by unexpected accidents, and a fortunate concurrence of circumstances, neither procured nor foreseen by themselves: but reputation in the learned world must be the effect of industry and capacity. Boerhaave lost none of his hours, but, when he had

attended one science, attempted another: he added physic to divinity, chymistry to the mathematics, and anatomy to botany. He examined systems by experiments, and formed experiments into systems. He neither neglected the observations of others, nor blindly submitted to celebrated names. He neither thought so highly of himself as to imagine he could receive no light from books, nor so meanly as to believe he could discover nothing but what was to be learned from them. He examined the observations of other men, but trusted only to his own.

Nor was he unacquainted with the art of recommending truth by elegance, and embellishing the philosopher with polite literature: he knew that but a small part of mankind will sacrifice their pleasure to their improvement, and those authors who would find many readers, must endeavour to please while they instruct.

He knew the importance of his own writings to mankind, and lest he might by a roughness and barbarity of style, too frequent among men of great learning, disappoint his own intentions, and make his labours less useful, he did not neglect the politer arts of eloquence and poetry. Thus was his learning at once various and exact, profound and agreeable.

But his knowledge, however uncommon, holds, in his character, but the second place; his virtue was yet much more uncommon than his learning. He was an admirable example of temperance, fortitude, humility, and devotion. His piety, and a religious sense of his dependance on God, was the basis of all his virtues, and the principle of his whole conduct. He was too sensible of his weakness to ascribe any thing to himself, or to conceive that he could subdue passion, or with-

stand temptation, by his own natural power; he attributed every good thought, and every laudable action, to the Father of goodness. Being once asked by a friend, who had often admired his patience under great provocations, whether he knew what it was to be angry, and by what means he had so entirely suppressed that impetuous and ungovernable passion? he answered, with the utmost frankness and sincerity, that he was naturally quick of resentment, but that he had, by daily prayer and meditation, at length attained to this mastery over himself.

As soon as he rose in the morning, it was throughout his whole life, his daily practice to retire for an hour to private prayer and meditation; this, he often told his friends, gave him spirit and vigour in the business of the day, and this he therefore commended as the best rule of life; for nothing, he knew, could support the soul in all distresses but a confidence in a Supreme Being, nor can a steady and rational magnanimity flow from any other source than a consciousness of the divine favour.

He asserted on all occasions the divine authority, and sacred efficacy of the holy scriptures; and maintained that they alone taught the way of salvation, and they only could give peace of mind. The excellency of the Christian religion was the frequent subject of his conversation. A strict obedience to the doctrine, and a diligent imitation of the example of our blessed Saviour, he often declared to be the foundation of true tranquillity. He recommended to his friends a careful observation of the precept of Moses concerning the love of God and man. He worshipped God as he is in himself, without attempting to enquire into his nature. He desired only to think

of God, what God knows of himself. There he stopped, lest, by indulging his own ideas, he should form a Deity from his own imagination, and sin by falling down before him. To the will of God he paid an absolute submission, without endeavouring to discover the reason of his determinations; and this he accounted the first and most inviolable duty of a Christian. When he heard of a criminal condemned to die, he used to think, who can tell whether this man is not better than I? or, if I am better, it is not to be ascribed to myself, but to the goodness of God.

Such were the sentiments of Boerhaave, whose words we have added in the note\*. So far was this man from being made impious by philosophy, or vain by knowledge, or by virtue, that he ascribed all his abilities to the bounty, and all his goodness to the grace of God. May his example extend its influence to his admirers and followers! May those who study his writings imitate his life! and those who endeavour after his knowledge aspire likewise to his piety!

He married, September 17, 1710, Mary Drolenveaux, the only daughter of a burgo-master of

\* "Doctrinam sacris literis Hebraicè & Græcè traditam, solam animæ salutarem & agnovit & sensit. Omni opportunitate profitebatur disciplinam, quam Jesus Christus ore & vita expressit, unice tranquillitatem dare menti. Semperque dixit amicis, pacem animi hand reperiendam nisi in magno Mosis præcepto de sincero amore Dei & hominis bene observato. Neque extra sacra monumenta uspiam inveniri, quod mentem serenet. Deum pius adoravit, qui est. Intelligere de Deo, unice volebat id, quod Deus de se intelligit. Eo contentus ultra nihil requisivit, ne idololatria erraret. In voluntate Dei sic requiescebat, ut illius nullam omnino rationem indagandam putaret. Hanc unice supremam omnium legem esse contendebat; deliberata constantia perfectissimè colendam. De aliis & seipso sentiebat: ut quoties criminis reos ad poenas letales damnatos audiret, semper cogitaret, sæpe diceret: "Quis dixerat annon me sint meliores?" "Utique, si ipse melior, id non mihi auctori tribuendum esse palam ajo, confiteor; sed ita largienti Deo." *Orig. Ent.*



Leyden, by whom he had Joanna Maria, who survives her father, and three other children who died in their infancy.

The works of this great writer are so generally known, and so highly esteemed, that, though it may not be improper to enumerate them in the order of time in which they were published, it is wholly unnecessary to give any other account of them.

He published in 1707, "Institutiones Medicæ," to which he added in 1708, "Aphorismi de cognoscendis & curandis morbis."

1710, "Index stirpium in horto academico."

1719, "De materia medica, & remediorum formulis liber;" and in 1727 a second edition.

1720, "Alter index stirpium," &c. adorned with plates, and containing twice the number of plants as the former.

1722, "Epistola ad cl. Ruischium, quâ sententiam Malpighianam de glandulis defendit."

1724, "Atrocis nec prius descripti morbi historia illustrissimi baronis Wassenariæ."

1725, "Opera anatomica & chirurgica Andree Vesalii," with the life of Vesalius.

1728, "Altera atrocis rarissimique morbi marchionis de Sancto Albano historia."

"Auctores de lue Aphrodisiaca, cum tractatu præfixo."

1731, "Aretæi Cappadocis nova editio."

1732, "Elementa chemiæ."

1734, "Observata de argento vivo, ad reg. soc. & acad. scient."

These are the writings of the great Boerhaave, which have made all encomiums useless and vain, since no man can attentively peruse them without admiring the abilities, and reverencing the virtue of the author\*.

\* Gent. Mag. 1739, p. 176.

THE LIFE  
OF  
SYDENHAM\*.

**T**HOMAS SYDENHAM was born in the year 1624, at Winford Eagle, in Dorsetshire, where his father, William Sydenham, Esq. had a large fortune. Under whose care he was educated, or in what manner he passed his childhood, whether he made any early discoveries of a genius peculiarly adapted to the study of nature, or gave any presages of his future eminence in medicine, no information is to be obtained. We must therefore repress that curiosity which would naturally incline us to watch the first attempts of so vigorous a mind, to pursue it in its childish enquiries, and see it struggling with rustic prejudices, breaking on trifling occasions the shackles of credulity, and giving proofs, in its casual excursions, that it was formed to shake off the yoke of prescription, and dispel the phantoms of hypothesis.

That the strength of Sydenham's understanding, the accuracy of his discernment, and ardour of his curiosity, might have been remarked from his infancy by a diligent observer, there is no reason to doubt. For there is no instance of any man, whose history has been minutely related, that did not in every part of life discover the same proportion of intellectual vigour; but it has been the lot of the greatest part of those who

\* Originally prefixed to the New Translation of Dr. Sydenham's Works, by John Swan, M. D. of Newcastle in Staffordshire, 1749.

have excelled in science, to be known only by their own writings, and to have left behind them no remembrance of their domestic life, or private transactions, or only such memorials of particular passages as are, on certain occasions, necessarily recorded in public registers.

From these it is discovered, that at the age of eighteen, in 1642, he commenced a commoner of Magdalen-Hall in Oxford, where it is not probable that he continued long; for he informs us himself, that he was withheld from the university by the commencement of the war; nor is it known in what state of life he engaged, or where he resided during that long series of public commotion. It is indeed reported that he had a commission in the king's army, but no particular account is given of his military conduct; nor are we told what rank he obtained when he entered into the army, or when, or on what occasion, he retired from it.

It is, however, certain, that if ever he took upon him the profession of arms, he spent but few years in the camp; for in 1648 he obtained at Oxford the degree of bachelor of physic, for which, as some medicinal knowledge is necessary, it may be imagined that he spent some time in qualifying himself.

His application to the study of physic was, as he himself relates, produced by an accidental acquaintance with Dr. Cox, a physician eminent at that time in London, who in some sickness prescribed to his brother, and, attending him frequently on that occasion, enquired of him what profession he designed to follow. The young man answering that he was undetermined, the Doctor recommended physic to him, on what account, or with what arguments, it is not related;

but his persuasions were so effectual, that Sydenham determined to follow his advice, and retired to Oxford for leisure and opportunity to pursue his studies.

It is evident that this conversation must have happened before his promotion to any degree in physic, because he himself fixes it in the interval of his absence from the university, a circumstance which will enable us to confute many false reports relating to Dr. Sydenham, which have been confidently inculcated, and implicitly believed.

It is the general opinion that he was made a physician by accident and necessity, and Sir Richard Blackmore reports in plain terms [*Preface to his Treatise on the Small Pox*], that he engaged in practice without any preparatory study, or previous knowledge, of the medicinal sciences; and affirms, that, when he was consulted by him what books he should read to qualify him for the same profession, he recommended *Don Quixote*.

That he recommended *Don Quixote* to Blackmore, we are not allowed to doubt; but the relation is hindered by that self-love which dazzles all mankind from discovering that he might intend a satire very different from a general censure of all the ancient and modern writers on medicine, since he might perhaps mean, either seriously or in jest, to insinuate that Blackmore was not adapted by nature to the study of physic, and that whether he should read Cervantes or Hippocrates, he would be equally unqualified for practice, and equally unsuccessful in it.

Whatsoever was his meaning, nothing is more evident, than that it was a transient sally of an imagination warmed with gaiety, or the negligent effusion of a mind intent upon some other employment, and in haste to dismiss a trouble-

some intruder; for it is certain that Sydenham did not think it impossible to write usefully on medicine, because he has himself written upon it; and it is not probable that he carried his vanity so far, as to imagine that no man had ever acquired the same qualifications besides himself. He could not but know that he rather restored than invented most of his principles, and therefore could not but acknowledge the value of those writers whose doctrines he adopted and enforced.

That he engaged in the practice of physic without any acquaintance with the theory, or knowledge of the opinions or precepts of former writers, is undoubtedly false; for he declares, that after he had, in pursuance of his conversation with Dr. Cox, determined upon the profession of physic, *he applied himself in earnest to it, and spent several years in the university* [aliquot annos in academica palæstra], before he began to practice in London.

Nor was he satisfied with the opportunities of knowledge which Oxford afforded, but travelled to Montpellier, as Desault relates [*Dissertation on Consumptions*], in quest of farther information; Montpellier being at that time the most celebrated school of physic: so far was Sydenham from any contempt of academical institutions, and so far from thinking it reasonable to learn physic by experiments alone, which must necessarily be made at the hazard of life.

What can be demanded beyond this by the most zealous advocate for regular education? What can be expected from the most cautious and most industrious student, than that he should dedicate *several years* to the rudiments of his art, and travel for further instructions from one university to another?

-It is likewise a common opinion, that Sydenham was thirty years old before he formed his resolution of studying physic, for which I can discover no other foundation than one expression in his dedication to Dr. Mapletoft, which seems to have given rise to it by a gross misinterpretation; for he only observes, that from his conversation with Dr. Cox to the publication of that treatise *thirty years* had intervened.

Whatever may have produced this notion, or how long soever it may have prevailed, it is now proved beyond controversy to be false, since it appears that Sydenham, having been for some time absent from the university, returned to it in order to pursue his physical enquiries before he was twenty-four years old; for in 1648 he was admitted to the degree of bachelor of physic.

That such reports should be confidently spread, even among the contemporaries of the author to whom they relate, and obtain in a few years such credit as to require a regular confutation; that it should be imagined that the greatest physician of the age arrived at so high a degree of skill, without any assistance from his predecessors; and that a man eminent for integrity practised medicine by chance, and grew wise only by murder; is not to be considered without astonishment.

But if it be, on the other part, remembered, how much this opinion favours the laziness of some, and the pride of others; how readily some men confide in natural sagacity, and how willingly most would spare themselves the labour of accurate reading and tedious enquiry; it will be easily discovered how much the interest of multitudes was engaged in the production and continuance of this opinion, and how cheaply those,

of whom it was known that they practised physic before they studied it, might satisfy themselves and others with the example of the illustrious Sydenham.

It is therefore in an uncommon degree useful to publish a true account of this memorable man, that pride, temerity, and idleness may be deprived of that patronage which they have enjoyed too long; that life may be secured from the dangerous experiments of the ignorant and presumptuous; and that those, who shall hereafter assume the important province of superintending the health of others, may learn from this great master of the art, that the only means of arriving at eminence and success are labour and study.

From these false reports it is probable that another arose, to which, though it cannot be with equal certainty confuted, it does not appear that entire credit ought to be given. The acquisition of a Latin style did not seem consistent with the manner of life imputed to him; nor was it probable, that he, who had so diligently cultivated the ornamental parts of general literature, would have neglected the essential studies of his own profession. Those therefore who were determined, at whatever price, to retain him in their own party, and represent him equally ignorant and daring with themselves, denied him the credit of writing his own works in the language in which they were published, and asserted, but without proof, that they were composed by him in English, and translated into Latin by Dr. Mapletoft.

Whether Dr. Mapletoft lived and was familiar with him during the whole time in which these treatises written on particular occasions, and printed at periods considerably distant from each other, we have had no opportunity of enquiring

and therefore cannot demonstrate the falsehood of this report: but if it be considered how unlikely it is that any man should engage in a work so laborious and so little necessary, only to advance the reputation of another, or that he should have leisure to continue the same office upon all following occasions; if it be remembered how seldom such literary combinations are formed, and how soon they are for the greatest part dissolved: there will appear no reason for not allowing Dr. Sydenham the laurel of eloquence as well as physic\*.

It is observable, that his *Processus Integri*, published after his death, discovers alone more skill in the Latin language than is commonly ascribed to him, and it surely will not be suspected, that the officiousness of his friends was continued after his death, or that he procured the book to be translated only that, by leaving it behind him, he might secure his claim to his other writings.

It is asserted by Sir Hans Sloane, that Dr. Sydenham, with whom he was familiarly acquainted, was particularly versed in the writings of the great Roman orator and philosopher; and there is evidently such a luxuriance in his style, as may discover the author which gave him most pleasure, and most engaged his imitation.

\* Since the foregoing was written, we have seen Mr Ward's Lives of the Professors of Gresham College; who, in the life of Dr. Mapletoft, says, that in 1676 Dr. Sydenham published his *Observationes medicæ circa morborum acutarum historiam & curationem*, which he dedicated to Dr. Mapletoft, who at the desire of the author had translated them into Latin; and that the other pieces of that excellent physician were translated into that language by Mr. Gilbert Havers of Trinity College, Cambridge, a student in physic and friend of Dr. Mapletoft. But as Mr. Ward, like others, neglects to bring any proof of his assertion, the question cannot fairly be decided by his authority. *Orig. Edit.*



THE  
LIFE OF CAVE\*.



**E**DWARD CAVE was born at Newton in Warwickshire, Feb. 29, 1691. His father (Joseph) was the younger son of Mr. Edward Cave, of Cave's in the Hole, a lone house, on the Street-road in the same county, which took its name from the occupier; but having concurred with his elder brother in cutting off the intail of a small hereditary estate, by which act it was lost from the family, he was reduced to follow in Rugby the trade of a shoemaker. He was a man of good reputation in his narrow circle, and remarkable for strength and rustic intrepidity. He lived to a great age, and was in his latter years supported by his son.

It was fortunate for Edward Cave, that, having a disposition to literary entertainments, he was not cut off by the poverty of his parents from opportunities of cultivating his faculties. The school of Rugby, in which he had, by the rules of its foundation, a right to be instructed, was then in high reputation, under the Rev. Mr. Holyock, to whose care most of the neighbouring families, even of the highest rank, entrusted their sons. He had judgment to discover, and, for some time, generosity to encourage, the genius of young Cave; and was so well pleased with his quick progress in the school, that he declared his resolution to breed him for the university, and re-

\* This life first appeared in the Gentleman's Magazine for 1754, and is now printed from a copy revised by the author, at the request of Mr. Nichols, in 1781.

commended him as a servitor to some of his scholars of high rank. But prosperity which depends upon the caprice of others is of short duration. Cave's superiority in literature exalted him to an invidious familiarity with boys who were far above him in rank and expectations; and, as in unequal associations it always happens, whatever unlucky prank was played was imputed to Cave. When any mischief, great or small, was done, though perhaps others boasted of the stratagem when it was successful, yet upon detection or miscarriage the fault was sure to fall upon poor Cave.

At last, his mistress by some invisible means lost a favourite cock. Cave was, with little examination, stigmatized as the thief or murderer; not because he was more apparently criminal than others, but because he was more easily reached by vindictive justice. From that time Mr. Holyock withdrew his kindness visibly from him, and treated him with harshness, which the crime in its utmost aggravation, could scarcely deserve; and which surely he would have forborne, had he considered how hardly the habitual influence of birth and fortune is resisted; and how frequently men, not wholly without sense of virtue, are betrayed to acts more atrocious than the robbery of a hen-roost, by a desire of pleasing their superiors.

Those reflections his master never made, or made without effect; for under pretence that Cave obstructed the discipline of the school, by selling clandestine assistance, and supplying exercises to idlers, he was oppressed with unreasonable tasks, that there might be an opportunity of quarrelling with his failure; and when his diligence had surmounted them, no regard was paid to the performance. Cave bore this persecution

a while, and then left the school, and the hope of a literary education, to seek some other means of gaining a livelihood.

He was first placed with a collector of the excise. He used to recount with some pleasure a journey or two which he rode with him as his clerk, and relate the victories that he gained over the excisemen in grammatical disputations. But the insolence of his mistress, who employed him in servile drudgery, quickly disgusted him, and he went up to London in quest of more suitable employment.

He was recommended to a timber-merchant at the Bankside, and while he was there on liking, is said to have given hopes of great mercantile abilities; but this place he soon left, I know not for what reason, and was bound apprentice to Mr. Collins, a printer of some reputation, and deputy alderman.

This was a trade for which men were formerly qualified by a literary education, and which was pleasing to Cave, because it furnished some employment for his scholastic attainments. Here, therefore, he resolved to settle, though his master and mistress lived in perpetual discord, and their house was therefore no comfortable habitation. From the inconveniencies of these domestic tumults he was soon released, having in only two years attained so much skill in his art, and gained so much the confidence of his master, that he was sent without any superintendant to conduct a printing-office at Norwich, and publish a weekly paper. In this undertaking he met with some opposition, which produced a public controversy, and procured young Cave the reputation of a writer.

His master died before his apprenticeship was expired, and he was not able to bear the perverseness of his mistress. He therefore quitted her house upon a stipulated allowance, and married a young widow with whom he lived at Bow. When his apprenticeship was over, he worked as a journeyman at the printing-house of Mr. Barber, a man much distinguished, and employed by the Tories, whose principles had at that time so much prevalence with Cave, that he was for some years a writer in "Mist's Journal:" which, though he afterwards obtained by his wife's interest a small place in the Post-office, he for some time continued. But as interest is powerful, and conversation, however mean, in time persuasive, he by degrees inclined to another party; in which, however, he was always moderate, though steady and determined.

When he was admitted into the Post-office, he still continued, at his intervals of attendance, to exercise his trade, or to employ himself with some typographical business. He corrected the "Gradus ad Parnassum;" and was liberally rewarded by the Company of Stationers. He wrote an "Account of the Criminals," which had for some time a considerable sale; and published many little pamphlets that accident brought into his hands; of which it would be very difficult to recover the memory. By the correspondence which his place in the Post office facilitated, he procured country newspapers, and sold their intelligence to a Journalist in London, for a guinea a week.

He was afterwards raised to the office of clerk of the franks, in which he acted with great spirit and firmness; and often stopped franks, which were given by members of parliament to their

friends, because he thought such extension of a peculiar right illegal. This raised many complaints, and having stopped, among others, a frank given to the old duchess of Marlborough by Mr. Walter Plummer, he was cited before the house as for breach of privilege, and accused, I suppose very unjustly, of opening letters to detect them. He was treated with great harshness and severity, but declining their questions by pleading his oath of secrecy, was at last dismissed. And it must be recorded to his honour, that, when he was ejected from his office, he did not think himself discharged from his trust, but continued to refuse to his nearest friends any information about the management of the office.

By this constancy of diligence and diversification of employment, he in time collected a sum sufficient for the purchase of a small printing-office, and began the "Gentleman's Magazine," a periodical pamphlet, of which the scheme is known wherever the English language is spoken. To this undertaking he owed the affluence in which he passed the last twenty years of his life, and the fortune which he left behind him, which, though large, had been yet larger, had he not rashly and wantonly impaired it by innumerable projects, of which I know not that ever one succeeded.

"The Gentleman's Magazine," which has now subsisted fifty years, and still continues to enjoy the favour of the world\*, is one of the most successful and lucrative pamphlets which literary history has upon record, and therefore deserves, in this narrative, particular notice.

Mr. Cave, when he formed the project, was far from expecting the success which he found; and

\* This was said in the beginning of the year 1781; and may be now repeated.

others had so little prospect of its consequence, that though he had for several years talked of his plan among printers and booksellers, none of them thought it worth the trial. That they were not restrained by virtue from the execution of another man's design was sufficiently apparent as soon as that design began to be gainful; for in a few years a multitude of magazines arose and perished; only the London Magazine, supported by a powerful association of booksellers, and circulated with all the art and all the cunning of trade, exempted itself from the general fate of Cave's invaders, and obtained, though not an equal, yet a considerable sale\*.

Cave now began to aspire to popularity; and being a greater lover of poetry than any other art, he sometimes offered subjects for poems, and proposed prizes for the best performers. The first prize was £50. for which being but newly acquainted with wealth, and thinking the influence of £50. extremely great, he expected the first authors of the kingdom to appear as competitors; and offered the allotment of the prize to the universities. But when the time came, no name was seen among the writers that had ever been seen before; the universities and several private men rejected the province of assigning the prize†. At all this Mr. Cave wondered for a while; but his natural judgment, and a wider acquaintance with the world, soon cured him of his astonishment, as of many other prejudices and errors. Nor have many men been seen raised by accident or industry to sudden riches, that retained less of the meanness of their former state.

\* The London Magazine ceased to exist in 1785.

† The determination was left to Dr. Cromwell Mortimer and Dr. Birch, and by the latter the award was made, which may be seen in the Gent. Mag. vo. vi. p. 59.

He continued to improve his magazine; and had the satisfaction of seeing its success proportionate to his diligence, till in 1751, his wife died of an asthma. He seemed not at first much affected by her death, but in a few days lost his sleep and his appetite, which he never recovered; but after having lingered about two years, with many vicissitudes of amendment and relapse, fell by drinking acid liquors into a diarrhœa, and afterwards into a kind of lethargic insensibility, in which one of the last acts of reason which he exerted was fondly to press the hand that is now writing this little narrative. He died on the 10th of January, 1754, having just concluded the 23d annual collection\*.

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\* Mr. Cave was buried in the church of St James, Clerkenwell, without an epitaph; but the following inscription at Rugby, from the pen of Dr. Hawksworth, is here transcribed from the "Anecdotes of Mr. Bowyer," p. 88.

Near this place lies  
The body of  
**JOSEPH CAVE,**  
Late of this parish;  
Who departed this Life, Nov. 18, 1747,  
Aged 79 years.  
He was placed by Providence in a humble station;  
But  
Industry abundantly supplied the wants of Nature,  
And  
Temperance blest him with  
Content and Wealth.  
As he was an affectionate Father,  
He was made happy in the decline of life  
By the deserved eminence of his eldest Son  
**EDWARD CAVE,**  
Who without interest, fortune, or connection,  
By the native force of his own genius,  
Assisted only by a classical education,  
Which he received at the Grammar-school  
Of this Town,  
Planned, executed, and established  
A literary work, called  
THE

He was a man of a large stature, not only tall but bulky, and was, when young, of remarkable strength and activity. He was generally healthful, and capable of much labour and long application; but in the latter years of his life was afflicted with the gout, which he endeavoured to cure or alleviate by a total abstinence both from strong liquors and animal food. From animal food he abstained about four years, and from strong liquors much longer; but the gout continued unconquered, perhaps unabated.

His resolution and perseverance were very uncommon; in whatever he undertook, neither expence nor fatigue were able to repress him: but his constancy was calm, and to those who did not know him appeared faint and languid; but he always went forward, though he moved slowly.

The same chilness of mind was observable in his conversation: he was watching the minutest accent of those whom he disgusted by seeming

B b 3.

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GENTLEMAN'S MAGAZINE,

Whereby he acquired an ample fortune,  
The whole of which devolved to his family.

Here also lies

The body of WILLIAM CAVE,

Second Son of the said JOSEPH CAVE,

Who died May 2d, 1757, aged 62 years;

And who having survived his elder brother

EDWARD CAVE,

Inherited from him a competent estate;

And in gratitude to his benefactor,

Ordered this monument to perpetuate his memory.

He liv'd a patriarch in his numerous race,

And shew'd in charity a Christian's grace;

Whate'er a friend or parent feels, he knew;

His hand was open, and his heart was true;

In what he gain'd and gave, he taught mankind,

A grateful always is a generous mind.

Here rest his clay! his soul must ever rest,

Who bless'd when living, dying must be blest.



inattention; and his visitant was surprized when he came a second time, by preparations to execute the scheme which he supposed never to have been heard.

He was, consistently with this general tranquillity of mind, a tenacious maintainer, though not a clamorous demander of his right. In his youth having summoned his fellow journeymen to concert measures against the oppression of their masters, he mounted a kind of rostrum, and harangued them so efficaciously, that they determined to resist all future invasions; and when the stamp offices demanded to stamp the last half sheet of the Magazines, Mr. Cave alone defeated their claim, to which the proprietors of the rival Magazines would meanly have submitted.

He was a friend rather easy and constant, than zealous and active; yet many instances might be given, where both his money and his diligence were employed liberally for others. His enmity was in like manner cool and deliberate; but though cool, it was not insidious, and though deliberate, not pertinacious.

His mental faculties were slow. He saw little at a time, but that little he saw with great exactness. He was long in finding the right, but seldom failed to find it at last. His affections were not easily gained, and his opinions not quickly discovered. His reserve, as it might hide his faults, concealed his virtues: but such he was, as they who best knew him have most lamented.

THE LIFE  
OF THE  
*KING OF PRUSSIA*.\*

CHARLES FREDERICK the present king of Prussia, whose actions and designs now keep Europe in attention, is the eldest son of Frederick William by Sophia Dorothea, daughter of George the first, king of England. He was born January 24, 1711-12. Of his early years nothing remarkable has been transmitted to us. As he advanced towards manhood, he became remarkable by his disagreement with his father.

The late king of Prussia, was of a disposition violent and arbitrary, of narrow views, and vehement passions, earnestly engaged in little pursuits or in schemes terminating in some speedy consequence, without any plan of lasting advantage to himself or his subjects, or any prospect of distant events. He was therefore always busy though no effects of his activity ever appeared, and always eager though he had nothing to gain. His behaviour was to the last degree rough and savage. The least provocation, whether designed or accidental, was returned by blows, which he did not always forbear to the queen and princesses.

From such a king and such a father it was not any enormous violation of duty in the immediate heir of a kingdom sometimes to differ in opinion, and to maintain that difference with decent pertinacity. A prince of a quick sagacity and comprehensive knowledge must find many practices

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in the conduct of affairs which he could not approve, and some which he could scarcely forbear to oppose.

The chief pride of the old king was to be master of the tallest regiment in Europe. He therefore brought together from all parts, men above the common military standard. To exceed the height of six feet was a certain recommendation to notice, and to approach that of seven a claim to distinction. Men will readily go where they are sure to be caressed, and he had therefore such a collection of giants as perhaps was never seen in the world before.

To review this towering regiment was his daily pleasure, and to perpetuate it was so much his care, that when he met a tall woman, he immediately commanded one of his titanian retinue to marry her, that they might propagate procerity, and produce heirs to the father's habiliments.

In all this there was apparent folly, but there was no crime. The tall regiment made a fine shew at an expence not much greater, when once it was collected, than would have been bestowed upon common men. But the king's military pastimes were sometimes more pernicious. He maintained a numerous army of which he made no other use than to review and to talk of it, and when he, or perhaps his emissaries, saw a boy, whose form and sprightliness promised a future soldier, he ordered a kind of badge to be put about his neck, by which he was marked out for the service, like the sons of christian captives in Turkey, and his parents were forbidden to destine him to any other mode of life.

This was sufficiently oppressive, but this was not the utmost of his tyranny. He had learned, though otherwise perhaps no very great politician,

that to be rich was to be powerful; but that the riches of a king, ought to be seen in the opulence of his subjects, he wanted either ability or benevolence to understand. He therefore raised exorbitant taxes from every kind of commodity and possession, and piled up the money in his treasury, from which it issued no more. How the land which had paid taxes once was to pay them a second time, how imposts could be levied without commerce, or commerce continued without money, it was not his custom to enquire. Eager to snatch at money and delighted to count it, he felt new joy at every receipt, and thought himself enriched by the impoverishment of his dominions.

By which of these freaks of royalty the prince was offended, or whether, as perhaps more frequently happens, the offences of which he complained were of a domestic and personal kind, it is not easy to discover. But his resentment, whatever was its cause, rose so high, that he resolved not only to leave his father's court, but his territories, and to seek a refuge among the neighbouring or kindred princes. It is generally believed that his intention was to come to England, and live under the protection of his uncle, till his father's death or change of conduct should give him liberty to return.

His design, whatever it was, he concerted with an officer in the army whose name was Kat, a man in whom he placed great confidence, and whom having chosen him for the companion of his flight, he necessarily trusted with the preparatory measures. A prince cannot leave his country with the speed of a meaner fugitive. Something was to be provided, and something to be adjusted. And, whether Kat found the

agency of others necessary, and therefore was constrained to admit some partners of the secret; whether levity or vanity incited him to disburden himself of a trust that swelled in his bosom, or to shew to a friend or mistress his own importance; or whether it be in itself difficult for princes to transact any thing in secret; so it was, that the king was informed of the intended flight, and the prince and his favourite, a little before the time settled for their departure, were arrested, and confined in different places.

The life of princes is seldom in danger, the hazard of their irregularities falls only on those whom ambition or affection combines with them. The king, after an imprisonment of some time, set his son at liberty, but poor Kat was ordered to be tried for a capital crime. The court examined the cause and acquitted him; the king remanded him to a second trial, and obliged his judges to condemn him. In consequence of the sentence thus tyrannically extorted, he was publicly beheaded, leaving behind him some papers of reflections made in the prison, which were afterwards printed, and among others an admonition to the prince for whose sake he suffered, not to foster in himself the opinion of destiny, for that a providence is discoverable in every thing round us.

This cruel prosecution of a man who had committed no crime, but by compliance with influence not easily to be resisted, was not the only act by which the old king irritated his son. A lady with whom the prince was suspected of intimacy, perhaps more than virtue allowed, was seized, I know not upon what accusation, and, by the king's order, notwithstanding all the reason of decency and tenderness that operate in

other countries, and other judicatures, was publicly whipped in the streets of Berlin.

At last, that the prince might feel the power of a king and a father in its utmost rigour, he was in 1733 married against his will to the princess Elizabeth Christiana of Brunswick Lunenburg Beveren. He married her indeed at his father's command, but without professing for her either esteem or affection, and, considering the claim of parental authority fully satisfied by the external ceremony, obstinately and perpetually during the life of his father refrained from her bed. The poor princess lived about seven years in the court of Berlin, in a state which the world has not often seen, a wife without a husband, married so far as to engage her person to a man who did not desire her affection, and of whom it was doubtful whether he thought himself restrained from the power of repudiation by an act performed under evident compulsion.

Thus he lived secluded from public business, in contention with his father, in alienation from his wife. This state of uneasiness he found the only means of softening. He diverted his mind from the scenes about him by studies and liberal amusements. The studies of princes seldom produce great effects, for princes draw with meaner mortals the lot of understanding; and since of many students not more than one can be hoped to advance far towards perfection, it is scarcely to be expected that we should find that one a prince; that the desire of science should overpower in any mind the love of pleasure, when it is always present or always within call; that laborious meditation should be preferred in the days of youth to amusements and festivity: or that perseverance should press forward in contempt of

flattery : and that he, in whom moderate acquisitions would be extolled as prodigies, should exact from himself that excellence of which the whole world conspires to spare him the necessity.

In every great performance, perhaps in every great character, part is the gift of nature, part the contribution of accident, and part, very often not the greatest part, the effect of voluntary election, and regular design. The king of Prussia was undoubtedly born with more than common abilities ; but that he has cultivated them with more than common diligence, was probably the effect of his peculiar condition, of that which he then considered as cruelty and misfortune.

In this long interval of unhappiness and obscurity, he acquired skill in the mathematical sciences, such as is said to put him on the level with those who have made them the business of their lives. This is probably to say too much : the acquisitions of kings are always magnified. His skill in poetry and in the French language has been loudly praised by Voltaire, a judge without exception, if his honesty were equal to his knowledge. Music he not only understands, but practises on the German flute in the highest perfection ; so that, according to the regal censure of Philip of Macedon, he may be ashamed to play so well.

He may be said to owe to the difficulties of his youth an advantage less frequently obtained by princes than literature and mathematics. The necessity of passing his time without pomp, and of partaking of the pleasures and labours of a lower station, made him acquainted with the various forms of life, and with the genuine passions, interests, desires, and distresses, of mankind. Kings without this help from temporary infelici-

ty see the world in a mist, which magnifies every thing near them, and bounds their view to a narrow compass, which few are able to extend by the mere force of curiosity. I have always thought that what Cromwell had more than our lawful kings, he owed to the private condition in which he first entered the world, and in which he long continued: in that state he learned his art of secret transaction, and the knowledge by which he was able to oppose zeal to zeal, and make one enthusiast destroy another.

The king of Prussia gained the same arts, and, being born to fairer opportunities of using them, brought to the throne the knowledge of a private man without the guilt of usurpation. Of this general acquaintance with the world there may be found some traces in his whole life. His conversation is like that of other men upon common topics, his letters have an air of familiar elegance, and his whole conduct is that of a man who has to do with men, and who is ignorant what motives will prevail over friends or enemies.

In 1740 the old king fell sick, and spoke and acted in his illness with his usual turbulence and roughness, reproaching his physicians in the grossest terms with their unskilfulness and impotence, and imputing to their ignorance or wickedness the pain which their prescriptions failed to relieve. These insults they bore with the submission which is commonly paid to despotic monarchs; till at last the celebrated Hoffman was consulted, who failing like the rest to give ease to his majesty, was like the rest treated with injurious language. Hoffman, conscious of his own merit, replied, that he could not bear reproaches which he did not deserve; that he had tried all



the remedies that art could supply, or nature could admit; that he was, indeed a professor by his majesty's bounty; but that, if his abilities or integrity were doubted, he was willing to leave not only the university but the kingdom, and that he could not be driven into any place where the name of Hoffman would want respect. The king, however unaccustomed to such returns, was struck with conviction of his own indecency, told Hoffman that he had spoken well, and requested him to continue his attendance.

The king, finding his distemper gaining upon his strength, grew at last sensible that his end was approaching, and, ordering the prince to be called to his bed, laid several injunctions upon him, of which one was to perpetuate the tall regiment by continual recruits, and another to receive his espoused wife. The prince gave him a respectful answer, but wisely avoided to diminish his own right or power by an absolute promise; and the king died uncertain of the fate of the tall regiment.

The young king began his reign with great expectations, which he has yet surpassed. His father's faults produced many advantages to the first years of his reign. He had an army of seventy thousand men well disciplined, without any imputation of severity to himself, and was master of a vast treasure without the crime or reproach of raising it. It was publicly said in our house of commons, that he had eight millions sterling of our money; but I believe he that said it had not considered how difficultly eight millions would be found in all the Prussian dominions. Men judge of what they do not see by that which they see. We are used to talk in England of millions with great familiarity; and imagine that there is the

same affluence of money in other countries, in countries whose manufactures are few and commerce little.

Every man's first cares are necessarily domestic. The king, being now no longer under influence or its appearance, determined how to act towards the unhappy lady who had possessed for seven years the empty title of the princess of Prussia. The papers of those times exhibited the conversation of their first interview; as if the king, who plans campaigns in silence, would not accommodate a difference with his wife, but with writers of news admitted as witnesses. It is certain that he received her as queen, but whether he treats her as a wife is yet in dispute.

In a few days his resolution was known with regard to the tall regiment; for some recruits being offered him, he rejected them; and this body of giants, by continued disregard, mouldered away.

He treated his mother with great respect, ordered that she should bear the title of *Queen-mother*, and that, instead of addressing him as *His Majesty*, she should only call him *Son*.

As he was passing soon after between Berlin and Potsdam, a thousand boys who had been marked out for military service, surrounded his coach, and cried out, "Merciful king, deliver us from our slavery." He promised them their liberty, and ordered the next day that the badge should be taken off.

He still continued that correspondence with learned men which he began when he was prince; and the eyes of all scholars, a race of mortals formed for dependance, were upon him, as a man likely to renew the times of patronage, and to emulate the bounties of Lewis the Fourteenth.

It soon appeared that he was resolved to govern with very little ministerial assistance: he took cognizance of every thing with his own eyes; declared that in all contrarieties of interest between him and his subjects, the public good should have the preference; and in one of the first exertions of regal power banished the prime minister and favourite of his father, as one that had *betrayed his master, and abused his trust.*

He then declared his resolution to grant a general toleration of religion, and among other liberalities of concession allowed the profession of Free Masonry. It is the great taint of his character, that he has given reason to doubt, whether this toleration is the effect of charity or indifference, whether he means to support good men of every religion, or considers all religions as equally good.

There had subsisted for some time in Prussia an order called the *Order for favour*, which according to its denomination, had been conferred with very little distinction. The king instituted the *Order for merit*, with which he honoured those whom he considered as deserving. There were some who thought their merit not sufficiently recompensed by this new title; but he was not very ready to grant pecuniary rewards. Those who were most in his favour he sometimes presented with snuff-boxes, on which was inscribed *Amitie augmente le prix.*

He was however charitable if not liberal, for he ordered the magistrates of the several districts to be very attentive to the relief of the poor; and if the funds established for that use were not sufficient, permitted that the deficiency should be supplied out of the revenues of the town.

One of his first cares was the advancement of learning. Immediately upon his accession, he wrote to Rollin and Voltaire, that he desired the continuance of their friendship; and sent for Mr. Maupertuis, the principal of the French academicians, who passed a winter in Lapland, to verify, by the mensuration of a degree near the Pole, the Newtonian doctrine of the form of the earth. He requested of Maupertuis to come to Berlin, to settle an academy, in terms of great ardour and great condescension.

At the same time, he shewed the world that literary amusements were not likely, as has more than once happened to royal students, to withdraw him from the care of the kingdom, or make him forget his interest. He began by reviving a claim to Herstal and Hermal, two districts in the possession of the bishop of Liege. When he sent his commissary to demand the homage of the inhabitants, they refused him admission, declaring that they acknowledged no sovereign but the bishop. The king then wrote a letter to the bishop, in which he complained of the violation of his right, and the contempt of his authority, charged the prelate with countenancing the late act of disobedience, and required an answer in two days.

In three days the answer was sent, in which the bishop founds his claim to the two lordships upon a grant of Charles the Fifth, guaranteed by France and Spain: alledges that his predecessors had enjoyed this grant above a century, and that he never intended to infringe the rights of Prussia; but as the house of Brandenburg had always made some pretensions to that territory, he was willing to do what other bishops had offered, to purchase that claim for an hundred thousand crowns.

To every man that knows the state of the feudal countries, the intricacy of their pedigrees, the confusion of their alliances, and the different rules of inheritance that prevail in different places, it will appear evident, that of reviving antiquated claims there can be no end, and that the possession of a century is a better title than can commonly be produced. So long a prescription supposes an acquiescence in the other claimants; and that acquiescence supposes also some reason, perhaps now unknown, for which the claim was forborne. Whether this rule could be considered as valid in the controversy between these sovereigns may, however, be doubted, for the bishop's answer seems to imply, that the title of the house of Brandenburg had been kept alive by repeated claims, though the seizure of the territory had been hitherto forborne.

The king did not suffer his claim to be subjected to any altercations, but, having published a declaration in which he charged the bishop with violence and injustice, and remarked that the feudal laws allowed every man whose possession was withheld from him, to enter it with an armed force, he immediately dispatched two thousand soldiers into the controverted countries, where they lived without controul, exercising every kind of military tyranny, till the cries of the inhabitants forced the bishop to relinquish them to the quiet government of Prussia.

This was but a petty acquisition; the time was now come when the king of Prussia was to form and execute greater designs. On the 9th of October, 1740, half Europe was thrown into confusion by the death of Charles the Sixth, emperor of Germany, by whose death all the hereditary dominions of the house of Austria descended, ac-

ording to the pragmatic sanction, to his eldest daughter, who was married to the Duke of Lorraine, at the time of the emperor's death, duke of Tuscany.

By how many securities the pragmatic sanction was fortified, and how little it was regarded when those securities became necessary: how many claimants started up at once to the several dominions of the house of Austria; how vehemently their pretensions were enforced, and how many invasions were threatened or attempted: the distresses of the emperor's daughter, known for several years by the title only of the Queen of Hungary, because Hungary was the only country to which her claim had not been disputed: the firmness with which she struggled with her difficulties, and the good fortune by which she surmounted them: the narrow plan of this essay will not suffer me to relate. Let them be told by some other writer of more leisure and wider intelligence.

Upon the emperor's death, many of the German princes fell upon the Austrian territories as upon a dead carcass, to be dismembered among them without resistance. Among these, with whatever justice, certainly with very little generosity, was the king of Prussia, who, having assembled his troops, as was imagined to support the pragmatic sanction, on a sudden entered Silesia with thirty thousand men, publishing a declaration, in which he disclaims any design of injuring the rights of the house of Austria, but urges his claim to Silesia, as rising *from ancient conventions of family and confraternity between the house of Brandenburg and the princes of Silesia, and other honourable titles.* He says, the fear of being defeated by other pretenders to the Austrian

dominions, obliged him to enter Silesia without any previous expostulation with the queen, and that he shall *strenuously espouse the interests of the house of Austria*.

Such a declaration was, I believe, in the opinion of all Europe, nothing less than the aggravation of hostility by insult, and was received by the Austrians with suitable indignation. The king pursued his purpose, marched forward, and in the frontiers of Silesia made a speech to his followers, in which he told them, that he considered them rather “as friends than subjects, that  
“ the troops of Brandenburg had been always  
“ eminent for their bravery, that they would al-  
“ ways fight in his presence, and that he would  
“ recompence those who should distinguish  
“ themselves in his service, rather as a father  
“ than as a king.”

The civilities of the great are never thrown away. The soldiers would naturally follow such a leader with alacrity; especially because they expected no opposition: but human expectations are frequently deceived.

Entering thus suddenly into a country which he was supposed rather likely to protect than to invade, he acted for some time with absolute authority; but supposing that this submission would not always last, he endeavoured to persuade the queen to a cession of Silesia, imagining that she would easily be persuaded to yield what was already lost. He therefore ordered his ministers to declare at Vienna, “that he was ready to gua-  
“ ranty all the German dominions of the house of  
“ Austria: that he would conclude a treaty with  
“ Austria, Russia, and the Maritime powers:  
“ that he would endeavour that the duke of  
“ Lorrain should be elected emperor, and be-

“ lieved that he could accomplish it: that he  
“ would immediately advance to the queen two  
“ millions of florins: that, in recompense for all  
“ this, he required Silesia to be yielded to him.

These seem not to be the offers of a prince very much convinced of his own right. He afterwards moderated his claim, and ordered his minister to hint at Vienna, that half of Silesia would content him.

The queen answered, that though the king alleged, as his reason for entering Silesia, the danger of the Austrian territories from other pretenders, and endeavoured to persuade her to give up part of her possessions for the preservation of the rest, it was evident that he was the first and only invader, and that, till he entered in a hostile manner, all her estates were unmolested.

To his promises of assistance she replied, “ that she set an high value on the king of Prussia’s friendship; but that he was already obliged to assist her against invaders, both by the golden bull, and the pragmatic sanction, of which he was a guarantee; and that, if these ties were of no force, she knew not what to hope, from other engagements.” Of his offers of alliances with Russia and the Maritime powers, she observed, that it could be never fit to alienate her dominions for the consolidation of an alliance formed only to keep them intire.

With regard to his interest in the election of an emperor, she expressed her gratitude in strong terms; but added, that the election ought to be free, and that it must be necessarily embarrassed by contentions thus raised in the heart of the empire. Of the pecuniary assistance proposed she remarks, that no prince ever made war to oblige another to take money, and that the contributions



already levied in Silesia exceed the two millions offered as its purchase.

She concluded, that as she values the king's friendship, she was willing to purchase it by any compliance but the diminution of her dominions, and exhorted him to perform his part in support of the pragmatic sanction.

The king, finding negotiation thus ineffectual, pushed forward his inroads, and now began to show how secretly he could take his measures. When he called a council of war, he proposed the question in a few words: all his generals wrote their opinions in his presence upon separate papers, which he carried away, and examining them in private, formed his resolution without imparting it otherwise than by his orders.

He began, not without policy, to seize first upon the estates of the clergy, an order every where necessary, and every where envied. He plundered the convents of their stores of provision; and told them, that he never had heard of any magazines erected by the apostles.

This insult was mean, because it was unjust; but those who could not resist were obliged to bear it. He proceeded in his expedition; and a detachment of his troops took Jablunca, one of the strong places of Silesia, which was soon after abandoned, for want of provisions, which the Austrian hussars, who were now in motion, were busy to interrupt.

One of the most remarkable events of the Silesia war, was the conquest of Great Glogaw, which was taken by an assault in the dark, headed by prince Leopold of Anhalt Dessau. They arrived at the foot of the fortifications about twelve at night, and in two hours were masters of the place. In attempts of this kind many accidents

happen which cannot be heard without surprise. Four Prussian grenadiers who had climbed the ramparts, missing their own company, met an Austrian captain with fifty-two men: they were at first frightened, and were about to retreat; but, gathering courage, commanded the Austrians to lay down their arms, and in the terror of darkness and confusion were unexpectedly obeyed.

At the same time a conspiracy to kill or carry away the king of Prussia was said to be discovered. The Prussians published a memorial, in which the Austrian court was accused of employing emissaries and assassins against the king; and it was alleged, in direct terms, that one of them had confessed himself obliged by oath to destroy him, which oath had been given him in an Aulic council in the presence of the duke of Lorrain.

To this the Austrians answered, "that the character of the queen and duke was too well known not to destroy the force of such an accusation, that the tale of the confession was an imposture, and that no such attempt was ever made."

Each party was now inflamed, and orders were given to the Austrian general to hazard a battle. The two armies met at Molwitz, and parted without a complete victory on either side. The Austrians quitted the field in good order; and the king of Prussia rode away upon the first disorder of his troops, without waiting for the last event. This attention to his personal safety has not yet been forgotten.

After this there was no action of much importance. But the king of Prussia, irritated by opposition, transferred his interest in the election to the duke of Bavaria; and the queen of Hungary, now attacked by France, Spain, and Bavaria,



was obliged to make peace with him at the expence of half Silesia, without procuring those advantages which were once offeréd her.

To enlarge dominions has been the boast of many princes; to diffuse happiness and security through wide regions has been granted to few. The king of Prussia has aspired to both these honours, and endeavoured to join the praise of legislator to that of conqueror.

To settle property, to suppress false claims, and to regulate the administration of civil and criminal justice, are attempts so difficult and so useful, that I shall willingly suspend or contract the history of battles and sieges, to give a larger account of this pacific enterprize.

That the king of Prussia has considered the nature, and the reasons of laws, with more attention than is common to princes, appears from his dissertation on the *Reasons for enacting and repealing Laws*; a piece which yet deserves notice, rather as a proof of good inclination than of great ability; for there is nothing to be found in it more than the most obvious books may supply, or the weakest intellect discover. Some of his observations are just and useful; but upon such a subject who can think without often thinking right? It is however not to be omitted, that he appears always propense towards the side of mercy. "If a poor man," says he, "steals in his want a watch, or a few pieces, from one to whom the loss is inconsiderable, is this a reason for condemning him to death?"

He regrets that the laws against duels have been ineffectual; and is of opinion, that they can never attain their end, unless the princes of Europe shall agree not to afford an asylum to duellists, and to punish all who shall insult their equals

either by word, deed, or writing. He seems to suspect this scheme of being chimerical. " Yet " why," says he, " should not personal quarrels " be submitted to judges, as well as questions of " possession? and why should not a congress be " appointed for the general good of mankind, as " well as for so many purposes of less import- " ance."

He declares himself with great ardour against the use of torture, and by some misinformation charges the English that they still retain it.

It is perhaps impossible to review the laws of any country without discovering many defects and many superfluities. Laws often continue, when their reasons have ceased. Laws made for the first state of the society continue unabolished, when the general form of life is changed. Parts of the judicial procedure, which were at first only accidental, become in time essential; and formalities are accumulated on each other, till the art of litigation requires more study, than the discovery of right.

The king of Prussia, examining the institutions of his own country, thought them such as could only be amended by a general abrogation, and the establishment of a new body of law, to which he gave the name of the CODE FREDERIQUE, which is comprised in one volume of no great bulk, and must therefore unavoidably contain general positions, to be accommodated to particular cases by the wisdom and integrity of the courts. To embarrass justice by multiplicity of laws, or to hazard it by confidence in judges, seem to be the opposite rocks on which all civil institutions have been wrecked, and between

which legislative wisdom has never yet found an open passage.

Of this new system of laws, contracted as it is, a full account cannot be expected in these memoirs; but, that curiosity may not be dismissed without some gratification, it has been thought proper to epitomise the king's *plan for the reformation of his courts*.

“ The differences which arise between members of the same society, may be terminated by a voluntary agreement between the parties, by arbitration, or by a judicial process.

“ The two first methods produce more frequently a temporary suspension of disputes than a final termination. Courts of justice are therefore necessary, with a settled method of procedure, of which the most simple is to cite the parties, to hear their pleas, and dismiss them with immediate decision.

“ This however is in many cases impracticable, and in others is so seldom practised, that it is frequent rather to incur loss than to seek for legal reparation, by entering a labyrinth of which there is no end.

“ This tediousness of suits keeps the parties in disquiet and perturbation, rouses and perpetuates animosities, exhausts the litigants by expence, retards the progress of their fortune, and discourages strangers from settling.

“ These inconveniencies, with which the best regulated polities of Europe are embarrassed, must be removed, not by the total prohibition of suits, which is impossible, but by contraction of processes: by opening an easy way for the appearance of truth, and removing all obstructions by which it is concealed.

“ The ordonance of 1667, by which Lewis the  
“ Fourteenth established an uniformity of proce-  
“ dure through all his courts, has been consider-  
“ ed as one of the greatest benefits of his reign.

“ The king of Prussia observing that each of  
“ his provinces had a different method of judi-  
“ cial procedure, proposed to reduce them all to  
“ one form; which being tried with success in  
“ Pomerania, a province remarkable for conten-  
“ tion, he afterwards extended to all his domi-  
“ nions, ordering the judges to inform him of  
“ any difficulties which arose from it.

“ Some settled method is necessary in judicial  
“ procedures. Small and simple causes might  
“ be decided upon the oral pleas of the two par-  
“ ties appearing before the judge: but many  
“ cases are so entangled and perplexed as to re-  
“ quire all the skill and abilities of those who de-  
“ vote their lives to the study of the law.

“ Advocates, or men who can understand and  
“ explain the question to be discussed, are there-  
“ fore necessary. But these men, instead of en-  
“ deavouring to promote justice and discover  
“ truth, have exerted their wits in the defence of  
“ bad causes, by forgeries of facts, and fallacies  
“ of argument.

“ To remedy this evil, the king has ordered  
“ an enquiry into the qualifications of the advo-  
“ cates. All those who practice without a regu-  
“ lar admission, or who can be convicted of dis-  
“ ingenuous practice, are discarded. And the  
“ judges are commanded to examine which of  
“ the causes now depending have been pro-  
“ tracted by the crimes and ignorance of the ad-  
“ vocates, and to dismiss those who shall appear  
“ culpable.

“ When advocates are too numerous to live by  
“ honest practise, they busy themselves in ex-  
“ citing disputes, and disturbing the community:  
“ the number of these to be employed in each  
“ court is therefore fixed.

“ The reward of the advocates is fixed with  
“ due regard to the nature of the cause, and the  
“ labour required; but not a penny is received  
“ by them till the suit is ended, that it may be  
“ their interest, as well as that of the clients, to  
“ shorten the process.

“ No advocate is admitted in petty courts,  
“ small towns or villages; where the poverty of  
“ the people, and for the most part the low value  
“ of the matter contested, make dispatch abso-  
“ lutely necessary. In those places the parties  
“ shall appear in person, and the judge make a  
“ summary decision.

“ There must likewise be allowed a subordi-  
“ nation of tribunals, and a power of appeal.  
“ No judge is so skilful and attentive as not  
“ sometimes to err. Few are so honest as not  
“ sometimes to be partial. Petty judges would  
“ become insupportably tyrannical if they were  
“ not restrained by the fear of a superior judica-  
“ ture; and their decision would be negligent  
“ or arbitrary if they were not in danger of see-  
“ ing them examined and cancelled.

“ The right of appeal must be restrained, that  
“ causes may not be transferred without end from  
“ court to court; and a peremptory decision  
“ must at last be made.

“ When an appeal is made to a higher court,  
“ the appellant is allowed only four weeks to  
“ frame his bill, the judge of the lower court be-  
“ ing to transmit to the higher all the evidences  
“ and informations. If upon the first view of the

“ cause thus opened, it shall appear that the ap-  
“ peal was made without just cause, the first  
“ sentence shall be confirmed without citation of  
“ the defendant. If any new evidence shall ap-  
“ pear, or any doubts arise, both the parties  
“ shall be heard.

“ In the discussion of causes altercation must  
“ be allowed ; yet to altercation some limits must  
“ be put. There are therefore allowed a bill, an  
“ answer, a reply and a rejoinder, to be deliver-  
“ ed in writing.

“ No cause is allowed to be heard in more  
“ than three different courts. To further the  
“ first decision, every advocate is enjoined, un-  
“ der severe penalties, not to begin a suit till he  
“ has collected all the necessary evidence. If  
“ the first court has decided in an unsatisfactory  
“ manner, an appeal may be made to the second,  
“ and from the second to the third. The pro-  
“ cess in each appeal is limited to six months.  
“ The third court may indeed pass an erroneous  
“ judgment ; and then the injury is without re-  
“ dress. But this objection is without end, and  
“ therefore without force. No method can  
“ be found of preserving humanity from error ;  
“ but of contest there must some time be an end ;  
“ and he, who thinks himself injured for want  
“ of an appeal to a fourth court, must consider  
“ himself as suffering for the public.

“ There is a special advocate appointed for  
“ the poor.

“ The attornies, who had formerly the care of  
“ collecting evidence, and of adjusting all the  
“ preliminaries of a suit, are now totally dismis-  
“ sed ; the whole affair is put into the hands of



“ the advocates, and the office of an attorney is  
 “ annulled for ever.

“ If any man is hindered by some lawful im-  
 “ pediment from attending his suit, time will be  
 “ granted him upon the representation of his  
 “ case.”

Such is the order according to which civil justice is administered through the extensive dominions of the king of Prussia; which, if it exhibits nothing very subtle or profound, affords one proof more that the right is easily discovered, and that men do not so often want ability to find, as willingness to practise it.

We now return to the war.

The time at which the queen of Hungary was willing to purchase peace by the resignation of Silesia, though it came at last, was not come yet. She had all the spirit, though not all the power of her ancestors, and could not bear the thought of losing any part of her patrimonial dominions to the enemies, which the opinion of her weakness raised every where against her.

In the beginning of the year 1742, the elector of Bavaria was invested with the imperial dignity, supported by the arms of France, master of the kingdom of Bohemia; and confederated with the elector Palatine, and the elector of Saxony, who claimed Moravia; and with the king of Prussia, who was in possession of Silesia.

Such was the state of the queen of Hungary, pressed on every side, and on every side preparing for resistance: she yet refused all offers of accommodation, for every prince set peace at a price which she was not yet so far humbled as to pay.

The king of Prussia was among the most zealous and forward in the confederacy against her.

He promised to secure Bohemia to the emperor, and Moravia to the elector of Saxony; and, finding no enemy in the field able to resist him, he returned to Berlin, and left Schwerin his general to prosecute the conquest.

The Prussians in the midst of winter took Olmutz, the capital of Moravia, and laid the whole country under contribution. The cold then hindered them from action, and they only blocked up the fortresses of Brinn and Spielberg.

In the spring, the king of Prussia came again into the field, and undertook the siege of Brinn; but upon the approach of prince Charles of Lorraine retired from before it, and quitted Moravia, leaving only a garrison in the capital.

The condition of the queen of Hungary was now changed. She was a few months before without money, without troops, incircled with enemies. The Bavarians had entered Austria, Vienna was threatened with a siege, and the queen left it to the fate of war, and retired into Hungary, where she was received with zeal and affection, not unmingled however with that neglect which must always be borne by greatness in distress. She bore the disrespect of her subjects with the same firmness as the outrages of her enemies; and at last persuaded the English not to despair of her preservation, by not despairing herself.

Voltaire in his late history has asserted, that a large sum was raised for her succour, by voluntary subscriptions of the English ladies. It is the great failing of a strong imagination to catch greedily at wonders. He was misinformed, and was perhaps unwilling to learn by a second enquiry, a truth less splendid and amusing. A contribution was by news-writers, upon their own

authority fruitlessly, and, I think, illegally, proposed. It ended in nothing. The parliament voted a supply, and five hundred thousand pounds were remitted to her.

It has been always the weakness of the Austrian family to spend in the magnificence of empire those revenues which should be kept for its defence. The court is splendid, but the treasury is empty; and, at the beginning of every war, advantages are gained against them, before their armies can be assembled and equipped.

The English money was to the Austrians as a shower to a field, where all the vegetative powers are kept unactive by a long continuance of drought. The armies, which had hitherto been hid in mountains and forests, started out of their retreats; and wherever the queen's standard was erected, nations scarcely known by their names, swarmed immediately about it. An army, especially a defensive army, multiplies itself. The contagion of enterprize spreads from one heart to another. Zeal for a native or detestation of a foreign sovereign, hope of sudden greatness or riches, friendship or emulation between particular men, or, what are perhaps more general and powerful, desire of novelty and impatience of inactivity, fill a camp with adventurers, add rank to rank, and squadron to squadron.

The queen had still enemies on every part, but she now on every part had armies ready to oppose them. Austria was immediately recovered; the plains of Bohemia were filled with her troops, though the fortresses were garrisoned by the French. The Bavarians were recalled to the defence of their own country, now wasted by the incursions of troops that were called Barbarians, greedy enough of plunder, and daring perhaps

beyond the rules of war, but otherwise not more cruel than those whom they attacked. Prince Lobkowitz with one army observed the motions of Broglie, the French general in Bohemia; and prince Charles with another put a stop to the advances of the king of Prussia.

It was now the turn of the Prussians to retire. They abandoned Olmutz, and left behind them part of their cannon and their magazines. And the king, finding that Broglie could not long oppose prince Lobkowitz, hastened into Bohemia to his assistance; and having received a reinforcement of twenty-three thousand men, and taken the castle of Glatz, which, being built upon a rock, scarcely accessible, would have defied all his power, had the garrison been furnished with provisions, he purposed to join his allies, and prosecute his conquests.

Prince Charles, seeing Moravia thus evacuated by the Prussians, determined to garrison the towns which he had just recovered, and pursue the enemy, who, by the assistance of the French, would have been too powerful for prince Lobkowitz.

Success had now given confidence to the Austrians and had proportionably abated the spirit of their enemies. The Saxons, who had co-operated with the king of Prussia in the conquest of Moravia, of which they expected the perpetual possession, seeing all hopes of sudden acquisition defeated, and the province left again to its former masters, grew weary of following a prince, whom they considered as no longer acting the part of their confederate; and when they approached the confines of Bohemia took a different road, and left the Prussians to their own fortune.

The king continued his march, and Charles his pursuit. At Czaslaw the two armies came in sight of one another, and the Austrians resolved on a decisive day. On the 6th of May, about seven in the morning, the Austrians began the attack: their impetuosity was matched by the firmness of the Prussians. The animosity of the two armies was much inflamed: the Austrians were fighting for their country, and the Prussians were in a place where defeat must inevitably end in death or captivity. The fury of the battle continued four hours: the Prussian horse were at length broken, and the Austrians forced their way to the camp, where the wild troops, who had fought with so much vigour and constancy, at the sight of plunder forgot their obedience, nor had any man the least thought but how to load himself with the richest spoils.

While the right wing of the Austrians was thus employed, the main body was left naked: the Prussians recovered from their confusion, and regained the day. Charles was at last forced to retire, and carried with him the standard of his enemies, the proofs of a victory, which, though so nearly gained, he had not been able to keep.

The victory however was dearly bought; the Prussian army was much weakened, and the cavalry almost totally destroyed. Peace is easily made when it is necessary to both parties; and the king of Prussia had now reason to believe that the Austrians were not his only enemies. When he found Charles advancing, he sent to Broglie for assistance, and was answered that "he must have orders from Versailles." Such a desertion of his most powerful ally disconcerted him, but the battle was unavoidable.

When the Prussians were returned to the camp, the king, hearing that an Austrian officer was brought in mortally wounded, had the condescension to visit him. The officer, struck with this act of humanity, said, after a short conversation, "I should die, sir, contentedly after this honour, if I might first shew my gratitude to your majesty by informing you with what allies you are now united, allies that have no intention but to deceive you." The king appearing to suspect this intelligence; "Sir," said the Austrian, "if you will permit me to send a messenger to Vienna, I believe the queen will not refuse to transmit an intercepted letter now in her hands, which will put my report beyond all doubt."

The messenger was sent, and the letter transmitted, which contained the order sent to Broglio, who was, first forbidden to mix his troops on any occasion with the Prussians. Secondly, he was ordered to act always at a distance from the king. Thirdly, to keep always a body of twenty thousand men to observe the Prussian army. Fourthly, to observe very closely the motions of the king, for important reasons. Fifthly, to hazard nothing; but to pretend want of reinforcements, or the absence of Bellisle.

The king now with great reason considered himself as disengaged from the confederacy, being deserted by the Saxons, and betrayed by the French, he therefore accepted the mediation of king George, and in three weeks after the battle of Czaslaw made peace with the queen of Hungary, who granted to him the whole province of Silesia, a country of such extent and opulence that he is said to receive from it one third part of his revenues. By one of the articles of this

treaty it is stipulated, "that neither should assist the enemies of the other."

The queen of Hungary thus disentangled on one side, and set free from the most formidable of her enemies, soon persuaded the Saxons to peace; took possession of Bavaria; drove the emperor after all his imaginary conquests to the shelter of a neutral town, where he was treated as a fugitive; and besieged the French in Prague, in the city which they had taken from her.

Having thus obtained Silesia the king of Prussia returned to his own capital, where he reformed his laws, forbid the torture of criminals, concluded a defensive alliance with England, and applied himself to the augmentation of his army.

This treaty of peace with the queen of Hungary was one of the first proofs given by the king of Prussia of the secrecy of his counsels. Bellisle, the French general was with him in the camp as a friend and coadjutor in appearance, but in truth a spy, and a writer of intelligence. Men who have great confidence in their own penetration, are often by that confidence deceived; they imagine that they can pierce through all the involutions of intrigue without the diligence necessary to weaker minds, and therefore sit idle and secure; they believe that none can hope to deceive them, and therefore that none will try. Bellisle with all his reputation of sagacity, though he was in the Prussian camp, gave every day fresh assurances of the king's adherence to the allies; while Broglio, who commanded the army at a distance, discovered sufficient reason to suspect his desertion. Broglio was slighted and Bellisle believed, till on the 11th of June the treaty was signed, and the king declared his resolution to keep the neutrality.

This is one of the great performances of polity which mankind seem agreed to celebrate and admire, yet to all this nothing was necessary but the determination of a very few men to be silent.

From this time the queen of Hungary proceeded with an uninterrupted torrent of success. The French driven from station to station, and deprived of fortress after fortress, where at last enclosed with their two generals, Bellisle and Broglio, in the walls of Prague, which they had stored with all provisions necessary to a town besieged, and where they defended themselves three months before any prospect appeared of relief.

The Austrians, having been engaged chiefly in the field, and in sudden and tumultuary excursions rather than a regular war, had no great degree of skill in attacking or defending towns. They likewise would naturally consider all the mischiefs done to the city as falling ultimately on themselves, and therefore were willing to gain it by time rather than by force.

It was apparent that, how long soever Prague might be defended, it must be yielded at last, and therefore all arts were tried to obtain an honourable capitulation. The messengers from the city were sent back sometimes unheard, but always with this answer, "That no terms would be allowed, but that they should yield themselves prisoners of war."

The condition of the garrison was in the eyes of all Europe desperate; but the French, to whom the praise of spirit and activity cannot be denied, resolved to make an effort for the honour of their arms. Maillebois was at that time encamped with his army in Westphalia. Orders were sent him to relive Prague, The enterprize



was considered as romantic. Maillebois was a march of forty days distant from Bohemia, the passes were narrow, and the ways foul; and it was likely that Prague would be taken before he could reach it. The march was, however, begun: the army, being joined by that of Count Saxe, consisted of fifty thousand men, who, notwithstanding all the difficulties which two Austrian armies could put in their way, at last entered Bohemia. The siege of Prague, though not raised, was remitted, and a communication was now opened to it with the country. But the Austrians, by perpetual intervention, hindered the garrison from joining their friends. The officers of Maillebois incited him to a battle, because the army was hourly lessening by the want of provisions; but, instead of pressing on to Prague, he retired into Bavaria, and completed the ruin of the emperor's territories.

The court of France, disappointed and offended, conferred the chief command upon Broglio, who escaped from the besiegers with very little difficulty, and kept the Austrians employed till Bellisle by a sudden sally quitted Prague, and without any great loss joined the main army. Broglio then retired over the Rhine into the French dominions, wasting in his retreat the country which he had undertaken to protect, and burning towns, and destroying magazines of corn, with such wantonness as gave reason to believe that he expected commendation from his court for any mischiefs done, by whatever means.

The Austrians pursued their advantages, recovered all their strong places, in some of which French garrisons had been left, and made themselves masters of Bavaria, by taking not only Munich, the capital, but Ingolstadt, the strong-

est fortifications in the elector's dominions, where they found a great number of cannon and quantity of ammunition intended in the dreams of projected greatness for the siege of Vienna, all the archives of the state, the plate and ornaments of the electoral palace, and what had been considered as most worthy of preservation. Nothing but the warlike stores were taken away. An oath of allegiance to the queen was required of the Bavarians, but without any explanation whether temporary or perpetual.

The emperor lived at Francfort in the security that was allowed to neutral places, but without much respect from the German princes, except that, upon some objections made by the queen to the validity of his election, the king of Prussia declared himself determined to support him in the imperial dignity with all his power.

This may be considered as a token of no great affection to the queen of Hungary, but it seems not to have raised much alarm. The German princes were afraid of new broils. To contest the election of an emperor once invested and acknowledged, would be to overthrow the whole Germanic constitution. Perhaps no election by plurality of suffrages was ever made among human beings, to which it might not be objected that voices were procured by illicit influence.

Some suspicions, however, were raised by the king's declaration, which he endeavoured to obviate by ordering his ministers to declare at London and at Vienna, that he was resolved not to violate the treaty of Breslaw. This declaration was sufficiently ambiguous, and could not satisfy those whom it might silence. But this was not a time for nice disquisitions: to distrust the king of Prussia might have provoked him, and it was

most convenient to consider him as a friend, till he appeared openly as an enemy.

About the middle of the year 1744, he raised new alarms by collecting his troops and putting them in motion. The earl of Hindford about this time demanded the troops stipulated for the protection of Hanover, not perhaps because they were thought necessary, but that the king's designs might be guessed from his answer, which was, that troops were not granted for the defence of any country till that country was in danger, and that he could not believe the elector of Hanover to be in much dread of an invasion, since he had withdrawn the native troops, and put them into the pay of England.

He had, undoubtedly, now formed designs which made it necessary that his troops should be kept together, and the time soon came when the scene was to be opened. Prince Charles of Lorraine, having chased the French out of Bavaria, lay for some months encamped on the Rhine, endeavouring to gain a passage into Alsace. His attempts had long been evaded by the skill and vigilance of the French general, till at last, June 21, 1744, he executed his design, and lodged his army in the French dominions, to the surprise and joy of a great part of Europe. It was now expected that the territories of France would in their turn feel the miseries of war; and the nation, which so long kept the world in alarm, be taught at last the value of peace.

The king of Prussia now saw the Austrian troops at a great distance from him, engaged in a foreign country against the most powerful of all their enemies. Now, therefore, was the time to discover that he had lately made a treaty at Francfort with the emperor, by which he had engaged

“ that as the court of Vienna and its allies ap-  
“ peared backward to re-establish the tranquil-  
“ lity of the empire, and more cogent methods  
“ appeared necessary ; he, being animated with  
“ a desire of co-operating towards the pacifica-  
“ tion of Germany, should make an expedition  
“ for the conquest of Bohemia, and to put it into  
“ the possession of the emperor, his heirs and  
“ successors, for ever ; in gratitude for which  
“ the emperor should resign to him and his suc-  
“ cessors a certain number of lordships, which  
“ are now part of the kingdom of Bohemia. His  
“ Imperial majesty likewise guaranties to the  
“ king of Prussia the perpetual possession of  
“ Upper Silesia ; and the king guaranties to the  
“ emperor the perpetual possession of Upper  
“ Austria, as he shall have occupied it by con-  
“ quest.”

It is easy to discover that the king began the war upon other motives than zeal for peace ; and that, whatever respect he was willing to shew to the emperor, he did not purpose to assist him without reward. In prosecution of this treaty he put his troops in motion ; and, according to his promise, while the Austrians were invading France, he invaded Bohemia.

Princes have this remaining of humanity, that they think themselves obliged not to make war without a reason. Their reasons are indeed not always very satisfactory. Lewis the fourteenth seemed to think his own glory a sufficient motive for the invasion of Holland. The Czar attacked Charles of Sweden, because he had not been treated with sufficient respect when he made a journey in disguise. The king of Prussia, having an opportunity of attacking his neighbour, was not

long without his reasons. On July 30, he published his declaration, in which he declares ;

That he can no longer stand an idle spectator of the troubles in Germany, but finds himself obliged to make use of force to restore the power of the laws, and the authority of the emperor.

That the Queen of Hungary has treated the emperor's hereditary dominions with inexpressible cruelty.

That Germany has been overrun with foreign troops, which have marched through neutral countries without the customary requisitions.

That the emperor's troops have been attacked under neutral fortresses, and obliged to abandon the empire, of which their master is the head.

That the imperial dignity has been treated with indecency by the Hungarian troops.

The queen declaring the election of the emperor void, and the diet of Francfort illegal, had not only violated the imperial dignity, but injured all the princes who have the right of election.

That he has no particular quarrel with the queen of Hungary ; and that he desires nothing for himself, and only enters as an auxiliary into a war for the liberties of Germany.

That the emperor had offered to quit his pretension to the dominions of Austria, on condition that his hereditary countries be restored to him.

That this proposal had been made to the king of England at Hanau, and rejected in such a manner as shewed that the king of England had no intention to restore peace, but rather to make his advantage of the troubles.

That the mediation of the Dutch had been desired ; but that they declined to interpose, know-

ing the inflexibility of the English and Austrian courts.

That the same terms were again offered at Vienna, and again rejected: that therefore the queen must impute it to her own council that her enemies find new allies.

That he is not fighting for any interest of his own, that he demands nothing for himself; but is determined to exert all his powers in defence of the emperor, in vindication of the right of election, and in support of the liberties of Germany, which the queen of Hungary would enslave.

When this declaration was sent to the Prussian minister in England, it was accompanied with a remonstrance to the king, in which many of the foregoing positions were repeated; the emperor's candour and disinterestedness were magnified; the dangerous designs of the Austrians were displayed; it was imputed to them as the most flagrant violation of the Germanic constitution, that they had driven the emperor's troops out of the empire; the public spirit and generosity of his Prussian majesty were again heartily declared; and it was said, that this quarrel having no connection with English interests, the English ought not to interpose.

Austria and all her allies were put into amazement by this declaration, which at once dismounted them from the summit of success, and obliged them to fight through the war a second time. What succours, or what promises, Prussia received from France was never publicly known; but it is not to be doubted that a prince so watchful of opportunity sold assistance, when it was so much wanted, at the highest rate; nor can it be supposed that he exposed himself to so

much hazard only for the freedom of Germany, and a few petty districts in Bohemia.

The French, who, from ravaging the empire at discretion, and wasting whatever they found either among enemies or friends, were now driven into their own dominions, and in their own dominions were insulted and pursued, were on a sudden by this new auxiliary restored to their former superiority, at least were disburthened of their invaders, and delivered from their terrors. And all the enemies of the house of Bourbon saw with indignation and amazement the recovery of that power which they had with so much cost and bloodshed brought low, and which their animosity and elation had disposed them to imagine yet lower than it was.

The queen of Hungary still retained her firmness. The Prussian declaration was not long without an answer, which was transmitted to the European princes with some observations on the Prussian minister's remonstrance to the court of Vienna, which he was ordered by his master to read to the Austrian council, but not to deliver. The same caution was practised before when the Prussians, after the emperor's death, invaded Silesia. This artifice of political debate may, perhaps, be numbered by the admirers of greatness among the refinements of conduct; but, as it is a method of proceeding not very difficult to be contrived or practised, as it can be of very rare use to honesty or wisdom, and as it has been long known to that class of men whose safety depends upon secrecy, though hitherto applied chiefly in petty cheats and slight transactions; I do not see that it can much advance the reputation of regal understanding, or indeed, that it can add more to

the safety, than it takes away from the honour of him that shall adopt it.

The queen in her answer, after charging the king of Prussia with breach of the treaty of Breslaw, and observing how much her enemies will exult to see the peace now the third time broken by him, declares,

That she had no intention to injure the rights of the electors, and that she calls in question not the event but the manner of the election.

That she had spared the emperor's troops with great tenderness, and that they were driven out of the empire, only because they were in the service of France.

That she is so far from disturbing the peace of the empire, that the only commotions now raised in it, are the effect of the armaments of the king of Prussia.

Nothing is more tedious than public records, when they relate to affairs which by distance of time or place lose their power to interest the reader. Every thing grows little, as it grows remote, and of things thus diminished it is sufficient to survey the aggregate without a minute examination of the parts.

It is easy to perceive, that if the king of Prussia's reasons be sufficient, ambition or animosity can never want a plea for violence and invasion. What he charges upon the queen of Hungary, the waste of countries, the expulsion of the Bavarians, and the employment of foreign troops, is the unavoidable consequence of a war inflamed on either side to the utmost violence. All these grievances subsisted when he made the peace, and therefore they could very little justify its breach.

It is true that every prince of the empire is obliged to support the imperial dignity, and assist



the emperor when his rights are violated. And every subsequent contract must be understood in a sense consistent with former obligations: nor had the king power to make a peace on terms contrary to that constitution by which he held a place among the Germanic electors. But he could have easily discovered that not the emperor but the duke of Bavaria was the queen's enemy, not the administrator of the imperial power, but the claimant of the Austrian dominions. Nor did his allegiance to the emperor, supposing the emperor injured, oblige him to more than a succour of ten thousand men. But ten thousand men could not conquer Bohemia, and without the conquest of Bohemia he could receive no reward for the zeal and fidelity which he so loudly professed.

The success of this enterprize he had taken all possible precaution to secure. He was to invade a country guarded only by the faith of treaties, and therefore left unarmed, and unprovided of all defence. He had engaged the French to attack prince Charles before he should repass the Rhine, by which the Austrians would at least have been hindered from a speedy march into Bohemia: they were likewise to yield him such other assistance as he might want.

Relying therefore upon the promises of the French, he resolved to attempt the ruin of the house of Austria, and in August 1744, broke into Bohemia at the head of an hundred and four thousand men. When he entered the country he published a proclamation, promising, that his army should observe the strictest discipline, and that those who made no resistance should be suffered to remain at quiet in their habitations. He required that all arms, in the custody of whom-

soever they might be placed, should be given up, and put into the hands of public officers. He still declared himself to act only as an auxiliary to the emperor, and with no other design than to establish peace and tranquillity throughout Germany, his dear country.

In this proclamation there is one paragraph of which I do not remember any president. He threatens that if any peasant should be found with arms he shall be hanged without further enquiry; and that if any lord shall connive at his vassals keeping arms in their custody, his village shall be reduced to ashes.

It is hard to find upon what pretence the king of Prussia could treat the Bohemians as criminals, for preparing to defend their native country, or maintain their allegiance to their lawful sovereign against an invader, whether he appears principal or auxiliary, whether he professes to intend tranquillity or confusion.

His progress was such as gave great hopes to the enemies of Austria; like Cæsar he conquered as he advanced, and met with no opposition till he reached the walls of Prague. The indignation and resentment of the queen of Hungary may be easily conceived; the alliance of Frankfurt was now laid open to all Europe, and the partition of the Austrian dominions was again publicly projected. They were to be shared among the emperor, the king of Prussia, the elector palatine, and the landgrave of Hesse. All the powers of Europe who had dreamed of controlling France, were awakened to their former terrors, all that had been done was now to be done again, and every court, from the straits of Gibraltar to the Frozen Sea, was filled with

exultation or terror, with schemes of conquest or precautions for defence.

The king delighted with his progress, and expecting like other mortals, elated with success, that his prosperity could not be interrupted, continued his march, and began in the latter end of September the siege of Prague. He had gained several of the outer posts, when he was informed that the convoy which attended his artillery was attacked by an unexpected party of the Austrians. The king went immediately to their assistance with the third part of his army, and found his troops put to flight, and the Austrians hasting away with his cannons; such a loss would have disabled him at once. He fell upon the Austrians, whose number would not enable them to withstand him, recovered his artillery, and having also defeated Bathiani, raised his batteries, and there being no artillery, to be placed against him, he destroyed a great part of the city. He then ordered four attacks to be made at once, and reduced the besieged to such extremities, that in fourteen days the governor was obliged to yield the place.

At the attack commanded by Schwerin a grenadier is reported to have mounted the bastion alone and to have defended himself for some time with his sword, till his followers mounted after him; for this act of bravery the king made him lieutenant, and gave him a patent of nobility.

Nothing now remained but that the Austrians should lay aside all thought of invading France, and apply their whole power to their own defence. Prince Charles, at the first news of the Prussian invasion, prepared to repass the Rhine. This the French, according to their contract with the king of Prussia, should have attempted

to hinder ; but they knew by experience the Austrians would not be beaten without resistance, and that resistance always incommodes an assailant. As the king of Prussia rejoiced in the distance of the Austrians, whom he considered as entangled in the French territories ; the French rejoiced in the necessity of their return, and pleased themselves with the prospect of easy conquests, while powers whom they considered with equal malevolence should be employed in massacring each other.

Prince Charles took the opportunity of bright moonshine to repass the Rhine ; and Noailles, who had early intelligence of his motions, gave him very little disturbance, but contented himself with attacking the rear-guard, and when they retired to the main body ceased his pursuit.

The king, upon the reduction of Prague, struck a medal which had on one side a plan of the town, with this inscription :

“ Prague taken by the King of Prussia,  
September 16, 1744 ;

For the third time in three years.”

On the other side were two verses, in which he prayed, “ That his Conquests might produce Peace.” He then marched forward with the rapidity which constitutes his military character, took possession of almost all Bohemia, and began to talk of entering Austria and besieging Vienna.

The queen was not yet wholly without resource. The elector of Saxony, whether invited or not, was not comprised in the union of Frankfurt ; and as every sovereign is growing less as his next neighbour is growing greater, he could not heartily wish success to a confederacy which was to aggrandize the other powers of Germany.

The Prussians gave him likewise a particular and immediate provocation to oppose them; for, when they departed to the conquest of Bohemia, with all the elation of imaginary success, they passed through his dominions with unlicensed and contemptuous disdain of his authority. As the approach of Prince Charles gave a new prospect of events, he was easily persuaded to enter into an alliance with the queen, whom he furnished with a very large body of troops.

The king of Prussia having left a garrison in Prague, which he commanded to put the burghers to death if they left their houses in the night, went forward to take the other towns and fortresses, expecting, perhaps, that prince Charles would be interrupted in his march, but the French though they appeared to follow him, either could not or would not overtake him.

In a short time, by marches pressed on with the utmost eagerness, Charles reached Bohemia, leaving the Bavarians to regain the possession of the wasted plains of their country, which their enemies, who still kept the strong places, might again seize at will. At the approach of the Austrian army the courage of the king of Prussia seemed to have failed him. He retired from post to post, and evacuated town after town, and fortress after fortress, without resistance, or appearance of resistance, as if he was resigning them to the fightful owners.

It might have been expected that he should have made some effort to rescue Prague; but after a faint attempt to dispute the passage of the Elbe, he ordered his garrison of eleven thousand men to quit the place. They left behind them their magazines, and heavy artillery, among which were seven pieces of remarkable excellence,

called "The Seven Electors." But they took with them their field cannon and a great number of carriages laden with stores and plunder, which they were forced to leave in their way to the Saxons and Austrians that harassed their march. They at last entered Silesia with the loss of about a third part.

The king of Prussia suffered much in his retreat, for besides the military stores, which he left every where behind him, even to the cloaths of his troops, there was a want of provisions in his army, and consequently frequent desertions and many diseases; and a soldier sick or killed was equally lost to a flying army.

At last he re-entered his own territories, and having stationed his troops in places of security, returned for a time to Berlin, where he forbid all to speak either ill or well of the campaign.

To what end such a prohibition could conduce, it is difficult to discover: there is no country in which men can be forbidden to know what they know, and what is universally known may as well be spoken. It is true, that in popular governments seditious discourses may inflame the vulgar, but in such governments they cannot be restrained, and in absolute monarchies they are of little effect.

When the Prussians invaded Bohemia, and this whole nation was fired with resentment, the king of England gave orders in his palace that none should mention his nephew with disrespect; by this command he maintained the decency necessary between princes, without enforcing, and probably without expecting obedience but in his own presence.

The king of Prussia's edict regarded only himself, and therefore it is difficult to tell what was

his motive, unless he intended to spare himself this mortification of absurd and illiberal flattery, which, to a mind stung with disgrace, must have been in the highest degree painful and disgusting.

Moderation in prosperity is a virtue very difficult to all mortals; forbearance of revenge, when revenge is within reach, is scarcely ever to be found among princes. Now was the time when the queen of Hungary might perhaps have made peace on her own terms; but keenness of resentment, and arrogance of success, withheld her from the due use of the present opportunity. It is said, that the king of Prussia in his retreat sent letters to prince Charles, which were supposed to contain ample concessions, but were sent back unopened. The king of England offered likewise to mediate between them; but his propositions were rejected at Vienna, where a resolution was taken not only to revenge the interruption of their success on the Rhine by the recovery of Silesia, but to reward the Saxons for their seasonable help by giving them part of the Prussian dominions.

In the beginning of the year 1745 died the emperor Charles of Bavaria; the treaty of Francfort was consequently at an end; and the king of Prussia, being no longer able to maintain the character of auxiliary to the emperor, and having avowed no other reason for the war, might have honourably withdrawn his forces, and on his own principles have complied with terms of peace; but no terms were offered him; the queen pursued him with the utmost ardour of hostility, and the French left him to his own conduct, and his own destiny.

His Bohemian conquests were already lost ; and he was now chased back into Silesia, where, at the beginning of the year, the war continued in an equilibration by alternate losses and advantages. In April, the elector of Bavaria seeing his dominions over-run by the Austrians, and receiving very little succour from the French, made a peace with the queen of Hungary upon easy conditions, and the Austrians had more troops to employ against Prussia.

But the revolutions of war will not suffer human presumption to remain long unchecked. The peace with Bavaria was scarcely concluded when the battle of Fontenoy was lost, and all the allies of Austria called upon her to exert her utmost power for the preservation of the Low Countries ; and, a few days after the loss at Fontenoy, the first battle between the Prussians and the combined army of Austrians and Saxons was fought at Niedburg in Silesia.

The particulars of this battle were variously reported by the different parties and published in the journals of that time ; to transcribe them would be tedious and useless, because accounts of battles are not easily understood, and because there are no means of determining to which of the relations credit should be given. It is sufficient that they all end in claiming or allowing a complete victory to the king of Prussia, who gained all the Austrian artillery, killed four thousand, took seven thousand prisoners, with the loss, according to the Prussian narrative, of only sixteen hundred men.

He now advanced again into Bohemia, where, however, he made no great progress. The queen of Hungary, though defeated, was not subdued. She poured in her troops from all parts to the re-



inforcement of prince Charles, and determined to continue the struggle with all her power. The king saw that Bohemia was an unpleasing and inconvenient theatre of war, in which he should be ruined by a miscarriage, and should get little by a victory. Saxony was left defenceless, and if it was conquered might be plundered.

He therefore published a declaration against the elector of Saxony, and, without waiting for reply, invaded his dominions. This invasion produced another battle at Standentz, which ended, as the former, to the advantage of the Prussians. The Austrians had some advantage in the beginning; and their irregular troops, who are always daring, and are always ravenous, broke into the Prussian camp, and carried away the military chest. But this was easily repaired by the spoils of Saxony.

The queen of Hungary was still inflexible, and hoped that fortune would at last change. She recruited once more her army, and prepared to invade the territories of Brandenburg; but the king of Prussia's activity prevented all her designs. One part of his forces seized Leipsic, and the other once more defeated the Saxons; the king of Poland fled from his dominions, prince Charles retired into Bohemia. The king of Prussia entered Dresden as a conqueror, exacted very severe contributions from the whole country, and the Austrians and Saxons were at last compelled to receive from him such a peace as he would grant. He imposed no severe conditions except the payment of the contributions, made no new claim of dominions, and, with the elector Palatine, acknowledged the duke of Tuscany for emperor.

The lives of princes, like the histories of nations, have their periods. We shall here suspend our narrative of the king of Prussia, who was now at the height of human greatness, giving laws to his enemies, and courted by all the powers of Europe.

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*THE LIFE OF*  
**SIR THOMAS BROWNE\*.**



**S**IR THOMAS BROWNE was born at London, in the parish of St. Michael, in Cheapside, on the 19th of October 1605†. His father was a merchant, of an ancient family at Upton in Cheshire. Of the name or family of his mother, I find no account.

Of his childhood or youth, there is little known, except that he lost his father very early; that he was, according to the common ‡ fate of orphans, defrauded by one of his guardians; and that he was placed for his education at the school of Winchester.

His mother, having taken § three thousand pounds, as the third part of her husband's property, left her son, by consequence, six thousand, a large fortune for a man destined to learning at that time, when commerce had not yet fil-

\* First printed in 1752.

† Life of Sir Thomas Browne, prefixed to the Antiquities of Norwich.

‡ Whitefoot's character of Sir Thomas Browne, in a marginal note.

§ Life of Sir Thomas Browne.

led the nation with nominal riches. But it happened to him, as to many others, to be made poorer by opulence; for his mother soon married Sir Thomas Dutton, probably by the inducement of her fortune; and he was left to the rapacity of his guardian, deprived now of both his parents, and therefore helpless and unprotected.

He was removed in the beginning of the year 1623, from Winchester to Oxford\*, and entered a gentleman commoner of Broadgate-Hall, which was soon afterwards endowed, and took the name of Pembroke-college, from the earl of Pembroke, then chancellor of the university. He was admitted to the degree of Bachelor of Arts, January 31, 1626-7; being, as Wood remarks, the first man of eminence graduated from the new college, to which the zeal or gratitude of those that love it most can wish little better than that it may long proceed as it began.

Having afterwards taken his degree of master of arts, he turned his studies to physic†, and practised it for some time in Oxfordshire; but soon afterwards, either induced by curiosity, or invited by promises, he quitted his settlement, and accompanied his † father-in-law, who had some employment in Ireland, in a visitation of the forts and castles, which the state of Ireland then made necessary.

He that has once prevailed on himself to break his connections of acquaintance, and begin a wandering life, very easily continues it. Ireland had, at that time, very little to offer to the observation of a man of letters: he, therefore, passed § into France and Italy; made some stay at Mont-

\* Wood's *Athenæ Oxoniensis*.

† *Life of Sir Thomas Browne*:

† Wood

§ *Ibid*.

pellier and Padua, which were then the celebrated schools of physic; and returning home through Holland, procured himself to be created doctor of physic at Leyden.

When he began his travels, or when he concluded them, there is no certain account; nor do there remain any observations made by him in his passage through those countries which he visited. To consider, therefore, what pleasure or instruction might have been received from the remarks of a man so curious and diligent, would be voluntarily to indulge a painful reflection, and load the imagination with a wish, which while it is formed, is known to be vain. It is however to be lamented, that those who are most capable of improving mankind, very frequently neglect to communicate their knowledge; either because it is more pleasing to gather ideas than to impart them, or because, to minds naturally great, few things appear of so much importance as to deserve the notice of the public.

About the year 1634\*, he is supposed to have returned to London; and the next year to have written his celebrated treatise, called *Religio Medici*, "The Religion of a physician†," which he declares himself never to have intended for the press, having composed it only for his own exercise and entertainment. It, indeed, contains many passages, which, relating merely to his own person, can be of no great importance to the public: but when it was written, it happened to him as to others, he was too much pleased with his performance, not to think that it might please others as much; he, therefore, communicated it

\* Biographia Britannica.

† Letter to Sir Kenelm Digby, prefixed to the *Religio Medici*, folio edition.

to his friends, and receiving, I suppose, that exuberant applause, with which every man repays the grant of perusing a manuscript, he was not very diligent to obstruct his own praise by recalling his papers, but suffered them to wander from hand to hand, till at last, without his own consent, they were in 1642 given to a printer.

This has, perhaps, sometimes befallen others: and this, I am willing to believe, did really happen to Dr. Browne: but there is surely some reason to doubt the truth of the complaint so frequently made of surreptitious editions. A song, or an epigram, may be easily printed without the author's knowledge; because it may be learned when it is repeated, or may be written out with very little trouble: but a long treatise, however elegant, is not often copied by mere zeal or curiosity, but may be worn out in passing from hand to hand, before it is multiplied by a transcript. It is easy to convey an imperfect book, by a distant hand, to the press, and plead the circulation of a false copy as an excuse for publishing the true, or to correct what is found faulty or offensive, and charge the errors on the transcriber's depravations.

This is a stratagem, by which an author, panting for fame, and yet afraid of seeming to challenge it, may at once gratify his vanity, and preserve the appearance of modesty; may enter the lists, and secure a retreat: and this candour might suffer to pass undetected as an innocent fraud, but that indeed no fraud is innocent; for the confidence which makes the happiness of society is in some degree diminished by every man whose practice is at variance with his words.

The *Religio Medici* was no sooner published than it excited the attention of the public, by the

novelty of paradoxes, the dignity of sentiment, the quick succession of images, the multitude of abstruse allusions, the subtlety of disquisition, and the strength of language.

What is much read will be much criticised. The earl of Dorset recommended this book to the perusal of Sir Kenelm Digby, who returned his judgment upon it, not in a letter, but a book: in which, though mingled with some positions fabulous and uncertain, there are acute remarks, just censures, and profound speculations; yet its principal claim to admiration is, that \* it was written in twenty-four hours, of which part was spent in procuring Browne's book, and part in reading it.

Of these animadversions, when they were yet not all printed, either officiousness or malice informed Dr. Browne; who wrote to Sir Kenelm with much softness and ceremony, declaring the unworthiness of his work to engage such notice, the intended privacy of the composition, and the corruptions of the impression; and received an answer equally genteel and respectful, containing high commendations of the piece, pompous professions of reverence, meek acknowledgments of inability, and anxious apologies for the hastiness of his remarks.

The reciprocal civility of authors is one of the most risible scenes in the farce of life. Who would not have thought, that these two luminaries of their age had ceased to endeavour to grow bright by the obscuration of each other? yet the animadversions thus weak, thus precipitate, upon a book thus injured in the transcription, quickly passed the press; and *Religio Medici*

\* Digby's Letter to Browne, prefixed to the *Religio Medici*, folio edition.

was more accurately published, with an admonition prefixed "to those who have or shall peruse the observations upon a former corrupt copy;" in which there is a severe censure, not upon Digby, who was to be used with ceremony, but upon the observator who had usurped his name: nor was this invective written by Dr. Browne, who was supposed to be satisfied with his opponent's apology; but by some officious friend, zealous for his honour, without his consent.

Browne has, indeed, in his own preface, endeavoured to secure himself from rigorous examination, by alledging, that "many things are delivered rhetorically, many expressions merely tropical, and therefore many things to be taken in a soft and flexible sense, and not to be called unto the rigid test of reason." The first glance upon his book will indeed discover examples of this liberty of thought and expression: "I could be content (says he) to be nothing almost to eternity, if I might enjoy my Saviour at the last." He has little acquaintance with the acuteness of Browne, who suspects him of a serious opinion, that any thing can be "almost eternal," or that any time beginning and ending, is not infinitely less than infinite duration.

In this book he speaks much, and, in the opinion of Digby, too much of himself; but with such generality and conciseness as affords very little light to his biographer: he declares, that, besides the dialects of different provinces, he understood six languages; that he was no stranger to Astronomy; and that he had seen several countries; but what most awakens curiosity is, his solemn assertion, that "his life has been a miracle of thirty years; which to relate were

“ not history, but a piece of poetry, and would  
“ sound like a fable.”

There is, undoubtedly, a sense in which all life is miraculous; as it is an union of powers of which we can image no connexion, a succession of motions of which the first cause must be supernatural: but life, thus explained, whatever it may have of miracle, will have nothing of fable; and, therefore the author undoubtedly had regard to something, by which he imagined himself distinguished from the rest of mankind.

Of these wonders, however, the view that can be now taken of his life offers no appearance. The course of his education was like that of others, such as put him little in the way of extraordinary casualties. A scholastic and academical life is very uniform; and has, indeed, more safety than pleasure. A traveller has greater opportunities of adventure; but Browne traversed no unknown seas, or Arabian deserts: and, surely a man may visit France and Italy, reside at Montpellier and Padua, and at last take his degree at Leyden, without any thing miraculous. What it was that would, if it was related, sound so poetical and fabulous, we are left to guess; I believe without hope of guessing rightly. The wonders probably were transacted in his own mind; self-love, co-operating with an imagination vigorous and fertile as that of Browne, will find or make objects of astonishment in every man's life; and, perhaps, there is no human being, however hid in the crowd from the observation of his fellow-mortals, who, if he has leisure and disposition to recollect his own thoughts and actions, will not conclude his life in some sort a miracle, and imagine himself distinguished from all the rest of his



species by many discriminations of nature or of fortune.

The success of this performance was such, as might naturally encourage the author to new undertakings. A gentleman of Cambridge\*, whose name was Merryweather, turned it not inelegantly into Latin; and from his version it was again translated into Italian, German, Dutch, and French; and at Strasburg the Latin translation was published with large notes, by Lenuus Nicholaus Molifarius. Of the English annotations, which in all the editions from 1644 accompany the book, the author is unknown.

Of Merryweather, to whose zeal Browne was so much indebted for the sudden extension of his renown, I know nothing, but that he published a small treatise for the instruction of young persons in the attainment of a Latin style. He printed his translation in Holland with some difficulty†. The first printer to whom he offered it carried it to Salmasius, “who laid it by (says he) “in state for three months,” and then discouraged its publication: it was afterwards rejected by two other printers, and at last was received by Hackius.

The peculiarities of this book raised the author, as is usual, many admirers and many enemies; but we know not of more than one professed answer, written under ‡ the title of Medicus Medicatus, by Alexander Ross, which was universally neglected by the world.

At the time when this book was published, Dr. Browne resided at Norwich, where he had set-

\* Life of Sir Thomas Browne.

† Merryweather's Letter, inserted in the Life of Sir Thomas Browne.

‡ Life of Sir Thomas Browne.

led in 1636, by \* the persuasion of Dr. Lushington his tutor, who was then rector of Barnham Westgate, in the neighbourhood. It is recorded by Wood, that his practice was very extensive, and that many patients resorted to him. In 1637

† he was incorporated doctor of physic in Oxford.

He married in 1641 ‡ Mrs. Mileham, of a good family in Norfolk; a lady (says Whitefoot) of  
 “ such symmetrical proportion to her worthy  
 “ husband, both in the graces of her body and  
 “ mind, that they seemed to come together by a  
 “ kind of natural magnetism.”

This marriage could not but draw the raillery of contemporary wits § upon a man who had just been wishing in his new book, “ that we might  
 “ procreate like trees, without conjunction; and had || lately declared, that “ the whole world  
 “ was made for man, but only the twelfth part  
 “ of man for woman;” and, that “ man is the  
 “ whole world, but woman only the rib or  
 “ crooked part of man.”

Whether the lady had been yet informed of these contemptuous positions, or whether she was pleased with the conquest of so formidable a rebel, and considered it as a double triumph, to attract so much merit, and overcome so powerful prejudices: or whether, like most others, she married upon mingled motives, between convenience and inclination; she had, however, no reason to repent, for she lived happily with him forty one years, and bore him ten children, of whom one son and three daughters outlived their parents: she survived him two years, and passed her widowhood in plenty, if not in opulence.

\* Wood's *Athenæ Oxonienses*.

† Wood.

‡ Whitefoot.

§ Howel's Letters.

|| *Religio Medici*.

Browne having now entered the world as an author, and experienced the delights of praise and molestations of censure, probably found his dread of the public eye diminished; and, therefore, was not long before he trusted his name to the critics a second time: for in 1646 \* he printed *Enquiries into vulgar and common Errours*; a work, which as it arose not from fancy and invention, but from observation and books, and contained not a single discourse of one continued tenor, of which the latter part arose from the former, but an enumeration of many unconnected particulars, must have been the collection of years, and the effect of a design early formed and long pursued, to which his remarks had been continually referred, and which arose gradually to its present bulk by the daily aggregation, of new particles of knowledge. It is indeed to be wished, that he had longer delayed the publication, and added what the remaining part of his life might have furnished: the thirty-six years which he spent afterwards in study and experience, would doubtless have made large additions to an *Enquiry into vulgar Errours*. He published in 1673 the sixth edition, with some improvements; but I think rather with explication of what he had already written, than any new heads of disquisition. But with the work, such as the author, whether hindered from continuing it by eagerness of praise, or weariness of labour, thought fit to give, we must be content; and remember, that in all sublunary things there is something to be wished which we must wish in vain.

This book, like his former, was received with great applause, was answered by Alexander Ross,

† Life of Sir Thomas Browne.

and translated into Dutch and German, and not many years ago into French. It might now be proper, had not the favour with which it was at first received filled the kingdom with copies, to reprint it with notes, partly supplemental, and partly emendatory, to subjoin those discoveries which the industry of the last age has made, and correct those mistakes which the author has committed not by idleness or negligence, but for want of Boyle's and Newton's philosophy.

He appears indeed to have been willing to pay labour for truth. Having heard a flying rumour of sympathetic needles, by which, suspended over a circular alphabet, distant friends or lovers might correspond, he procured two such alphabets to be made, touched his needles with the same magnet, and placed them upon proper spindles: the result was, that when he moved one of his needles, the other, instead of taking by sympathy the same direction, "stood like the pillars of Hercules." That it continued motionless, will be easily believed; and most men would have been content to believe it, without the labour of so hopeless an experiment. Browne might himself have obtained the same conviction by a method less operose, if he had thrust his needles through corks, and set them afloat in two basons of water.

Notwithstanding his zeal to detect old errors, he seems not very easy to admit new positions; for he never mentions the motion of the earth but with contempt and ridicule, though the opinion, which admits it, was then growing popular, and was surely plausible, even before it was confirmed by later observations.

The reputation of Browne encouraged some low writer to publish, under his name, a book

called, \* *Nature's Cabinet Unlocked*, translated, according to Wood, from the physics of Magirus; of which Browne took care to clear himself, by modestly advertising, that "if any man † had been benefited by it, he was not so ambitious as to challenge the honour thereof, as having no hand in that work."

In 1658 the discovery of some ancient urns in Norfolk gave him occasion to write *Hydriotaphia, Urn-burial, or a discourse of sepulchral Urns*, in which he treats with his usual learning on the funeral rites of the ancient nations; exhibits their various treatment of the dead; and examines the substances found in his Norfolkian urns. There is perhaps, none of his works which better exemplifies his reading or memory. It is scarcely to be imagined, how many particulars he has amassed together, in a treatise which seems to have been occasionally written; and for which, therefore, no materials could have been previously collected. It is indeed, like other treatises of antiquity, rather for curiosity than use; for it is of small importance to know which nation buried their dead in the ground, which threw them into the sea, or which gave them to birds and beasts; when the practice of cremation began, or when it was disused; whether the bones of different persons were mingled in the same urn; what oblations were thrown into the pyre, or how the ashes of the body were distinguished from those of other substances. Of the uselessness of these enquiries, Browne seems not to have been ignorant; and, therefore, concludes them with an observation which can never be too frequently recollected:

\* Wood, and Life of Sir Thomas Browne.

† At the end of *Hydriotaphia*.

“ All or most apprehensions rested in opinions  
“ of some future being, which, ignorantly or  
“ coldly believed, begat those perverted con-  
“ ceptions, ceremonies, sayings, which christians  
“ pity or laugh at. Happy are they, which live  
“ not in that disadvantage of time, when men  
“ could say little for futurity, but from reason;  
“ whereby the noblest mind fell often upon  
“ doubtful deaths, and melancholy dissolutions:  
“ with these hopes Socrates warmed his doubtful  
“ spirits against the cold potion; and Cato, be-  
“ fore he durst give the fatal stroke, spent part  
“ of the night in reading the immortality of Pla-  
“ to, thereby confirming his wavering hand unto  
“ the animosity of that attempt.

“ It is the heaviest stone that melancholy can  
“ throw at a man, to tell him he is at the end of  
“ his nature; or that there is no further state to  
“ come, unto which this seems progressional,  
“ and otherwise made in vain: without this ac-  
“ complishment, the natural expectation and de-  
“ sire of such a state were but a fallacy in na-  
“ ture: unsatisfied considerators would quarrel  
“ at the justness of the constitution, and rest con-  
“ tent that Adam had fallen lower, whereby, by  
“ knowing no other original, and deeper ig-  
“ norance of themselves, they might have enjoy-  
“ ed the happiness of inferior creatures, who in  
“ tranquillity possess their constitutions, as hav-  
“ ing not the apprehension to deplore their own  
“ natures; and being framed below the circum-  
“ ference of these hopes of cognition of better  
“ things, the wisdom of God hath necessitated  
“ their contentment. But the superior ingredi-  
“ ent and obscured part of ourselves, whereto  
“ all present felicities afford no resting content-  
“ ment, will be able at last to tell us we are more

“ than our present selves; and evacuate such  
 “ hopes in the fruition of their own accomplish-  
 “ ments.”

To his treatise on *Urn-burial* was added *The garden of Cyrus, or the quincunxial lozenge, or network plantation of the ancients, artificially, naturally, mystically, considered.* This discourse he begins with the *Sacred Garden*, in which the first man was placed; and deduces the practice of horticulture from the earliest accounts of antiquity to the time of the *Persian Cyrus*, the first man whom we actually know to have planted a quincunx; which, however, our author is inclined to believe of longer date, and not only discovers it in the description of the hanging gardens of Babylon, but seems willing to believe, and to persuade his reader, that it was practised by the feeders on vegetables before the flood.

Some of the most pleasing performances have been produced by learning and genius exercised upon subjects of little importance. It seems to have been in all ages the pride of wit, to shew how it could exalt the low, and amplify the little. To speak not inadequately of things really and naturally great, is a task not only difficult but disagreeable; because the writer is degraded in his own eyes by standing in comparison with his subject, to which he can hope to add nothing from his imagination: but it is a perpetual triumph of fancy to expand a scanty theme, to raise glittering ideas from obscure properties, and to produce to the world an object of wonder to which nature had contributed little. To this ambition, perhaps, we owe the frogs of Homer, the gnat and the bees of Virgil, the butterfly of Spenser, the shadow of Wowerus, and the quincunx of Browne.

In the prosecution of this sport of fancy, he considers every production of art and nature in which he could find any decussation or approaches to the form of a quincunx ; and as a man once resolved upon ideal discoveries seldom searches long in vain, he finds his favourite figure in almost every thing, whether natural or invented, ancient or modern, rude or artificial, sacred and civil, so that a reader, not watchful against the power of his infusions, would imagine that decussation was the great business of the world, and that nature and art had no other purpose than to exemplify and imitate a quincunx.

To shew the excellence of this figure he enumerates all its properties ; and finds in it almost every thing of use or pleasure : and to shew how readily he supplies what he cannot find, one instance may be sufficient : “ though therein (says he) we meet not with right angles, yet every rhombus containing four angles equal unto two right, it virtually contains two right in every one.”

The fanciful sports of great minds are never without some advantage to knowledge. Browne has interspersed many curious observations on the form of plants, and the laws of vegetation ; and appears to have been a very accurate observer of the modes of germination, and to have watched with great nicety the evolution of the parts of plants from their seminal principles.

He is then naturally led to treat of the number Five ; and finds, that by this number many things are circumscribed ; that there are five kinds of vegetable productions, five sections of a cone, five orders of architecture, and five acts of a play. And observing that five was the ancient congugal, or wedding number, he proceeds to a



speculation which I shall give in his own words ;  
 “ the ancient numerists made out the conjugal  
 “ number by two and three, the first parity and  
 “ imparity, the active and passive digits, the  
 “ material and formal principles in generative  
 “ societies.”

These are all the tracts which he published.  
 But many papers were found in his closet:  
 “ some of them, (says Whitefoot) designed for  
 “ the press, were often transcribed and corrected  
 “ by his own hand, after the fashion of great  
 “ and curious writers.”

Of these, two collections have been published ;  
 one by Dr. Tenuison, the other in 1722 by a  
 nameless editor. Whether the one or the other  
 selected those pieces which the author would  
 have preferred, cannot be known : but they have  
 both the merit of giving to mankind what was too  
 valuable to be suppressed ; and what might, with-  
 out their interposition, have perhaps perished  
 among other innumerable labours of learned men,  
 or have been burnt in a scarcity of fuel like the  
 papers of Peirecius.

The first of these posthumous treatises contains  
*Observations upon several plants mentioned in Scrip-  
 ture* : these remarks, though they do not immedi-  
 ately either rectify the faith, or refine the morals  
 of the reader, yet are by no means to be censured  
 as superfluous niceties, or useless speculations ;  
 for they often shew some propriety of descrip-  
 tion, or elegance of allusion, utterly undiscover-  
 able to readers not skilled in Oriental botany ;  
 and are often of more important use, as they re-  
 move some difficulty from narratives, or some  
 obscurity from precepts.

The next is, *Of garlands, or coronary and  
 garland plants* ; a subject merely of learned curi-

osity, without any other end than the pleasure of reflecting on ancient customs, or on the industry with which studious men have endeavoured to recover them.

The next is a letter, *On the Fishes eaten by our Saviour with his Disciples, after his Resurrection from the dead*; which contains no determinate resolution of the question, what they were, for indeed it cannot be determined. All the information that diligence or learning could supply, consists in an enumeration of the fishes produced in the waters of Judea.

Then follow, *Answers to certain queries about fishes, birds, and insects*; and *A letter of hawks and falconry ancient and modern*: in the first of which he gives the proper interpretation of some ancient names of animals, commonly mistaken; and in the other has some curious observations on the art of hawking, which he considers as a practice unknown to the ancients. I believe all our sports of the field are of Gothic original; the ancients neither hunted by the scent, nor seemed much to have practised horsemanship as an exercise; and though, in their works, there is mention of *aucupium* and *piscatio*, they seem no more to have been considered as diversions, than agriculture or any other manual labour.

In two more letters he speaks of *the cymbals of the Hebrews*, but without any satisfactory determination; and of *ropalick or gradual verses*, that is, of verses beginning with a word of one syllable, and proceeding by words of which each has a syllable more than the former; as,

O Deus, æternæ stationis conciliator. AUSONIUS.

and after this manner pursuing the hint, he mentions many other restrained methods of versify-

ing, to which industrious ignorance has sometimes voluntarily subjected itself.

His next attempt is, *On languages, and particularly the Saxon tongue*. He discourses with great learning, and generally with great justness, of the derivation and changes of languages; but, like other men of multifarious learning, he receives some notions without examination. Thus he observes, according to the popular opinion, that the Spaniards have retained so much Latin, as to be able to compose sentences that shall be at once grammatically Latin and Castilian: this will appear very unlikely to a man that considers the Spanish terminations, and Howel, who was eminently skilful in the three provincial languages, declares, that after many essays he never could effect it.

The principal design of this letter, is to shew the affinity between the modern English and the ancient Saxon; and he observes, very rightly, that “ though we have borrowed many substantives, adjectives, and some verbs from the French; yet the great body of numerals, auxiliary verbs, articles, pronouns, adverbs, conjunctions, and prepositions, which are the distinguishing and lasting parts of a language, remain with us from the Saxon.”

To prove this position more evidently, he has drawn up a short discourse of six paragraphs, in Saxon and English; of which every word is the same in both languages, excepting the terminations and orthography. The words are, indeed, Saxon, but the phraseology is English; and I think, would not have been understood by Bede or Ælfric, notwithstanding the confidence of our author. He has, however, sufficiently proved his position, that the English resembles its pa-

rental language more than any modern European dialect.

There remain five tracts of this collection yet unmentioned; one *Of artificial hills, mounts, or barrows*, in England; in reply to an interrogatory letter of E. D. whom the writers of the *Biographia Britannica* suppose to be, if rightly printed, W. D. or Sir William Dugdale, one of Browne's correspondents. These are declared by Browne, in concurrence, I think, with all other antiquaries, to be for the most part funeral monuments. He proves, that both the Danes and Saxons buried their men of eminence under piles of earth, "which admitting (says he) neither ornament, epitaph, nor inscription, may, if earthquakes spare them, outlast other monuments: obelisks have their term, and pyramids will tumble; but these mountainous monuments may stand, and are like to have the same period with the earth."

In the next, he answers two geographical questions: one concerning Troas, mentioned in the Acts and Epistles of St. Paul, which he determines to be the city built near the ancient Illium; and the other concerning the dead sea, of which he gives the same account with other writers.

Another letter treats *Of the answers of the oracle of Apollo, at Delphos*, to Cræsus king of Lydia. In this tract nothing deserves notice, more than that Browne considers the oracles as evidently and indubitably supernatural, and founds all his disquisition upon that postulate. He wonders why the physiologists of old, having such means of instruction, did not enquire into the secrets of nature: But judiciously concludes, that such questions would probably have been vain;

“ for in matters cognoscible, and formed for our  
 “ disquisition, our industry must be our oracle,  
 “ and reason our Apollo.”

The pieces that remain are, *A prophecy concerning the future state of several nations*; in which Browne plainly discovers his expectation to be the same with that entertained lately with more confidence by Dr. Berkeley, “ that America will be the seat of the fifth empire:” and *Museum clausum, sive Bibliotheca abscondita*; in which the author amuses himself with imagining the existence of books and curiosities, either never in being, or irrecoverably lost.

These pieces I have recounted as they are ranged in Tension's collection, because the editor has given no account of the time at which any of them were written. Some of them are of little value, more than as they gratify the mind with the picture of a great scholar, turning his learning into amusement; or shew upon how great a variety of enquiries the same mind has been successfully employed.

The other collection of his posthumous pieces, published in octavo, London 1722, contains *Repertorium, or some account of the tombs and monuments in the cathedral of Norwich*; where, as Tension observes, there is not matter proportionate to the skill of the antiquary.

The other pieces are, “ Answers to Sir William Dugdale's enquiries about the fens; a  
 “ letter concerning Ireland; another relating to  
 “ urns newly discovered; some short strictures  
 “ on different subjects; and a letter to a friend  
 “ on the death of his intimate friend,” published singly by the author's son in 1690.

There is inserted, in the “ *Biographia Britannica*, a letter containing instructions for the

“ study of physic ;” which, with the essays here offered to the public, completes the works of Dr. Browne.

To the life of this learned man, there remains little to be added, but that in 1665 he was chosen honorary fellow of the college of physicians, as a man, “ Virtue et literis ornatissimus ;—eminently “ embellished with literature and virtue :” and, in 1671, received at Norwich, the honour of knighthood from Charles II. a prince, who, with many frailties and vices, had yet skill to discover excellence, and virtue to reward it with such honorary distinctions at least as cost him nothing, yet, conferred by a king so judicious and so much beloved, had the power of giving merit new lustre and greater popularity.

Thus he lived in high reputation, till in his seventy-sixth year he was seized with a colic, which, after having tortured him about a week, put an end to his life at Norwich, on his birthday, October 19, 1682\*. Some of his last words were expressions of submission to the will of God, and fearlessness of death.

He lies buried in the church of St Peter, Mancroft, in Norwich, with this inscription on a mural monument, placed on the south pillar of the altar :

M. S.

Hic situs est THOMAS BROWNE, M. D.

Et miles.

Anno 1605, Londini natus ;

Generosa familia apud Upton

In agro Cestriensi oriundus.

Scholâ primum Wintoniensi postea

In Coll. Pembr.

Apud Oxonienses bonis literis

\* Browne's remains. Whitefoot.

## LIFE OF BROWNE.

Haud leviter imbutus;  
 In urbe hâc Nordovicensi medicinam  
 Arte egregia, & fælici successu professus;  
 Scriptis quibus tituli, RELIGIO MEDICI  
 ET PSEUDODOXIA EPIDEMICA aliisque  
 Per orbem notissimus.  
 Vir prudentissimus, integerrimus, doctissimus;  
 Obiit Octob. 19, 1682.  
 Pie posuit mœstissima conjux  
 Da. Doroth. Br.

Near the foot of this pillar  
 Lies Sir Thomas Browne, kt. and doctor in physic,  
 Author of Religio Medici and other learned books,  
 Who practised physic in this city 46 years,  
 And died Oct. 1682, in the 77th year of his age.  
 In memory of whom  
 Dame Dorothy Browne, who had bin his  
 affectionate wife 47 years, caused this  
 monument to be erected.

Besides his lady, who died in 1685, he left a son and three daughters. Of the daughters nothing very remarkable is known; but his son Edward Browne, requires a particular mention.

He was born about the year 1642; and, after having passed through the classes of the school at Norwich, became bachelor of physic at Cambridge; and, afterwards removing to Merton-College in Oxford, was admitted there to the same degree, and afterwards made a doctor. In 1668 he visited part of Germany; and in the year following made a wider excursion into Austria, Hungary, and Thessaly; where the Turkish sultan then kept his court at Larissa. He afterwards passed through Italy. His skill in natural history made him particularly attentive to mines and metallurgy. Upon his return he pub-

lished an account of the countries through which he had passed ; which I have heard commended by a learned traveller, who has visited many places after him, as written with scrupulous and exact veracity, such as is scarcely to be found in any other book of the same kind. But whatever it may contribute to the instruction of a naturalist, I cannot recommend it as likely to give much pleasure to common readers ; for whether it be that the world is very uniform, and therefore he who is resolved to adhere to truth will have few novelties to relate ; or that Dr. Browne was, by the train of his studies, led to enquire most after those things by which the greatest part of mankind is little affected ; a great part of his book seems to contain very unimportant accounts of his passage from one place where he saw little, to another where he saw no more.

Upon his return, he practised physic in London ; was made physician first to Charles II. and afterwards, in 1682, to St. Bartholomew's hospital. About the same time he joined his name to those of many other eminent men, in a " translation of Plutarch's lives." He was first censor, then elect, and treasurer of the college of physicians ; of which in 1705 he was chosen president, and held his office till in 1708 he died in a degree of estimation suitable to a man so variously accomplished, that king Charles had honoured him with this panegyric, that " he was as learned as any of the college, and as well-bred as any of the court."

Of every great and eminent character, part breaks forth into public view, and part lies hid in domestic privacy. Those qualities, which have been exerted in any known and lasting perform-



ances, may, at any distance of time, be traced and estimated; but silent excellencies are soon forgotten; and those minute peculiarities which discriminate every man from all others, if they are not recorded by those whom personal knowledge enables to observe them, are irrecoverably lost. This mutilation of character must have happened, among many others, to sir Thomas Browne, had it not been delineated by his friend Mr. Whitefoot, “who esteemed it an especial favour of Providence, to have had a particular acquaintance with him for two thirds of his life.” Part of his observations I shall therefore copy.

“For a character of his person, his complexion and hair was answerable to his name; his stature was moderate, and habit of body neither fat nor lean.

“In his habit of cloathing, he had an aversion to all finery, and affected plainness both in the fashion and ornaments. He ever wore a cloak, or boots, when few others did. He kept himself always very warm, and thought it most safe so to do, though he never loaded himself with such a multitude of garments, as Suetonius reports of Augustus, enough to cloath a good family.

“The horizon of his understanding was much larger than the hemisphere of the world: all that was visible in the heavens he comprehended so well, that few that are under them knew so much: he could tell the number of the visible stars in his horizon, and call them all by their names that had any; and of the earth he had such a minute and exact geographical knowledge, as if he had been by Divine Providence ordained surveyor-general of the whole

“ terrestrial orb, and its products, minerals,  
“ plants, and animals. He was so curious a bo-  
“ tanist, that, besides the specific distinctions,  
“ he made nice and elaborate observations,  
“ equally useful as entertaining.

“ His memory, though not so eminent as that  
“ of Seneca or Scaliger, was capacious and tena-  
“ cious, insomuch as he remembered all that was  
“ remarkable in any book that he had read; and  
“ not only knew all persons again that he had  
“ ever seen at any distance of time, but remem-  
“ bered the circumstances of their bodies, and  
“ their particular discourses and speeches.

“ In the Latin poets he remembered every  
“ thing that was acute and pungent; he had  
“ read most of the historians, ancient and mo-  
“ dern, wherein his observations were singular,  
“ not taken notice of by common readers; he  
“ was excellent company when he was at leisure,  
“ and expressed more light than heat in the  
“ temper of his brain.

“ He had no despotical power over his affec-  
“ tions and passions (that was a privilege of  
“ original perfection, forfeited by the neglect of  
“ the use of it), but as large a political power  
“ over them, as any stoic, or man of his time,  
“ whereof he gave so great experiment, that he  
“ hath very rarely been known to have been  
“ overcome with any of them. The strongest  
“ that were found in him, both of the irascible  
“ and concupiscible, were under the controul of  
“ his reason. Of admiration, which is one of  
“ them, being the only product, either of igno-  
“ rance, or uncommon knowledge, he had more  
“ and less than other men, upon the same ac-  
“ count of his knowing more than others; so

“ that though he met with many rarities, he admired them not so much as others do.

“ He was never seen to be transported with mirth, or dejected with sadness; always cheerful but rarely merry, at any sensible rate; seldom heard to break a jest; and, when he did, he would be apt to blush at the levity of it: his gravity was natural, without affectation.

“ His modesty was visible in a natural habitual blush, which was increased upon the least occasion, and oft discovered without any observable cause.

“ They that knew no more of him than by the briskness of his writings, found themselves deceived in their expectation, when they came in his company; noting the gravity and sobriety of his aspect and conversation; so free from loquacity or much talkativeness, that he was something difficult to be engaged in any discourse; though when he was so, it was always singular, and never trite or vulgar. Parsimonious in nothing but his time, whereof he made as much improvement, with as little loss as any man in it: when he had any to spare from his drudging practice, he was scarce patient of any diversion from his study, so impatient of sloth and idleness, that he would say, he could not do nothing.

“ Sir Thomas understood most of the European languages; viz. all that are in Hutter's Bible, which he made use of. The Latin and Greek he understood critically; the Oriental languages, which never were vernacular in this part of the world, he thought the use of them would not answer the time and pains of learning them; yet had so great a veneration for

“ the matrix of them, viz. the Hebrew, conse-  
“ crated to the oracles of God, that he was not  
“ content to be totally ignorant of it; though  
“ very little of his science is to be found in any  
“ books of that primitive language. And though  
“ much is said to be written in the derivative  
“ idioms of that tongue, especially the Arabic,  
“ yet he was satisfied with the translations where-  
“ in he found nothing admirable.

“ In his religion he continued in the same mind  
“ which he had declared in his first book, writ-  
“ ten when he was but thirty years old, his *Re-*  
“ *ligio Medici*, wherein he fully assented to that  
“ of the church of England, preferring it before  
“ any in the world, as did the learned Grotius.  
“ He attended the public service very constantly,  
“ when he was not withheld by his practice;  
“ never missed the sacrament in his parish, if he  
“ were in town; read the best English sermons  
“ he could hear of, with liberal applause; and  
“ delighted not in controversies. In his last  
“ sickness, wherein he continued about a week’s  
“ time, enduring great pain of the colic, besides  
“ a continual fever, with as much patience as  
“ hath been seen in any man, without any pre-  
“ tence of Stoical apathy, animosity, or vanity of  
“ not being concerned thereat, or suffering no  
“ impeachment of happiness.—*Nihil agis, dolor.*

“ His patience was founded upon the Christian  
“ philosophy, and a sound faith of God’s provi-  
“ dence, and a meek and holy submission there-  
“ unto, which he expressed in few words. I vi-  
“ sited him near his end, when he had not  
“ strength to hear or speak much; the last  
“ words which I heard from him were, besides  
“ some expressions of dearness, that he did freely  
“ submit to the will of God, being without fear:

“ he had often triumphed over the king of ter-  
 “ rors in others, and given many repulses in the  
 “ defence of patients; but, when his own turn  
 “ came, he submitted with a meek, rational, and  
 “ religious courage.

“ He might have made good the old saying of  
 “ *Dat Galenes opes*, had he lived in a place that  
 “ could have afforded it. But his indulgence  
 “ and liberality to his children, especially in  
 “ their travels, two of his sons in divers countries,  
 “ and two of his daughters in France, spent him  
 “ more than a little. He was liberal in his house-  
 “ entertainments and in his charity; he left a  
 “ comfortable, but no great estate, both to his  
 “ lady and children, gained by his own indus-  
 “ try.

“ Such was his sagacity and knowledge of all  
 “ history, ancient and modern, and his observa-  
 “ tions thereupon so singular, that it hath been  
 “ said, by them that knew him best, that if his  
 “ profession, and place of abode, would have  
 “ suited his ability, he would have made an ex-  
 “ traordinary man for the privy-council, not  
 “ much inferior to the famous Padre Paulo, the  
 “ late oracle of the Venetian state.

“ Though he were no prophet, nor son of a  
 “ prophet, yet in that faculty which comes near-  
 “ est it he excelled, i. e. the stochastic, wherein  
 “ he was seldom mistaken, as to future events,  
 “ as well public as private; but not apt to dis-  
 “ cover any presages or superstition.”

It is observable, that he who in his earlier years had read all the books against religion, was in the latter part of his life averse from controversies. To play with important truths, to disturb the repose of established tenets, to subtilize objections, and elude proof, is too often the sport of youth.

ful vanity, of which maturer experience commonly repents. There is a time when every man is weary of raising difficulties only to task himself with the solution, and desires to enjoy truth without the labour or hazard of contest. There is, perhaps, no better method of encountering these troublesome irruptions of scepticism, with which inquisitive minds are frequently harassed, than that which Browne declares himself to have taken: "If there arise any doubts in my way, I do  
 " forget them; or at least defer them, till my  
 " better settled judgment, and more manly rea-  
 " son, be able to resolve them: for I perceive,  
 " every man's reason is his best *Oedipus*, and  
 " will, upon a reasonable truce, find a way to  
 " loose those bonds, wherewith the subtilties of  
 " error have enchained our more flexible and  
 " tender judgments."

The foregoing character may be confirmed and enlarged by many passages in the *Religio Medici*; in which it appears, from Whitefoot's testimony, that the author, though no very sparing panegyrist of himself, has not exceeded the truth, with respect to his attainments or visible qualities.

There are, indeed, some interior and secret virtues, which a man may sometimes have without the knowledge of others; and may sometimes assume to himself, without sufficient reasons for his opinion. It is charged upon Browne, by Dr. Watts, as an instance of arrogant temerity, that, after a long detail of his attainments, he declares himself to have escaped "the first and father-sin  
 " of pride." A perusal of the *Religio Medici* will not much contribute to produce a belief of the author's exemption from this father-sin: pride is a vice, which pride itself inclines every man to find in others, and to overlook in himself.

As easily may we be mistaken in estimating our own courage, as our own humility; and therefore, when Browne shews himself persuaded, that "he could lose an arm without a tear, or with a few groans be quartered to pieces," I am not sure that he felt in himself any uncommon powers of endurance; or, indeed, any thing more than a sudden effervescence of imagination, which, uncertain and involuntary as it is, he mistook for settled resolution.

"That there were not many extant, that in a noble way feared the face of death less than himself;" he might likewise believe at a very easy expence, while death was yet at a distance; but the time will come to every human being, when it must be known how well he can bear to die: and it has appeared that our author's fortitude did not desert him in the great hour of trial.

It was observed by some of the remarkers on the *Religio Medici*, that "the author was yet alive, and might grow worse as well as better;" it is therefore happy, that this suspicion can be obviated by a testimony given to the continuance of his virtue, at a time when death had set him free from danger of change, and his panegyrist from temptation to flattery.

But it is not on the praises of others, but on his own writings, that he is to depend for the esteem of posterity; of which he will not easily be deprived while learning shall have any reverence among men: for there is no science in which he does not discover some skill; and scarce any kind of knowledge, profane or sacred, abstruse or elegant, which he does not appear to have cultivated with success.

His exuberance of knowledge, and plenitude of ideas, sometimes obstruct the tendency of his reasoning and the clearness of his decisions: on whatever subject he employed his mind, there started up immediately so many images before him, that he lost one by grasping another. His memory supplied him with so many illustrations, parallel or dependent notions, that he was always starting into collateral considerations: but the spirit and vigour of his pursuit always gives delight; and the reader follows him, without reluctance, through his mazes, in themselves flowery and pleasing, and ending at the point originally in view.

“ To have great excellencies and great faults, “ *magnæ virtutes nec minora vitia*, is the poesy,” says our author, “ of the best natures.” This poesy may be properly applied to the style of Browne: it is vigorous, but rugged; it is learned, but pedantic; it is deep, but obscure; it strikes, but does not please; it commands, but does not allure: his tropes are harsh and his combinations uncouth. He fell into an age in which our language began to lose the stability which it had obtained in the time of Elizabeth; and was considered by every writer as a subject on which he might try his plastic skill, by moulding it according to his own fancy. Milton, in consequence of this incroaching licence, began to introduce the Latin idiom: and Browne, though he gave less disturbance to our structures in phraseology, yet poured in a multitude of exotic words; many, indeed, useful and significant, which, if rejected, must be supplied by circumlocution, such as *commensality* for the state of many living at the same table; but many super-



fluous, as a *paralogical* for an unreasonable doubt; and some so obscure, that they conceal his meaning rather than explain it, as *arthritical analogies* for parts that serve some animals in the place of joints.

His style is, indeed, a tissue of many languages; a mixture of heterogeneous words, brought together from distant regions, with terms originally appropriated to one art, and drawn by violence into the service of another. He must however be confessed to have augmented our philosophical diction: and in defence of his uncommon words and expressions, we must consider, that he had uncommon sentiments, and was not content to express in many words that idea for which any language could supply a single term.

But his innovations are sometimes pleasing, and his temerities happy: he has many *verba ardentia*, forcible expressions, which he would never have found, but by venturing to the utmost verge of propriety; and flights which would never have been reached, but by one who had very little fear of the shame of falling.

There remains yet an objection against the writings of Browne, more formidable than the animadversions of criticism. There are passages from which some have taken occasion to rank him among deists, and others among atheists. It would be difficult to guess how any such conclusion should be formed, had not experience shewn that there are two sorts of men willing to enlarge the catalogue of infidels.

It has been long observed, that an atheist has no just reason for endeavouring conversions; and yet none harass those minds which they can influence, with more importunity of solicitation to adopt their opinions. In proportion as they

doubt the truth of their own doctrines, they are desirous to gain the attestation of another understanding: and industriously labour to win a proselyte, and eagerly catch at the slightest pretence to dignify their sect with a celebrated name\*.

The others become friends to infidelity only by unskilful hostility; men of rigid orthodoxy, cautious conversation, and religious asperity. Among these, it is too frequently the practice, to make in their heat concessions to atheism, or deism, which their most confident advocates had never dared to claim, or to hope. A sally of levity, an idle paradox, an indecent jest, an unseasonable objection, are sufficient in the opinion of these men, to efface a name from the lists of Christianity, to exclude a soul from everlasting life. Such men are so watchful to censure, that they have seldom much care to look for favourable interpretations of ambiguities, to set the general tenor of life against single failures, or to know how soon any slip of inadvertency has been expiated by sorrow and retraction; but let fly their fulminations, without mercy or prudence, against slight offences or casual temerities, against crimes never committed, or immediately repented.

The infidel knows well what he is doing. He is endeavouring to supply, by authority, the deficiency of his arguments; and to make his cause less invidious, by shewing numbers on his side: he will, therefore, not change his conduct, till he reforms his principles. But the zealot should recollect, that he is labouring, by this frequency of

\* Therefore no Heretics desire to spread  
 Their wild opinions like the Epicures,  
 For so their staggering thoughts are computed,  
 And other men's assent their doubt assures.      DAVIES.

excommunication, against his own cause; and voluntarily adding strength to the enemies of truth. It must always be the condition of a great part of mankind to reject and embrace tenets upon the authority of those whom they think wiser than themselves, and, therefore, the addition of every name to infidelity in some degree invalidates that argument upon which the religion of multitudes is necessarily founded.

Men may differ from each other in many religious opinions, and yet all may retain the essentials of Christianity; men may sometimes eagerly dispute, and yet not differ much from one another: the rigorous persecutors of error should, therefore, enlighten their zeal with knowledge, and temper their orthodoxy with charity; that charity, without which orthodoxy is vain; charity that "thinketh no evil," but "hopeth all things," and "endureth all things."

Whether Browne has been numbered among the contemners of religion, by the fury of its friends, or the artifice of its enemies, it is no difficult task to replace him among the most zealous professors of Christianity. He may, perhaps, in the ardour of his imagination, have hazarded an expression, which a mind intent upon faults may interpret into heresy, if considered apart from the rest of his discourse; but a phrase is not to be opposed to volumes; there is scarcely a writer to be found whose profession was not divinity, that has so frequently testified his belief of the sacred writings, has appealed to them with such unlimited submission, or mentioned them with such unvaried reverence.

It is, indeed, somewhat wonderful, that he should be placed without the pale of Christianity, who declares, that "he assumes the honourable

“ style of a Christian,” not because it is “ the  
“ religion of his country,” but because “ having  
“ in his riper years and confirmed judgment seen  
“ and examined all, he finds himself obliged, by  
“ the principles of grace, and the law of his own  
“ reason, to embrace no other name but this:”  
who to specify his persuasion yet more, tells us,  
that “ he is of the Reformed religion; of the  
“ same belief our Saviour taught, the apostles  
“ disseminated, the fathers authorised, and the  
“ martyrs confirmed:” who, though “ paradox-  
“ ical in philosophy, loves in divinity to keep  
“ the beaten road; and pleases himself that he  
“ has no taint of heresy, schism, or error:” to  
whom, “ where the scripture is silent, the  
“ Church is a text; where that speaks, ’tis but  
“ a comment;” and who uses not “ the dic-  
“ tates of his own reason, but where there is a  
“ joint silence of both: who blesses himself, that  
“ he lived not in the days of miracles, when faith  
“ had been thrust upon him; but enjoys that  
“ greater blessing, pronounced to all that be-  
“ lieve and saw not.” He cannot surely be  
charged with a defect of faith, who “ believes  
“ that our Saviour was dead, and buried, and  
“ rose again, and desires to see him in his glory;”  
and who affirms that “ this is not much to  
“ believe:” that “ we have reason to owe this  
“ faith unto history;” and that “ they only had  
“ the advantage of a bold and noble faith, who  
“ lived before his coming; and upon obscure  
“ prophecies and mystical types, could raise a  
“ belief.” Nor can contempt of the positive  
and ritual parts of religion be imputed to him,  
who doubts, whether a good man would refuse a  
poisoned eucharist; and “ who would violate  
“ his own arm, rather than a church.”

The opinions of every man must be learned from himself: concerning his practice, it is safest to trust the evidence of others. Where these testimonies concur, no higher degree of historical certainty can be obtained; and they apparently concur to prove, that Browne was a zealous adherent to the faith of Christ, that he lived in obedience to his laws, and died in confidence of his mercy.

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THE LIFE  
OF  
ASCHAM.\*



**R**OGER ASCHAM was born in the year 1515, at Kirby Wiske, (or Kirby Wicke,) a village near Northallerton, in Yorkshire, of a family above the vulgar. His father, John Ascham, was house-steward in the family of Scroop; and in that age, when the different orders of men were at a greater distance from each other, and the manners of gentlemen were regularly formed by menial services in great houses, lived with a very conspicuous reputation. Margaret Ascham, his wife, is said to have been allied to many considerable families, but her maiden name is not recorded. She had three sons, of whom Roger was the youngest, and some daughters; but who can hope, that of any progeny more than one shall deserve to be mentioned? They lived married sixty-seven years, and at last died together almost on the same hour of the same day.

\* First printed before his Works in 4to.

Roger having passed his first years under the care of his parents, was adopted into the family of Antony Wingfield, who maintained him, and committed his education, with that of his own sons, to the care of one Bond, a domestic tutor. He very early discovered an unusual fondness for literature by an eager perusal of English books; and having passed happily through the scholastic rudiments, was put, in 1530, by his patron Wingfield, to St John's college in Cambridge.

Ascham entered Cambridge at a time when the last great revolution of the intellectual world was filling every academical mind with ardour or anxiety. The destruction of the Constantinopolitan empire had driven the Greeks with their language into the interior parts of Europe, the art of printing had made the books easily attainable, and Greek now began to be taught in England. The doctrines of Luther had already filled all the nations of the Romish communion with controversy and dissention. New studies of literature, and new tenets of religion, found employment for all who were desirous of truth, or ambitious of fame. Learning was at that time prosecuted with that eagerness and perseverance which in this age of indifference and dissipation it is not easy to conceive. To teach or to learn, was at once the business and the pleasure of the academical life; and an emulation of study was raised by Cheke and Smith, to which even the present age perhaps owes many advantages, without remembering or knowing its benefactors.

Ascham soon resolved to unite himself to those who were enlarging the bounds of knowledge, and, immediately upon his admission into the college, applied himself to the study of Greek. Those who were zealous for the new learning,

were often no great friends to the old religion; and Ascham, as he became a Grecian, became a Protestant. The Reformation was not yet begun, disaffection to Popery was considered as a crime justly punished by exclusion from favour and preferment, and was not yet openly professed, though superstition was gradually losing its hold upon the public. The study of Greek was reputable enough, and Ascham pursued it with diligence and success equally conspicuous. He thought a language might be most easily learned by teaching it; and when he had obtained some proficiency in Greek, read lectures, while he was yet a boy, to other boys, who were desirous of instruction. His industry was much encouraged by Pember, a man of great eminence at that time, though I knew not that he has left any monuments behind him, but what the gratitude of his friends and scholars has bestowed. He was one of the great encouragers of Greek learning, and particularly applauded Ascham's lectures, assuring him in a letter, of which Graunt has preserved an extract, that he would gain more knowledge by explaining one of *Æsop's* fables to a boy, than by hearing one of *Homer's* poems explained by another.

Ascham took his bachelor's degree in 1534, February 18, in the eighteenth year of his age: a time of life at which it is more common now to enter the universities than to take degrees, but which, according to the modes of education then in use, had nothing of remarkable prematurity. On the 23d of March following, he was chosen fellow of the college, which election he considered as a second birth. Dr. Metcalf, the master of the college, a man, as Ascham tells us, "meanly learned himself, but no mean encourager of

“learning in others,” clandestinely promoted his election, though he openly seemed first to oppose it, and afterwards to censure it, because Ascham was known to favour the new opinions; and the master himself was accused of giving an unjust preference to the Northern men, one of the factions into which this nation was divided, before we could find any more important reason of dissention, than that some were born on the Northern and some on the Southern side of Trent. Any cause is sufficient for a quarrel; and the zealots of the North and South lived long in such animosity, that it was thought necessary at Oxford to keep them quiet by chusing one proctor every year from each.

He seems to have been hitherto supported by the bounty of Wingfield, which his attainment of a fellowship now freed him from the necessity of receiving. Dependence, though in those days it was more common, and less irksome than in the present state of things, can never have been free from discontent; and therefore he that was released from it must always have rejoiced. The danger is, lest the joy of escaping from the patron may not leave sufficient memory of the benefactor. Of this forgetfulness Ascham cannot be accused; for he is recorded to have preserved the most grateful and affectionate reverence for Wingfield, and to have never grown weary of recounting his benefits.

His reputation still increased, and many resorted to his chamber to hear the Greek writers explained. He was likewise eminent for other accomplishments. By the advice of Pember, he had learned to play on musical instruments, and he was one of the few who excelled in the mechanical art of writing, which then began to be



cultivated among us, and in which we now surpass all other nations. He not only wrote his pages with neatness, but embellished them with elegant draughts and illuminations; an art at that time so highly valued, that it contributed much both to his fame and his fortune.

He became master of arts in March 1537, in his twenty-first year; and then, if not before, commenced tutor, and publicly undertook the education of young men. A tutor of twenty-one, however accomplished with learning, however exalted by genius, would now gain little reverence or obedience; but in those days of discipline and regularity, the author of the statutes easily supplied that of the teacher; all power that was lawful was revered. Besides, young tutors had still younger pupils.

Ascham is said to have courted his scholars to study by every incitement, to have treated them with great kindness, and to have taken care at once to instil learning and piety, to enlighten their minds, and to form their manners. Many of his scholars rose to great eminence; and among them William Grindal was so much distinguished, that by Cheke's recommendation he was called to court as a proper master of languages for the lady Elizabeth.

There was yet no established lecturer of Greek, the university therefore appointed Ascham to read in the open schools, and paid him out of the public purse, an honorary stipend, such as was then reckoned sufficiently liberal; a lecture was afterwards founded by king Henry, and he then quitted the schools, but continued to explain Greek authors in his own college.

He was at first an opponent of the new pronunciation introduced, or rather of the ancient

restored, about this time by Cheke and Smith, and made some cautious struggles for the common practice, which the credit and dignity of his antagonists did not permit him to defend very publicly, or with much vehemence: nor were they long his antagonists; for either his affection for their merit, or his conviction of the cogency of their arguments, soon changed his opinion and his practice, and he adhered ever after to their method of utterance.

Of this controversy it is not necessary to give a circumstantial account; something of it may be found in Strype's life of Smith, and something in Baker's reflections upon learning: it is sufficient to remark here, that Cheke's pronunciation was that which now prevails in the schools of England. Disquisitions not only verbal, but merely literal, are too minute for popular narration.

He was not less eminent as a writer of Latin, than as a teacher of Greek. All the public letters of the university were of his composition; and as little qualifications must often bring great abilities into notice, he was recommended to this honorable employment not less by the neatness of his hand, than the elegance of his style.

However great was his learning, he was not always immured in his chamber; but, being valetudinary, and weak of body, thought it necessary to spend many hours in such exercises as might best relieve him after the fatigue of study. His favourite amusement was archery, in which he spent, or, in the opinion of others, lost so much time, that those whom either his faults or virtues made his enemies, and perhaps some whose kindness wished him always worthily employed, did not scruple to censure his practice, as unsuitable to a man professing learning, and

perhaps of bad example in a place of education.

To free himself from this censure was one of the reasons for which he published, in 1544, "Toxophilus, or the schole or partitions of shooting," in which he joins the praise with the precepts of archery. He designed not only to teach the art of shooting, but to give an example of diction more natural and more truly English than was used by the common writers of that age, whom he censures for mingling exotic terms with their native language, and of whom he complains, that they were made authors, not by skill or education, but by arrogance and temerity.

He has not failed in either of his purposes. He has sufficiently vindicated archery as an innocent, salutary, useful, and liberal diversion; and if his precepts are of no great use, he has only shown, by one example among many, how little the hand can derive from the mind, how little intelligence can conduce to dexterity. In every art, practice is much; in arts manual, practice is almost the whole. Precept can at most but warn against error, it can never bestow excellence.

The bow has been so long disused, that most English readers have forgotten its importance, though it was the weapon by which we gained the battle of Agincourt, a weapon which, when handled by English yeomen, no foreign troops were able to resist. We were not only abler of body than the French, and therefore superior in the use of arms, which are forcible only in proportion to the strength with which they are handled, but the national practice of shooting for pleasure or for prizes, by which every man was inured to archery from his infancy, gave us in-

superable advantage, the bow requiring more practice to skilful use than any other instrument of offence.

Fire-arms were then in their infancy; and though battering-pieces had been sometime in use, I know not whether any soldiers were armed with hand-guns when the "Toxophilus" was first published. They were soon after used by the Spanish troops, whom other nations made haste to imitate: but how little they could yet effect, will be understood from the account given by the ingenious author of the "Exercise for the Norfolk Militia."

"The first muskets were very heavy, and could not be fired without a rest; they had match-locks, and barrels of a wide bore, that carried a large ball and charge of powder, and did execution at a greater distance.

"The musketeers on a march carried only their rests and ammunition, and had boys to bear their muskets after them, for which they were allowed great additional pay.

"They were very slow in loading, not only by reason of the unwieldiness of the pieces, and because they carried the powder and balls separate, but from the time it took to prepare and adjust the match; so that their fire was not near so brisk as ours is now. Afterwards a lighter kind of match-lock musket came into use, and they carried their ammunition in bandeliers, which were broad belts that came over the shoulder, to which were hung several little cases of wood covered with leather, each containing a charge of powder; the balls they carried loose in a pouch; and they had also a priming-horn hanging by their side.

“ The old English writers call those large muskets calivers: the harquebuze was a lighter piece, that could be fired without a rest. The match-lock was fired by a match fixed by a kind of tongs in the serpentine or cock, which, by pulling the trigger, was brought down with great quickness upon the priming in the pan; over which there was a sliding cover, which was drawn back by the hand just at the time of firing. There was a great deal of nicety and care required to fit the match properly to the cock, so as to come down exactly true on the priming, to blow the ashes from the coal, and to guard the pan from the sparks that fell from it. A great deal of time was also lost in taking it out of the cock, and returning it between the fingers of the left hand every time that the piece was fired; and wet weather often rendered the matches useless.”

While this was the state of fire-arms, and this state continued among us to the civil war with very little improvement, it is no wonder that the long bow was preferred by Sir Thomas Smith, who wrote of the choice of weapons in the reign of queen Elizabeth, when the use of the bow still continued, though the musket was gradually prevailing. Sir John Hayward, a writer yet later, has, in his history of the Norman kings, endeavoured to evince the superiority of the archer to the musketeer: however, in the long peace of king James, the bow was wholly forgotten. Guns have from that time been the weapons of the English, as of other nations, and, as they are now improved, are certainly more efficacious.

Ascham had yet another reason, if not for writing his book, at least for presenting it to king Henry. England was not then what it may

be now justly termed, the capital of literature; and therefore those who aspired to superior degrees of excellence, thought it necessary to travel into other countries. The purse of Ascham was not equal to the expence of peregrination; and therefore he hoped to have it augmented by a pension. Nor was he wholly disappointed; for the king rewarded him with an yearly payment of ten pounds.

A pension of ten pounds granted by a king of England to a man of letters, appears to modern readers so contemptible a benefaction, that it is not unworthy of enquiry what might be its value at that time, and how much Ascham might be enriched by it. Nothing is more uncertain than the estimation of wealth by denominated money; the precious metals never retain long the same proportion to real commodities, and the same names in different ages do not imply the same quantity of metal; so that it is equally difficult to know how much money was contained in any nominal sum, and to find what any supposed quantity of gold or silver would purchase; both which are necessary to the commensuration of money, or the adjustment of proportion between the same sums at different periods of time.

A numeral pound in king Henry's time contained, as now, twenty shillings; and therefore it must be inquired what twenty shillings could perform. Bread corn is the most certain standard of the necessaries of life. Wheat was generally sold at that time for one shilling the bushel; if therefore we take five shillings the bushel for the current price, ten pounds were equivalent to fifty. But here is danger of a fallacy. It may be doubted whether wheat was the general bread-corn of that age; and if rye, barley, or oats,

were the common food, and wheat, as I suspect, only a delicacy, the value of wheat will not regulate the price of other things. This doubt however is in favour of Ascham; for if we raise the worth of wheat, we raise that of his pension.

But the value of money has another variation, which we are still less able to ascertain: the rules of custom, or the different needs of artificial life, make that revenue little at one time which is great at another. Men are rich and poor, not only in proportion to what they have, but to what they want. In some ages, not only necessaries are cheaper, but fewer things are necessary. In the age of Ascham, most of the elegancies and expences of our present fashions were unknown: commerce had not yet distributed superfluity through the lower classes of the people, and the character of a student implied frugality, and required no splendour to support it. His pension, therefore, reckoning together the wants which he could supply, and the wants from which he was exempt, may be estimated, in my opinion, at more than one hundred pounds a year; which, added to the income of his fellowship, put him far enough above distress.

This was an year of good fortune to Ascham. He was chosen orator to the university on the removal of Sir John Cheke to court, where he was made tutor to prince Edward. A man once distinguished soon gains admirers. Ascham was now received to notice by many of the nobility, and by great ladies, among whom it was then the fashion to study the ancient languages. Lee, archbishop of York, allowed him an yearly pension; how much we are not told. He was probably about this time employed in teaching many illustrious persons to write a fine hand; and,

among others, Henry and Charles, dukes of Suffolk, the princess Elizabeth, and prince Edward.

Henry VIII. died two years after, and a reformation of religion being now openly prosecuted by king Edward and his council, Ascham, who was known to favour it, had a new grant of his pension, and continued at Cambridge, where he lived in great familiarity with Bucer, who had been called from Germany to the professorship of divinity. But his retirement was soon at an end; for in 1548 his pupil Grindal, the master of the princess Elizabeth, died, and the princess, who had already some acquaintance with Ascham, called him from his college to direct her studies. He obeyed the summons, as we may easily believe, with readiness, and for two years instructed her with great diligence; but then, being disgusted either at her or her domesticks, perhaps eager for another change of life, he left her without her consent, and returned to the university. Of this precipitation he long repented; and, as those who are not accustomed to disrespect cannot easily forgive it, he probably felt the effects of his imprudence to his death.

After having visited Cambridge, he took a journey into Yorkshire, to see his native place, and his old acquaintance, and there received a letter from the court, informing him, that he was appointed secretary to Sir Richard Morisine, who was to be dispatched as ambassador into Germany. In his return to London he paid that memorable visit to lady Jane Gray, in which he found her reading the *Phædo* in Greek, as he has related in his *Schoolmaster*.



In the year 1550, he attended Morisine to Germany, and wandered over great part of the country, making observations upon all that appeared worthy of his curiosity, and contracting acquaintance with men of learning. To his correspondent Sturmius he paid a visit, but Sturmius was not at home, and those two illustrious friends never saw each other. During the course of this embassy, Ascham undertook to improve Morisine in Greek, and for four days in the week explained some passages of *Herodotus* every morning, and more than two hundred verses of *Sophocles* or *Euripides* every afternoon. He read with him likewise some of the orations of *Demosthenes*. On the other days he compiled the letters of business, and in the night filled up his diary, digested his remarks, and wrote private letters to his friends in England, and particularly to those of his college, whom he continually exhorted to perseverance in study. Amidst all the pleasures of novelty which his travels supplied, and in the dignity of his public station, he preferred the tranquillity of private study, and the quiet of academical retirement. The reasonableness of this choice has been always disputed; and in the contrariety of human interests and dispositions, the controversy will not easily be decided.

He made a short excursion into Italy, and mentions in his *Schoolmaster* with great severity the vices of Venice. He was desirous of visiting Trent while the council were sitting; but the scantiness of his purse defeated his curiosity.

In this journey he wrote his *Report and discourse of the affairs in Germany*, in which he describes the dispositions and interests of the German princes like a man inquisitive and judicious,

and recounts many particularities which are lost in the mass of general history, in a style which to the ears of that age was undoubtedly mellifluous, and which is now a very valuable specimen of genuine English

By the death of king Edward in 1553, the Reformation was stopped, Morisine was recalled, and Ascham's pension and hopes were at an end. He therefore retired to his fellowship in a state of disappointment and despair, which his biographer has endeavoured to express in the deepest strain of plaintive declamation. "He was deprived of all his support," says Graunt, "stripped off his pension, and cut off from the assistance of his friends, who had now lost their influence: so that he had *NEC PRÆMIA* *NEC PRÆDIA*. neither pension nor estate to support him at Cambridge." There is no credit due to a rhetorician's account either of good or evil. The truth is, that Ascham still had in his fellowship all that in the early part of his life had given him plenty, and might have lived like the other inhabitants of the college, with the advantage of more knowledge and higher reputation. But notwithstanding his love of academical retirement, he had now too long enjoyed the pleasures and festivities of public life, to return with a good will to academical poverty.

He had however better fortune than he expected; and, if he lamented his condition like his historian, better than he deserved. He had during his absence in Germany been appointed Latin secretary to king Edward; and by the interest of Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, he was instated in the same office under Philip and Mary, with a salary of twenty pounds a year.

Soon after his admission to his new employment, he gave an extraordinary specimen of his abilities and diligence, by composing and transcribing with his usual elegance, in three days, forty-seven letters to princes and personages, of whom cardinals were the lowest.

How Ascham, who was known to be a Protestant, could preserve the favour of Gardiner, and hold a place of honour and profit in queen Mary's court, it must be very natural to inquire. Cheke, as is well known, was compelled to a recantation; and why Ascham was spared, cannot now be discovered. Graunt, at a time when the transactions of queen Mary's reign must have been well enough remembered, declares that Ascham always made open profession of the reformed religion, and that Englesfield and others often endeavoured to incite Gardiner against him, but found their accusations rejected with contempt: yet he allows, that suspicions and charges of temporization and compliance had somewhat sullied his reputation. The author of the *Biographia Britannica* conjectures, that he owed his safety to his innocence and usefulness; that it would have been unpopular to attack a man so little liable to censure, and that the loss of his pen could not have been easily supplied. But the truth is, that morality was never suffered in the days of persecution to protect heresy; nor are we sure that Ascham was more clear from common failings than those who suffered more; and whatever might be his abilities, they were not so necessary, but Gardiner could have easily filled his place with another secretary. Nothing is more vain, than at a distant time to examine the motives of discrimination and partiality; for the inquirer, having considered interest and policy, is obliged at last

to omit more frequent and more active motives of human conduct, caprice, accident, and private affections.

At that time, if some were punished, many were forborne; and of many why should not Ascham happen to be one? He seems to have been calm and prudent, and content with that peace which he was suffered to enjoy : a mode of behaviour that seldom fails to produce security. He had been abroad in the last years of king Edward, and had at least given no recent offence. He was certainly, according to his own opinion, not much in danger ; for in the next year he resigned his fellowship, which by Gardiner's favour he had continued to hold, though not resident ; and married Margaret Howe, a young gentlewoman of a good family.

He was distinguished in this reign by the notice of cardinal Pole, a man of great candour, learning, and gentleness of manners, and particularly eminent for his skill in Latin, who thought highly of Ascham's style ; of which it is no inconsiderable proof, that when Pole was desirous of communicating a speech made by himself as legate, in parliament, to the pope, he employed Ascham to translate it.

He is said to have been not only protected by the officers of state, but favoured and countenanced by the queen herself, so that he had no reason of complaint in that reign of turbulence and persecution : nor was his fortune much mended, when in 1558 his pupil Elizabeth mounted the throne. He was continued in his former employment, with the same stipend : but though he was daily admitted to the presence of the queen, assisted her private studies, and partook of her diversions ; sometimes read to her in the

learned languages, and sometimes played with her at draughts and chess; he added nothing to his twenty pounds a year but the prebend of Westwang in the church of York, which was given him the year following. His fortune was therefore not proportionate to the rank which his offices and reputation gave him, or to the favour in which he seemed to stand with his mistress. Of this parsimonious allotment it is again a hopeless search to enquire the reason. The queen was not naturally bountiful, and perhaps did not think it necessary to distinguish by any prodigality of kindness a man who had formerly deserted her, and whom she might still suspect of serving rather for interest than affection. Graunt exerts his rhetorical powers in praise of Ascham's disinterestedness and contempt of money; and declares, that though he was often reproached by his friends with neglect of his own interest, he never would ask any thing, and inflexibly refused all-presents which his office or imagined interest induced any to offer him. Camden, however, imputes the narrowness of his condition to his love of dice and cock-fights: and Graunt, forgetting himself, allows that Ascham was sometimes thrown into agonies by disappointed expectations. It may be easily discovered from his *Schoolmaster*, that he felt his wants, though he might neglect to supply them; and we are left to suspect that he shewed his contempt of money only by losing at play. If this was his practice, we may excuse Elizabeth, who knew the domestic character of her servants, if she did not give much to him who was lavish of a little.

However he might fail in his œconomy, it were indecent to treat with wanton levity the memory of a man who shared his frailties with all, but

whose learning or virtues few can attain, and by whose excellencies many may be improved, while himself only suffered by his faults.

In the reign of Elizabeth nothing remarkable is known to have befallen him, except that, in 1563, he was invited by sir Edward Sackville to write the *Schoolmaster*, a treatise on education, upon an occasion which he relates in the beginning of the book.

This work, though begun with alacrity, in hopes of a considerable reward, was interrupted by the death of the patron, and afterwards sorrowfully and slowly finished, in the gloom of disappointment, under the pressure of distress. But of the author's disinclination or dejection there can be found no tokens in the work, which is conceived with great vigour, and finished with great accuracy; and perhaps contains the best advice that was ever given for the study of languages.

This treatise he completed, but did not publish; for that poverty which in our days drives authors so hastily in such numbers to the press, in the time of Ascham, I believe, debarred them from it. The printers gave little for a copy, and if we may believe the tale of Raleigh's history, were not forward to print what was offered them for nothing. Ascham's book therefore lay unseen in his study, and was at last dedicated to lord Cecil by his widow.

Ascham never had a robust or vigorous body, and his excuse for so many hours of diversion was his inability to endure a long continuance of sedentary thought. In the latter part of his life he found it necessary to forbear any intense application of the mind from dinner to bed time, and rose to read and write early in the morning. He

was for some years hectically feverish; and though he found some alleviation of his distemper, never obtained a perfect recovery of his health. The immediate cause of his last sickness was too close application to the composition of a poem, which he purposed to present to the queen on the day of her accession. To finish this, he forbore to sleep at his accustomed hours, till in December 1568, he fell sick of a kind of lingering disease, which Graunt has not named, nor accurately described. The most afflictive symptom was want of sleep, which he endeavoured to obtain by the motion of a cradle. Growing every day weaker, he found it vain to contend with his distemper, and prepared to die with the resignation and piety of a true Christian. He was attended on his death-bed by Gravet, vicar of St. Sepulchre, and Dr. Nowel, the learned dean of St. Paul's, who gave ample testimony to the decency and devotion of his concluding life. He frequently testified his desire of that dissolution which he soon obtained. His funeral sermon was preached by Dr. Nowel.

Roger Ascham died in the fifty-third year of his age, at a time when, according to the general course of life, much might yet have been expected from him, and when he might have hoped for much from others: but his abilities and his wants were at an end together; and who can determine, whether he was cut off from advantages, or rescued from calamities? He appears to have been not much qualified for the improvement of his fortune. His disposition was kind and social; he delighted in the pleasures of conversation, and was probably not much inclined to business. This may be suspected from the paucity of his writings. He has left behind him; and of that

little nothing was published by himself but the *Toxophilus*, and the account of Germany. The *Schoolmaster* was printed by his widow; and the epistles were collected by Graunt, who dedicated them to queen Elizabeth, that he might have an opportunity of recommending his son Giles Ascham to her patronage. The dedication was not lost: the young man was made, by the queen's mandate, fellow of a college in Cambridge, where he obtained considerable reputation. What was the effect of his widow's dedication to Cecil, is not known: it may be hoped that Ascham's works obtained for his family, after his decease, that support which he did not in his life very plenteously procure them.

Whether he was poor by his own fault, or the fault of others, cannot now be decided; but it is certain that many have been rich with less merit. His philological learning would have gained him honour in any country; and among us it may justly call for that reverence which all nations owe to those who first rouse them from ignorance, and kindle among them the light of literature. Of his manners nothing can be said but from his own testimony, and that of his contemporaries. Those who mention him allow him many virtues. His courtesy, benevolence, and liberality, are celebrated; and of his piety we have not only the testimony of his friends, but the evidence of his writings.

That his English works have been so long neglected, is a proof of the uncertainty of literary fame. He was scarcely known as an author in his own language till Mr. Upton published his *Schoolmaster* with learned notes. His other pieces were read only by those few who delight in



obsolete books; but as they are now collected into one volume, with the addition of some letters never printed before, the public has an opportunity of recompensing the injury, and allotting Ascham the reputation due to his knowledge and his eloquence.





