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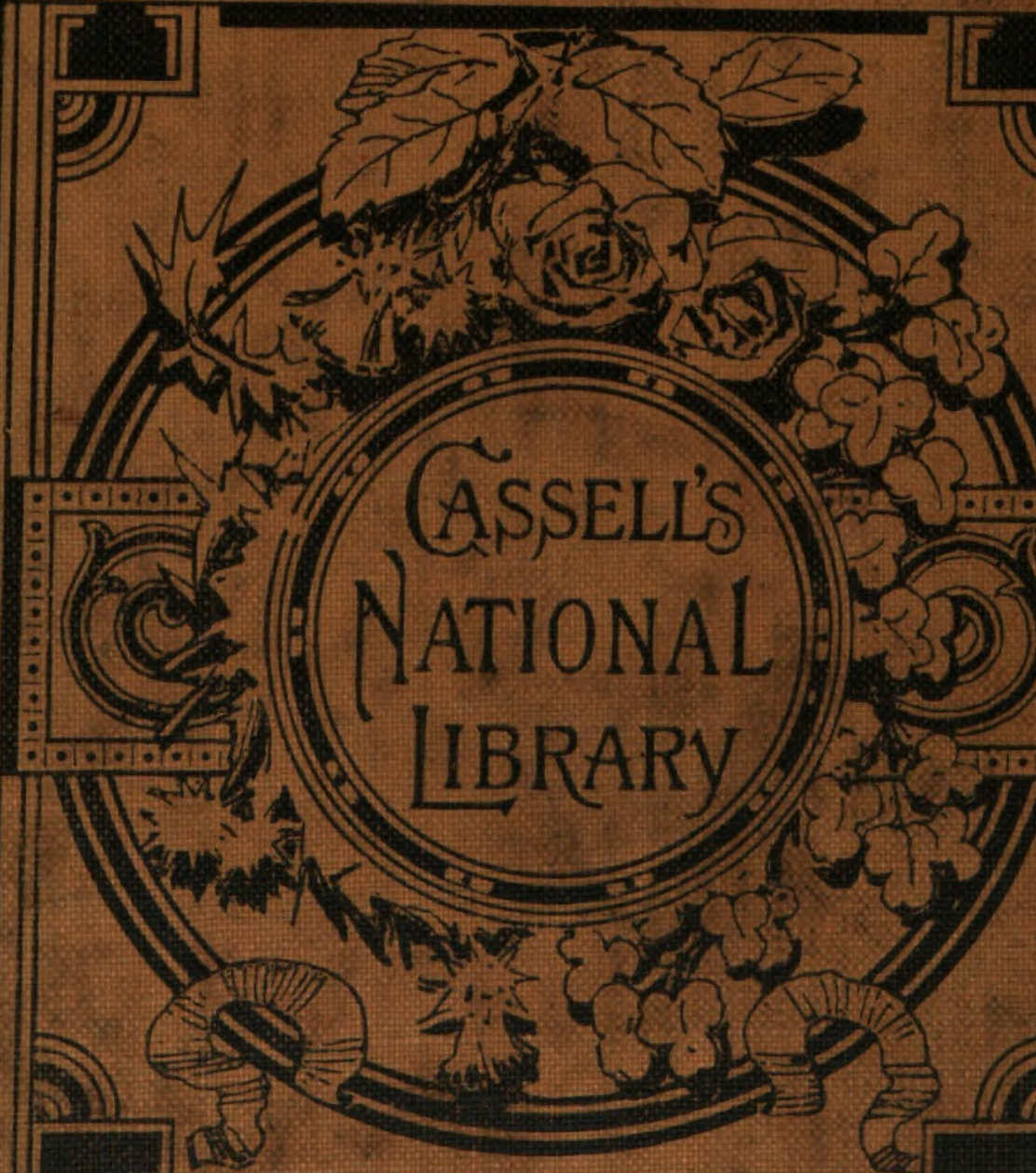
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THE LIFE
OF
LORD HERBERT OF CHERBURY



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EDITED BY PROFESSOR HENRY MORLEY

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Lord Herbert, 2.]

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THE LIFE
OF
LORD HERBERT OF CHERBURY.

WRITTEN BY HIMSELF,
AND
CONTINUED TO HIS DEATH.



CASSELL & COMPANY, LIMITED:

LONDON, PARIS, NEW YORK & MELBOURNE.

1887.



INTRODUCTION.

EDWARD, LORD HERBERT OF CHERBURY, who tells his own story in this volume, is interesting to us not for himself only, but as the eldest brother of George Herbert, the poet. He was raised to the peerage in 1631, two years before the death of his brother George. George Herbert's "Temple" appeared in the year of his death, 1633. Edward Lord Herbert survived his brother fifteen years, and died in 1648. In the next following year, 1649, appeared Edward Herbert's "History of the Life and Reign of Henry VIII."

In this Autobiography the stories of duels, or intended duels, illustrate in a whimsical way the hot-blooded and punctilious Welshman. Duelling was in high favour in Edward Herbert's days, and his friend, John Selden, wrote a book upon it. There are touches also of a comic vanity, which may be credited with frankness. But Edward Herbert was an honest man with some touch of his brother's genius, and capable of sound utterance in verse and prose.

It is a noticeable fact that we have in the two brothers, Edward and George Herbert, keen intellectual power, with a divergence of opinion due to opposite bias of mind, such as we often see in families.

It is noticeable in our contemporary literature in two brothers, both earnest intellectual men, J. H. Newman and F. W. Newman. George Herbert's bias was towards authority; his elder brother's was towards independence in the reformation of opinion. We are made to differ, and the honest differences arise chiefly through a provision that I take to be part of the divine plan for assuring to the race of man advance towards a higher life by active search for truth and daily sifting of opinion. A little tilt in the axis of the earth produces all the various use and beauty of the seasons. A little tilt in the axis of opinion, of which the two extremes represent absolute rest in authority and eager constant search for opportunities of beneficial change, causes all the diversities by which one mind compels another to bring its opinions to the test. All parties in the State or Church, or in the most trivial forms of every-day discussion, work the sieve that divides wheat from chaff, by to-and-fro movements of thought. These movements are set in action by this divine provision of a machinery that brings into full play the wholesome spirit of inquiry. So in politics we have all degrees of bias between the extreme Conservative and the extreme (or Radical) Reformer; in religion, all degrees of bias between absolute rest in the traditions of the Church and the authority of its immediate head, and the wildest innovations of what is called Free Thought. In the daily life of home even, one brother or sister may, in the spirit of a

Reformer, suggest a new place for an occasional table or an old arm-chair; another in the spirit of a Conservative may oppose to this suggestion the strong wish that it should stand where it has always stood. These currents of opinion are, I believe, as much a part of God's wise ordinance as winds and currents of the air or sea; even a more important part, as they sustain the mind's health and the upward struggle of humanity by no mere instinct, but by exercise of that in us through which alone we can be said to be made in the image of God. Acceptance of this truth by all of us would not extinguish the zeal of any earnest thinker for the maintenance of what he himself holds to be important. It would extinguish nothing but the bitterness of strife. Hatred and malice would disappear out of political and religious controversy, which they only cloud, and we should no longer see the questions we argue through an evil mist. We should argue out truth in clear air. We are, happily, on the way now to an understanding of this natural law, and gradually learning to thank God that men's minds are not all cast in the same mould, and to estimate the value of these differences that compel us to bring all opinion to the test.

Edward Herbert carried his independence of thought in matters of religion, as this autobiography will show, farther than any man of his time who was also, as he was, sincerely religious. Henry Hallam, in commenting upon what he says of his book, "De Veritate,"

upon Truth, misses the point of it. Hallam sees contradiction in the fact that he denied the possibility of a particular revelation, and prayed that a revelation might be made to himself alone to show whether he should or should not publish his book. He denied revelation to a single people of the way to come to God; but he looked upon God as the Father of All, and, therefore, held that each of His children might come to Him with a prayer and feel Him near, and think an answer possible.

H. M.

ORIGINAL DEDICATION.



TO THE MOST NOBLE

HENRY ARTHUR HERBERT,

EARL OF POWIS,

VISCOUNT LUDLOW, LORD HERBERT OF CHERBURY,

BARON POWIS AND LUDLOW,

AND

TREASURER OF HIS MAJESTY'S HOUSEHOLD.

MY LORD,

PERMIT me to offer to your lordship in this more durable manner the very valuable present I received from your hands. To your lordship your great ancestor owes his revival ; and suffer me, my lord, to tell the world what does you so much honour, you have given him and me leave to speak truth ; an indulgence which, I am sorry to say, few descendants of heroes have minds noble enough to allow.

Hitherto Lord Herbert has been little known but as an author. I much mistake, if hereafter he is not considered as one of the most extraordinary characters which this country has produced. Men of the proudest blood shall not blush to distinguish themselves in letters as well as arms, when they learn what excellence Lord Herbert attained in both. Your lordship's lineage at least will

have a pattern before their eyes to excite their emulation ; and while they admire the piety with which you have done justice to your common ancestor, they cannot be forgetful of the obligation they will have to your lordship's memory for transmitting to them this record of his glory.

I have the honour to be, my Lord,

Your Lordship's most obedient

and most obliged Servant,

HORACE WALPOLE.

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TO THE FIRST EDITION.



SOME years ago the following pages would have been reckoned one of the greatest presents which the learned world could have received. The life of the famous Lord Herbert of Cherbury, written by himself, would have excited the curiosity of the whole republic of letters. Perhaps a less proportion of expectation may attend this its late appearance : not that the abilities of the noble writer have fallen into disesteem ; his reign of Henry VIII. is allowed to be a masterpiece of historic biography ; but they were his speculative works, which, raising a multitude of admirers or censors from their acuteness and singularity, made Lord Herbert's a name of the first importance. The many great men who illustrated the succeeding period, have taken off some of the public attention ; for it is only a genius of the first force whose fame dilates with ages, and can buoy itself up above the indifference which steals upon mankind, as an author becomes less and less the subject of conversation. Speculative writers, however penetrating, however sublime their talents, seldom attain the seal of universal approbation, because, of all the various abilities which Providence has bestowed on man, reasoning is not the power which has been brought to standard perfection. Poetry and eloquence have been so far perfected, that the

great masters in those branches still remain unequalled ; but where is that book of human argumentation, where that system of human opinions, which has not been partly confuted or exploded? Novelty itself in matters of metaphysical inquiry often proves, in effect, a confutation of antecedent novelties. Opponents raise the celebrity of the doctrines they attack : newer doctrines stifle that celebrity. This is a truth, which the bigots of Lord Herbert's age would not have liked to hear ; but what has happened to many other great men, has been his fate too : they who meant to wound his fame, extended it : when the cry of enthusiasts was drawn off to fresher game, his renown grew fainter. His moral character recovered its lustre, but has fewer spectators to gaze at it.

This introduction to his life may not be improper, though at first it may mislead the reader, who will hence perhaps expect from his own pen some account of a person's creed, whom a few sottish zealots once represented as having none at all. His lordship's thorough belief and awful veneration of the Deity will clearly appear in these pages ; but neither the unbeliever nor the monk will have farther satisfaction. This life of a philosopher is neither a deduction of his opinions nor a table of philosophy—I will anticipate the reader's surprise, though it shall be but in a word : to his astonishment he will find that the History of Don Quixote was the Life of Plato.

The noble family which gives these sheets to the world, is above the little prejudices which make many a race defraud the public of what was designed for it by those who alone had a right to give or withhold. It is above suppressing what Lord Herbert dared to tell. Foibles, passions, perhaps some vanity, surely some wrongheaded-

ness ; these he scorned to conceal, for he sought truth, wrote on truth, was truth : he honestly told when he had missed or mistaken it. His descendants, not blind to his faults, but through them conducting the reader to his virtues, desire the world to make this candid observation with them : "That there must have been a wonderful fund of internal virtue, of strong resolution and manly philosophy, which, in an age of such mistaken and barbarous gallantry, of such absurd usages and false glory, could enable Lord Herbert to seek fame better founded, and could make him reflect that there might be a more desirable kind of glory than that of a romantic duellist." None shut their eyes so obstinately against seeing what is ridiculous, as they who have attained a mastery in it : but that was not the case of Lord Herbert. His valour made him a hero, be the heroism in vogue what it would ; his sound parts made him a philosopher. Few men in truth have figured so conspicuously in lights so various ; and his descendants, though they cannot approve him in every walk of glory, would perhaps injure his memory if they suffered the world to be ignorant, that he was formed to shine in every sphere into which his impetuous temperament or predominant reason conducted him.

As a soldier, he won the esteem of those great captains the Prince of Orange and the Constable de Montmorency ; as a knight, his chivalry was drawn from the purest founts of the Fairy Queen. Had he been ambitious, the beauty of his person would have carried him as far as any gentle knight can aspire to go. As a public minister, he supported the dignity of his country, even when its prince disgraced it ; and that he was qualified to write its annals as well as to ennoble them, the history I have mentioned proves, and must make us lament that he did not complete, or that we have lost, the account he pur-

posed to give of his embassy. These busy scenes were blended with, and terminated by, meditation and philosophic inquiries. Strip each period of its excesses and errors, and it will not be easy to trace out, or dispose the life of a man of quality into a succession of employments which would better become him. Valour and military activity in youth ; business of state in the middle age ; contemplation and labours for the information of posterity in the calmer scenes of closing life : this was Lord Herbert :— the deduction he will give himself.

The MS. was in great danger of being lost to the world. Henry Lord Herbert, grandson of the author, died in 1691 without issue, and by his will left his estate to Francis Herbert, of Oakley Park (father of the present Earl of Powis), his sister's son. At Lymore in Montgomeryshire (the chief seat of the family after Cromwell had demolished Montgomery castle), was preserved the original manuscript. Upon the marriage of Henry Lord Herbert with a daughter of Francis Earl of Bradford, Lymore, with a considerable part of the estate thereabouts, was allotted for her jointure. After his decease, Lady Herbert usually resided there ; she died in 1714. The MS. could not then be found ; yet while she lived there, it was known to have been in her hands. Some years afterwards it was discovered at Lymore among some old papers, in very bad condition, several leaves being torn out, and others stained to such a degree as to make it scarcely legible. Under these circumstances, inquiry was made of the Herberts of Ribbisford (descended from Sir Henry Herbert, a younger brother of the author lord) in relation to a duplicate of the Memoirs, which was confidently said to be in their custody. It was allowed that such a duplicate had existed ; but no one could recollect what was become of it. At last, about the year 1737, this book was sent to the

Earl of Powis by a gentleman, whose father had purchased an estate of Henry Herbert of Ribbisford (son of Sir Henry Herbert above mentioned), in whom was revived, in 1694, the title of Cherbury, which had become extinguished in 1691. By him (after the sale of the estate) some few books, pictures, and other things, were left in the house, and remained there to 1737. This manuscript was amongst them; which not only by the contents (as far as it was possible to collate it with the original) but by the similitude of the writing, appeared to be the duplicate so much sought after.

Being written when Lord Herbert was past sixty, the work was probably never completed. The spelling is in general given as in the MS. but some obvious mistakes it was necessary to correct, and a few notes have been added, to point out the most remarkable persons mentioned in the text. The style is remarkably good for that age, which coming between the nervous and expressive manliness of the preceding century, and the purity of the present standard, partook of neither. His lordship's observations are new and acute; some very shrewd, as that to the Duc de Guise, p. 264; his discourse on the Reformation very wise. To the French confessor his reply, p. 301, was spirited; indeed his behaviour to Luynes, and all his conduct, gave ample evidence of his constitutional fire. But nothing is more marked than the air of veracity or persuasion which runs through the whole narrative. If he makes us wonder, and wonder makes us doubt, the charm of his ingenuous integrity dispels our hesitation. The whole relation throws singular light on the manners of the age, though the gleams are transient. In those manners nothing is more striking than the strange want of police in this country. I will not point out instances, as I have already perhaps too

16 ADVERTISEMENT TO THE FIRST EDITION.

much opened the contents of a book which, if it gives other readers half the pleasure it afforded me, they will own themselves extraordinarily indebted to the noble person, by whose favour I am permitted to communicate to them so great a curiosity.

THE LIFE
OF
LORD HERBERT OF CHERBURY.

I DO believe that if all my ancestors had set down their lives in writing, and left them to posterity, many documents necessary to be known of those who both participate of their natural inclinations and humours, must in all probability run a not much different course, might have been given for their instruction ; and certainly it will be found much better for men to guide themselves by such observations as their father, grandfather, and great grandfather might have delivered to them, than by those vulgar rules and examples, which cannot in all points so exactly agree unto them.

Therefore, whether their life were private, and contained only precepts necessary to treat with their children, servants, tenants, kinsmen, and neighbours, or employed abroad in the university, or study of the law, or in the court, or in the camp, their heirs might have benefited themselves more by them than by any else ; for which reason I have thought fit to relate to my posterity those passages of my life which I conceive may best declare me, and be most useful to them. In the delivery of which, I profess to write with all truth and sincerity, as scorning ever to deceive or speak false to any : and therefore detesting it much more where I am under obligation of

speaking to those so near me : and if this be one reason for taking my pen in hand at this time, so as my age is now past threescore, it will be fit to recollect my former actions, and examine what had been done well or ill, to the intent I may both reform that which was amiss, and so make my peace with God, as also comfort myself in those things which through God's great grace and favour, have been done according to the rules of conscience, virtue, and honour.

Before yet I bring myself to this account, it will be necessary I say somewhat concerning my ancestors, as far as the notice of them is come to me in any credible way ; of whom yet I cannot say much, since I was but eight years old when my grandfather died, and that my father lived but about four years after ; and that for the rest I have lived for the most part from home, it is impossible I should have that entire knowledge of their actions which might inform me sufficiently ; I shall only therefore relate the more known and undoubted parts of their lives.*

My father was Richard Herbert, Esq., son to Edward Herbert, Esq., and grandchild to Sir Richard Herbert, Knt., who was a younger son of Sir Richard Herbert, of Colebrook, in Monmouthshire, of all whom I shall say a little. And first of my father, whom I remember to have been black-haired and bearded, as all my ancestors of his side are said to have been, of a manly or somewhat stern look, but withal very handsome and well compact in his

* Though his lordship, according to his scrupulous exactness, would set down nothing relating to his ancestors but what was of undoubted notoriety, yet it is probable that he had some memorials of his family in writing ; for Dugdale, in his *Baronage*, vol. ii. p. 256, edit. of 1676, quotes a curious passage relating to the family's assumption of the name of Herbert, from a manuscript book, which he had seen in the hands of our author, Lord Herbert.

limbs, and of a great courage, whereof he gave proof, when he was so barbarously assaulted by many men in the churchyard at Lanervil, at what time he would have apprehended a man who denied to appear to justice ; for, defending himself against them all, by the help only of one John ap Howell Corbet, he chased his adversaries until a villain, coming behind him, did over the shoulders of others wound him on the head behind with a forest bill until he fell down, though recovering himself again, notwithstanding his skull was cut through to the Pia Mater of the brain, he saw his adversaries fly away, and after walked home to his house at Llyssyn, where, after he was cured, he offered a single combat to the chief of the family, by whose procurement it was thought the mischief was committed ; but he disclaiming wholly the action as not done by his consent, which he offered to testify by oath, and the villain himself flying into Ireland, whence he never returned, my father desisted from prosecuting the business any farther in that kind, and attained, notwithstanding the said hurt, that health and strength that he returned to his former exercises in a country life, and became the father of many children.

As for his integrity in his places of Deputy Lieutenant of the county, Justice of the Peace, and Custos Rotulorum, which he, as my grandfather before him, held, it is so memorable to this day, that it was said his enemies appealed to him for justice, which they also found on all occasions. His learning was not vulgar, as understanding well the Latin tongue, and being well versed in history. My grandfather was of a various life, beginning first at court, where, after he had spent most part of his means, he became a soldier, and made his fortune with his sword at the battle of St. Quentin in France, and other wars, both in the north, and in the rebellions happening in the times

of King Edward VI. and Queen Mary, with so good success, that he not only came off still with the better, but got so much money and wealth as enabled him to buy the greatest part of that livelihood which is descended to me ; although yet I hold some lands which his mother the Lady Ann Herbert purchased, as appears by the deeds made to her by that name, which I can shew ; and might have held more, which my grandfather sold under foot at an under-value in his youth, and might have been recovered by my father, had my grandfather suffered him.

My grandfather was noted to be a great enemy to the outlaws and thieves of his time, who robbed in great numbers in the mountains in Montgomeryshire, for the suppressing of whom he went often both day and night to the places where they were ; concerning which, though many particulars have been told me, I shall mention one only. Some outlaws being lodged in an alehouse upon the hills of Llandinam, my grandfather and a few servants coming to apprehend them, the principal outlaw shot an arrow against my grandfather, which stuck in the pommel of his saddle ; whereupon my grandfather coming up to him with his sword in his hand, and taking him prisoner, he shewed him the said arrow, bidding him look what he had done, whereof the outlaw was no farther sensible than to say, he was sorry that he left his better bow at home, which he conceived would have carried his shot to his body ; but the outlaw being brought to justice, suffered for it.

My grandfather's power was so great in the country, that divers ancestors of the better families now in Montgomeryshire were his servants, and raised by him. He delighted also much in hospitality, as having a very long table twice covered every meal with the best meats that

could be gotten, and a very great family. It was an ordinary saying in the country at that time, when they saw any fowl rise, "Fly where thou wilt, thou wilt light at Black-hall," which was a low building, but of great capacity, my grandfather erected in his age; his father and himself in former times having lived in Montgomery castle. Notwithstanding yet these expenses at home, he brought up his children well, married his daughters to the better sort of persons near him, and bringing up his younger sons at the university; from whence his son Matthew went to the Low Country wars, and after some time spent there, came home, and lived in the country at Dolegeog, upon a house and fair living, which my grandfather bestowed upon him. His son also, Charles Herbert, after he had passed some time in the Low Countries, likewise returned home, and was after married to an inheritrix, whose eldest son, called Sir Edward Herbert, Knt., is the king's attorney-general. His son George, who was of New College in Oxford, was very learned, and of a pious life, died in a middle age of a dropsy.

Notwithstanding all which occasions of expense, my grandfather purchased much lands without doing anything yet unjustly or hardly, as may be collected by an offer I have publicly made divers times, having given my bailiff in charge to proclaim to the country, that if any lands were gotten by evil means, or so much as hardly, they should be compounded for or restored again; but to this day, never any man yet complained to me in this kind. He died at the age of fourscore or thereabouts, and was buried in Montgomery church, without having any monument made for him, which yet for my father is there set up in a fair manner.

My great-grandfather, Sir Richard Herbert, was steward in the time of King Henry VIII., of the lordships and

marches of North Wales, East Wales, and Cardiganshire, and had power, in a marshal law, to execute offenders; in the using thereof he was so just, that he acquired to himself a singular reputation, as may appear upon the records of that time, kept in the Paper-chamber at Whitehall, some touch whereof I have made in my History of Henry VIII. ; of him I can say little more than that he likewise was a great suppressor of rebels, thieves, and outlaws, and that he was just and conscionable; for if a false or cruel person had that power committed to his hands, he would have raised a great fortune out of it, whereof he left little, save what his father gave him, unto posterity. He lieth buried likewise in Montgomery; the upper monument of the two placed in the chancel being erected for him.

My great-grandfather, Sir Richard Herbert of Colebrook, was that incomparable hero who (in the History of Hall and Grafton as it appears) twice passed through a great army of Northern men alone, with his pole-axe in his hand, and returned without any mortal hurt, which is more than is famed of Amadis de Gaul, or the Knight of the Sun.

I shall, besides this relation of Sir Richard Herbert's prowess in the battle at Banbury or Edgcote-hill, being the place where the late battle was fought, deliver some traditions concerning him, which I have received from good hands: one is, that the said Richard Herbert being employed, together with his brother William, Earl of Pembroke to reduce certain* rebels in North Wales, Sir

* It was an insurrection in the ninth year of Edward IV. headed by Sir John Coniers and Robert Riddesdale, in favour of Henry VI. This William Earl of Pembroke, and his brother Sir Richard Herbert, being sent against them, were to be joined by the Earl of Devonshire, but a squabble happening between the two earls about quarters, the Earl of Devonshire separated from Pembroke, who, engaging the enemy at

Richard Herbert besieged a principal person of them at Harlech castle, in Merionethshire; the captain of this place had been a soldier in the wars of France, whereupon he said, he had kept a castle in France so long, that he made the old women in Wales talk of him; and that he would keep the castle so long that he would make the old women in France talk of him; and indeed, as the place was almost impregnable but by famine, Sir Richard Herbert was constrained to take him in by composition, he surrendering himself upon condition that Sir Richard Herbert should do what he could to save his life; which being accepted, Sir Richard brought him to King Edward IV., desiring his highness to give him a pardon, since he yielded up a place of importance, which he might have kept longer, upon this hope; but the king replying to Sir Richard Herbert, that he had no power by his commission to pardon any, and therefore might after the representation hereof to his majesty, safe deliver him up to justice; Sir Richard Herbert answered he had not yet done the best he could for him, and therefore most humbly desired his highness to do one of two things—either to put him again in the castle where he was, and command some other to take him out; or, if his highness would not do so, to take his life for the said captain's, that being the last proof he could give that he used his uttermost endeavour to save the said captain's life.

The king, finding himself urged thus far, gave Sir Richard Herbert the life of the said captain, but withal he bestowed no other reward for his service.

Danesmoore, near Edgcote, in Northamptonshire, was defeated and taken prisoner, with his brother and both were put to death, with Richard Widville Earl Rivers, father of the queen, by command of the Duke of Clarence and the Earl of Warwick, who had revolted from Edward.

The other history is, that Sir Richard Herbert, together with his brother the Earl of Pembroke, being in Anglesea apprehending there seven brothers which had done many mischiefs and murders. In these times, the Earl of Pembroke, thinking it fit to root out so wicked a progeny, commanded them all to be hanged; whereupon, the mother of them, coming to the Earl of Pembroke, upon her knees desired him to pardon two or at leastwise one of her said sons, affirming that the rest were sufficient to satisfy justice or example, which request also Sir Richard Herbert seconded; but the earl, finding them all equally guilty, said he could make no distinction betwixt them, and therefore commanded them to be executed together; at which the mother was so aggrieved, that with a pair of woollen beads on her arms (for so the relation goeth), she on her knees cursed him, praying God's mischief might fall to him in the first battle he should make. The earl after this, coming with his brother to Edgcote Field, as is before set down, after he had put his men in order to fight, found his brother Sir Richard Herbert in the head of his men, leaning upon his pole-axe in a kind of sad or pensive manner; whereupon the earl said, "What! doth thy great body" (for he was higher by the head than anyone in the army) "apprehend anything, that thou art so melancholy, or art thou weary with marching, that thou dost lean thus upon thy pole-axe?" Sir Richard Herbert replied that he was neither of both, whereof he should see the proof presently; "only I cannot but apprehend on your part, lest the curse of the woman with the woollen beads fall upon you."

This Sir Richard Herbert lieth buried in Abergavenny, in a sumptuous monument for those times, which still remains; whereas his brother, the Earl of Pembroke,

being buried in Tintern Abbey, his monument, together with the church, lie now wholly defaced and ruined. This Earl of Pembroke had a younger son, which had a daughter which married the eldest son of the Earl of Worcester, who carried away the fair castle of Ragland, with many thousand pounds yearly, from the heir male of that house which was the second son of the said Earl of Pembroke and ancestor of the family of St. Gillians, whose daughter and heir I after married, as shall be told in its place.

And here it is very remarkable that the younger sons of the said Earl of Pembroke and Sir R. Herbert left their posterity after them, who in the person of myself and my wife, united both houses again ; which is the more memorable, that when the said Earl of Pembroke and Sir R. Herbert were taken prisoners in defending the just cause of Edward IV. at the battle abovesaid, the earl never entreated that his own life might be saved, but his brother's, as it appears by the said history. So that joining of both houses together in my posterity, ought to produce a perpetual obligation of friendship and mutual love in them one to another, since by these two brothers so brave an example thereof was given, as seeming not to live or die but for one another.

My mother was Magdalen Newport, daughter of Sir Richard Newport and Margaret his wife, daughter and heir of Sir Thomas Bromley, one of the Privy Council and executor of King Henry VIII. ; who, surviving her husband, gave rare testimonies of an incomparable piety to God and love to her children, as being most assiduous and devout in her daily both private and public prayers, and so careful to provide for her posterity, that, though it were in her power to give her estate (which was very great) to whom she would, yet she continued still un-

married, and so provident for them, that, after she had bestowed all her daughters with sufficient portions upon very good neighbouring families, she delivered up her estate and care of housekeeping to her eldest son Francis, when now she had for many years kept hospitality with that plenty and order as exceeded all either of her country or time; for, besides abundance of provision and good cheer for guests, which her son Sir Francis Newport continued, she used ever after dinner to distribute with her own hands to the poor, who resorted to her in great numbers, alms in money, to every one of them more or less as she thought they needed it.

By these ancestors I am descended of Talbot, Devoreux, Gray, Corbet, and many other noble families, as may be seen in their matches, extant in the many fair coats the Newports bear. I could say much more of my ancestors of that side likewise, but that I should exceed my proposed scope; I shall therefore only say somewhat more of my mother, my brothers, and sisters.

And for my mother, after she lived most virtuously and lovingly with her husband for many years, she after his death erected a fair monument for him in Montgomery church, brought up her children carefully and put them in good courses for making their fortunes, and briefly was that woman Dr. Donne hath described in his funeral sermon of her printed. The names of her children were, Edward, Richard, William, Charles, George, Henry, Thomas; her daughters were, Elizabeth, Margaret, Frances; of all whom I will say a little before I begin a narration of my own life, so I may pursue my intended purpose the more entirely.

My brother Richard, after he had been brought up in learning, went to the Low Countries, where he continued many years with much reputation, both in the wars and

for fighting single duels, which were many, insomuch that between both, he carried, as I have been told, the scars of four-and-twenty wounds upon him to his grave, and lieth buried in Bergen-op-Zoom.

My brother William being brought up likewise in learning, went afterwards to the wars in Denmark, where, fighting a single combat and having his sword broken, he not only defended himself with that piece which remained, but closing with his adversary, threw him down, and so held him until company came in ; and then went to the wars in the Low Countries, but lived not long after. My brother Charles was Fellow of New College, in Oxford, where he died young, after he had given great hopes of himself every way.

My brother George* was so excellent a scholar, that he was made the public orator of the University in Cambridge, some of whose English works are extant, which though they be rare in their kind, yet are far short of expressing those perfections he had in the Greek and Latin tongue, and all divine and human literature. His life was most holy and exemplary, insomuch that about Salisbury, where he lived beneficed for many years, he was little less than sainted. He was not exempt from passion and choler, being infirmities to which all our race is subject, but, that excepted, without reproach in his actions.

Henry, after he had been brought up in learning as the other brothers were, was sent by his friends into France,

* He had studied foreign languages in hopes of rising to be Secretary of State, but being disappointed in his views at court, he took orders, became prebend of Lincoln, and rector of Bemerton, near Salisbury. He died between 1630 and 1640. His poems were printed at London, 1635, under the title of "The Temple," and his "Priest to the Temple" in 1652. Lord Bacon dedicated to him a translation of some psalms into English verse.—V. General Dict.

where he attained the language of that country in much perfection, after which time he came to court, and was made gentleman of the king's privy chamber, and master of the revels; by which means, as also by a good marriage, he attained to great fortunes for himself and posterity to enjoy. He also hath given several proofs of his courage in duels and otherwise, being no less dexterous in the ways of the court, as having gotten much by it.

My brother Thomas was a posthumus, as being born some weeks after his father's death. He also being brought up a while at school, was sent as a page to Sir Edward Cecil,* lord general of His Majesty's auxiliary forces to the princes in Germany, and was particularly at the siege of Juliers, A.D. 1610, where he shewed such forwardness as no man in that great army before him was more adventurous on all occasions. Being returned from thence, he went to the East Indies under the command of Captain Joseph, who, in his way thither, meeting with a great Spanish ship, was unfortunately killed in fight with them, whereupon his men being disheartened, my brother Thomas encouraged them to revenge the loss, and renewed the fight in that manner (as Sir John Smyth, governor of the East India Company, told me at several times) that they forced the Spanish ship to run aground, where the English shot her through and through so often that she run herself aground, and was left wholly unserviceable.

After which time he, with the rest of the fleet, came to Surat, and from thence went with the merchants to the Great Mogul, where after he had stayed about a twelvemonth, he returned with the same fleet back again

* Afterwards Viscount Wimbledon. See an account of him in "The Royal and Noble Authors."

to England. After this he went in the navy which King James sent to Argier under the command of Sir Robert Mansell, where our men being in great want of money and victuals, and many ships scattering themselves to try whether they could obtain a prize whereby to relieve the whole fleet, it was his hap to meet with a ship, which he took, and in it to the value of eighteen hundred pounds, which it was thought saved the whole fleet from perishing.

He conducted also Count Mansfelt to the Low Countries in one of the king's ships, which being unfortunately cast away not far from the shore, the count, together with his company, saved themselves in a long-boat or shalop, the benefit whereof my said brother refused to take for the present, as resolving to assist the master of the ship, who endeavoured by all means to clear the ship from the danger, but finding it impossible, he was the last man that saved himself in the long-boat ; the master thereof yet refusing to come away, so that he perished together with the ship. After this, he commanded one of the ships that were sent to bring the prince from Spain, where, upon his return, there being a fight between the Low Countrymen and the Dunkirkers, the prince, who thought it was not for his dignity to suffer them to fight in his presence, commanded some of his ships to part them ; whereupon my said brother with some other ships got betwixt them on either side, and shot so long that both parties were glad to desist.

After he had brought the prince safely home, he was appointed to go with one of the king's ships to the Narrow Seas. He also fought divers times with great courage and success with divers men in single fight, sometimes hurting and disarming his adversary, and sometimes driving him away. After all these proofs

given of himself, he expected some great command, but finding himself, as he thought, undervalued, he retired to a private and melancholy life, being much discontented to find others preferred to him ; in which sullen humour having lived many years, he died and was buried in London, in St. Martin's, near Charing Cross ; so that of all my brothers none survives but Henry.

Elizabeth, my eldest sister, was married to Sir Henry Jones, of Albemarle, who had by her one son and two daughters ; the latter end of her time was the most sickly and miserable that hath been known in our times, while for the space of about fourteen years she languished and pined away to skin and bones, and at last died in London, and lies buried in a church near Cheapside. Margaret was married to John Vaughan, son and heir to Owen Vaughan of Llwydiart, by which match some former differences betwixt our house and that were appeased and reconciled : he had by her three daughters and heirs, Dorothy, Magdalen, and Katherine, of which the two latter only survive. The estate of the Vaughans yet went to the heirs male, though not so clearly but that the entail which carried the said lands was questioned.

Frances, my youngest sister, was married to Sir John Brown, Knt., in Lincolnshire, who had by her divers children, the eldest son of whom, though young, fought divers duels, in one of which it was his fortune to kill one Lee, of a great family in Lancashire. I could say many things more concerning all these, but it is not my purpose to particularise their lives : I have related only some passages concerning them to the best of my memory, being assured I have not failed much in my relation of them. I shall now come to myself.

I was born at Eyton, in Shropshire (being a house which, together with fair lands, descended upon the

Newports by my said grandmother), between the hours of twelve and one of the clock in the morning ; my infancy was very sickly, my head continually purging itself very much by the ears, whereupon also it was so long before I began to speak, that many thought I should be ever dumb. The very furthest thing I remember is, that when I understood what was said by others, I did yet forbear to speak, lest I should utter something that were imperfect or impertinent.

When I came to talk, one of the furthest inquiries I made was, how I came into this world ? I told my nurse, keeper, and others, I found myself here indeed, but from what cause or beginning, or by what means, I could not imagine ; but for this, as I was laughed at by nurse and some other women that were then present, so I was wondered at by others, who said they never heard a child but myself ask that question ; upon which, when I came to riper years, I made this observation, which afterwards a little comforted me, that as I found myself in possession of this life, without knowing anything of the pangs and throes my mother suffered, when yet doubtless they did not less press and afflict me than her, so I hope my soul shall pass to a better life than this without being sensible of the anguish and pains my body shall feel in death.

For as I believe then I shall be transmitted to a more happy estate by God's great grace, I am confident I shall no more know how I came out of this world, than how I came into it ; and because since that time I have made verses to this purpose, I have thought fit to insert them here as a place proper for them. The argument is—

VITA.

PRIMA fuit quondam genitali semine vita
 Procurasse suas dotes, ubi plastica virtus
 Gestit, et vegeto molem perfundere succo,

Externamque suo formam cohibere recessu,
 Dum conspirantes possint accedere causæ,
 Et totum tuto licuit proludere fœtum.

Altera materno tandem succevit in arvo
 Exiles spumans ubi spiritus induit artus,
 Exertusque simul miro sensoria textu
 Cudit, et hospitium menti non vile paravit,
 Quæ cælo delapsa suas mox inde capessat
 Partes, et sortis tanquàm præsaga futuræ
 Corrigat ignavum pondus, nec inutile sistat.

Tertia nunc agitur, quâ scena recluditur ingens,
 Cernitur et festum cœli, terræque theatrum ;
 Congener et species, rerum variataque forma ;
 Et circumferri, motu proprioque vagari
 Contigit, et leges æternaque fœdera mundi
 Visere, et assiduo redeuntia sidera cursu.
 Unde etiam vitæ causas, nexumque tueri
 Fas erat et summum longè præsciscere Numen ;
 Dum varios mirè motus contemperet orbis,
 Et Pater, et Dominus, Custos, et conditor idem
 Audit ubique Deus ; Quid ni modò Quarta sequatur ?
 Sordibus excussis cùm mens jam purior instat,
 Auctaque doctrinis variis, virtuteque pollens
 Intendit vires, magis et sublimia spirat,
 Et tacitus cordi stimulus suffigitur imo,
 Ut velit heic quisquam sorti superesse caducæ,
 Expediturque status fælucior ambitiosi .
 Ritibus, et sacris, et cultu religioso,
 Et nova successit melioris conscia fati
 Spes superis hærens, toto perfusaque cælo,
 Et sese sancto demittit Numen amori,
 Et data cælestis non fallax tessera vitæ,
 Cumque Deo licuit non uno jure pacisci,
 Ut mihi seu servo reddatur debita merces,
 Filius aut bona adire paterna petam, mihi sponsor
 Sit fidei Numen ; mox hanc sin exuo vitam,
 Compos jam factus melioris, tum simul uti
 Jure meo cupiam liber, meque asserit inde

Ipse Deus (cujus non terris gratia tantùm,
Sed cælis prostat) quid ni modo Quinta sequatur,
Et Sexta, et quicquid tandem spes ipsa requirat ?

DE VITA CÆLESTI CONJECTURA.

Toto lustratus genio mihi gratulor ipsi,
Fati securus, dum nec terroribus ullis
Dejicior, tacitos condo vel corde dolores,
Sed lætus mediis ærumnis transigo vitam,
Invitisque malis (quæ terras undique cingunt)
Ardenti virtute viam super æthera quærens,
Proxima cælestis præcepi præmia vitæ,
Ultima prætento, divino nixus amore,
Quo simul exuperans creperæ ludibria sortis,
Barbara vesani linquo consortia sæcli,
Auras infernas deflans, spiransque supernas,
Dum sanctis memet totum sic implico flammis,
Hisce ut suffultus penetrem laquearia cæli,
Atque novi latè speculer magnalia mundi,
Et notas animas, proprio jam lumine pulchras
Invisam, superùmque choros, mentesque beatas,
Quæis aveam miscere ignes, ac vincula sacra,
Atque vice alternâ transire in gaudia, cælum
Quæ dederit cunctis, ipsis aut indita nobis,
Vel quæ communi voto sancire licebit.
Ut Deus interea cumulans sua præmia, nostrum
Augeat inde decus, proprioque illustret amore,
Nec cæli cælis desint, æternavè vitæ
Sæcula, vel sæclis nova gaudia, qualia totum
Ævum nec minuat, nec terminat infinitum.
His major desit nec gratia Numinis alma,
Quæ miris variata modis hæc gaudia crescant,
Excipiatque statum quemvis fælicior alter ;
Et quæ nec sperare datur sint præstita nobis,
Nec, nisi sola capit quæ mens divina, supersint ;
Quæ licet ex sese sint perfectissima longè,
Ex nobis saltem magè condecorata videntur :
Cum segnes animas, cælum quas indit ab ortu,
Exacuat tantum labor ac industria nostra

Ac demum poliat doctrina, et moribus illis,
 Ut redeant pulchræ, dotem cæloque reportent;
 Quum simul arbitriis usi, mala pellimus illa,
 Quæ nec vel pepulit cælum, vel pelleret olim,
 Ex nobis ita fit jam gloria Numinis ingens,
 Auctior in cælos quoque gloria nostra redundat,
 Et quæ virtuti sint debita præmia, tandem
 Vel Numen solito reddunt fælicius ipsum.
 Amplior unde simul redhibetur Gratia nobis,
 Ut vel pro voto nostro jam singula cedant.
 Nam si libertas chara est, per amæna locorum
 Conspicua innumeris cælis discurrere fas est,
 Deliciasque loci cujusvis carpere passim.
 Altior est animo si contemplatio fixa,
 Cuncta adapertha patent nobis jam scrinia cæli,
 Arcanasque Dei rationes nôsse juvabit:
 Hujus sin repetat quisquam consortia sæcli,
 Mox agere in terris, ac procurare licebit
 Res heic humanas, et justis legibus uti!
 Sin magè cælesti jam delectamur amore,
 Solvimur in flammis, quæ se lambuntque fœventque
 Mutuò, et impliciti sanctis ardoribus, unâ
 Surgimus amplexi, copulâ junctique tenaci,
 Partibus, et toto miscemur ubique vicissim;
 Ardoreque novos accendit Numinis ardor.
 Sin laudare Deum lubeat, nos laudat et ipse,
 Concinit angelicusque chorus, modulamine suavi
 Personat et cælum, prostant et publica nobis
 Gaudia, et eduntur passim spectacula læta;
 Fitque theatralis quasi cæli machina tota.
 Hanc mundi molem sin vis replicaverit ingens
 Numinis, atque novas formas exculpserit inde
 Dotibus ornatas aliis, magis atque capaces;
 Nostras mox etiam formas renovare licebit,
 Et dotes sensusque alios assumere, tandem
 Consummata magis quo gaudia nostra resurgant,
 Hæc si conjecto mortali corpore fretus
 Corpus et exuerim, Quid ni majora recludam?

And certainly, since in my mother's womb this *Plastica*, or *Formatrix*, which formed my eyes, ears, and other senses, did not intend them for that dark and noisome place, but as being conscious of a better life, made them as fitting organs to apprehend and perceive those things which should occur in this world ; so I believe, since my coming into this world my soul hath formed or produced certain faculties which are almost as useless for this life as the above-named senses were for the mother's womb : and these faculties are hope, faith, love, and joy, since they never rest or fix upon any transitory or perishing object in this world, as extending themselves to something further than can be here given, and indeed, acquiesce only in the perfect, eternal, and infinite.

I confess they are of some use here, yet I appeal to everybody whether any worldly felicity did so satisfy their hope here, that they did not wish and hope for something more excellent ; or whether they had ever that faith in their own wisdom, or in the help of man, that they were not constrained to have recourse to some diviner and superior power than they could find on earth, to relieve them in their danger or necessity ; whether ever they could place their love on any earthly beauty, that it did not fade and wither, if not frustrate or deceive them ; or whether ever their joy was so consummate in anything they delighted in, that they did not want much more than it, or indeed this world can afford, to make them happy. The proper object of these faculties, therefore, though framed, or at least appearing in this world, is God only, upon whom faith, hope, and love were never placed in vain, or remain long unrequited.

But to leave these discourses, and come to my childhood again : I remember this defluxion at my ears above-mentioned continued in that violence, that my friends

did not think fit to teach me so much as my alphabet, till I was seven years old, at which time my defluxion ceased, and left me free of the disease my ancestors were subject unto, being the epilepsy. My schoolmaster, in the house of my said lady grandmother, then began to teach me the alphabet, and afterwards grammar, and other books commonly read in schools, in which I profited so much, that upon this theme *Audaces fortuna juvat*, I made an oration of a sheet of paper, and fifty or sixty verses in the space of one day.

I remember in that time I was corrected sometimes for going to cuffs with two schoolfellows, being both elder than myself, but never for telling a lie, or any other fault; my natural disposition and inclination being so contrary to all falsehood, that being demanded whether I had committed any fault whereof I might be justly suspected, I did use ever to confess it freely, and thereupon choosing rather to suffer correction than to stain my mind with telling a lie, which I did judge then, no time could ever deface; and I can affirm to all the world truly, that from my first infancy to this hour I told not willingly anything that was false, my soul naturally having an antipathy to lying and deceit.

After I had attained the age of nine, during all which time I lived in my said lady grandmother's house at Eyton, my parents thought fit to send me to some place where I might learn the Welsh tongue, as believing it necessary to enable me to treat with those of my friends and tenants who understood no other language; whereupon I was recommended to Mr. Edward Thelwall, of Place-ward, in Denbighshire.

This gentleman I must remember with honour, as having of himself acquired the exact knowledge of Greek, Latin, French, Italian, and Spanish, and all other

learning, having for that purpose neither gone beyond seas, nor so much as had the benefit of any universities : besides, he was of that rare temper in governing his choler, that I never saw him angry during the time of my stay there, and have heard so much of him for many years before. When occasion of offence was given him, I have seen him redden in the face, and after remain for a while silent ; but when he spake, his words were so calm and gentle, that I found he had digested his choler, though yet I confess I could never attain that perfection, as being subject ever to choler and passion more than I ought, and generally to speak my mind freely, and indeed rather to imitate those who, having fire within doors, choose rather to give it vent than suffer it to burn the house.

I commend yet much more the manner of Mr. Thelwall ; and certainly he that can forbear speaking for some while, will remit much of his passion ; but as I could not learn much of him in this kind, so I did as little profit in learning the Welsh or any other of those languages that worthy gentleman understood, as having a tertian ague for the most part of nine months, which was all the time I stayed in his house.

Having recovered my strength again, I was sent, being about the age of ten, to be taught by one Mr. Newton, at Diddlebury, in Shropshire, where, in the space of less than two years, I not only recovered all I had lost in my sickness, but attained to the knowledge of the Greek tongue and logic, in so much that at twelve years old my parents thought fit to send me to Oxford, to University College, where I remember to have disputed at my first coming in logic, and to have made in Greek the exercises required in that college, oftener than in Latin.

I had not been many months in the University, but

news was brought me of my father's death, his sickness being a lethargy, *caros*, or *coma vigilans*, which continued long upon him ; he seemed at last to die without much pain, though in his senses. Upon opinion given by physicians that his disease was mortal, my mother thought fit to send for me home, and presently after my father's death to desire her brother, Sir Francis Newport, to hasten to London, to obtain my wardship for his and her use jointly, which he obtained.

* Shortly after, I was sent again to my studies in Oxford, where I had not been long but that an overture for a match with the daughter and heir of Sir William Herbert, of St. Gillian's, was made, the occasion whereof was this : Sir William Herbert being heir male to the old Earl of Pembroke above-mentioned, by a younger son of his (for the eldest son had a daughter who carried away those great possessions the Earl of Worcester now holds in Monmouthshire, as I said before), having one only daughter surviving, made a will whereby he estated all his possessions in Monmouthshire and Ireland upon his said daughter, upon condition she married one of the surname of Herbert, otherwise the said lands to descend to the heirs male of the said Sir William ; and his daughter to have only a small portion out of the lands he had in Anglesea and Carnarvonshire : his lands being thus settled, Sir William died shortly afterwards.

He was a man much conversant with books, and especially given to the study of divinity, insomuch that he wrote an Exposition upon the Revelation, which is printed ; though some thought he was as far from finding the sense thereof as he was from attaining the philosopher's stone, which was another part of his study : howsoever, he was very understanding in all other things, he was noted yet to be of a very high mind ; but I can

say little of him, as having never seen his person, nor otherwise had much information concerning him. His daughter and heir, called Mary, after her father died, continued unmarried till she was one-and-twenty, none of the Herberts appearing in all that time, who either in age or fortune was fit to match her.

About this time I had attained the age of fifteen, and a match at last being proposed, yet, notwithstanding the disparity of years betwixt us, upon the eight-and-twentieth of February, 1598, in the house of Eyton, where the same man married my father and mother, christened and married me, I espoused her. Not long after my marriage I went again to Oxford, together with my wife and mother, who took a house and lived for some certain time there: and now, having a due remedy for that lasciviousness to which youth is naturally inclined, I followed my book more closely than ever; in which course I continued till I attained about the age of eighteen, when my mother took a house in London, between which place and Montgomery Castle I passed my time till I came to the age of one-and-twenty, having in that space divers children, I having none now remaining but Beatrice, Richard, and Edward.

During this time of living in the University or at home, I did, without any master or teacher, attain the knowledge of the French, Italian, and Spanish languages, by the help of some books in Latin or English, translated into those idioms, and the dictionaries of those several languages; I attained also to sing my part at first sight in music, and to play on the lute, with very little or almost no teaching. My intention in learning languages being to make myself a citizen of the world as far as it were possible, and my learning of music was for this end, that I might entertain myself at home, and

together refresh my mind after my studies, to which I was exceedingly inclined, and that I might not need the company of young men, in whom I observed in those times much ill example and debauchery.

Being gotten thus far into my age, I shall give some observations concerning ordinary education, even from the first infancy till the departure from the University ; as being desirous, together with the narration of my life, to deliver such rules as I conceive may be useful to my posterity.

And first, I find, that in the infancy those diseases are to be remedied which may be hereditary unto them on either side ; so that, if they be subject to the stone or gravel, I do conceive it will be good for the nurse sometimes to drink posset-drinks, in which are boiled such things as are good to expel gravel and stone ; the child also himself, when he comes to some age, may use the same posset-drinks of herbs, as milium solis, saxifrigia, &c., good for the stone many are reckoned by the physicians, of which also myself could bring a large catalogue, but rather leave it to those who are expert in that art.

The same course is to be taken for the gout, for which purpose I do much commend the bathing of children's legs and feet in the water wherein smiths quench their iron, as also water wherein alum hath been infused, or boiled, as also the decoction of juniper-berries, bay-berries, chamedris, chamœpetis, which baths also are good for those that are hereditarily subject to the palsy, for these things do much strengthen the sinews ; as also oleum castorii, and succoni, which are not to be used without advice. They that are also subject to the spleen from their ancestors, ought to use those herbs that are splenetics ; and those that are troubled with the falling

sickness, with cephaniques, of which certainly I should have had need, but for the purging of my ears above mentioned.

Briefly, what disease soever it be that is derived from ancestors of either side, it will be necessary first to give such medicines to the nurse as may make her milk effectual for those purposes, as also afterwards to give unto the child itself such specific remedies as his age and constitution will bear. I could say much more upon this point, as having delighted ever in the knowledge of herbs, plants, and gums, and in few words the history of nature, insomuch that, coming to apothecaries' shops, it was my ordinary manner, when I looked upon the bills filed up, containing the physicians' prescriptions, to tell every man's disease.

Howbeit, I shall not presume in these particulars to prescribe to my posterity, though I believe I know the best receipts for almost all diseases, but shall leave them to expert physicians; only I will recommend again to my posterity the curing of hereditary diseases in the very infancy, since otherwise, without much difficulty, they will never be cured.

When children go to school, they should have one to attend them who may take care of their manners as well as the schoolmaster doth of their learning, for among boys all vice is easily learned; and here I could wish it constantly observed, that neither the master should correct him for faults of his manners, nor his governor for manners for the faults in his learning.

After the alphabet is taught, I like well the shortest and clearest grammars, and such books into which all the Greek and Latin words are severally contrived, in which kind one Comenus hath given an example. This being done, it would be much better to proceed with

Greek authors than with Latin ; for as it is as easy to learn at first the one as the other, it would be much better to give the first impressions into the child's memory of those things which are more rare than usual ; therefore I would have them begin at Greek first, and the rather, that there is not that art in the world wherein the Greeks have not excelled and gone before others ; so that when you look upon philosophy, astronomy, mathematics, medicine, and briefly all learning, the Greeks have exceeded all nations.

When he shall be ready to go to the University, it will be fit also his governor for manners go along with him, it being the frail nature of youth as they grow to ripeness in age, to be more capable of doing ill unless their manners be well guided and themselves by degrees habituated in virtue, with which if once they acquaint themselves, they will find more pleasure in it than ever they can do in vice ; since everybody loves virtuous persons, whereas the vicious do scarce love one another.

For this purpose it will be necessary that you keep the company of grave, learned men, who are of good reputation, and hear rather what they say, and follow what they do, than follow the examples of young, wild, and rash persons ; and certainly of those two parts which are to be acquired in youth, whereof one is goodness and virtuous manners, the other learning and knowledge, I shall so much prefer the first before the second, as I shall ever think virtue accompanied with ordinary discretion, will make his way better both to happiness in this world and the next, than any puffed knowledge which would cause him to be insolent and vain-glorious, or minister as it were arms and advantages to him for doing a mischief ; so that it is pity that wicked dispositions should have

knowledge to actuate their ill intentions, or courage to maintain them—that fortitude which should defend all a man's virtues being never well employed to defend his humours, passions, or vices.

I do not approve for elder brothers that course of study which is ordinarily used in the University, which is, if their parents perchance intend they shall stay there four or five years, to employ the said time as if they meant to proceed Masters of Art and Doctors in some science ; for which purpose their tutors commonly spend much time in teaching them the subtleties of logic, which, as it is usually practised, enables them for little more than to be excellent wranglers, which art, though it may be tolerable in a mercenary lawyer, I can by no means commend in a sober and well-governed gentleman.

I approve much those parts of logic which teach men to deduce their proofs from firm and undoubted principles, and show men to distinguish betwixt truth and falsehood, and help them to discover fallacies, sophisms, and that which the schoolmen call vicious argumentations, concerning which I shall not here enter into a long discourse. So much of logic as may serve for this purpose being acquired, some good sum of philosophy may be learned, which may teach him both the ground of the Platonic and Aristotelian philosophy. After which, it will not be amiss to read the "*Idea Medicinæ Philosophicæ*," written by Severnius Danus, there being many things considerable concerning the Paracelsian principles written in that book, which are not to be found in former writers. It will not be amiss also to read over Franciscus Patricius, and Tilesius, who have examined and controverted the ordinary peripatetic doctrine ; all which may be performed in one year, that term being enough for philosophy, as I conceive, and six

months for logic ; for I am confident a man may have quickly more than he needs of these two arts.

These being attained, it will be requisite to study geography with exactness, so much as may teach a man the situation of all countries in the whole world, together with which it will be fit to learn something concerning the governments, manners, religions, either ancient or new, as also the interests of states and relations in amity or strength in which they stand to their neighbours. It will be necessary also, at the same time, to learn the use of the celestial globe, the studies of both globes being complicated and joined together. I do not conceive yet the knowledge of judicial astrology so necessary, but only for general predictions, particular events being neither intended by nor collected out of the stars.

It will be also fit to learn arithmetic and geometry in some good measure, but especially arithmetic, it being most useful for many purposes, and among the rest for keeping accounts, whereof here is much use. As for the knowledge of lines, superficies, and bodies, though it be a science of much certainty and demonstration, it is not much useful for a gentleman, unless it be to understand fortifications, the knowledge whereof is worthy of those who intend the wars ; though yet he must remember, that whatsoever art doth in way of defence, art likewise, in way of assailing, can destroy. This study hath cost me much labour, but as yet I could never find how any place could be so fortified but that there were means in certain opposite lines to prevent or subvert all that could be done in that kind.

It will become a gentleman to have some knowledge in medicine, especially the diagnostic part, whereby he may take timely notice of a disease, and by that means timely prevent it ; as also the prognostic part, whereby he may

judge of the symptoms either increasing or decreasing in the disease, as also concerning the crisis or indication thereof. This art will get a gentleman not only much knowledge, but much credit, since seeing any sick body, he will be able to tell in all human probability whether he shall recover, or if he shall die of the disease, to tell what signs shall go before, and what the conclusion will be. It will become him also to know not only the ingredients, but doses of certain cathartic or purging, emetic or vomitive medicines, specific or choleric, melancholic or phlegmatic constitutions, phlebotomy being only necessary for those who abound in blood.

Besides, I would have a gentleman know how to make these medicines himself and afterwards prepare them with his own hands; it being the manner of apothecaries so frequently to put in the succedanea, that no man is sure to find with them medicines made with the true drugs which ought to enter into the composition when it is exotic or rare; or when they are extant in the shop, no man can be assured that the said drugs are not rotten, or that they have not lost their natural force and virtue.

* I have studied this art very much also, and have, in cases of extremity, ministered physic with that success which is strange, whereof I shall give two or three examples: Richard Griffiths, of Sutton, my servant, being sick of a malignant pestilent fever, and tried in vain all our country physicians could do, and his water at last stinking so grievously, which physicians note to be a sign of extension of natural heat, and consequently of present death, I was entreated to see him, when as yet he had neither eaten, drank, slept, or known anybody for the space of six or seven days; whereupon, demanding whether the physicians had given him over, and it being answered unto me that they had, I said it would not be

amiss to give him the quantity of a hazel-nut of a certain rare receipt which I had, assuring, that if anything in the world could recover him, that would ; of which I was so confident, that I would come the next day at four of the clock in the afternoon unto him, and at that time I doubted not but they should find signs of amendment, provided they should put the doses I gave them, being about the bigness of a nut, down his throat ; which being done with much difficulty, I came the morrow after at the hour appointed, when, to the wonder of his family, he knew me, and asked for some broth, and not long after recovered.

My cousin Athelstan Owen, also or Rhue Sayson, having an hydrocephale also in that extremity, that his eyes began to start out of his head, and his tongue to come out of his mouth, and his whole head finally exceeding its natural proportion, insomuch that his physicians likewise left him, I prescribed to him the decoction of two diuretic roots, which after he had drank four or five days, he urined in that abundance that his head by degrees returned to its ancient figure, and all other signs of health appeared ; whereupon also he wrote a letter to me, that he was so suddenly and perfectly restored to his former health, that it seemed more like a miracle than a cure ; for those are the very words in the letter he sent me.

I cured a great lady in London of an issue of blood, when all the physicians had given her over, with so easy a medicine, that the lady herself was astonished to find the effects thereof. I could give more examples in this kind, but these shall suffice ; I will for the rest deliver a rule I conceive for finding out the best receipts not only for curing all inward, but outward hurts, such as are ulcers, tumours, contusions, wounds, and the like : you

must look upon all pharmacopœias or antidotaries* of several countries ; of which sort I have in my library the Pharmacopœia Londinensis, Parisiensis, Amstelodamensis that of Quercetan,† Bauderoni, Renadæus, Valerius Scordus, Pharmacopœia Coloniensis, Augustana, Venetiana, Vononiensis, Florentina, Romana, Messanensis ; in some of which are told not only what the receipts there set down are good for, but the doses of them.

The rule I here give is, that what all the said dispensatories, antidotaries, or pharmacopœias prescribe as effectual for overcoming a disease, is certainly good ; for as they are set forth by the authority of the physicians of these several countries, what they all ordain must necessarily be effectual : but they who will follow my advice, shall find in that little short antidotary called Amstelodamensis, not long since put forth, almost all that is necessary to be known for curing of diseases, wounds, &c. There is a book called *Aurora Medicorum*, very fit to be read in this kind.

Among writers of physic, I do especially commend, after Hippocrates and Galen, Fernelius,‡ Lud. Mercatus, and Dan. Sennertus, and Heurnius. I could name many more, but I conceive these may suffice. As for the chemic or

* Antidotaries usually make a part of the old dispensatories ; for when poisons were in fashion, antidotes were equally so.

† Josephus Quercetanus published a *Pharmacopœia Dogmaticorum restituta*, 1607, 4to. Paris. Bricius Bauderonus, *Pharmacopœia et Praxis Medica*, 1620, Paris. Johannes Renadæus, *Dispensatorium Medicum, et Antidotarium*, 1609, 4to. Paris. Valerius Cordus, *Dispensatorium*, Antw. 1568.

‡ Johannes Fernelius (Physician to Henry II. of France) published *Opera Medicinalia, et Universa Medicina*, 1564 4to. et. 1577, fol. Lud. Mercatus (physician to Philip II. and III. of Spain) was author of *Opera Medica et Chirurgica*, fol. Francof. 1620. Daniel Sennertus published *Institutiones Medicinæ*, 1620 ; and Johannes Heurnius a work of the same title, 1597, Lugduni.

spagyric medicines, I cannot commend them to the use of my posterity, there being neither emetic, cathartic, diaphoretic, diuretic medicines extant among them, which are not much more happily and safely performed by vegetables; but hereof enough, since I pretend no further than to give some few directions to my posterity.

In the meanwhile I conceive it is a fine study, and worthy a gentleman, to be a good botanic, that so he may know the nature of all herbs and plants, being our fellow-creatures, and made for the use of man; for which purpose it will be fit for him to cull out of some good herbal all the icones together, with the descriptions of them, and to lay by themselves all such as grow in England; and afterwards to select again such as usually grow by the highway-side, in meadows, by rivers, or in marshes, or in corn-fields, or in dry and mountainous places, or on rocks, walls, or in shady places, such as grow by the sea-side; for this being done, and the said icones being ordinarily carried by themselves, or by their servants, one may presently find out every herb he meets withal, especially if the said flowers be truly coloured. Afterwards it will not be amiss to distinguish by themselves such herbs as are in gardens and are exotics, and are transplanted hither.

As for those plants which will not endure our clime, though the knowledge of them be worthy of a gentleman, and the virtues of them be fit to be learned, especially if they be brought over to a druggist as medicinal, yet the icones of them are not so pertinent to be known as the former, unless it be where there is less danger of adulterating the said medicaments; in which case it is good to have recourse to not only the botanics, but also to Gesner's Dispensatory, and to *Aurora Medicorum* above mentioned

being books which make a man distinguish betwixt good and bad drugs.

And thus much of medicine may not only be useful but delectable to a gentleman, since which way soever he passeth, he may find something to entertain him. I must no less commend the study of anatomy, which who-soever considers, I believe will never be an atheist; the frame of man's body and coherence of his parts being so strange and paradoxal, that I hold it to be the greatest miracle of Nature; though when all is done, I do not find she hath made it so much as proof against one disease, lest it should be thought to have made it no less than a prison to the soul.

Having thus passed over all human literature, it will be fit to say something of moral virtues and theological learning. As for the first, since the Christians and the heathens are in a manner agreed concerning the definitions of virtues, it would not be inconvenient to begin with those definitions which Aristotle in his *Morals* hath given, as being confirmed for the most part by the Platonics, Stoics, and other philosophers, and in general by the Christian Church, as well as all nations in the world whatsoever; they being doctrines imprinted in the soul in its first original, and containing the principal and first notices by which man may attain his happiness here or hereafter; there being no man that is given to vice that doth not find much opposition both in his own conscience, and in the religion and law as taught elsewhere; and this I dare say, that a virtuous man may not only go securely through all the religions, but all the laws in the world, and whatsoever obstructions he meets, obtain both an inward peace and outward welcome among all with whom he shall negotiate or converse. This virtue, therefore, I shall recommend to my posterity as the greatest

perfection he can attain unto in this life, and the pledge of eternal happiness hereafter; there being none that can justly hope of an union with the supreme God, that doth not come as near to Him in this life in virtue and goodness as he can; so that if human frailty do interrupt this union by committing faults that make him incapable of his everlasting happiness, it will be fit, by a serious repentance, to expiate and emaculate those faults, and for the rest trust to the mercy of God, his Creator, Redeemer, and Preserver, who being our Father, and knowing well in what a weak condition through infirmities we are, will, I doubt not, commiserate those transgressions we commit, when they are done without desire to offend His divine majesty, and together rectify our understanding through His grace; since we commonly sin through no other cause but that we mistook a true good for that which was only apparent, and so were deceived by making an undue election in the objects proposed to us; wherein, though it will be fit for every man to confess that he hath offended an infinite Majesty and Power, yet as upon better consideration he finds he did not mean infinitely to offend, there will be just reason to believe that God will not inflict an infinite punishment upon him if he be truly penitent, so that His justice may be satisfied, if not with man's repentance, yet at least with some temporal punishment here or hereafter, such as may be proportionable to the offence; though I cannot deny but when man would infinitely offend God in a despiteful and contemptuous way, it will be just that he suffer an infinite punishment; but as I hope none are so wicked as to sin purposely and with an high hand against the eternal majesty of God, so when they shall commit any sins out of frailty, I shall believe either that unless they be finally impenitent, and (as they say) sold

ingeniously over to sin, God's mercy will accept of their endeavours to return into a right way, and so make their peace with Him by all those good means that are possible.

Having thus recommended the learning of moral philosophy and practice of virtue, as the most necessary knowledge and useful exercise of man's life, I shall observe, that even in the employing of our virtues, discretion is required; for every virtue is not promiscuously to be used, but such only as is proper for the present occasion. Therefore, though a wary and discreet wisdom be most useful where no imminent danger appears, yet, where an enemy draweth his sword against you, you shall have most use of fortitude, prevention being too late, when the danger is so pressing.

On the other side, there is no occasion to use your fortitude against wrongs done by women or children, or ignorant persons, that I may say nothing of those that are much your superiors, who are magistrates, &c., since you might by a discreet wisdom have declined the injury, or when it were too late to do so, you may with more equal mind support that which is done, either by authority in the one, or frailty in the other.

And certainly to such kind of persons forgiveness will be proper; in which kind I am confident no man of my time hath exceeded me; for though whensoever my honour hath been engaged, no man hath ever been more forward to hazard his life, yet where with my honour I could forgive I never used revenge, as leaving it always to God, who, the less I punish mine enemies, will inflict* so

* This is a very unchristian reason for pardoning our enemies, and can by no means be properly called forgiveness. Is it forgiveness to remit a punishment, on the hope of its being doubled? One of the most exceptionable passages in Shakespeare is the horrid reflection of Hamlet, that he will not kill the king at his prayers, lest he send him to heaven.—*And so am I revenged?* Such sentiments should always

much the more punishment on them ; and to this forgiveness of others three considerations have especially invited me.

1. That he that cannot forgive others breaks the bridge over which he must pass himself, for every man had need to be forgiven.

2. That when a man wants or comes short of an entire and accomplished virtue, our defects may be supplied this way, since the forgiving of evil deeds in others amounteth to no less than virtue in us ; that therefore it may be not unaptly called the paying our debts with another man's money.

3. That it is the most necessary and proper work of every man ; for, though when I do not a just thing, or a charitable, or a wise, another man may do it for me, yet no man can forgive my enemy but myself ; and these have been the chief motives for which I have been ever inclined to forgiveness ; whereof, though I have rarely found other effect than that my servants, tenants, and neighbours have thereupon more frequently offended me, yet at least I have had within me an inward peace and comfort thereby, since I can truly say, nothing ever gave my mind more ease than when I had forgiven my enemies, which freed me from many cares and perturbations, which otherwise would have molested me.

And this likewise brings in another rule concerning the use of virtues, which is, that you are not to use justice where mercy is most proper ; as, on the other side, a foolish

be marked and condemned, especially in authors, who certainly do not mean to preach up malice and revenge. His lordship's other reasons are better founded, though still selfish. He does not appear a humane philosopher, till he owns that he continued to forgive, though he found that it encouraged new injuries. The beauty of virtue consists in doing right, though to one's own prejudice.

pity is not to be preferred before that which is just and necessary for good example. So likewise liberality is not to be used where parsimony or frugality is more requisite ; as, on the other side, it will be but a sordid thing in a gentleman to spare where expending of money would acquire unto him advantage, credit, or honour ; and this rule in general ought to be practised, that the virtue requisite to the occasion is ever to be produced, as the most opportune and necessary.

That therefore wisdom is the soul of all virtues, giving them, as unto her members, life and motion, and so necessary in every action, that whosoever by the benefit of true wisdom makes use of the right virtue on all emergent occasions, I dare say would never be constrained to have recourse to vice, whereby it appears that every virtue is not to be employed indifferently, but that only which is proper for the business in question ; among which yet temperance seems so universally requisite, that some part of it at least will be a necessary ingredient in all human actions, since there may be an excess even in religious worship, at those times when other duties are required at our hands. After all, moral virtues are learned and directed to the service and glory of God, as the principal end and use of them.

It would be fit that some time be spent in learning rhetoric or oratory, to the intent that upon all occasions you may express yourself with eloquence and grace ; for as it is not enough for a man to have a diamond, unless it is polished and cut out into due angles, and a foil be set underneath, whereby it may the better transmit and vibrate its native lustre and rays ; so it will not be sufficient for a man to have a great understanding in all matters, unless the said understanding be not only polished and clear, but underset and holpen a little with

those figures, tropes, and colours which rhetoric affords, where there is use of persuasion.

I can by no means yet commend an affected eloquence, there being nothing so pedantical, or indeed that would give more suspicion that the truth is not intended, than to use overmuch the common forms prescribed in schools. It is well said by them, that there are two parts of eloquence necessary and commendable ; one is, to speak hard things plainly, so that when a knotty or intricate business, having no method or coherence in its parts, shall be presented, it will be a singular part of oratory to take those parts asunder, set them together aptly, and so exhibit them to the understanding. And this part of rhetoric I much commend to everybody, there being no true use of speech but to make things clear, perspicuous, and manifest, which otherwise would be perplexed, doubtful, and obscure.

The other part of oratory is to speak common things ingeniously or wittily, there being no little vigour and force added to words, when they are delivered in a neat and fine way, and somewhat out of the ordinary road, common and dull language relishing more of the clown than the gentleman. But herein also affectation must be avoided ; it being better for a man by a native and clear eloquence to express himself, than by those words which may smell either of the lamp or ink-horn ; so that, in general, one may observe that men who fortify and uphold their speeches with strong and evident reasons, have ever operated more on the minds of the auditors, than those who have made rhetorical excursions.

It will be better for a man who is doubtful of his pay to take an ordinary silver piece with its due stamp upon it, than an extraordinary gilded piece, which may perchance contain a baser metal under it ; and prefer a well-favoured,

wholesome woman, though with a tawny complexion, before a besmeared and painted face.

It is a general note, that a man's wit is best showed in his answer, and his valour in his defence ; that therefore as men learn in fencing how to ward all blows and thrusts which are or can be made against them, so it will be fitting to debate and resolve beforehand what you are to say or do upon any affront given you, least otherwise you should be surprised. Aristotle hath written a book of rhetoric, a work, in my opinion, not inferior to his best pieces, whom therefore with Cicero de Oratore, as also Quintilian, you may read for your instruction how to speak, neither of which two yet I can think so exact in their orations, but that a middle style will be of more efficacy, Cicero in my opinion being too long and tedious, and Quintilian too short and concise.

Having thus by moral philosophy enabled yourself to all that wisdom and goodness which is requisite to direct you in all your particular actions, it will be fit now to think how you are to behave yourself as a public person, or member of the commonwealth and kingdom wherein you live ; as also to look into those principles and grounds upon which government is framed, it being manifest in nature that the wise doth easily govern the foolish, and the strong master the weak ; so that he that could attain most wisdom and power would quickly rule his fellows ; for proof whereof, one may observe that a king is sick during that time the physicians govern him, and in day of battle an expert general appoints the king a place in which he shall stand, which was anciently the office of the constables de France.

In law also, the judge is in a sort superior to his king, as long as he judgeth betwixt him and his people. In divinity also, he to whom the king commits the charge of

his conscience is his superior in that particular. All which instances may sufficiently prove, that in many cases the wiser governs or commands one less wise than himself, unless a wilful obstinacy be interposed ; in which case recourse must be had to strength where obedience is necessary.

The exercises I chiefly used, and most recommend to my posterity, were riding the great horse and fencing, in which arts I had excellent masters, English, French, and Italian ; as for dancing, I could never find leisure enough to learn it, as employing my mind always in acquiring of some art or science more useful ; howbeit, I shall wish these three exercises learned in this order :

That dancing may be learned first, as that which doth fashion the body, gives one a good presence in and address to all companies, since it disposeth the limbs to a kind of *souplesse* (as the Frenchmen call it) and agility, insomuch that they seem to have the use of their legs, arms, and bodies, more than any others, who, standing stiff and stark in their postures, seem as if they were taken in their joints, or had not the perfect use of their members. I speak not this yet as if I would have a youth never stand still in company, but only that, when he hath occasion to stir, his motions may be comely and graceful ; that he may learn to know how to come in and go out of a room where company is ; how to make courtesies handsomely, according to the several degrees of persons he shall encounter ; how to put off and hold his hat ; all which, and many other things which become men, are taught by the more accurate dancing-masters in France.

The next exercise a young man should learn (but not before he is eleven or twelve years of age) is fencing ; for the attaining of which the Frenchman's rule is excellent, *bon pied, bon œil*, by which to teach men how

far they may stretch out their feet when they would make a thrust against their enemy, lest either should overstride themselves, or not striding far enough, fail to bring the point of their weapon home: the second part of his direction adviseth the scholar to keep a fixed eye upon the point of his enemy's sword, to the intent he may both put by or ward the blows and thrusts made against him, and together direct the point of his sword upon some part of his enemy that lieth naked and open to him.

The good fencing-masters, in France especially, when they present a foil or fleuret to their scholars, tell him it hath two parts, one of which he calleth the fort, or strong, and the other the foible, or weak. With the fort, or strong, which extends from the part of the hilt next the sword about a third part of the whole length thereof, he teacheth his scholars to defend themselves, and put by and ward the thrusts and blows of his enemy, and with the other two third parts to strike or thrust, as he shall see occasion; which rule also teacheth how to strike or thrust high or low as his enemy doth, and briefly to take his measure and time upon his adversary's motions, whereby he may both defend himself or offend his adversary, of which I have had much experiment and use, both in the fleuret, or foil, as also when I fought in good earnest with many persons at one and the same time, as will appear in the sequel of my life.

And, indeed, I think I shall not speak vain-gloriously of myself, if I say that no man understood the use of his weapon better than I did, or hath more dexterously prevailed himself thereof on all occasions; since I found no man could be hurt but through some error in fencing.

I spent much time also in learning to ride the great horse, that creature being made above all others for the service of man, as giving his rider all the advantages of

which he is capable, while sometimes he gives him strength, sometimes agility or motion, for the overcoming of his enemy, insomuch that a good rider on a good horse, is as much above himself and others, as this world can make him. The rule for graceful riding is, that a man hold his eyes always betwixt the two ears, and his rod over the left ear of his horse, which he is to use for turning him every way, helping himself with his left foot, and rod upon the left part of his neck, to make his horse turn on the right hand, and with the right foot and help of his rod also (if needs be), to turn him on the left hand ; but this is to be used rather when one would make a horse understand these motions, than when he is a ready horse, the foot and stirrup alone applied to either shoulder being sufficient, with the help of the reins, to make him turn any way.

That a rider thus may have the use of his sword, or when it is requisite only to make a horse go sideways, it will be enough to keep the reins equal in his hand, and with the flat of his leg and foot together, and a touch upon the shoulder of the horse with the stirrup, to make him go sideward either way, without either advancing forward or returning backwards.

The most useful *aer*, as the Frenchmen term it, is *territerr* : the *courbettes*, *cabrioies*, or *un pas et un saut*, being fitter for horses of parade and triumph than for soldiers ; yet I cannot deny but a *demivolte* with *courbettes*, so that they be not too high, may be useful in a fight or *mêlée*, for, as Labroue hath it in his book of horsemanship, Monsieur de Montmorency having a horse that was excellent in performing the *demivolte*, did with his sword strike down two adversaries from their horses in a tourney, where divers of the prime gallants of France did meet ; for taking his time when the horse was

in the height of his courbette, and discharging a blow then his sword fell with such weight and force upon the two cavaliers one after another, that he struck them from their horses to the ground.

The manner of fighting a duel on horseback I was taught thus : We had each of us a reasonable stiff riding-rod in our hands, about the length of a sword, and so rid one against the other ; he, as the more expert, sat still to pass me, and then to get behind me, and after to turn with his right hand upon my left side with his rod, that so he might hit me with the point thereof in the body ; and he that can do this handsomely is sure to overcome his adversary, it being impossible to bring his sword about enough to defend himself or offend the assailant ; and to get this advantage, which they call in French *gagner la croupe*, nothing is so useful as to make a horse to go only sideward until his adversary be past him, since he will by this means avoid his adversary's blow or thrust, and on a sudden get on the left hand of his adversary, in the manner I formerly related : but of this art let Labroue and Pluvinel * be read, who are excellent masters in that art, of whom I must confess I learned much : though, to speak ingenuously, my breaking two or three colts, and teaching them afterwards those *aers* of which they were most capable, taught me both what I was to do, and made me see mine errors, more than all their precepts.

* Antoine de Pluvinel, principal ecuyer de Louis treize, roi de France. He published a very fine folio, in French and Dutch, entitled, "Instruction du Roi en l'exercice de monter à cheval." Paris, 1619. It consists of dialogues between the young king, the Duc de Bellegarde, and himself ; and is adorned with a great number of beautiful cuts by Crispin Pass, exhibiting the whole system of the manège, and with many portraits of the great and remarkable men of that court.

To make a horse fit for the wars, and embolden him against all terrors, these inventions are useful ; to beat a drum out of the stable first, and then give him his provender, then beat a drum in the stable by degrees, and then give him his provender upon the drum : when he is acquainted herewith sufficiently, you must shoot off a pistol out of the stable before he hath his provender : then you may shoot off a pistol in the stable, and so by degrees bring it as near to him as you can till he be acquainted with the pistol, likewise remembering still after every shot to give him more provender.

You must also cause his groom to put on bright armour, and so to rub his heels and dress him : you must also present a sword before him in the said armour, and when you have done, give him still some more provender : lastly, his rider must bring his horse forth into the open field, where a bright armour must be fastened upon a stake, and set forth in the likeness of an armed man as much as possible ; which being done, the rider must put his horse on till he make him not only approach the said image, but throw it down ; which being done, you must be sure to give him some provender, that he may be encouraged to do the like against an adversary in battle. It will be good also that two men do hold up a cloak betwixt them in the field, and then the rider to put the horse to it till he leap over, which cloak also they may raise as they see occasion, when the horse is able to leap so high.

You shall do well also to use your horse to swimming, which you may do either by trailing him after you at the tail of a boat, in a good river, holding him by the head at the length of the bridle, or by putting a good swimmer, in a linen waistcoat and breeches, upon him.

It will be fit for a gentleman also to learn to swim

unless he be given to cramps and convulsions ; howbeit, I must confess, in my own particular, that I cannot swim, for as I was once in danger of drowning by learning to swim, my mother upon her blessing charged me never to learn swimming, telling me farther, that she had heard of more drowned than saved by it ; which reason, though it did not prevail with me, yet her commandment did. It will be good also for a gentleman to learn to leap, wrestle, and vault on horseback, they being all of them qualities of great use. I do much approve likewise of shooting in the long bow, as being both an healthful exercise, and useful for the wars, notwithstanding all that our firemen speak against it ; for, bring a hundred archers against so many musketeers, I say if the archer comes within his distance, he will not only make two shoots, but two hits for one.

The exercises I do not approve of are riding of running horses, there being much cheating in that kind ; neither do I see why a brave man should delight in a creature whose chief use is to help him to run away. I do not much like of hunting horses, that exercise taking up more time than can be spared from a man studious to get knowledge ; it is enough, therefore, to know the sport, if there be any in it, without making it an ordinary practice ; and indeed, of the two, hawking is the better, because less time is spent in it ; and upon these terms also I can allow a little bowling, so that the company be choice and good.

The exercises I wholly condemn are dicing and carding, especially if you play for any great sum of money, or spend any time in them, or use to come to meetings in dicing-houses, where cheaters meet and cozen young gentlemen of all their money. I could say much more concerning all these points of education, and particularly

concerning the discreet civility which is to be observed in communication either with friends or strangers, but this work would grow too big, and that many precepts conducing thereunto may be had in "Guazzo de la Civile Conversation," and "Galeteus de Moribus."

It would also deserve a particular lecture or *recherche*, how one ought to behave himself with children, servants, tenants, and neighbours ; and I am confident that precepts in this point will be found more useful to young gentlemen than all the subtleties of schools. I confess I have collected many things to this purpose, which I forbear to set down here, because (if God grant me life and health) I intend to make a little treatise concerning these points. I shall return now to the narration of mine own history.

When I had attained the age betwixt eighteen or nineteen years, my mother, together with myself and wife, removed up to London, where we took house, and kept a greater family than became either my mother's widow's estate, or such young beginners as we were, especially since six brothers and three sisters were to be provided for, my father having made either no will, or such an imperfect one, that it was not proved. My mother, although she had all my father's leases and goods, which were of great value, yet she desired me to undertake that burden of providing for my brothers and sisters ; which, to gratify my mother, as well as those so near me, I was voluntarily content to provide thus far, as to give my six brothers £30 apiece yearly, during their lives, and my sisters £1,000 apiece, which portions married them to those I have above mentioned : my younger sister, indeed, might have been married to a far greater fortune, had not the overthwartness of some neighbours interrupted it.

About the year of our Lord 1600, I came to London, shortly after which the attempt of the Earl of Essex,

related in our history, followed, which I had rather were seen in the writers of that argument than here. Not long after this, curiosity, rather than ambition, brought me to court : and, as it was the manner of those times for all men to kneel down before the great Queen Elizabeth, who then reigned, I was likewise upon my knees in the presence chamber, when she passed by to the chapel at Whitehall.

As soon as she saw me she stopped, and swearing her usual oath, demanded, " Who is this ? " Everybody there present looked upon me, but no man knew me, until Sir James Croft, a pensioner, finding the queen stayed, returned back and told who I was, and that I had married Sir William Herbert of St. Gillian's daughter. The queen hereupon looked attentively upon me, and swearing again her ordinary oath, said it is pity he was married so young, and thereupon gave her hand to kiss twice, both times gently clapping me on the cheek. I remember little more of myself, but that from that time until King James's coming to the crown, I had a son, which died shortly afterwards, and that I attended my studies seriously, the more I learnt out of my books adding still a desire to know more.

King James, being now acknowledged king, and coming towards London, I thought fit to meet his Majesty at Burley, near Stamford. Shortly after I was made Knight of the Bath, with the usual ceremonies belonging to that ancient order. I could tell how much my person was commended by the lords and ladies that came to see the solemnity then used, but I shall flatter myself too much if I believed it.

I must not forget yet the ancient custom, being that some principal person was to put on the right spur of those the king had appointed to receive that dignity : the

Earl of Shrewsbury, seeing my esquire there with my spur in his hand, voluntarily came to me and said, "Cousin, I believe you will be a good knight, and therefore I will put on your spur;" whereupon, after my most humble thanks for so great a favour, I held up my leg against the wall, and he put on my spur.

There is another custom likewise, that the knights the first day wear the gown of some religious order, and the night following to be bathed; after which they take an oath never to sit in place where injustice should be done, but they shall right it to the uttermost of their power; and particularly ladies and gentlewomen that shall be wronged in their honour, if they demand assistance, and many other points, not unlike the romances of knight-errantry.

The second day to wear robes of crimson taffety (in which habit I am painted in my study), and so to ride from St. James's to Whitehall, with our esquires before us; and the third day to wear a gown of purple satin, upon the left sleeve whereof is fastened certain strings weaved of white silk and gold tied in a knot, and tassels to it of the same, which all the knights are obliged to wear until they have done something famous in arms, or until some lady of honour take it off, and fasten it on her sleeve, saying, "I will answer he shall prove a good knight." I had not long worn this string, but a principal lady of the court, and certainly, in most men's opinion, the handsomest,* took mine off, and said she would pledge her honour for mine. I do not name this lady, because some passages happened afterwards which oblige me to silence, though nothing could be justly said to her prejudice or wrong.

* It is impossible, perhaps, at this distance of time, to ascertain who this lady was; but there is no doubt of her being the same person mentioned afterwards, whom he calls "the fairest of her time."

Shortly after this I intended to go with Charles, Earl of Nottingham, the lord admiral, who went to Spain to take the king's oath for confirmation of the articles of peace betwixt the two crowns ; howbeit, by the industry of some near me, who desired to stay me at home, I was hindered, and instead of going that voyage, was made sheriff of Montgomeryshire, concerning which I will say no more but that I bestowed the place of under-sheriff, as also other places in my gifts, freely, without either taking gift or reward ; which custom also I have observed throughout the whole course of my life ; insomuch that when I was ambassador in France, and might have had great presents, which former ambassadors accepted, for doing lawful courtesies to merchants and others, yet no gratuity, upon what terms soever, could ever be fastened upon me.

This public duty did not hinder me yet to follow my beloved studies in a country life for the most part ; although sometimes also I resorted to court, without yet that I had any ambition there, and much less was tainted with those corrupt delights incident to the times ; for, living with my wife in all conjugal loyalty for the space of about ten years after my marriage, I wholly declined the allurements and temptations whatsoever, which might incline me to violate my marriage bed.

About the year 1608, my two daughters, called Beatrice and Florance, who lived not yet long after, and one son Richard being born, and come to so much maturity, that, though in their mere childhood, they gave no little hopes of themselves for the future time, I called them all before my wife, demanding how she liked them, to which she answering, well ; I demanded then, whether she was willing to do so much for them as I would ; whereupon she replying, demanded what I meant by that. I told

her that, for my part, I was but young for a man, and she not old for a woman ; that our lives were in the hands of God ; that, if He pleased to call either of us away, that party which remained might marry again, and have children by some other, to which our estates might be disposed ; for preventing whereof I thought fit to motion to her that, if she would assure upon the son any quantity of lands from £300 a year to £1,000, I would do the like : but my wife not approving hereof, answered in these express words, that she would not draw the cradle upon her head ; whereupon, I desiring her to advise better upon the business, and to take some few days' respite for that purpose, she seemed to depart from me not very well contented.

About a week or ten days afterwards, I demanded again what she thought concerning the motion I made, to which yet she said no more, but that she thought she had already answered me sufficiently to the point. I told her then that I should make another motion to her, which was, that in regard I was too young to go beyond sea before I married her, she now would give me leave for awhile to see foreign countries ; howbeit, if she would assure her lands as I would mine, in the manner above-mentioned, I would never depart from her : she answered that I knew her mind before concerning that point, yet that she should be sorry I went beyond sea, nevertheless, if I would needs go, she could not help it.

This, whether a licence taken or given, served my turn to prepare without delay for a journey beyond sea, that so I might satisfy that curiosity I long since had to see foreign countries. So that I might leave my wife so little discontented as I could, I left her not only posterity to renew the family of the Herberts of St. Gillian's, according to her father's desire, to inherit his lands, but

the rents of all the lands she brought with her, reserving mine own partly to pay my brothers' and sisters' portions, and defraying my charges abroad. Upon which terms, though I was sorry to leave my wife, as having lived most honestly with her all this time, I thought it no such unjust ambition to attain the knowledge of foreign countries, especially since I had in great part already attained the languages, and that I intended not to spend any long time out of my country.

Before I departed yet, I left her with child of a son, christened afterwards by the name of Edward ; and now coming to court, I obtained a licence to go beyond sea, taking with me for my companion Mr. Aurelian Townsend, a gentleman that spoke the languages of French, Italian, and Spanish in great perfection, and a man to wait in my chamber, who spoke French, two lackeys, and three horses. Coming thus to Dover, and passing the seas thence to Calais, I journeyed without any memorable adventure, till I came to Faubourg St. Germain, in Paris, where Sir George Carew, then ambassador for the king, lived ; I was kindly received by him, and often invited to his table.

Next to his house dwelt the Duke of Ventadour, who had married a daughter of Monsieur de Montmorency, grand constable de France ; many visits being exchanged between that duchess and the lady of our ambassador, it pleased the duchess to invite me to her father's house, at the castle of Merlou, being about twenty-four miles from Paris ; and here I found much welcome from that brave old general,* who being informed of my name,

* Henry de Montmorency, second son of the great Constable Anne de Montmorency, who was killed at the battle of St. Denis, 1567, and brother of Duke Francis, another renowned warrior and statesman. Henry was no less distinguished in both capacities, and gained great glory at the battles of Dreux and St. Denis. He was made constable

said he knew well of what family I was ; telling, the first notice he had of the Herberts was at the siege of St. Quentin, where my grandfather, with a command of foot under William, Earl of Pembroke, was.

Passing two or three days here, it happened one evening that a daughter of the duchess, of about ten or eleven years of age, going one evening from the castle to walk in the meadows, myself, with divers French gentlemen, attended her and some gentlewomen that were with her. This young lady wearing a knot of ribbon on her head, a French chevalier took it suddenly, and fastened it to his hatband : the young lady, offended herewith, demands her ribbon, but he refusing to restore it, the young lady addressing herself to me, said, " Monsieur, I pray get my ribbon from that gentleman." Hereupon going towards him, I courteously, with my hat in my hand, desired him to do me the honour, that I may deliver the lady her ribbon or bouquet again ; but he roughly answering me, " Do you think I will give it you, when I have refused it to her ? " I replied, " Nay then, sir, I will make you restore it by force ; " whereupon also, putting on my hat and reaching at his, he to save himself ran away, and after a long course in the meadow, finding that I had almost overtook him, he turned short, and running to the young lady, was about to put the ribbon on her hand, when I, seizing upon his arm, said to the young lady, " It was I that gave it." " Pardon me," quoth she, " it is he that gives it me." I said then, " Madam, I will not contradict you, but if he dare say that I did not constrain

by Henry IV., though he could neither read nor write, and died in the habit of St. Francis, 1614. He was father of the gallant but unfortunate Duke Henry, the last of that illustrious and ancient line, who took for their motto, " Dieu ayde au premier Chrétien." The Duchess of Ventadour, mentioned above, was Margaret, second daughter of the constable, and wife of Anne de Levi, duke of Ventadour.

him to give it, I will fight with him." The French gentleman answered nothing thereunto for the present, and so conducted the young lady again to the castle.

The next day I desired Mr. Aurelian Townsend to tell the French cavalier, that either he must confess that I constrained him to restore the ribbon, or fight with me ; but the gentleman seeing him unwilling to accept of this challenge, went out from the place, whereupon I following him, some of the gentlemen that belonged to the constable taking notice hereof, acquainted him therewith, who sending for the French cavalier, checked him well for his sauciness in taking the ribbon away from his grandchild, and afterwards bade him depart his house ; and this was all that I ever heard of the gentleman, with whom I proceeded in that manner, because I thought myself obliged thereunto by the oath* taken when I was made Knight of the Bath, as I formerly related upon this occasion.

I must remember also that three other times I engaged myself to challenge men to fight with me, who I conceived had injured ladies and gentlewomen ; one was in defence of my cousin Sir Francis Newport's daughter, who was married to John Barker, of Hamon, whose younger brother and heir †

	*	*	*
*	*	*	*

sent him a challenge, which to this day he never an-

* This oath is one remnant of a superstitious and romantic age, which an age, calling itself enlightened, still retains. The solemn service at the investiture of knights, which has not the least connection with anything holy, is a piece of the same profane pageantry. The oath being no longer supposed to bind, it is strange mockery to invoke Heaven on so trifling an occasion. It would be more strange if every knight, like the too conscientious Lord Herbert, thought himself bound to cut a man's throat every time a miss lost her topknot !

† This space is left blank, because there is certainly something wanting in the original.

swered, and would have beaten him afterwards, but that I was hindered by my uncle Sir Francis Newport.

I had another occasion to challenge one Captain Vaughan, who I conceived offered some injury to my sister, the Lady Jones, of Abarmarlas. I sent him a challenge, which he accepted, the place between us being appointed beyond Greenwich, with seconds on both sides; hereupon I coming to the King's Head, in Greenwich, with intention the next morning to be in the place, I found the house beset with at least a hundred persons, partly sent by the lords of the privy council, who gave order to apprehend me.

I hearing thereof, desired my servant to bring my horses as far as he could from my lodging, but yet within sight of me; which being done, and all this company coming to lay hold on me, I and my second, who was my cousin James Price, of Hanachly, sallied out of the doors, with our swords drawn, and in spite of that multitude made our way to our horses, where my servant very honestly opposing himself against those who would have laid hands upon us, while we got upon horseback, was himself laid hold on by them, and evil-treated; which I perceiving, rode back again, and with my sword in my hand rescued him, and afterwards seeing him get on horseback, charged them to go anywhere rather than to follow me. Riding afterwards with my second to the place appointed, I found nobody there, which, as I heard afterwards, happened because the lords of the council, taking notice of this difference, apprehended him, and charged him in his Majesty's name not to fight with me; since otherwise I believed he would not have failed.

The third that I questioned in this kind was a Scotch gentleman, who taking a ribbon in the like manner from Mrs. Middlemore, a maid of honour, as was done from the

young lady above-mentioned, in a back room behind Queen Anne's lodgings in Greenwich, she likewise desired me to get her the said ribbon. I repaired, as formerly, to him in a courteous manner to demand it, but he refusing as the French cavalier did, I caught him by the neck, and had almost thrown him down, when company came in and parted us. I offered likewise to fight with this gentleman, and came to the place appointed by Hyde Park; but this also was interrupted by order of the lords of the council, and I never heard more of him.

These passages, though different in time, I have related here together both for the similitude of argument and that it may appear how strictly I held myself to my oath of knighthood, since for the rest I can truly say that, though I have lived in the armies and courts of the greatest princes in Christendom, yet I never had a quarrel with man for mine own sake; so that, although in mine own nature I was ever choleric and hasty, yet I never, without occasion given, quarrelled with anybody, and as little did anybody attempt to give me offence, as having as clear a reputation for my courage as whosoever of my time. For my friends often I have hazarded myself, but never yet drew my sword for my own sake singly, as hating ever the doing of injury, contenting myself only to resent them when they were offered me. After this digression I shall return to my history.

That brave constable in France, testifying now more than formerly his regard of me, at his departure from Merlou to his fair house at Chantilly, five or six miles distant, said he left that castle to be commanded by me, as also his forests and chases, which were well stored with wild boar and stag, and that I might hunt them when I pleased. He told me also that, if I would learn to ride the great horse, he had a stable there of some

fifty, the best and choicest as was thought in France, and that his écuyer, called Monsieur de Disancour, nor inferior to Pluvenel or Labrove, should teach me. I did with great thankfulness accept his offer, as being very much addicted to the exercise of riding great horses ; and as for hunting in his forests, I told him I should use it sparingly, as being desirous to preserve his game.

He commanded also his écuyer to keep a table for me, and his pages to attend me, the chief of whom was Monsieur de Mennon, who, proving to be one of the best horsemen in France, keeps now an academy in Paris ; and here I shall recount a little passage betwixt him and his master, that the inclination of the French at that time may appear ; there being scarce any man thought worth the looking on that had not killed some other in duel.

Mennon desiring to marry a niece of Monsieur Disancour, who it was thought should be his heir, was thus answered by him : “ Friend, it is not time yet to marry. I will tell you what you must do. If you will be a brave man, you must first kill in single combat two or three men, then afterwards marry and engender two or three children, or the world will neither have got nor lost by you ;” of which strange counsel Disancour was no otherwise the author than as he had been an example, at least of the former part, it being his fortune to have fought three or four brave duels in his time.

And now, as every morning I mounted the great horse, so in the afternoons I many times went a-hunting, the manner of which was this. The Duke of Montmorency having given orders to the tenants of the town of Merlou and some villages adjoining, to attend me when I went a-hunting, they, upon my summons, usually repaired to those woods where I intended to find my game, with

drums and muskets, to the number of sixty or eighty, and sometimes one hundred or more persons ; they entering the wood on that side with that noise, discharging their pieces and beating their said drums ; we on the other side of the said wood having placed mastiffs and greyhounds to the number of twenty or thirty, which Monsieur de Montmorency kept near his castle, expected those beasts they should force out of the wood. If stags or wild boars came forth, we commonly spared them, pursuing only the wolves, which were there in great number, of which are found two sorts : the mastiff wolf, thick and short, though he could not indeed run fast, yet would fight with our dogs ; the greyhound wolf, long and swift, who many times escaped our best dogs, though when he was overtaken, easily killed by us, without making much resistance. Of both these sorts I killed divers with my sword while I stayed there.

One time also it was my fortune to kill a wild boar in this manner. The boar being roused from his den, fled before our dogs for a good space, but finding them press him hard, turned his head against our dogs, and hurt three or four of them very dangerously. I came on horseback up to him, and with my sword thrust him twice or thrice without entering his skin, the blade being not so stiff as it should be. The boar hereupon turned upon me, and much endangered my horse, which I perceiving, rode a little out of the way, and leaving my horse with my lackey, returned with my sword against the boar, who by this time had hurt more dogs ; and here happened a pretty kind of fight, for when I thrust at the boar sometimes with my sword, which in some places I made enter, the boar would run at me, whose tusks yet by stepping a little out of the way I avoided, but he then turning upon me, the dogs came in and drew

him off, so that he fell upon them, which I perceiving, ran at the boar with my sword again, which made him turn upon me, but then the dogs pulled him from me again, while so relieving one another by turns we killed the boar.

At this chase Monsieur Disancour and Mennon were present, as also Mr. Townsend, yet so as they did endeavour rather to withdraw me from, than assist me in the danger. Of which boar, some part being well seasoned and larded, I presented to my uncle Sir Francis Newport, in Shropshire, and found most excellent meat.

Thus having passed a whole summer partly in these exercises, and partly in visits of the Duke of Montmorency at his fair house in Chantilly, which for its extraordinary fairness and situation I shall here describe.

A little river descending from some higher grounds, in a country which was almost all his own, and falling at last upon a rock in the middle of a valley, which, to keep its way forwards, it must on one or other side thereof have declined. Some of the ancestors of the Montmorencys, to ease the river of this labour, made divers channels through this rock to give it a free passage, dividing the rock by that means into little islands, upon which he built a great strong castle, joined together with bridges, and sumptuously furnished with hangings of silk and gold, rare pictures and statues, all which buildings, united as I formerly told, were encompassed about with water, which was paved with stone (those which were used in the building of the house were drawn from thence).

One might see the huge carps, pike, and trout, which were kept in several divisions, gliding along the waters very easily; yet nothing in my opinion added so much to

the glory of this castle as a forest adjoining close to it, and upon a level with the house; for being of a very large extent, and set thick both with tall trees and underwood, the whole forest, which was replenished with wild boar, stag, and roe-deer, was cut out into long walks every way, so that, although the dogs might follow their chase through the thickets, the huntsmen might ride along the said walks, and meet or overtake their game in some one of them, they being cut with that art, that they led to all the parts in the said forest; and here also I have hunted the wild boar divers times, both then and afterwards, when his son, the Duke of Montmorency, succeeded him in the possession of that incomparable place.

And there I cannot but remember the direction the old constable gave me to return to his castle out of this admirable labyrinth; telling me, I should look upon what side the trees were roughest and hardest, which being found, I might be confident that part stood northward, which being observed, I might easily find the east, as being on the right hand, and so guide my way home.

How much this house, together with the forest, hath been valued by great princes, may appear by two little narratives I shall here insert. Charles V., the great emperor, passing in the time of François I., from Spain into the Low Countries, by the way of France, was entertained for some time in this house by a Duke of Montmorency, who was likewise constable de France, after he had taken this palace into his consideration, with the forests adjoining, said he would willingly give one of his provinces in the Low Countries for such a place, there being, as he thought, nowhere such a situation.

Henry IV. also was desirous of this house, and offered to exchange any of his houses, with much more lands than

his estate thereabouts was worth ; to which the Duke of Montmorency made this wary answer : “ *Sieur, la maison est à vous, mais que je sois le concierge ;*” which in English sounds thus : “ Sir, the house is yours, but give me leave to keep it for you.”

When I had been at Merlou about some eight months and attained, as was thought, the knowledge of horsemanship, I came to the Duke of Montmorency at St. Ilee,* and, after due thanks for his favours, took my leave of him to go to Paris, whereupon, the good old prince embracing me, and calling me son, bade me farewell, assuring me nevertheless he should be glad of any occasion hereafter to testify his love and esteem for me ; telling me farther, he should come to Paris himself shortly, where he hoped to see me. From hence I returned to Merlou, where I gave Monsieur Disancour such a present as abundantly requited the charges of my diet, and the pains of his teaching.

Being now ready to set forth, a gentleman from the Duke of Montmorency came to me, and told me his master would not let me go without giving me a present, which I might keep as an earnest of his affection ; whereupon also a genet, for which the duke had sent expressly into Spain, and which cost him there five hundred crowns, as I was told, was brought to me. The greatness of this gift, together with other courtesies received, did not a little trouble me, as not knowing then how to requite them. I would have given my horses I had there, which were of great value, to him, but that I thought them too mean a present ; but the duke also suspecting that I meant to do so, prevented me, saying that as I loved him, I should think upon no requital while I stayed in France,

* Sic orig. But it is probably a blunder of the transcriber for Chantilly.

but when I came into England, if I sent him a mare that ambled naturally, I should much gratify him. I told the messenger I should strive both that way and every way else to declare my thankfulness, and so dismissed the messenger with a good reward.

Coming now to Paris, through the recommendation of the lord ambassador, I was received to the house of that incomparable scholar, Isaac Causabon, by whose learned conversation I much benefited myself ; besides, I did apply myself much to know the use of my arms, and to ride the great horse, playing on the lute, and singing according to the rules of the French masters.

Sometimes also I went to the court of the French king, Henry IV., who, upon information of me in the garden at the Tuileries, received me with all courtesy, embracing me in his arms, and holding me some while there. I went sometimes also to the court of Queen Margaret, at the hostel called by her name ; and here I saw many balls or masks, in all which it pleased that queen publicly to place me next to her chair, not without the wonder of some, and the envy of another, who was wont to have that favour. I shall recount one accident which happened while I was there.

All things being ready for the ball, and every one being in their place, and I myself next to the queen, expecting when the dancers would come in, one knocked at the door somewhat louder than became, as I thought, a very civil person. When he came in, I remember there was a sudden whisper among the ladies, saying, "C'est Monsieur Balagny," or, "It is Monsieur Balagny : " whereupon also I saw the ladies and gentlewomen, one after another, invite him to sit near them, and which is more, when one lady had his company awhile, another would say, " You have enjoyed him long enough, I must have him now ; " at

which bold civility of theirs, though I was astonished, yet it added unto my wonder that his person could not be thought at most but ordinarily handsome ; his hair, which was cut very short, half grey, his doublet but of sackcloth cut to his shirt, and his breeches only of plain grey cloth.

Informing myself by some standers-by who he was, I was told that he was one of the gallantest men in the world, as having killed eight or nine men in single fight, and that for this reason the ladies made so much of him, it being the manner of all Frenchwomen to cherish gallant men, as thinking they could not make so much of any else with the safety of their honour. This cavalier, though his head was half grey, he had not yet attained the age of thirty years, whom I have thought fit to remember more particularly here, because of some passages that happened afterwards betwixt him and me at the siege of Juliers, as I shall tell in its place.

Having passed thus all the winter, until about the latter end of January, without any such memorable accident as I shall think fit to set down particularly, I took my leave of the French King, Queen Margaret, and the nobles and ladies in both courts ; at which time the Princess of Conti desired me to carry a scarf into England, and present it to Queen Anne on her part, which being accepted, myself and Sir Thomas Lucy (whose second I had been twice in France, against two cavaliers of our nation, who yet were hindered to fight with us in the field where we attended them), we came on our way as far as Dieppe, in Normandy, and there took ship about the beginning of February, when so furious a storm arose, that with very great danger we were at sea all night.

The master of our ship lost both the use of his compass and his reason ; for not knowing whither he was carried by the tempest, all the help he had was by the lightnings,

which together with thunder very frequently that night, terrified him, yet gave the advantage sometimes to discover whether we were upon our coast, to which he thought, by the course of his glasses, we were near approached ; and now towards day we found ourselves, by great providence of God, within view of Dover, to which the master of our ship did make. The men of Dover, rising by times in the morning to see whether any ship were coming towards them, were in great numbers upon the shore, as believing the tempest, which had thrown down barns and trees near the town, might give them the benefit of some wreck, if perchance any ship were driven thitherwards.

We coming thus in extreme danger, straight upon the pier of Dover, which stands out in the sea, our ship was unfortunately split against it ; the master said, "*Mes amis, nous sommes perdus,*" or, "My friends, we are cast away ;" when myself, who heard the ship crack against the pier, and then found, by the master's words, it was time for every one to save themselves, if they could, got out of my cabin (though very sea-sick), and, climbing up the mast a little way, drew my sword and flourished it ; they at Dover having this sign given them, adventured in a shallop of six oars to relieve us, which, being come with great danger to the side of our ship, I got into it first, with my sword in my hand, and called for Sir Thomas Lucy, saying that if any man offered to get in before him I should resist him with my sword ; whereupon a faithful servant of his taking Sir Thomas Lucy out of the cabin, who was half dead of sea-sickness, put him into my arms, whom after I had received, I bade the shallop make away for shore, and the rather that I saw another shallop coming to relieve us ; when a post from France, who carried letters, finding the ship still rent

more and more, adventured to leap from the top of our ship into the shallop, where, falling fortunately on some of the stronger timber of the boat, and not on the planks, which he must needs have broken, and so sunk us had he fallen upon them, escaped, together with us two, unto the land.

I must confess, myself, as also the seamen that were in the shallop, thought once to have killed him for this desperate attempt; but finding no harm followed, we escaped together unto the land, from whence we sent more shallops, and so made means to save both men and horses that were in the ship, which yet itself was wholly split and cast away, insomuch that, in pity to the master, Sir Thomas Lucy and myself gave £30 towards his loss, which yet was not so great as we thought, since the tide now ebbing, he recovered the broken parts of his ship.

Coming thus to London, and afterwards to court, I kissed his Majesty's hand, and acquainted him with some particulars concerning France. As for the present I had to deliver to her Majesty from the Princess of Conti, I thought fit rather to send it by one of the ladies that attended her, than to presume to demand audience of her in person; but her Majesty not satisfied herewith, commanded me to attend her, and demanded divers questions of me concerning that princess and the courts in France, saying she would speak more at large with me at some other time; for which purpose she commanded me to wait on her often, wishing me to advise her what present she might return back again.

Howbeit, not many weeks after, I returned to my wife and family again, where I passed some time, partly in my studies, and partly riding the great horse, of which I had a stable well furnished. No horse yet was so dear to me as the genet I brought from France, whose love I had

so gotten that he would suffer none else to ride him, nor indeed any man to come near him, when I was upon him, as being in his nature a most furious horse. His true picture may be seen in the chapel chamber in my house, where I am painted riding him, and this motto by

“ Me totum bonitas bonum suprema
Reddas ; me intrepidum dabo vel ipse.”

This horse, as soon as ever I came to the stable, would neigh, and when I drew near him, would lick my hand, and (when I suffered him) my cheek, but yet would permit nobody to come near his heels at the same time. Sir Thomas Lucy would have given me £200 for this horse, which though I would not accept, yet I left the horse with him when I went to the Low Countries, who not long after died. The occasion of my going thither was thus. Hearing that a war about the title of Cleave Juliers, and some other provinces betwixt the Low Countries and Germany, should be made by the several pretenders to it, and that the French King himself would come with a great army into those parts ; it was now the year of our Lord 1610, when my Lord Chandois* and myself resolved to take shipping for the Low Countries, and from thence to pass to the city of Juliers, which the Prince of Orange resolved to besiege.

Making all haste thither, we found the siege newly begun ; the Low Country army assisted by four thousand English, under the command of Sir Edward Cecil. We had not been long there when the Marshal de Chartres, instead of Henry IV., who was killed by that villain Ravailac, came with a brave French army thither, in which Monsieur Balagny, I formerly mentioned, was a colonel.

* Grey Bridges, Lord Chandos, made a Knight of the Bath at the creation of Charles, Duke of York, 1604, and called, for his hospitality and magnificence, the King of Cotswold.

My Lord Chandois lodged himself in the quarters where Sir Horace Vere was ; I went and quartered with Sir Edward Cecil, where I was lodged next to him in a hut I made there, going yet both by day and night to the trenches, we making our approaches to the town on one side, and the French on the other. Our lines were drawn towards the point of a bulwark of the citadel, or castle, thought to be one of the best fortifications in Christendom, and encompassed about with a deep wet ditch. We lost many men in making these approaches, the town and castle being very well provided both with great and small shot, and a garrison in it of about four thousand men, besides the burghers.

Sir Edward Cecil (who was a very active general) used often during the siege to go in person in the night time, to try whether he could catch any sentinels *perdus* ; and for this purpose still desired me to accompany him ; in performing whereof, both of us did much hazard ourselves, for the first sentinel retiring to the second, and the second to the third, three shots were commonly made at us before we could do anything, though afterwards chasing them with our swords almost home unto their guards, we had some sport in the pursuit of them.

One day Sir Edward Cecil and myself coming to the approaches that Monsieur de Balagny had made towards a bulwark or bastion of that city, Monsieur de Balagny, in the presence of Sir Edward Cecil and divers English and French captains then present, said, "*Monsieur, on dit que vous êtes un des plus braves de votre nation, et je suis Balagny ; allons voir qui fera le mieux*" ("They say you are one of the bravest of your nation, and I am Balagny ; let us see who will do best") ; whereupon leaping suddenly out of the trenches with his sword drawn, I did in the like manner as suddenly follow him, both of us in

the meanwhile striving who should be foremost, which being perceived by those of the bulwark and cortine opposite to us, three or four hundred shot at least, great and small, were made against us.

Our running on forwards in emulation of each other, was the cause that all the shots fell betwixt us and the trench from which we sallied. When Monsieur Balagny, finding such a storm of bullets, said, "*Par Dieu, il fait bien chaud*" ("It is very hot here"), I answered briefly thus, "*Vous en irez premier, autrement je n'irai jamais*" ("You shall go first or else I will never go"). Hereupon he ran with all speed, and somewhat crouching, towards the trenches; I followed after leisurely and upright, and yet came within the trenches before they on the bulwark or cortine could charge again; which passage afterwards being related to the Prince of Orange, he said it was a strange bravado of Balagny, and that we went to an unavoidable death.

I could relate divers things of note concerning myself, during this siege, but do forbear lest I should relish too much of vanity; it shall suffice that my passing over the ditch unto the wall first of all the nations there, is set down by William Crofts, Master of Arts, and soldier, who hath written and printed the history of the Low Countries.

There happened during this siege a particular quarrel betwixt me and the Lord of Walden,* eldest son to the Earl of Suffolk, lord treasurer of England at that time, which I do but unwillingly relate, in regard of the great esteem I have of that noble family; howbeit, to avoid

* Theophilus, Lord Howard of Walden, eldest son of Thomas, Earl of Suffolk, whom he succeeded in the title, and was Knight of the Garter, constable of Dover Castle, and captain of the band of Pensioners.

misreports, I have thought fit to set it down truly. That lord having been invited to a feast in Sir Horace Vere's quarters, where (after the Low Country manner) there was liberal drinking, returned not long after to Sir Edward Cecil's quarters, at which time, I speaking merrily to him, upon some slight occasion, he took that offence at me which he would not have done at another time, insomuch that he came towards me in a violent manner, which I perceiving, did more than half-way meet him ; but the company were so vigilant upon us that before any blow passed we were separated ; howbeit, because he made towards me, I thought fit the next day to send him a challenge telling him, that if he had anything to say to me, I would meet him in such a place as no man should interrupt us.

Shortly after this Sir Thomas Payton came to me on his part, and told me my lord would fight with me on horseback with single sword ; and, said he, " I will be his second ; where is yours ? " I replied that neither his lordship nor myself brought over any great horses with us ; that I knew he might much better borrow one than myself ; howbeit, as soon as he showed me the place, he should find me there on horseback or on foot ; whereupon both of us riding together upon two geldings to the side of a wood, Payton said he chose that place, and the time break of day the next morning ; I told him I would fail neither place nor time, though I knew not where to get a better horse than the nag I rode on ; and as for a second, I shall trust to your nobleness, who, I know, will see fair play betwixt us, though you come on his side : but he urging me again to provide a second, I told him I could promise for none but myself, and that if I spoke to any of my friends in the army to this purpose, I doubted lest the business might be discovered and prevented.

He was no sooner gone from me but night drew on, myself resolving in the meantime to rest under a fair oak all night; after this, tying my horse by the bridle unto another tree, I had not now rested two hours, when I found some fires nearer to me than I thought was possible in so solitary a place, whereupon also having the curiosity to see the reason hereof, I got on horseback again, and had not rode very far when, by the talk of the soldiers there, I found I was in the Scotch quarter, where finding in a stable a very fair horse of service, I desired to know whether he might be bought for any reasonable sum of money, but a soldier replying it was their captain's, Sir James Areskin's chief horse, I demanded for Sir James, but the soldier answering he was not within the quarter, I demanded then for his lieutenant, whereupon the soldier courteously desired him to come to me; this lieutenant was called Montgomery, and had the reputation of a gallant man. I told him that I would fain buy a horse, and if it were possible, the horse I saw but a little before; but he telling me none was to be sold there, I offered to leave in his hands one hundred pieces, if he would lend me a good horse for a day or two, he to restore me the money again when I delivered him the horse in good plight, and did besides bring him some present as a gratuity.

The lieutenant, though he did not know me, suspected I had some private quarrel, and that I desired this horse to fight on, and thereupon told me, "Sir, whosoever you are, you seem to be a person of worth, and you shall have the best horse in the stable; and if you have a quarrel and want a second, I offer myself to serve you upon another horse, and if you will let me go along with you upon these terms, I will ask no pawn of you for the horse." I told him I would use no second, and I desired him to accept

one hundred pieces, which I had there about me, in pawn for the horse, and he should hear from me shortly again ; and that though I did not take his noble offer of coming along with me, I should evermore rest much obliged to him : whereupon giving him my purse with the money in it, I got upon his horse, and left my nag besides with him.

Riding thus away about twelve o'clock at night to the wood from whence I came, I alighted from my horse and rested there till morning ; the day now breaking, I got on horseback, and attended the Lord of Walden with his second. The first person that appeared was a footman, who I heard afterwards was sent by the Lady of Walden, who, as soon as he saw me, ran back again with all speed. I meant once to pursue him, but that I thought it better at last to keep my place.

About two hours after Sir William St. Leiger, now lord president of Munster, came to me, and told me he knew the cause of my being there, and that the business was discovered by the Lord Walden's rising so early that morning, and the suspicion that he meant to fight with me, and had Sir Thomas Payton with him, and that he would ride to him, and that there were thirty or forty sent after us to hinder us from meeting ; shortly after many more came to the place where I was, and told me I must not fight, and that they were sent for the same purpose, and that it was to no purpose to stay there, and thence rode to seek the Lord of Walden. I stayed yet two hours longer, but finding still more company came in, rode back again to the Scotch quarters, and delivered the horse back again, and received my money and nag from Lieutenant Montgomery, and so withdrew myself to the French quarters, till I did find some convenient time to send again to the Lord Walden.

Being among the French, I remembered myself of the

bravado of Monsieur Balagny, and coming to him, told him I knew how brave a man he was, and that as he had put me to one trial of daring, when I was last with him in his trenches, I would put him to another ; saying, I heard he had a fair mistress, and that the scarf he wore was her gift, and that I would maintain I had a worthier mistress than he, and that I would do as much for her sake as he or any else durst do for his. Balagny hereupon looking merrily upon me, said, "If we shall try who is the abler man to serve his mistress, let both of us get two wenches, and he that doth his business best, let him be the braver man ;" and that for his part, he had no mind to fight on that quarrel. I looking hereupon somewhat disdainfully on him, said he spoke more like a paillard than a cavalier ; to which he answering nothing, I rode my ways, and afterwards went to Monsieur Terant, a French gentleman that belonged to the Duke of Montmorency, formerly mentioned ; who telling me he had a quarrel with another gentleman, I offered to be his second, but he saying he was provided already, I rode thence to the English quarters, attending some fit occasion to send again to the Lord Walden : I came no sooner thither, but I found Sir Thomas Somerset * with eleven or twelve more in the head of the English, who were then drawing forth in a body or squadron, who seeing me on horseback, with a footman only that attended me, gave me some affronting words, for my quarrelling with the Lord of Walden ; whereupon I alighted, and giving my horse to my lackey, drew my sword, which he no sooner saw but he drew his, as also all the company with him.

* He was third son of Edward, Earl of Worcester, Lord Privy Seal to Queen Elizabeth and King James. Sir Thomas was Master of the Horse to Queen Anne, was made Knight of the Bath in 1604, and Viscount Somerset of Cassel, in Ireland.

I running hereupon amongst them, put by some of their thrusts, and making towards him in particular, put by a thrust of his, and had certainly run him through, but that one Lieutenant Prichard, at that instant taking me by the shoulder, turned me aside ; but I recovering myself again, ran at him a second time, which he perceiving retired himself with the company to the tents which were near, though not so fast but I hurt one Proger, and some others also that were with him ; but they being all at last got within the tents, I finding now nothing else to be done, got to my horse again, having received only a slight hurt on the outside of my ribs, and two thrusts, the one through the skirts of my doublet, and the other through my breeches, and about eighteen nicks upon my sword and hilt, and so rode to the trenches before Juliers, where our soldiers were.

Not long after this, the town being now surrendered, and everybody preparing to go their ways, I sent again a gentleman to the Lord of Walden to offer him the meeting with my sword, but this was avoided not very handsomely by him (contrary to what Sir Henry Rich, now Earl of Holland, persuaded him).

After having taken leave of his excellency, Sir Edward Cecil, I thought fit to return on my way homewards as far as Dusseldorp. I had been scarce two hours in my lodgings when one Lieutenant Hamilton brought a letter from Sir James Areskin (who was then in town likewise) unto me, the effect whereof was, that in regard his Lieutenant, Montgomery, had told him that I had the said James Areskin's consent for borrowing his horse, he did desire me to do one of two things, which was, either to disavow the said words, which he thought in his conscience I never spake ; or if I would justify them, then to appoint time and place to fight with him.

Having considered awhile what I was to do in this case, I told Lieutenant Hamilton that I thought myself bound in honour to accept the more noble part of his proposition, which was to fight with him, when yet perchance it might be easy enough for me to say that I had his horse upon other terms than was affirmed ; whereupon also giving Lieutenant Hamilton the length of my sword, I told him that as soon as ever he had matched it, I would fight with him, wishing him further to make haste, since I desired to end the business as speedily as could be.

Lieutenant Hamilton hereupon returning back, met in a cross-street (I know not by what miraculous adventure) Lieutenant Montgomery, conveying divers of the hurt and maimed soldiers at the siege of St. Juliers unto that town, to be lodged and dressed by the surgeons there ; Hamilton hereupon calling to Montgomery, told him the effects of his captain's letter, together with my answer, which Montgomery no sooner heard but he replied (as Hamilton told me afterwards), " I see that noble gentleman chooseth rather to fight than to contradict me ; but my telling a lie must not be an occasion why either my captain or he should hazard their lives : I will alight from my horse, and tell my captain presently how all that matter passed ; " whereupon also he relating the business about borrowing the horse, in that manner I formerly set down, which as soon as Sir James Areskin heard, he sent Lieutenant Hamilton to me presently again, to tell me he was satisfied how the business passed, and that he had nothing to say to me but that he was my most humble servant, and was sorry he ever questioned me in that manner.

Some occasions detaining me in Dusseldorp, the next day Lieutenant Montgomery came to me, and told me he

was in danger of losing his place, and desired me to make means to his excellency the Prince of Orange that he might not be cashiered, or else that he was undone. I told him that either I would keep him in his place, or take him as my companion and friend and allow him sufficient means till I could provide him another as good as it; which he taking very kindly, but desiring chiefly he might go with my letter to the Prince of Orange, I obtained at last he should be restored to his place again.

And now taking boat, I passed along the river of Rhine to the Low Countries, where after some stay I went to Antwerp and Brussels; and having passed some time in the court there, went from thence to Calais, where taking ship, I arrived at Dover, and so went to London. I had scarce been two days there when the lords of the council, sending for me, ended the difference betwixt the Lord of Walden and myself. And now, if I may say it without vanity, I was in great esteem both in court and city; many of the greatest desiring my company, though yet before that time I had no acquaintance with them.

Richard,* Earl of Dorset, to whom otherwise I was a stranger, one day invited me to Dorset House, where bringing me into his gallery, and showing me many pictures, he at last brought me to a frame covered with green taffeta, and asked me who I thought was there; and therewithal presently drawing the curtain, showed me my own picture; whereupon demanding how his lordship came to have it, he answered that he had heard so many brave things of me, that he got a copy of a

* Richard Sackville, Earl of Dorset, grandson of the treasurer, and husband of the famous Anne Clifford, Countess of Dorset and Pembroke.

picture which one Larkin, a painter, drew for me, the original whereof I intended, before my departure to the Low Countries, for Sir Thomas Lucy ; but not only the Earl of Dorset, but a greater person* than I will here nominate, got another copy from Larkin, and placing it afterwards in her cabinet (without that ever I knew any such thing was done), gave occasion to those that saw it after her death, of more discourse than I could have wished ; and indeed I may truly say that taking of my picture was fatal to me, for more reasons than I shall think fit to deliver.

There was a lady also, wife to Sir John Ayres, knight, who finding some means to get a copy of my picture from Larkin, gave it to Mr. Isaac,† the painter in Blackfriars, and desired him to draw it in little after his manner ; which being done, she caused it to be set in gold and enamelled, and so wore it about her neck, so low that she hid it under her breast, which, I conceive, coming afterwards to the knowledge of Sir John Ayres, gave him more cause of jealousy than needed, had he known how innocent I was from pretending to anything which might wrong him or his lady ; since I could not so much as imagine that either she had my picture, or that she bare more than ordinary affection to me. It is true that as she had a place in court, and attended Queen Anne, and was besides of an excellent wit and discourse, she had made herself a considerable person ; howbeit little more than common civility ever passed betwixt us, though I confess I think no man was welcomer to her when I came, for which I shall allege this passage :—

* This was certainly Queen Anne, as appears from the very respectful terms in which he speaks of her a little farther, and from other passages, when he mentions the secret and dangerous enemies he had on this account.

† Isaac Oliver.

Coming one day into her chamber, I saw her through the curtains lying upon her bed with a wax candle in one hand, and the picture I formerly mentioned in the other. I coming thereupon somewhat boldly to her, she blew out the candle, and hid the picture from me : myself thereupon being curious to know what that was she held in her hand, got the candle to be lighted again, by means whereof I found it was my picture she looked upon with more earnestness and passion than I could have easily believed, especially since myself was not engaged in any affection towards her. I could willingly have omitted this passage, but that it was the beginning of a bloody history which followed : howsoever, yet I must before the Eternal God clear her honour.

And now in court a great person sent for me divers times to attend her, which summons though I obeyed, yet God knoweth I declined coming to her as much as conveniently I could, without incurring her displeasure ; and this I did not only for very honest reasons, but, to speak ingenuously, because that affection passed betwixt me and another lady (who I believe was the fairest of her time) as nothing could divert it. I had not been long in London when a violent burning fever seized upon me, which brought me almost to my death, though at last I did by slow degrees recover my health.

Being thus upon my amendment, the Lord Lisle,* afterwards Earl of Leicester, sent me word that Sir John Ayres intended to kill me in my bed, and wished me to keep a guard upon my chamber and person. The same advertisement was confirmed by Lucy,† Countess of Bed-

* Robert Sidney, Earl of Leicester, younger brother of Sir Philip Sidney.

† Lucy Harrington, wife of Edward, Earl of Bedford, a great patroness of the wits and poets of that age.

ford, and the Lady Hobby * shortly after. Hereupon I thought fit to entreat Sir William Herbert, now Lord Powis, to go to Sir John Ayres, and tell him that I marvelled much at the information given me by these great persons, and that I could not imagine any sufficient ground hereof ; howbeit, if he had anything to say to me in a fair and noble way, I would give him the meeting as soon as I had got strength enough to stand upon my legs.

Sir William hereupon brought me so ambiguous and doubtful an answer from him, that whatsoever he meant, he would not declare yet his intention, which was really, as I found afterwards, to kill me any way that he could, since, as he said, though falsely, I had seduced his wife. Finding no means thus to surprise me, he sent me a letter to this effect : that he desired to meet me somewhere, and that it might so fall out as I might return quietly again. To this I replied that if he desired to fight with me upon equal terms, I should, upon assurance of the field and fair play, give him meeting when he did any way specify the cause, and that I did not think fit to come to him upon any other terms, having been sufficiently informed of his plots to assassinate me.

After this, finding he could take no advantage against me, then, in a treacherous way, he resolved to assassinate me in this manner. Hearing I was to come to Whitehall on horseback, with two lackeys only, he attended my coming back in a place called Scotland Yard, at the hither end of Whitehall, as you come to it from the Strand, hiding himself here with four men armed, on purpose to kill me.

I took horse at Whitehall Gate, and passing by that place, he being armed with a sword and dagger, without giving me so much as the least warning, ran at me

* Probably Anne, second wife of Sir Edward Hobby, a patron of Camden.

furiously, but instead of me, wounded my horse in the brisket, as far as his sword could enter for the bone. My horse hereupon starting aside, he ran him again in the shoulder, which, though it made the horse more timorous, yet gave me time to draw my sword. His men thereupon encompassed me, and wounded my horse in three places more ; this made my horse kick and fling in that manner as his men durst not come near me ; which advantage I took to strike at Sir John Ayres with all my force, but he warded the blow both with his sword and dagger ; instead of doing him harm, I broke my sword within a foot of the hilt. Hereupon some passenger that knew me, and observing my horse bleeding in so many places, and so many men assaulting me, and my sword broken, cried to me several times, " Ride away, ride away ;" but I, scorning a base flight upon what terms soever, instead thereof, alighted as well as I could from my horse.

I had no sooner put one foot upon the ground, but Sir John Ayres pursuing me, made at my horse again, which the horse perceiving, pressed on me on the side I alighted, in that manner that he threw me down, so that I remained flat upon the ground, only one foot hanging in the stirrup, with that piece of a sword in my right hand. Sir John Ayres hereupon ran about the horse, and was thrusting his sword into me, when I, finding myself in this danger, did with both my arms reaching at his legs, pull them towards me, till he fell down backwards on his head. One of my footmen hereupon, who was a little Shropshire boy, freed my foot out of the stirrup ; the other, which was a great fellow, having run away as soon as he saw the first assault. This gave me time to get upon my legs, and to put myself in the best posture I could with that poor remnant of a weapon.

Sir John Ayres by this time likewise was got up, standing betwixt me and some part of Whitehall, with two men on each side of him, and his brother behind him, with at least twenty or thirty persons of his friends, or attendants of the Earl of Suffolk. Observing thus a body of men standing in opposition against me, though to speak truly I saw no swords drawn but by Sir John Ayres and his men, I ran violently against Sir John Ayres; but he, knowing my sword had no point, held his sword and dagger over his head, as believing I could strike rather than thrust; which I no sooner perceived but I put a home-thrust to the middle of his breast, that I threw him down with so much force, that his head fell first to the ground, and his heels upwards. His men hereupon assaulted me; when one, Mr. Mansel, a Glamorganshire gentleman, finding so many set against me alone, closed with one of them; a Scotch gentleman also closing with another, took him off also. All I could well do to those two which remained was to ward their thrusts, which I did with that resolution, that I got ground upon them.

Sir John Ayres was now got up a third time, when I making towards him with the intention to close, thinking that there was otherwise no safety for me, put by a thrust of his with my left hand, and so coming within him, received a stab with his dagger on my right side, which ran down my ribs as far as my hip, which I feeling, did with my right elbow force his hand, together with the hilt of the dagger, so near the upper part of my right side, that I made him leave hold. The dagger now sticking in me, Sir Henry Cary, afterwards Lord of Faulkland, and lord deputy of Ireland, finding the dagger thus in my body, snatched it out. This while I, being closed with Sir John Ayres, hurt him on the head, and threw him down a third time, when, kneeling on the ground

and bestriding him, I struck at him as hard as I could with my piece of a sword, and wounded him in four several places, and did almost cut off his left hand.

His two men this while struck at me; but it pleased God even miraculously to defend me; for when I lifted up my sword to strike at Sir John Ayres, I bore off their blows half a dozen times. His friends now finding him in this danger, took him by the head and shoulders, and drew him from betwixt my legs, and carried him along with them through Whitehall, at the stairs whereof he took boat. Sir Herbert Croft (as he told me afterwards) met him upon the water, vomiting all the way, which I believe was caused by the violence of the first thrust I gave him. His servants, brother, and friends being now retired also, I remained master of the place and his weapons; having first wrested his dagger from him, and afterwards struck his sword out of his hand.

This being done, I retired to a friend's house in the Strand, where I sent for a surgeon, who searching my wound on the right side, and finding it not to be mortal, cured me in the space of some ten days, during which time I received many noble visits and messages from some of the best in the kingdom. Being now fully recovered of my hurts, I desired Sir Robert Harley* to go to Sir John Ayres, and tell him, that though I thought he had not so much honour left in him, that I could be any way ambitious to get it, yet that I desired to see him in the field with his sword in his hand. The answer that he sent me was, that I had seduced his wife, and that he would kill me with a musket out of a window.

The lords of the privy council, who had first sent for my sword, that they might see the little fragment of a weapon with which I had so behaved myself, as perchance

* Knight of the Bath, and Master of the Mint.

the like had not been heard in any credible way, did afterwards command both him and me to appear before them; but I absenting myself on purpose, sent one Humphrey Hill with a challenge to him in an ordinary, which he refusing to receive, Humphrey Hill put it upon the point of his sword, and so let it fall before him and the company then present.

The lords of the privy council had now taken order to apprehend Sir John Ayres, when I, finding nothing else to be done, submitted myself likewise to them. Sir John Ayres had now published everywhere, that the ground of his jealousy, and consequently of his assaulting me, was drawn from the confession of his wife, the Lady Ayres. She, to vindicate her honour, as well as free me from this accusation, sent a letter to her aunt, the Lady Crook, to this purpose: That her husband, Sir John Ayres, did lie falsely, in saying that I ever seduced her; but most falsely of all did lie when he said he had it from her confession, for she had never said any such thing.

This letter the lady Crook presented to me most opportunely, as I was going to the council table before the lords, who having examined Sir John Ayres concerning the cause of the quarrel against me, found him still persist in his wife's confession of the fact: and now he being withdrawn, I was sent for, when the Duke of Lenox,* afterwards of Richmond, telling me that was the ground of his quarrel, and the only excuse he had for assaulting me in that manner, I desired his lordship to peruse the letter, which I told him was given me as I came into the room.

This letter being publicly read by a clerk of the

* Lodowic Stuart, Duke of Lenox and Richmond, was Lord Steward of the Household, and Knight of the Garter.

council, the Duke of Lenox then said, that he thought Sir John Ayres the most miserable man living ; for his wife had not only given him the lie, as he found by her letter, but his father had disinherited him for attempting to kill me in that barbarous fashion, which was most true, as I found afterwards. For the rest, that I might content myself with what I had done, it being more almost than could be believed, but that I had so many witnesses thereof ; for all which reasons he commanded me, in the name of his Majesty, and all their lordships, not to send any more to Sir John Ayres, nor to receive any message from him, in the way of fighting ; which commandment I observed.

Howbeit I must not omit to tell, that some years afterwards, Sir John Ayres returning from Ireland by Beaumaris, where I then was, some of my servants and followers broke open the doors of the house where he was, and would (I believe) have cut him into pieces, but that I, hearing thereof, came suddenly to the house and recalled them, sending him word also that I scorned to give him the usage he gave me, and that I would set him free out of the town ; which courtesy of mine, as I was told afterwards, he did thankfully acknowledge.

About a month after that, Sir John Ayres attempted to assassinate me ; the news thereof was carried, I know how, to the Duke of Montmorency, who presently despatched a gentleman with a letter to me (which I keep), and a kind offer, that if I would come unto him, I should be used as his own son ; neither had this gentleman, as I know of, any other business in England. I was told besides by this gentleman, that the Duke heard I had greater and more powerful enemies than did publicly declare themselves (which, indeed, was true), and that he doubted I might have a mischief before I was aware.

My answer hereunto by letter was, that I rendered most humble thanks for his great favour in sending to me ; that no enemies, how great or many soever, could force me out of the kingdom ; but if ever there were occasion to serve him in particular, I should not fail to come ; for performance whereof, it happening there were some overtures of a civil war in France the next year, I sent over a French gentleman who attended me, unto the Duke of Montmorency, expressly to tell him, that if he had occasion to use my service in the designed war, I would bring over one hundred horse at my own cost and charges to him ; which that good old duke and constable took so kindly, that, as the Duchess of Antedor,* his daughter, told me afterwards, when I was ambassador, there were few days, till the last of his life, that he did not speak of me with much affection.

I can say little more memorable concerning myself from the year 1611, when I was hurt, until the year of our Lord 1614, than that I passed my time sometimes in the court, where (I protest before God) I had more favours than I desired ; and sometimes in the country, without any memorable accident ; but only that it happened one time, going from St. Gillian's to Abergavenny, in the way to Montgomery castle, Richard Griffiths, a servant of mine, being come near a bridge over Husk, not far from the town, thought fit to water his horse ; but the river being deep and strong in that place where he entered it, he was carried down the stream. My servants that were before me, seeing this, cried aloud, Dick Griffiths was drowning : which I no sooner heard, but I put spurs to my horse, and coming up to the place, where I saw him as high as his middle in water, leapt into the river a little below him, and swimming up to him, bore

* Ventadour.

him up with one of my hands, and brought him unto the middle of the river, where (through God's great providence) was a bank of sand.

Coming hither, not without some difficulty, we rested ourselves ; and advised whether it were better to return back unto the side from whence we came, or to go on forwards ; but Dick Griffiths saying we were sure to swim if we returned back, and that, perchance, the river might be shallow the other way, I followed his counsel, and putting my horse below him, bore him up in the manner I did formerly, and swimming through the river, brought him safe to the other side. The horse I rode upon, I remember, cost me £40, and was the same horse which Sir John Ayres hurt under me, and did swim excellently well, carrying me and his back above water ; whereas that little nag upon which Richard Griffiths rid, swam so low that he must needs have drowned if I had not supported him.

I will tell one history more of this horse, which I bought of my cousin Fowler, of the Grange, because it is memorable. I was passing over a bridge not far from Colebrook, which had no barrier on the one side, and a hole in the bridge, not far from the middle : my horse, though lusty, yet being very timorous, and seeing besides but very little on the right eye, started so much at the hole, that upon a sudden he had put half his body lengthwise over the side of the bridge, and was ready to fall into the river, with his fore foot and hinder foot on the right side, when I, foreseeing the danger I was in if I fell down, clapped my left foot, together with the stirrup and spur, flat-long to the left side, and so made him leap upon all four into the river, whence, after some three or four plunges, he brought me to land.

The year 1614 was now entering, when I understood



that the Low Country and Spanish army would be in the field that year : this made me resolve to offer my service to the Prince of Orange, who, upon my coming, did much welcome me, not suffering me almost to eat anywhere but at his table, and carrying me abroad the afternoon in his coach, to partake of those entertainments he delighted in when there was no pressing occasion. The Low Country army being now ready, his excellency prepared to go into the field ; in the way to which he took me in his coach, and sometimes in a waggon, after the Low Country fashion, to the great envy of the English and French chief commanders, who expected that honour.

Being now arrived near Emerick, one with a most humble petition came from a monastery of nuns, most humbly desiring that the soldiers might not violate their honour, nor their monastery ; whereupon, I was a most humble suitor to his excellency to spare them, which he granted ; but, said he, we will go and see them ourselves, and thus, his excellency, and I, and Sir Charles Morgan only, not long after going to the monastery, found it deserted in great part. Having put a guard upon this monastery, his excellency marched with his army on till we came near the city of Emerick, which, upon summoning, yielded : and now leaving a garrison here, we resolved to march towards Rice.*

This place, having the Spanish army, under the command of Monsieur Spinola, on the one side, and the Low Country army on the other, being able to resist neither, sent word to both armies, that whichsoever came first should have the place. Spinola hereupon sent word to his excellency, that if we intended to take Rice, he would give him battle in a plain near before the town. His excellency, nothing astonished hereat, marched on, his

* Rees, in the duchy of Cleve, near Emerick.

pioneers making his way for the army still, through hedges and ditches, until he came to that hedge and ditch which was next the plain ; and here drawing his men into battle, resolved to attend the coming of Spinola into the field. While his men were putting in order, I was so desirous to see whether Spinola with his army appeared, I leapt over a great hedge and ditch, attended only with one footman, purposing to change a pistol-shot or two with the first I met. I found thus some single horse in the field, who, perceiving me to come on, rid away as fast as they could, believing, perchance, that more would follow me.

Having thus past to the further end of the field, and finding no show of the enemy, I returned back, that I might inform his excellency there was no hope of fighting, as I could perceive. In the mean time, his excellency having prepared all things for battle, sent out five or six scouts to discover whether the enemy were coming, according to promise ; these men finding me now coming towards them, thought I was one of the enemies, which being perceived by me, and I as little knowing at that time who they were, rode up with my sword in my hand, and pistol, to encounter them ; and now being come within reasonable distance, one of the persons there that knew me told his fellows who I was, whereupon, I passed quietly to his excellency, and told him what I had done, and that I found no appearance of an army. His excellency then caused the hedge and ditch before him to be levelled, and marched in front, with his army into the middle of the field : from whence, sending some of his forces to summon the town, it yielded without resistance.

Our army made that haste to come to the place appointed for the battle, that all our baggage and provision

were left behind, insomuch that I was without any meat but what my footman spared me out of his pocket; and my lodging that night was no better, for extreme rain falling at that time in the open field, I had no shelter, but was glad to get on the top of a waggon which had straw in it, and to cover myself with my cloak as well as I could, and so endure that stormy night. Morning being come, and no enemy appearing, I went to the town of Rice, into which his excellency having now put a garrison, marched on with the rest of his army towards Wezel, before which Spinola with his army lay, and in the way entrenched himself strongly, and attended Spinola's motions. For the rest, nothing memorable happened after this betwixt those two generals, for the space of many weeks.

I must yet not omit with thankfulness to remember a favour his excellency did me at this time; for a soldier having killed his fellow-soldier in the quarter where they were lodged, which is an unpardonable fault, insomuch that no man would speak for him; the poor fellow comes to me, and desires me to beg his life of his excellency; whereupon I demanding whether he had ever heard of a man pardoned in this kind, and he saying no, I told him it was in vain then for me to speak; when the poor fellow writhing his neck a little, said, "Sir, but were it not better you shall cast away a few words than I lose my life?" This piece of eloquence moved me so much that I went straight to his excellency, and told him what the poor fellow had said, desiring him to excuse me, if upon these terms I took the boldness to speak for him.

There was present at that time the Earl of Southampton,* as also Sir Edward Cecil, and Sir Horace Vere,

* Henry Wriothesley, third earl of Southampton. He had been

as also Monsieur de Chastillon, and divers other French commanders ; to whom his excellency, turning himself, said in French, "Do you see this cavalier, with all that courage you know, hath yet that good-nature to pray for the life of a poor soldier ? Though I had never pardoned any before in this kind, yet I will pardon this at his request." So commanding him to be brought me, and disposed of as I thought fit, whom therefore I released and set free.

It was now so far advanced in autumn, both armies thought of retiring themselves into their garrisons, when a trumpeter comes from the Spanish army to ours, with a challenge from a Spanish cavalier to this effect, that if any cavalier in our army would fight a single combat for the sake of his mistress, the said Spaniard would meet him, upon assurance of the camp in our army. This challenge being brought early in the morning was accepted by nobody till about ten or eleven of the clock, when the report thereof coming to me, I went straight to his excellency, and told him I desired to accept the challenge. His excellency thereupon looking earnestly upon me, told me he was an old soldier, and that he had observed two sorts of men who used to send challenges in this kind. One was of those who having lost perchance some part of their honour in the field against the enemy, would recover it again by a single fight ; the other was of those who sent it only to discover whether our army had in it men affected to give trial of themselves in this kind ; howbeit, if this man was a person without exception to be taken against him, he said there was none he knew, upon whom he would sooner venture the honour of his army than myself ; and this also he spoke before attainted with the Earl of Essex, but was restored by King James, and made Knight of the Garter.

divers of the English and French commanders I formerly nominated.

Hereupon, by his excellency's permission, I sent a trumpet to the Spanish army with this answer, That if the person who would be sent were a cavalier without reproach, I would answer him with such weapons as we should agree upon, in the place he offered; but my trumpeter was scarcely arrived, as I believe, at the Spanish army, when another trumpeter came to ours from Spinola, saying the challenge was made without his consent, and that therefore he would not permit it.

This message being brought to his excellency, with whom I then was, he said to me presently, "This is strange; they send a challenge hither, and when they have done, recall it: I should be glad if I knew the true causes of it." "Sir," said I, "if you will give me leave, I will go to their army and make the like challenge as they sent hither; it may be some scruple is made concerning the place appointed being in your excellency's camp, and therefore I shall offer them the combat in their own." His excellency said, "I should never have persuaded you to this course, but since you voluntarily offer it, I must not deny that which you think to be for your honour."

Hereupon, taking my leave of him, and desiring Sir Humphrey Tufton,* a brave gentleman, to bear me company, thus we two, attended only with two lackeys, rode straight towards the Spanish camp before Wezel. Coming thither without any disturbance by the way, I was demanded by the guard at the entering into their camp, with whom I would speak. I told them with the Duke of Neubourg, whereupon a soldier was presently

* Third son of Sir John Tufton, and brother of Nicholas, Earl of Thanet.

sent with us to conduct us to the Duke of Neubourg's tent, who remembering me well, since he saw me at the siege of Juliers, very kindly embraced me, and therewithal demanding the cause of my coming thither. I told him the effect thereof in the manner I formerly set down, to which he replied only he would acquaint the Marquis Spinola therewith, who coming shortly after to the Duke of Neubourg's tent, with a great train of commanders and captains following him, he no sooner entered but he turned to me and said that he knew well the cause of my coming, and that the same reasons which made him forbid the Spanish cavalier to fight a combat in the Prince of Orange's camp, did make him forbid it in his, and that I should be better welcome to him than I would be, and thereupon entreated me to come and dine with him. I finding nothing else to be done, did kindly accept the offer, and so attending him to his tent, where a brave dinner being put upon his table, he placed the Duke of Neubourg uppermost at one end of the table, and myself at the other, himself sitting below us, presenting with his own hand still the best of that meat his carver offered him. He demanded of me then in Italian, "Di che moriva Sigr. Francisco Vere?"—"Of what died Sir Francis Vere?" I told him, "Per aver niente à fare."—"Because he had nothing to do." Spinola replied, "E basta per un generale"—"And it is enough to kill a general;" and indeed that brave commander, Sir Francis Vere, died not in time of war, but of peace.

Taking my leave now of the Marquis Spinola, I told him that if ever he did lead an army against the Infidels, I should adventure to be the first man that would die in that quarrel, and together demanded leave of him to see his army, which he granting, I took leave of him and did at leisure view it, observing the difference in the

proceedings betwixt the Low Country army and fortifications as well as I could ; and so returning shortly after to his excellency, related to him the success of my journey.

It happened about this time that Sir Henry Wotton mediated a peace by the king's command, who coming for that purpose to Wezel, I took occasion to go along with him into Spinola's army, whence after a night's stay I went on an extreme rainy day through the woods to Kaiserswerth, to the great wonder of mine host, who said all men were robbed or killed that went that way. From hence I went to Cologne, where among other things I saw the monastery of St. Herbert ; from hence I went to Heidelberg, where I saw the Prince and Princess Palatine, from whom having received much good usage, I went to Ulm, and so to Augsburg, where extraordinary honour was done me ; for coming into an inn where an ambassador from Brussels lay, the town sent twenty great flagons of wine thither, whereof they gave eleven to the ambassador, and nine to me ; and withal some such compliments that I found my fame had prevented my coming thither.

From hence I went through Switzerland to Trent, and from thence to Venice, where I was received by the English ambassador, Sir Dudley Carlton,* with much honour. Among other favours showed me, I was brought to see a nun in Murano, who being an admired beauty, and together singing extremely well, was thought one of the rarities not only of that place but of the time. We came to a room opposite unto the cloister, whence she, coming on the other side of the grate betwixt us, sung so extremely well, that when she departed neither my lord ambassador nor his lady, who were then present,

* Ambassador to Venice, Savoy, and Holland, Secretary of State, and Viscount Dorchester.

could find as much as a word of fitting language to return her for the extraordinary music she gave us ; when I, being ashamed that she should go back without some testimony of the sense we had, both of the harmony of her beauty and her voice, said in Italian, "Moria pur quando vuol, non bisogna mutar ni voce ni faccia per esser un angelo"—"Die whensoever you will, you neither need to change voice nor face to be an angel." These words it seemed were fatal, for going thence to Rome, and returning shortly afterwards, I heard she was dead in the meantime.

From Venice, after some stay, I went to Florence, where I met the Earl of Oxford * and Sir Benjamin Rudier.† Having seen the rarities of this place likewise, and particularly that rare chapel made for the house of Medici, beautified on all the inside with a coarser kind of precious stone, as also that nail which was at one end iron and the other gold, made so by virtue of a tincture into which it was put, I went to Siena, and from thence, a little before the Christmas holidays, to Rome. I was no sooner alighted at my inn but I went straight to the English college, where demanding for the regent or master thereof, a grave person not long after appeared at the door, to whom I spake in this manner. "Sir, I need not tell you my country when you hear my language ; I come not here to study controversies, but to see the antiquities of the place. If without scandal to the religion in which I was born and bred up, I may take this liberty, I should be glad to spend

* Henry Vere, Earl of Oxford. He died at the Hague in 1625, of a sickness contracted at the siege of Breda, where, being a very corpulent man, he had overheated himself.

† Sir Benjamin Rudyard was a man in great vogue in that age, a wit, and poet, and intimate friend of William, Earl of Pembroke, with whose poems Sir Benjamin's are printed.

some convenient time here ; if not, my horse is yet unsaddled, and myself willing to go out of town."

The answer returned by him to me was, that he never heard anybody before me profess himself of any other religion than what was used in Rome. For his part he approved much my freedom, as collecting thereby I was a person of honour ; for the rest, that he could give me no warrant for my stay there, howbeit that experience did teach that those men who gave no affronts to the Roman Catholic religion received none, whereupon also he demanded my name.

I telling him I was called Sir Edward Herbert, he replied that he had heard men oftentimes speak of me both for learning and courage, and presently invited me to dinner. I told him that I took his courteous offer as an argument of his affection, that I desired him to excuse me if I did not accept it ; the uttermost liberty I had (as the times then were in England) being already taken in coming to that city only, least they should think me a factious person. I thought fit to tell him that I conceived the points agreed upon on both sides, are greater bonds of amity betwixt us than that the points disagreed on could break them ; that for my part I loved everybody that was of a pious and virtuous life, and thought the errors on what side soever, were more worthy pity than hate ; and having declared myself thus far, I took my leave of him courteously, and spent about a month's time in seeing the antiquities of that place, which first found means to establish so great an empire over the persons of men, and afterwards over their consciences ; the articles of confession and absolving sinners, being a greater *arcanum imperii* for governing the world than all the arts invented by statistes formerly were.

After I had seen Rome sufficiently, I went to Tivoli,

anciently called Tibur, and saw the fair palace and garden there, as also Frascati, anciently called Tusculanum. After that I returned to Rome, and saw the Pope in consistory, which being done, when the Pope being now ready to give his blessing, I departed thence suddenly, which gave such a suspicion of me that some were sent to apprehend me, but I going a by-way escaped them, and went to my inn to take horse, where I had not been now half an hour, when the master or regent of the English college telling me that I was accused in the Inquisition, and that I could stay no longer with any safety, I took this warning very kindly; howbeit I did only for the present change my lodging, and a day or two afterwards took horse and went out of Rome towards Siena, and from thence to Florence.

I saw Sir Robert Dudley, * who had the title of Earl or Duke of Northumberland given him by the emperor, and handsome Mrs. Sudel, whom he carried with him out of England, and was there taken for his wife. I was invited by them to a great feast the night before I went out of town: taking my leave of them both, I prepared for my journey the next morning. When I was ready to depart, a messenger came to me, and told me if I would accept the same pension Sir Robert Dudley had, being two thousand ducats per annum, the Duke would entertain me for his service in the war against the Turks. This offer, whether procured by the means of Sir Robert Dudley, Mrs. Sudel, or Sigr. Loty, my ancient friend, I know not, being thankfully acknowledged as a great honour, was yet refused by me, my intention being to serve his excellency in the Low Country war.

* See an account of this extraordinary person in the Catalogue of Royal and Noble Authors, vol. ii. "Handsome Mrs. Sudel" was Mrs. Southwell, daughter of Sir Robert Southwell, who had followed Sir Robert Dudley from England, under the disguise of a page.

After I had stayed a while, from hence I went by Ferrara and Bologna towards Padua, in which university having spent some time to hear the learned readers, and particularly Cremonini, I left my English horses and Scotch saddles there, for on them I rid all the way from the Low Countries; I went by boat to Venice. The lord ambassador, Sir Dudley Carlton, by this time had a command to reside a while in the court of the Duke of Savoy, wherewith also his lordship acquainted me, demanding whether I would go thither; this offer was gladly accepted by me, both as I was desirous to see that court, and that it was in the way to the Low Country, where I meant to see the war the summer ensuing.

Coming thus in the coach with my lord ambassador to Milan, the governor thereof invited my lord ambassador to his house, and sometimes feasted him during his stay there. Here I heard that famous nun singing to the organ in this manner: another nun beginning first to sing, performed her part so well, that we gave her much applause for her excellent art and voice; only we thought she did sing somewhat lower than other women usually did. Hereupon also, being ready to depart, we heard suddenly, for we saw nobody, that nun which was so famous, sing an eight higher than the other had done: her voice was the sweetest, strongest, and clearest, that ever I heard; in the using whereof, also, she showed that art as ravished us into admiration.

From Milan we went to Novara, as I remember, where we were entertained by the governor, being a Spaniard, with one of the most sumptuous feasts that ever I saw, being but of nine dishes, in three several services; the first whereof was, three ollas podridas, consisting of all choice boiled meats, placed in three large silver chargers, which took up the length of a great table; the meat in it

being heightened up artificially pyramid-wise, to a sparrow which was on the top. The second service was like the former, of roast meat, in which all manner of fowl, from the pheasant and partridge, to other fowl less than them, were heightened up to a lark. The third was in sweetmeats, dry of all sorts, heightened in like manner to a round comfit.

From hence we went to Vercelli, a town of the Duke of Savoy's, frontier to the Spaniard, with whom the Duke was then in war; from whence, passing by places of least note, we came to Turin, where the Duke of Savoy's court was. After I had refreshed myself here some two or three days, I took leave of my lord ambassador, with intention to go to the Low Countries, and was now upon the way thither, as far as the foot of Mount Cenis, when the Count Scarnafigi came to me from the duke,* and brought a letter to this effect: that the Duke had heard I was a cavalier of great worth, and desirous to see the wars, and that if I would serve him, I should make my own conditions.

Finding so courteous an invitation, I returned back, and was lodged by the Duke of Savoy in a chamber furnished with silk and gold hangings, and a very rich bed, and defrayed at the Duke's charges, in the English ambassador's house. The Duke also confirmed unto me what the Count Scarnafigi had said, and together bestowed divers compliments on me. I told his highness, that when I knew in what service he pleased to employ me, he should find me ready to testify the sense I had of his princely invitation.

It was now in the time of Carnival, when the Duke, who loved the company of ladies and dancing as much as any prince whosoever, made divers masks and balls, in which

* Charles Emanuel.

his own daughters, among divers other ladies, danced : and here it was his manner to place me always with his own hand near some fair lady, wishing us both to entertain each other with some discourse, which was a great favour among the Italians. He did many other ways also declare the great esteem he had of me without coming to any particular, the time of the year for going into the field being not yet come ; only he exercised his men often, and made them ready for his occasions in the spring.

The duke at last resolving how to use my service, thought fit to send me to Languedoc, in France, to conduct four thousand men of the reformed religion, who had promised their assistance in his war, unto Piedmont. I willingly accepted this offer ; so taking my leave of the duke, and bestowing about £70 or £80 among his officers, for the kind entertainment I had received, I took my leave also of my lord ambassador, and Sir Albertus Moreton, who was likewise employed there, and prepared for my journey, for more expedition of which I was desired to go post. An old Scotch knight of the Sandelands hearing this, desired to borrow my horses as far as Heidelberg, which I granted, on condition that he would use them well by the way, and give them good keeping in that place afterwards.

The Count Scarnafigi was commanded to bear me company in this journey, and to carry with him some jewels, which he was to pawn in Lyons, in France, and with the money gotten for them to pay the soldiers above nominated ; for though the duke had put extreme taxations on his people, insomuch that they paid not only a certain sum for every horse, ox, cow, or sheep that they kept, but afterwards for every chimney ; and, finally, every single person by the poll, which amounted to a pistole, or 14s. a

head, or person. Yet he wanted money ; at which I did not so much wonder, as at the patience of his subjects ; of whom I demanded, how they could bear their taxations. I have heard some of them answer, " We are not so offended with the duke for what he takes from us, as thankful for what he leaves us."

The Count Scarnafigi and I, now setting forth, rid post all day without eating or drinking by the way, the count telling me still we should come to a good inn at night. It was now twilight, when the count and I came near a solitary inn on the top of a mountain ; the hostess, hearing the noise of horses, came out, with a child new-born on her left arm, and a rush candle in her hand. She presently knowing the Count de Scarnafigi, told him, " Ah, signor, you are come in a very ill time ; the duke's soldiers have been here to-day, and have left me nothing." I looked sadly upon the count, when he, coming near to me, whispered me in the ear, and said, " It may be she thinks we will use her as the soldiers have done : go you into the house, and see whether you can find anything ; I will go round about the house, and perhaps I shall meet with some duck, hen, or chicken." Entering thus into the house, I found for all other furniture of it, the end of an old form, upon which sitting down, the hostess came towards me with a rush candle, and said, " I protest before God, that is true which I told the count, here is nothing to eat. But you are a gentleman ; methinks it is a pity you should want. If you please, I will give you some milk out of my breasts, into a wooden dish I have here."

This unexpected kindness made that impression on me, that I remember I was never so tenderly sensible of anything. My answer was, " God forbid I should take away the milk from the child I see in thy arms ; howbeit,

I shall take it all my life for the greatest piece of charity that ever I heard of ;” and therewithal giving her a pistole, or a piece of gold of fourteen shillings, Scarnafigi and I got on horseback again, and rid another post, and came to an inn where we found very coarse cheer, yet hunger made us relish it.

In this journey I remember I went over Mount Gabelet by night, being carried down that precipice in a chair, a guide that went before bringing a bottle of straw with him, and kindling pieces of it from time to time, that we might see our way. Being at the bottom of a hill, I got on horseback and rid to Burgoine, resolving to rest there awhile ; and the rather, to speak truly, that I had heard divers say, and particularly Sir John Finnet,* and Sir Richard Newport,† that the host’s daughter there was the handsomest woman that ever they saw in their lives. Coming to the inn, the Count Scarnafigi wished me to rest two or three hours, and he would go before to Lyons, to prepare business for my journey to Languedoc.

The host’s daughter being not within, I told her father and mother that I desired only to see their daughter, as having heard her spoken of in England with so much advantage, that divers told me they thought her the handsomest creature that ever they saw. They answered, she was gone to a marriage, and should be presently sent for ; wishing me, in the meanwhile, to take some rest upon a bed, for they saw I needed it.

Waking now about two hours afterwards, I found her sitting by me, attending when I would open mine eyes. I shall touch a little of her description : her hair being of a shining black, was naturally curled in that order that a curious woman would have dressed it ; for one curl rising

* Master of the Ceremonies.

† Afterwards created a baron, and ancestor of the Earls of Bradford.

by degrees above another, and every bout tied with a small ribbon of a naccarine, or the colour that the Knights of the Bath wear, gave a very graceful mixture, while it was bound up in this manner from the point of her shoulder to the crown of her head ; her eyes, which were round and black, seemed to be models of her whole beauty, and in some sort of her air, while a kind of light or flame came from them, not unlike that which the ribbon which tied up her hair exhibited. I do not remember ever to have seen a prettier mouth, or whiter teeth : briefly, all her outward parts seemed to become each other ; neither was there anything that could be disliked, unless one should say her complexion was too brown, which yet, from the shadow, was heightened with a good blood in her cheeks.

Her gown was a green Turkey grogram, cut all into panes or slashes, from the shoulder and sleeves unto the foot, and tied up at the distance of about a hand's breadth everywhere with the same ribbon with which her hair was bound ; so that her attire seemed as bizarre as her person. I am too long in describing an host's daughter, howbeit I thought I might better speak of her than of divers other beauties held to be the best and fairest of the time, whom I have often seen. In conclusion, after about an hour's stay, I departed thence, without offering so much as the least incivility ; and indeed, after so much weariness, it was enough that her sight alone did somewhat refresh me.

From hence I went straight to Lyons : entering the gate, the guards there, after their usual manner, demanded of me who I was, whence I came, and whither I went ; to which while I answered I observed one of them look very attentively upon me, and then again upon a paper he had in his hand. This having been done divers

times, bred in me a suspicion that there was no good meaning in it, and I was not deceived in my conjecture ; for the queen-mother of France having newly made an edict that no soldiers should be raised in France, the Marquis de Rambouillet,* French ambassador at Turin, sent word of my employment to the Marquis de St. Chaumont, then governor of Lyons, as also a description of my person. This edict was so severe, as they who raised any men were to lose their heads.

In this unfortunate conjuncture of affairs, nothing fell out so well on my part, as that I had not raised as yet any men ; howbeit, the guards requiring me to come before the governor, I went with them to a church where he was at vespers ; this while I walked in the lower part of the church, little imagining what danger I was in had I levied any men. I had not walked there long, when a single person came to me, apparelled in a black stuff suit, without any attendants upon him, when I, supposing this person to be any man rather than the governor, saluted him without much ceremony.

His first question was, whence I came ? I answered from Turin ; he demanded then whither I would go ? I answered, I was not yet resolved ; his third question was, what news at Turin ? to which I answered that I had no news to tell, as supposing him to be only some busy or inquisitive person. The marquis hereupon called one of the guards that conducted me thither, and after he had whispered something in his ear, wished me to go along with him, which I did willingly, as believing this man would bring me to the governor. This man silently

* This gentleman, I believe, was husband of Madame de Rambouillet, whose assemblies of the wits and poets were so much celebrated in that age. They were parents of the famous Julie de Angennes, duchesse de Montausier, well known by Voiture's letters to her.

leading me out of the church, brought me to a fair house, into which I was no sooner entered but he told me I was commanded to prison there by him I saw in the church, who was the governor. I replied, I did not know him to be governor, nor that that was a prison, and that if I were out of it again, neither the governor nor all the town could bring me to it alive.

The master of the house hereupon spoke me very fair, and told me he would conduct me to a better chamber than any I could find in an inn, and thereupon conducted me to a very handsome lodging not far from the river. I had not been here half an hour when Sir Edward Sackville* (now Earl of Dorset), hearing only that an Englishman was committed, sent to know who I was, and why I was imprisoned. The governor not knowing whether to lay the fault upon my short answers to him, or my commission to levy men contrary to the queen's edict, made him so doubtful an answer (after he had a little touched upon both), as he dismissed him unsatisfied.

Sir Edward Sackville hereupon coming to the house where I was, as soon as ever he saw me, embraced me, saying, "Ned Herbert, what doest thou here?" I answered, "Ned Sackville, I am glad to see you; but I protest I know not why I am here." He again said, "Hast thou raised any men yet for the Duke of Savoy?" I replied, "Not so much as one." Then said he, "I will warrant thee; though I must tell thee the governor is much offended at thy behaviour and language in the church." I replied it was impossible for me to imagine him to be governor that came without a guard, and in such mean clothes as he then wore. "I will go to him again, and tell him what you say, and doubt not but you shall be suddenly freed."

* Well known by his duel with the Lord Bruce.

Hereupon returning to the governor, he told of what family I was, and of what condition, and that I had raised no men, and that I knew him not to be governor ; whereupon the marquis wished him to go back, that he would come in person to free me out of the house.

This message being brought me by Sir Edward Sackville, I returned this answer only : that it was enough if he sent order to free me. While these messages past, a company of handsome young men and women, out of I know not what civility, brought music under the window and danced before me, looking often up to see me ; but Sir Edward Sackville being now returned with the order to free me, I only gave them thanks out of the window, and so went along with them to the governor.

Being come into a great hall where his lady was, and a large train of gentlewomen and other persons, the governor, with his hat in his hand, demanded of me whether I knew him, when his noble lady answering for me, said, "How could he know you, when you were in the church alone, and in this habit, being for the rest wholly a stranger to you?" Which civility of hers, though I did not presently take notice of it, I did afterwards most thankfully acknowledge, when I was ambassador in France.

The governor's next questions were the very same he made when he met me in the church ; to which I made the very same answers before them all, concluding, that as I did not know him, he could think it no incongruity if I answered in those terms. The governor yet was not satisfied herewith, and his noble lady taking my part again, gave him those reasons for my answering him in that manner, that they silenced him from speaking any further. The governor turning back, I likewise, after an

humble obeisance made to his lady, returned with Sir Edward Sackville to my lodgings.

This night I passed as quietly as I could, but the next morning advised with him what I was to do. I told him I had received a great affront, and that I intended to send him a challenge in such courteous language that he could not refuse it. Sir Edward Sackville by all means dissuaded me from it; by which I perceived I was not to expect his assistance therein, and, indeed, the next day he went out of town.

Being alone now, I thought on nothing more than how to send him a challenge, which at last I penned to this effect: That whereas he had given me great offence, without a cause, I thought myself bound as a gentleman to resent it, and therefore desired to see him with his sword in his hand in any place he should appoint; and hoped he would not interpose his authority as an excuse for not complying with his honour on this occasion, and that so I rested his humble servant.

Finding nobody in town for two or three days by whom I might send this challenge, I resolved, for my last means, to deliver it in person, and observe how he took it, intending to right myself as I could when I found he stood upon his authority.

This night it happened that Monsieur Terant, formerly mentioned, came to the town; this gentleman knowing me well, and remembering our acquaintance both at France and Juliers, wished there were some occasion for him to serve me. I presently hereupon, taking the challenge out of my pocket, told him he would oblige me extremely if he were pleased to deliver it; and that I hoped he might do it without danger, since I knew the French to be so brave a nation, that they would never refuse or dislike anything that was done in an honourable and worthy way.

Terant took the challenge from me, and, after he had read it, told me that the language was civil and discreet; nevertheless he thought the governor would not return me that answer I expected. "Howsoever," said he, "I will deliver it." Returning thus to my inn, and intending to sleep quieter that night than I had done three nights before; about one of the clock after midnight, I heard a great noise at my door, which awakened me, certain persons knocking so hard as if they would break it; besides, through the chinks thereof I saw light.

This made me presently rise in my shirt, when, drawing my sword, I went to the door and demanded who they were; and together told them that, if they came to make me prisoner, I would rather die with my sword in my hand; and therewithal opening the door, I found upon the stairs half a dozen men armed with halberts, whom I no sooner prepared to resist, but the chief of them told me that they came not to me from the governor, but from my good friend the Duke of Montmorency, son to the duke I formerly mentioned; and that he came to town late that night, in his way from Languedoc (of which he was governor) to Paris; and that he desired me, if I loved him, to rise presently and come to him, assuring me further that this was most true; hereupon wishing them to retire themselves, I dressed myself and went with them.

They conducted me to the great hall of the governor, where the Duke of Montmorency and divers other cavaliers had been dancing with the ladies. I went presently to the Duke of Montmorency, who, taking me a little aside, told me that he had heard of the passages betwixt the governor and me, and that I had sent him a challenge; howbeit, that he conceived men in his place

were not bound to answer as private persons for those things they did by virtue of their office ; nevertheless, that I should have satisfaction in as ample manner as I could reasonably desire.

Hereupon, bringing me with him to the governor, he freely told me, that now he knew who I was, he could do no less than assure me that he was sorry for what was done, and desired me to take this for satisfaction. The Duke of Montmorency hereupon said presently, " C'est assez ; " " it is enough." I then turning to him, demanded whether he would have taken this satisfaction in the like case ? He said, " Yes." After this, turning to the governor, I demanded the same question ; to which he answered, that he would have taken the same satisfaction, and less too. I kissing my hand, gave it to him, who embraced me, and so this business ended.

After some compliments passed between the Duke of Montmorency, who remembered the great love his father bore me, which he desired to continue in his person, and putting me in mind also of our being educated together for a while, demanded whether I would go with him to Paris. I told him that I was engaged to the Low Countries ; but that wheresoever I was, I should be his most humble servant.

My employment with the Duke of Savoy in Languedoc being thus ended, I went from Lyons to Geneva, where I found also my fame had prevented my coming ; for the next morning after my arrival, the state taking notice of me, sent a messenger in their name to congratulate my being there, and presented me with some flagons of wine, desiring me (if I stayed there any while) to see their fortifications, and give my opinion of them ; which I did, and told them I thought they were weakest where they thought themselves the strongest, which was on the

hilly part, where, indeed, they had made great fortifications ; yet, as it is a rule in war, that whatsoever may be made by art, may be destroyed by art again, I conceived they had need to fear the approach of an enemy on that part rather than any other. They replied, that divers great soldiers had told them the same ; and that they would give the best order they could to serve themselves on that side.

Having rested here some while to take physic (my health being a little broken with long travel), I departed, after a fortnight's stay, to Basil, where taking a boat upon the river, I came at length to Strasburg, and from thence went to Heidelberg, where I was received again by the Prince Elector and princess with much kindness, and viewed at leisure the fair library there, the gardens, and other rarities of that place ; and here I found my horses I lent to Sandelands in good plight, which I then bestowed upon some servants of the prince, in way of retribution for my welcome thither. From hence Sir George Calvert* and myself went by water, for the most part, to the Low Countries, where taking leave of each other, I went straight to his excellency, who did extraordinarily welcome me, insomuch that it was observed that he did never outwardly make so much of any one as myself.

It happened this summer that the Low Country army was not drawn into the field, so that the Prince of Orange passed his time at playing at chess with me after dinner ; or in going to Reswick with him to see his great horses ; or in making love, in which, also, he used me as his companion, yet so that I saw nothing openly, more than might argue a civil familiarity. When I was at any time from

* Afterwards Lord Baltimore. See an account of him in the "Catalogue of Royal and Noble Authors," vol. ii.

him, I did, by his good leave, endeavour to raise a troop of horse for the Duke of Savoy's service, as having obtained a commission to that purpose for my brother William, then an officer in the Low Country. Having these men in readiness, I sent word to the Count Scarnafigi thereof, who was now ambassador in England, telling him, that if he would send money, my brother was ready to go.

Scarnafigi answered me, that he expected money in England; and that as soon as he received it, he would send over so much as would pay a hundred horse: but a peace betwixt him and the Spaniard being concluded not long after at Asti, the whole charge of keeping this horse fell upon me, without ever to this day receiving any recompense.

Winter now approaching, and nothing more to be done for that year, I went to the Brill to take shipping for England. Sir Edward Conway, who was then governor at that place, and afterwards Secretary of State, taking notice of my being there, came to me, and invited me every day to come to him, while I attended only for a wind; which serving at last for my journey, Sir Edward Conway conducted me to the ship, into which as soon as I was entered, he caused six pieces of ordnance to be discharged for my farewell. I was scarce gone a league into the sea, when the wind turned contrary, and forced me back again.

Returning thus to the Brill, Sir Edward Conway welcomed me as before; and now after some three or four days, the wind serving, he conducted me again to the ship, and bestowed six volleys of ordnance upon me. I was now about half way to England, when a most cruel storm arose, which tore our sails and spent our masts, in-somuch that the master of our ship gave us all for lost, as the wind was extreme high, and together contrary.

We were carried at last, though with much difficulty, back again to the Brill, where Sir Edward Conway did congratulate my escape ; saying, he believed, certainly, that (considering the weather) I must needs be cast away.

After some stay here with my former welcome, the wind being now fair, I was conducted again to my ship by Sir Edward Conway, and the same volleys of shot given me, and was now scarce out of the haven, when the wind again turned contrary, and drove me back. This made me resolve to try my fortune here no longer ; hiring a small bark therefore, I went to the sluice, and from thence to Ostend, where finding company, I went to Brussels.

In the inn where I lay, here an ordinary was kept, to which divers noblemen and principal officers of the Spanish army resorted : sitting among these at dinner, the next day after my arrival, no man knowing me or informing himself who I was, they fell into discourse of divers matters, in Italian, Spanish, and French ; and at last three of them, one after another, began to speak of King James, my master, in a very scornful manner. I thought with myself then, that if I was a base fellow, I need not take any notice thereof, since no man knew me to be an Englishman, or that I did so much as understand their language ; but my heart burning within me, I, putting off my hat, arose from the table, and turning myself to those that sat at the upper end, who had said nothing to the king my master's prejudice, I told them in Italian, "Son Inglese," "I am an Englishman ;" and should be unworthy to live if I suffered these words to be spoken of the king my master ; and therewithal turning myself to those who had injured the king, I said, "You have spoken falsely, and I will fight with you all." Those at the upper end of the table finding I had so much reason

on my part, did sharply check those I questioned, and, to be brief, made them ask the king's forgiveness, wherewith also the king's health being drunk round about the table, I departed thence to Dunkirk, and thence to Graveling, where I saw, though unknown, an English gentlewoman enter into a nunnery there.

I went thence to Calais ; it was now extreme foul weather, and I could find no master of a ship willing to adventure to sea. Howbeit, my impatience was such, that I demanded of a poor fisherman there whether he would go. He answered, his ship was worse than any in the haven, as being open above, and without any deck, besides that it was old ; but, saith he, "I care for my life as little as you do, and if you will go, my boat is at your service."

I was now scarce out of the haven, when a high-grown sea had almost overwhelmed us, the waves coming in very fast into our ship, which we laded out again the best we could ; notwithstanding which we expected every minute to be cast away. It pleased God yet before we were gone six leagues into the sea, to cease the tempest, and give us a fair passage over to the Downs, where after giving God thanks for my delivery from this most needless danger that ever I did run, I went to London.

I had not been here ten days when a quartan ague seized on me, which held me for a year and a half without intermission, and a year and a half longer at spring and fall ; the good days I had during all this sickness I employed in study, the ill being spent in as sharp and long fits as I think ever any man endured, which brought me at last to be so lean and yellow, that scarce any man did know me.

It happened during this sickness, that I walked abroad one day towards Whitehall, where meeting with one Emerson, who spoke very disgraceful words of Sir Robert

Harley, being then my dear friend, my weakness could not hinder me to be sensible of my friend's dishonour. Shaking him therefore by a long beard he wore, I stepped a little aside and drew my sword in the street, Captain Thomas Scriven, a friend of mine, not being far off on one side, and divers friends of his on the other side. All that saw me wondered how I could go, being so weak and consumed as I was, but much more that I would offer to fight: howsoever, Emerson, instead of drawing his sword, ran away into Suffolk-house, and afterwards informed the lords of the council of what I had done; who not long after sending for me, did not so much reprehend my taking part with my friend, as that I would adventure to fight, being in such a bad condition of health.

Before I came wholly out of my sickness, Sir George Villiers, afterwards duke of Buckingham, came into the king's favour. This cavalier meeting me accidentally at the Lady Stanhope's* house, came to me, and told me he had heard so much of my worth, as he would think himself happy if by his credit with the king, he could do me any service. I humbly thanked him, but told him that for the present I had need of nothing so much as of health, but that if ever I had ambition, I should take the boldness to make my address by him.

I was no sooner perfectly recovered of this long sickness, but the Earl of Oxford and myself resolved to raise two regiments for the service of the Venetians. While we were making ready for this journey, the king having an occasion to send an ambassador into France, required Sir George Villiers to present him with the names of the fittest men for that employment that he knew; whereupon eighteen names, among which mine was, being

* Catherine, daughter of Francis Lord Hastings, first wife of Philip, Lord Stanhope, afterwards created Earl of Chesterfield.

written in a paper, were presented to him. The king presently chose me, yet so as he desired first to have the approbation of his Privy Council, who, confirming his Majesty's choice, sent a messenger to my house among gardens, near the Old Exchange, requiring me to come presently to them; myself little knowing then the honour intended me, asked the messenger whether I had done any fault, that the lords sent for me so suddenly; wishing him to tell the lords that I was going to dinner, and would afterwards attend them.

I had scarce dined, when another messenger was sent; this made me hasten to Whitehall, where I was no sooner come, but the lords saluted me by the name of lord ambassador of France. I told their lordships thereupon, that I was glad it was no worse, and that I doubted, that by their speedy sending for me, some complaint, though false, might be made against me.

My first commission was to renew the oath of alliance betwixt the two crowns, for which purpose I was extraordinary ambassador, which being done, I was to reside there as ordinary. I had received now about six or seven hundred pounds towards the charges of my journey, and locked it in certain coffers in my house, when, the night following, about one of the clock, I could hear divers men speak and knock at the door, in that part of the house where none did lie but myself, my wife, and her attendants; my servants being lodged in another house not far off. As soon as I heard the noise, I suspected presently they came to rob me of my money; howsoever, I thought fit to rise, and go to the window, to know who they were.

The first word I heard was, "Darest thou come down, Welshman?" which I no sooner heard, but, taking a sword in one hand, and a little target in the other, I did

in my shirt run down the stairs, open the doors suddenly, and charged ten or twelve of them with that fury that they ran away, some throwing away their halberts, others hurting their fellows, to make them go faster in a narrow way they were to pass ; in which disordered manner I drove them to the middle of the street by the Exchange, where, finding my bare feet hurt by the stones I trod on, I thought fit to return home, and leave them to their flight. My servants, hearing the noise, by this time were got up, and demanded whether I would have them pursue those rogues that fled away ; but I answering that I thought they were out of their reach, we returned home together.

While I was preparing myself for my journey, it happened that I passing through the Inner Temple one day, and encountering Sir Robert Vaughan in this country, some harsh words passed betwixt us, which occasioned him, at the persuasion of others whom I will not nominate, to send me a challenge : this was brought me at my house in Blackfriars, by Captain Charles Price, upon a Sunday, about one of the clock in the afternoon. When I had read it, I told Charles Price that I did ordinarily bestow this day in devotion, nevertheless, that I would meet Sir Robert Vaughan presently, and gave him thereupon the length of my sword, demanding whether he brought any second with him ; to which Charles Price replying that he would be in the field with him, I told my brother, Sir Henry Herbert, then present, thereof, who readily offering himself to be my second, nothing was wanting now but the place to be agreed upon betwixt us, which was not far from the waterside, near Chelsea.

My brother and I taking boat presently, came to the place, where, after we had stayed about two hours in vain, I desired my brother to go to Sir Robert Vaughan's

lodging, and tell him that I now attended his coming a great while, and that I desired him to come away speedily ; hereupon my brother went, and after a while returning back again, he told me they were not ready yet. I attended then about an hour and a half longer ; but as he did not come yet, I sent my brother a second time to call him away, and to tell him I caught cold, nevertheless, that I would stay there till sunset. My brother yet could not bring him along, but returned himself to the place, where we stayed together till half-an-hour after sunset, and then returned home.

The next day the Earl of Worcester, * by the king's command, forbid me to receive any message or letter from Sir Robert Vaughan, and advertised me withal, that the king had given him charge to end the business betwixt us ; for which purpose he desired me to come before him the next day about two of the clock ; at which time, after the earl had told me, that being now made ambassador, and a public person, I ought not to entertain private quarrels ; after which, without much ado, he ended the business betwixt Sir Robert Vaughan and myself. It was thought by some, that this would make me lose my place, I being under so great an obligation to the king for my employment in France ; but Sir George Villiers, afterwards Duke of Buckingham, told me he would warrant me for this one time, but I must do so no more.

I was now almost ready for my journey, and had received already as choice a company of gentlemen for my attendants as, I think, ever followed an ambassador ; when some of my private friends told me that I was not to trust so much to my pay from the exchequer, but that it was necessary for me to take letters of credit with me,

* Edward Somerset, Earl of Worcester, Lord Privy Seal, and Knight of the Garter.

for as much money as I could well procure. Informing myself hereupon who had furnished the last ambassador, I was told Monsieur Savage, a Frenchman. Coming to his house, I demanded whether he would help me with moneys in France, as he had done the last ambassador. He said he did not know me, but would inform himself better who I was. Departing thus from him, I went to Signor Burlamacchi, a man of great credit in those times, and demanded of him the same ; his answer was, that he knew me to be a man of honour, and I had kept my word with everybody ; whereupon also, going to his study, gave me a letter of credit to one Monsieur de Langherac, in Paris, for £2,000 sterling. I then demanded what security he expected for this money. He said he would have nothing but my promise : I told him he had put a great obligation upon me, and that I would strive to acquit myself of it the best I could.

Having now a good sum of money in my coffers, and this letter of credit, I made ready for my journey. The day I went out of London, I remember, was the same in which Queen Anne was carried to burial ; which was a sad spectacle to all that had occasion to honour her. My first night's journey was to Gravesend, where, being at supper in my inn, Monsieur Savage, formerly mentioned, came to me and told me, that whereas I had spoken to him for a letter of credit, he had made one which he thought would be to my contentment. I demanded to whom it was directed ; he said, " To Monsieur Tallemant and Rambouillet in Paris." I asked then, what they were worth. He said, " Above £100,000 sterling." I demanded for how much this letter of credit was ; he said for as much as I should have need of. I asked what security he required. He said, nothing but my word, which he had heard was inviolable.

From Gravesend, by easy journeys, I went to Dover, where I took shipping, with a train of a hundred and odd persons, and arrived shortly after at Calais, where I remember my cheer was twice as good as at Dover, and my reckoning half as cheap; from whence I went to Boulogne, Monstreville, Abbeville, Amiens, and in two days, thence to St. Denis, near Paris, where I was met with a great train of coaches, that were sent to receive me; as also by the master of the ceremonies, and Monsieur Mennon, my fellow scholar, with Monsieur Disancour, who then kept an academy, and brought with him a brave company of gentlemen on great horses, to attend me into town.

It was now somewhat late when I entered Paris, upon a Saturday night. I was but newly settled in my lodging, when a secretary of the Spanish ambassador there told me that his lord desired to have the first audience from me, and therefore requested he might see me the next morning. I replied, it was a day I gave wholly to devotion; and therefore entreated him to stay till some more convenient time. The secretary replied, that his master did hold it no less holy; howbeit, that his respect to me was such, that he would prefer the desire he had to serve me before all other considerations. Howsoever, I put him off until Monday following.

Not long after, I took a house in Faubourg St. Germain, Rue Tournon, which cost me £200 sterling yearly. Having furnished the house richly, and lodged all my train, I prepared for a journey to Tours and Touraine, where the French court then was. Being come hither in extreme hot weather, I demanded audience of the king and queen,* which being granted, I did assure the king of the great affection the king my master bore him,

* Anne of Austria, mother of Louis XIV.

not only out of the ancient alliance betwixt the two crowns, but because Henry IV. and the king my master had stipulated with each other, that whensoever any one of them died, the survivor should take care of the other's child. I assured him further, that no charge was so much imposed upon me by my instructions, as that I should do good offices betwixt both kingdoms ; and therefore, that it were a great fault in me, if I behaved myself otherwise than with all respect to his Majesty.

This being done, I presented to the king a letter of credence from the king my master. The king* assured me of a reciprocal affection to the king my master, and of my particular welcome to his court. His words were never many, as being so extreme a stutterer, that he would sometimes hold his tongue out of his mouth a good while, before he could speak so much as one word ; he had, besides, a double row of teeth, and was observed seldom or never to spit, or blow his nose, or to sweat much, though he were very laborious, and almost indefatigable in his exercises of hunting and hawking, to which he was much addicted ; neither did it hinder him, though he was burst in his body, as we call it, or hernious ; for he was noted in those sports, though oftentimes on foot, to tire not only his courtiers, but even his lackeys, being equally insensible, as was thought, either of heat or cold.

His understanding and natural parts were as good as could be expected in one that was brought up in so much ignorance, which was on purpose so done, that he might be the longer governed ; howbeit, he acquired in time a great knowledge in affairs, as conversing for the most part with wise and active persons. He was noted to have two qualities incident to all who were ignorantly brought

* Louis XIII., son of Henry IV.

up—suspicion and dissimulation ; for as ignorant persons walk so much in the dark, they cannot be exempt from the fear of stumbling ; and as they are likewise deprived of, or deficient in those true principles by which they should govern both public and private actions in a wise, solid, and demonstrative way, they strive commonly to supply these imperfections with covert arts, which, although it may be sometimes excusable in necessitous persons, and be indeed frequent among those who negotiate in small matters, yet condemnable in princes, who, proceeding upon foundations of reason and strength, ought not to submit themselves to such poor helps ; howbeit, I must observe that neither his fears did take away his courage, when there was occasion to use it, nor his dissimulation extend itself to the doing of private mischiefs to his subjects, either of one or the other religion.

His favourite was one Monsieur de Luynes, who in his nonage gained much upon the king, by making hawks fly at all little birds in his gardens, and by making some of those little birds again catch butterflies ; and had the king used him for no other purpose, he might have been tolerated ; but as, when the king came to a riper age, the government of public affairs was drawn chiefly from his counsels, not a few errors were committed.

The queen-mother, princes, and nobles of that kingdom repined that his advices to the king should be so prevalent, which also at last caused a civil war in that kingdom. How unfit this man was for the credit he had with the king may be argued by this ; that when there was question made about some business in Bohemia, he demanded whether it was an inland country, or lay upon the sea : and thus much for the present of the king and his favourite.

After my audience with the king, I had another from

the queen, being sister to the King of Spain ; I had little to say unto her, but some compliments on the king my master's part, but such compliments as her sex and quality were capable of. This queen was exceedingly fair, like those of the House of Austria, and together of so mild and good a condition, she was never noted to have done ill offices to any, but to have mediated as much as was possible for her, in satisfaction of those who had any suit to the king, as far as their cause would bear. She had now been married divers years without having any children, though so ripe for them, that nothing seemed to be wanting on her part. I remember her the more particularly, that she showed publicly at my audiences that favour to me, as not only my servants, but divers others took notice of it.

After this my first audience, I went to see Monsieur de Luynes, and the principal ministers of state, as also the princes and princesses, and ladies then in the court, and particularly the Princess of Conti, from whom I carried the scarf formerly mentioned ; and this is as much as I shall declare in this place, concerning my negotiation with the king and state, my purpose being, if God sends me life, to set them forth apart, as having the copies of all my despatches in a great trunk in my house in London ; and considering that in the time of my stay there, there were divers civil wars in that country, and that the prince, now king, passed with my Lord of Buckingham and others through France into Spain ; and the business of the Elector Palatine in Bohemia, and the battle of Prague, and divers other memorable accidents, both of state and war, happened during the time of my employment. I conceive a narration of them may be worth the seeing, to them who have it not from a better hand ; I shall only therefore relate here, as they come into my

memory, certain little passages which may serve in some part to declare the history of my life.

Coming back from Tours to Paris, I gave the best order I could concerning the expenses of my house, family, and stable, that I might settle all things as near as was possible in a certain course, allowing, according to the manner of France, so many pounds of beef, mutton, veal, and pork, and so much also in turkeys, capons, pheasants, partridges, and all other fowls, as also pies and tarts, after the French manner, and after all this a dozen dishes of sweetmeats every meal constantly. The ordering of these things was the heavier to me, that my wife flatly refused to come over into France, as being now entered into a dropsy, which also had kept her without children for many years. I was constrained therefore to make use of a steward, who was understanding and diligent, but no very honest man.

My chief secretary was William Boswell, now the king's agent in the Low Countries ; my secretary for the French tongue was one Monsieur Ozier, who afterwards was the king's agent in France. The gentleman of my horse was Monsieur de Meny, who afterwards commanded a thousand horse in the wars of Germany, and proved a very gallant gentleman. Mr. Crofts was one of my principal gentlemen, and afterwards made the king's cupbearer ; and Thomas Caage, that excellent wit, the king's carver ; Edmund Taverner, whom I made my under-secretary, was afterwards chief secretary to the Lord Chamberlain ; and one Mr. Smith, secretary to the Earl of Northumberland. I nominate these, and could many more, that came to very good fortunes afterwards, because I may verify that which I said before concerning the gentlemen that attended me.

When I came to Paris the English and French were in

very ill intelligence with each other, insomuch that one Buckly coming then to me, said he was assaulted and hurt upon Pont Neuf, only because he was an Englishman ; nevertheless, after I had been in Paris about a month, all the English were so welcome thither, that no other nation was so acceptable amongst them, insomuch that my gentlemen having a quarrel with some debauched French, who in their drunkenness quarrelled with them, divers principal gentlemen of that nation offered themselves to assist my people with their swords.

It happened one day, that my cousin, Oliver Herbert, and George Radney, being gentlemen who attended me, and Henry Whittingham, my butler, had a quarrel with some French, upon I know not what frivolous occasion. It happened my cousin, Oliver Herbert, had for his opposite a fencer belonging to the Prince of Condé, who was dangerously hurt by him in divers places ; but as the house, or hostel, of the Prince of Condé was not far off, and himself well beloved in those quarters, the French in great multitudes arising, drove away the three above-mentioned into my house, pursuing them within the gates. I perceiving this at a window, ran out with my sword, which the people no sooner saw, but they fled again as fast as ever they entered. Howsoever, the Prince of Condé's fencer was in that danger of his life, that Oliver Herbert was forced to fly France; which, that he might do the better, I paid the said fencer two hundred crowns, or £60 sterling, for his hurt and cures.

The plague now being hot in Paris, I desired the Duke of Montmorency to lend me the Castle of Merlou, where I lived in the time of his most noble father, which he willingly granted. Removing thither, I enjoyed that sweet place and country, wherein I found not a few that welcomed me out of their ancient acquaintance.

On the one side of me was the Baron de Montaterre, of the reformed religion, and Monsieur de Bouteville on the other, who, though young at that time, proved afterwards to be that brave cavalier which all France did so much celebrate. In both their castles, likewise, were ladies of much beauty and discretion, and particularly a sister of Bouteville, thought to be one of the chief perfections of the time, whose company yielded some divertisement when my public occasions did suffer it.

Winter being now come, I returned to my house in Paris, and prepared for renewing the oath of alliance betwixt the two crowns, for which, as I said formerly, I had an extraordinary commission ; nevertheless, the king put off the business to as long a time as he well could. In the meanwhile, Prince Henry of Nassau, brother to Prince Maurice, coming to Paris, was met and much welcomed by me, as being obliged to him no less than to his brother in the Low Countries. This prince, and all his train were feasted by me at Paris with a hundred dishes, costing, as I remember, in all £100.

The French king at last resolving upon a day for performing the ceremony betwixt the two crowns above-mentioned, myself and all my train put ourselves into that sumptuous equipage, that I remember it cost me one way or another above £1,000. And truly the magnificence of it was such, as a little French book was presently printed thereof. This being done, I resided here in the quality of an ordinary ambassador.

And now I shall mention some particular passages concerning myself, without entering yet any way into the whole frame and context of my negotiation, reserving them, as I said before, to a particular treatise. I spent my time much in the visits of the princes, council of state, and great persons of the French kingdom, who did

ever punctually requite my visits ; the like I did also to the chief ambassadors there, among whom the Venetian, Low Country, Savoy, and the united princes in Germany, ambassadors, did bear me that respect that they usually met in my house to advise together concerning the great affairs of that time ; for as the Spaniard then was so potent that he seemed to affect a universal monarchy, all the above-mentioned ambassadors did, in one common interest, strive to oppose him.

All our endeavours yet could not hinder but that he both publicly prevailed in his attempts abroad, and privately did corrupt divers of the principal ministers of state in this kingdom. I came to discover this by many ways, but by none more effectually than by the means of an Italian, who returned over, by letters of exchange, the moneys the Spanish ambassador received for his occasions in France ; for I perceived that when the said Italian was to receive any extraordinary great sum for the Spanish ambassador's use, the whole face of affairs was presently changed, insomuch that neither my reasons nor the ambassadors above-mentioned, how valid soever, could prevail ; though yet afterwards we found means together to reduce affairs to their former train, till some other new great sum coming to the Spanish ambassador's hand, and from thence to the aforesaid ministers of state, altered all.

Howbeit, divers visits passed betwixt the Spanish ambassador and myself, in one of which he told me that, though our interests were divers, yet we might continue friendship in our particular persons ; " for," said he, " it can be no occasion of offence betwixt us, that each of us strive the best he can to serve the king his master." I disliked not his reasons, though yet I could not omit to tell him that I would maintain the dignity of the king

my master the best I could ; and this I said, because the Spanish ambassador had taken place of the English in the time of Henry IV. in this fashion : they both meeting in an antechamber to the secretary of state, the Spanish ambassador, leaning to the wall in that posture that he took the hand of the English ambassador, said publicly " I hold this place in the right of the king my master," which small punctilio being not resented by our ambassador at that time, gave the Spaniard occasion to brag that he had taken the hand from our ambassador.

This made me more watchful to regain the honour which the Spaniard pretended to have gotten herein ; so that though the ambassador, in his visits, often repeated the words above-mentioned, being in Spanish, " Que Cada uno haga lo que pudiere por su amo," " Let every man do the best he can for his master," I attended the occasion to right my master.

It happened one day, that both of us going to the French king for our several affairs, the Spanish ambassador, between Paris and Estampes, being upon his way before me in his coach, with a train of about sixteen or eighteen persons on horseback, I following him in my coach, with about ten or twelve horse, found that either I must go the Spanish pace, which is slow, or if I hasted to pass him, that I must hazard the suffering of some affront like unto that our former ambassador received ; proposing hereupon to my gentlemen the whole business, I told them that I meant to redeem the honour of the king my master some way or other, demanding further whether they would assist me, which they promising, I bid the coachman drive on.

The Spanish ambassador seeing me approach, and imagining what my intention was, sent a gentleman to me to tell me he desired to salute me ; which I accepting,

the gentleman returned to the ambassador, who, alighting from his coach, attended me in the middle of the highway ; which being perceived by me, I alighted also, when some extravagant compliments having passed betwixt us, the Spanish ambassador took his leave of me, went to a dry ditch not far off upon some pretence, but indeed to hold the upper hand of me while I passed by in my coach ; which being observed by me, I left my coach, and getting upon a spare horse I had there, rode into the said dry ditch, and, telling him aloud that I knew well why he stood there, bid him afterwards get to his coach, for I must ride that way. The Spanish ambassador, who understood me well, went to his coach grumbling and discontented, although yet neither he nor his train did any more than look one upon another in a confused manner ; my coach this while passing by the ambassador on the same side I was, I shortly after left my horse and got into it.

It happened this while, that one of my coach horses having lost a shoe, I thought fit to stay at a smith's forge, about a quarter of a mile before ; this shoe could not be put on so soon, but that the Spanish ambassador overtook us, and might, indeed, have passed us, but that he thought I would give him another affront ; attending, therefore, the smith's leisure, he stayed in the highway, to our no little admiration, until my horse was shod. We continued our journey to Estampes, the Spanish ambassador following us still at a good distance.

I should scarce have mentioned this passage, but that the Spaniards do so much stand upon their pundonores ; for confirming whereof, I have thought fit to remember the answer a Spanish ambassador made to Philip II., King of Spain, who finding fault with him for neglecting a business of great importance in Italy, because he could

not agree with the French ambassador about some such pundonore as this, said to him, "Como a dexado una cosa di importancia per una cerimonia!" "How, have you left a business of importance for a ceremony!" The ambassador boldly replied to his master, "Como por una cerimonia! Vuessa majesta misma no es sino una cerimonia," "How, for a ceremony! Your majesty's self is but a ceremony."

Howsoever, the Spanish ambassador taking no notice publicly of the advantage I had of him herein, dissembled it, as I heard, till he could find some fit occasion to resent this passage, which yet he never did to this day.

Among the visits I rendered to the grandees of France, one of the principal I made was to that brave general the Duke of Lesdigueres, who was now grown very old and deaf. His first words to me were, "Monsieur, you must do me the honour to speak high, for I am deaf." My answer to him was, "You were born to command and not to obey; it is enough if others have ears to hear you." This compliment took him much, and indeed I have a manuscript of his military precepts and observations, which I value at a great price.

I shall relate now some things concerning myself, which, though they may seem scarce credible, yet, before God, are true. I had been now in France about a year and a half, when my tailor, Andrew Henly, of Basle, who now lives in Blackfriars, demanded of me half a yard of satin, to make me a suit, more than I was accustomed to give, of which I required a reason, saying, I was not fatter now than when I came to France; he answered, it was true, "but you are taller;" whereunto when I would give him no credit, he brought his old measures, and made it appear that they did not reach to their just

places. I told him I knew not how this happened, but howsoever he should have half a yard more, and that when I came into England I would clear the doubt; for a little before my departure thence I remember William, Earl of Pembroke, and myself did measure heights together, at the request of the Countess of Bedford, and he was then higher than I by about the breadth of my little finger. At my return, therefore, into England, I measured again with the same earl, and, to both our great wonders, found myself taller than he by the breadth of a little finger; which growth of mine I could attribute to no other cause but to my quartan ague formerly mentioned, which, when it quitted me, left me in more perfect health than I formerly enjoyed, and indeed disposed me to some follies which I afterwards repented and do still repent of; but as my wife refused to come over, and my temptations were great, I hope the faults I committed are the more pardonable; howsoever, I can say truly, that whether in France or England, I never used my pleasures intemperately, and much less did accompany them with that dissimulation and falsehood which is commonly found in men addicted to love women.

To conclude this passage, which I unwillingly mention, I must protest again, before God, that I never delighted in that or any other sin, and that if I transgressed sometimes in this kind, it was to avoid a greater ill; for certainly if I had been provided with a lawful remedy, I should have fallen into no extravagancy. I could extenuate my fault by telling circumstances which would have operated, I doubt, upon the chastest of mankind; but I forbear, those things being not fit to be spoken of; for though the philosophers have accounted this act to be *inter honesta factu*, where neither injury nor violence was offered, yet they ever reckoned it among the

turpia dictu ; I shall therefore only tell some other things alike strange of myself.

I weighed myself in balances often with men lower than myself by the head, and in their bodies slenderer, and yet was found lighter than they, as Sir John Davers, knight, and Richard Griffiths, now living, can witness, with both whom I have been weighed. I had also, and have still a pulse on the crown of my head. It is well known to those that wait in my chamber, that the shirts, waistcoats, and other garments I wear next my body are sweet, beyond what either easily can be believed, or hath been observed in any else, which sweetness also was found to be in my breath above others; before I used to take tobacco, which towards my latter time I was forced to take against certain rheums and catarrhs that trouble me, which yet did not taint my breath for any long time ; I scarce ever felt cold in my life, though yet so subject to catarrhs, that I think no man ever was more obnoxious to it ; all which I do in a familiar way mention to my posterity, though otherwise they might be thought scarce worth the writing.

The effect of my being sent into France by the king my master, being to hold all good intelligence betwixt both crowns, my employment was both noble and pleasing, and my pains not great, France having no design at that time upon England, and King James being that pacific prince all the world knew. And thus, besides the times I spent in treaties and negotiations, I had either with the ministers of state in France, or foreign ambassadors residing in Paris, I had spare time not only for my book, but for visits to divers grandees, for little more ends than obtaining some intelligence of the affairs of that kingdom, and civil conversation, for which their free, generous, and cheerful company was no little motive ;

persons of all quality being so addicted to have mutual entertainment with each other, that in calm weather one might find all the noble and good company of Paris, of both sexes, either in the Garden of the Tuilleries, or in the park of Bois de Vincennes, they thinking it almost an incivility to refuse their presence and free discourse to any who were capable of coming to those places, either under the recommendation of good parts, or but so much as handsome clothes and a good equipage.

When foul weather was, they spent their time in visits at each other's houses, where they interchanged civil discourses, or heard music, or fell to dancing, using, according to the manner of that country, all the reasonable liberties they could with their honour; while their manner was, either in the garden of the Tuilleries or elsewhere, if anyone discoursing with a lady did see some other of good fashion approach to her, he would leave her and go to some other lady, he who conversed with her at that time quitting her also, and going to some other, that so addresses might be made equal and free to all without scruple on any part, neither was exception made, or quarrel begun, upon these terms.

It happened one day, that I being ready to return from the Tuilleries, about eight of the clock in the summer, with intention to write a dispatch to the king about some intelligence I had received there, the queen, attended with her principal ladies, without so much as one cavalier, did enter the garden; I stayed on one side of an alley, there to do my reverence to her and the rest, and so return to my house, when the queen, perceiving me, stayed a while, as if she expected I should attend her; but as I stirred not more than to give her that great respect I owed her, the Princess of Conti, who was next, called me to her, and said I must go along with her; but

I, excusing myself upon occasion of a present dispatch which I was to make unto his majesty, the Duchess of Antador, who followed her, came to me, and said I must not refuse her; whereupon, leading her by her arms, according to the manner of that country, the Princess of Conti, offended that I had denied her that civility which I had yielded to another, took me off, after she had demanded the consent of the duchess; but the queen, then also staying, I left the princess, and, with all due humility, went to the queen, and led her by the arms; walking thus to a place in the garden where some orange trees grew, and here discoursing with her majesty bare-headed, some small shot fell on both our heads. The occasion whereof was this: the king being in the garden, and shooting at a bird in the air, which he did with much perfection, the descent of his shot fell just upon us. The queen was much startled herewith, when I, coming nearer to her, demanded whether she had received any harm; to which she answering no, and therewith taking two or three small pellets from her hair, it was thought fit to send a gardener to the king, to tell him that her majesty was there, and that he should shoot no more that way, which was no sooner heard among the nobles that attended him, but many of them, leaving him, came to the queen and ladies, among whom was Monsieur le Grand,* who, finding the queen still discoursing with me, stole behind her, and letting fall gently some comfits he had in his pocket upon the queen's hair, gave her occasion to apprehend that some shot had fallen on her again. Turning hereupon to Monsieur le Grand, I said that I marvelled that so old a courtier as he was could find no means to entertain ladies but by making them afraid; but the queen shortly after returning to her lodging, I

* Roger, Duc de Bellegarde, grand escuyer.

took my leave of her, and came home. All which passage I have thought fit to set down, the accident above-mentioned being so strange, that it can hardly be paralleled.

It fell out one day that the Prince of Condé coming to my house, some speech happened concerning the king my master, in whom, though he acknowledged much learning, knowledge, clemency, and divers other virtues, yet he said he had heard that the king was much given to cursing. I answered that it was out of his gentleness; but the prince demanding how cursing could be a gentleness? I replied yes, for though he could punish men himself, yet he left them to God to punish; which defence of the king my master was afterwards much celebrated in the French court.

Monsieur de Luynes* continuing still the king's favourite, advised him to war against his subjects of the reformed religion in France; saying, he would neither be a great prince as long as he suffered so puissant a party to remain within his dominions, nor could justly style himself the most Christian king as long as he permitted such heretics to be in that great number they were, or to hold those strong places which by public edict were assigned to them; and therefore that he should extirpate them as the Spaniards had done the Moors, who are all banished into other countries, as we may find in their histories.

This counsel, though approved by the young king, was yet disliked by other grave and wise persons about him, and particularly by the chancellor Sillery and the president Jannin, who thought better to have a peace which had two religions, than a war that had none. Howbeit, the design of Luynes was applauded, not only

* Charles Albret, Duc de Luynes.

by the Jesuit party in France, but by some princes and other martial persons, insomuch that the Duke of Guise* coming to see me one day, said, that they should never be happy in France, until those of the religion were rooted out: I answered, that I wondered to hear him say so; and the duke demanding why? I replied, that whensoever those of the religion were put down, the turn of the great persons, and governors of provinces of that kingdom would be next; and that, though the present king were a good prince, yet that their successors may be otherwise, and that men did not know how soon princes might prove tyrants when they had nothing to fear; which speech of mine was fatal, since those of the religion were no sooner reduced into that weak condition in which now they are, but the governors of provinces were brought lower, and curbed much in their power and authority, and the Duke of Guise first of them all; so that I doubt not but my words were well remembered.

Howsoever, the war now went on with much fervour; neither could I dissuade it, though using, according to the instructions I had from the king my master, many arguments for that purpose. I was told often, that if the reformation in France had been like that in England, where they observed we retained the hierarchy, together with decent rites and ceremonies in the church, as also holidays in the memory of saints, music in churches, and divers other testimonies, both of glorifying God and giving honour and reward to learning, they could much better have tolerated it; but such a rash and violent reformation as theirs was, ought by no means to be approved. Whereunto I answered, that though the causes of departing from the Church of Rome were taught and delivered by many sober and modest persons, yet that the

* Charles, son of Henry, Duke of Guise, who was killed at Blois.

reformation in great part was acted by the common people, whereas ours began at the prince of state, and therefore was more moderate ; which reason I found did not displease them. I added further then, that the reformed religion in France would easily enough admit an hierarchy, if they had sufficient means among them to maintain it, and that if their churches were as fair as those which the Roman Catholics had, they would use the more decent sorts of rites and ceremonies, and together like well of organs and choirs of singers, rather than make a breach or schism on that occasion : as for holidays, I doubted not but the principal persons and ministers of their religion would approve it much better than the common people, who, being labourers and artizans for the most part, had the advantages for many more days than the Roman Catholics for getting their living ; howsoever, that those of the religion had been good cautions to make the Roman Catholic priests, if not better, yet at least more wary in their lives and actions ; it being evident that since the reformation began among those of the religion, the Roman Catholics had divers ways reformed themselves, and abated not only much of their power they usurped over laics, but were more pious and continent than formerly. Lastly, that those of the religion acknowledged solely the king's authority in government of all affairs ; whereas the other side held the regal power not only inferior in divers points, but subordinate to the papal : nothing of which yet served to divert Monsieur de Luynes or the king from their resolutions.

The king having now assembled an army, and made some progress against those of the religion, I had instruction sent me from the king my master to mediate a peace, and if I could not prevail therein, to use some

such words as may both argue his majesty's care of them of the religion, and together, to let the French king know, that he would not permit their total ruin and extirpation. The king was now going to lay siege to St. Jean d'Angely, when myself was newly recovered of a fever at Paris, in which, besides the help of many able physicians, I had the comfort of divers visits from many principal grandees of France, and particularly the Princess of Conti, who would sit by my bedside two or three hours, and with cheerful discourse entertain me, though yet I was brought so low, that I could scarce return anything by way of answer but thanks.

The command yet which I received from the king my master quickened me, insomuch that by slow degrees I went into my coach together with my train, towards St. Jean d'Angely. Being arrived within a small distance of that place, I found by divers circumstances that the effect of my negotiation had been discovered from England, and that I was not welcome thither; howbeit, having obtained an audience from the king, I exposed what I had in charge to say to him, to which yet I received no other answer but that I should go to Monsieur de Luynes, by whom I should know his majesty's intention.

Repairing thus to him, I did find outwardly good reception, though yet I did not know how cunningly he proceeded to betray and frustrate my endeavours for those of the religion: for, hiding a gentleman called Monsieur Arnaud behind the hangings in his chamber, who was then of the religion, but had promised a revolt to the king's side, this gentleman, as he himself confessed afterwards to the Earl of Carlisle, had in charge to relate unto those of the religion how little help they might expect from me, when he should tell them the

answers which Monsieur de Luynes made me. Sitting thus in a chair before Monsieur de Luynes, he demanded the effect of my business? I answered, that the king my master commanded me to mediate a peace betwixt his majesty and his subjects of the religion, and that I desired to do it in all those fair and equal terms which might stand with the honour of France and the good intelligence betwixt the two kingdoms: to which he returned this rude answer only: "What hath the king your master to do with our actions? Why doth he meddle with our affairs?"

My reply was, that the king my master ought not to give an account of the reason which induced him hereto, and for me it was enough to obey him; howbeit, if he did ask me in more gentle terms, I should do the best I could to give him satisfaction; to which, though he answered no more than the word *bien*, or well, I pursuing my instruction, said that the king my master, according to the mutual stipulation betwixt Henry IV. and himself, that the survivor of either of them should procure the tranquillity and peace of the other's estate, had sent this message, and that he had not only testified this his pious inclination heretofore in the late civil wars of France, but was desirous on this occasion also to show how much he stood affected to the good of the kingdom; besides, he hoped that when peace was established here, that the French king might be the more easily disposed to assist the Palatine, who was an ancient friend and ally of the French crown.

His reply to this was, "We will have none of your advices," whereupon I said that I took those words for an answer, and was sorry only that they did not understand sufficiently the affection and good-will of the king my master, and since they rejected it upon those terms, I

had in charge to tell him that we knew very well what we had to do. Luynes, seeming offended herewith, said, *Nous ne vous craignons pas*, or "We are not afraid of you." I replied hereupon, that if you had said you had not loved us I should have believed you, but should have returned you another answer; in the meanwhile that I had no more to say than what I told him formerly, which was that we knew what we had to do.

This, though somewhat less than was in my instructions, so angered him, that in much passion he said, *Par Dieu, si vous n'étiez Monsieur l'Ambassadeur, je vous traiterois d'une autre sorte*—"By God, if you were not Monsieur Ambassador, I would use you after another fashion." My answer was, that as I was an ambassador, so I was also a gentleman; and therewithal laying my hand upon the hilt of my sword, told him there was that which should make him an answer, and so arose from my chair; to which Monsieur de Luynes made no reply, but arising likewise from his chair, offered civilly to accompany me to the door, but I telling him there was no occasion for him to use ceremony after so rude an entertainment, I departed from him.

From thence returning to my lodging, I spent three or four days afterwards in seeing the manner of the French discipline in making approaches to towns; at what time I remember, that, going in my coach within reach of cannon, those in the town imagining me to be an enemy, made many shots against me, which so affrighted my coachman, that he durst drive no further, whereupon alighting, I bid him put the horses out of danger, and notwithstanding many more shots made against me, went on foot to the trenches, where one Seaton, a Scotchman, conducting me showed me their works, in which I found little differing from the Low Country manner.

Having satisfied myself in this manner, I thought fit to take my leave of the king, being at Cognac, the city of St. Jean d'Angely being now surrendered unto him. Coming thus to a village not far from Cognac about ten of the clock at night, I found all the lodgings possessed by soldiers, so that, alighting in the market-place, I sent my servants to the inns to get some provision, who, bringing me only six rye loaves, which I was doubtful whether I should bestow on myself and company or on my horses, Monsieur de Ponts, a French nobleman of the religion, attended with a brave train, hearing of my being there, offered me lodging in his castle near adjoining.

I told him it was a great courtesy at that time, yet I could not with my honour accept it, since I knew it would endanger him, my business to those parts being in favour of those of the religion, and the chief ministers of state in France being jealous of my holding intelligence with him; howbeit, if he would procure me lodging in the town I should take it kindly. Whereupon, sending his servants round about the town, he found at last, in the house of one of his tenants, a chamber to which, when he had conducted me, and together gotten some little accommodation for myself and horses, I desired him to depart to his lodgings, he being then in a place which his enemies, the king's soldiers, had possessed; all which was not so silently carried but that the said nobleman was accused afterwards at the French court upon suspicion of holding correspondence with me, whereof it was my fortune to clear him.

Coming next day to Cognac, the Mareschal de St. Geran, my noble friend, privately met me and said I was not in a place of surety there, as having offended Monsieur de Luynes, who was the king's favourite, desiring

me withal to advise what I had to do. I told him I was in a place of surety wheresoever I had my sword by my side, and that I intended to demand audience of the king, which also being obtained, I found not so cold a reception as I thought to meet with, insomuch that I parted with his majesty, to all outward appearance, in very good terms.

From hence, returning to Paris shortly after, I found myself welcome to all those ministers of state there, and noblemen, who either envied the greatness or loved not the insolencies of Monsieur de Luynes; by whom also I was told that the said Luynes had intended to send a brother of his into England with an embassy, the effect whereof should be chiefly to complain against me, and to obtain that I should be repealed, and that he intended to relate the passages betwixt us at St. Jean d'Angely in a much different manner from that I reported, and that he would charge me with giving the first offence. After thanks for this advertisement, I told them my relation of the business betwixt us, in the manner I delivered, was true, and that I would justify it with my sword; at which, they being nothing scandalised, wished me good fortune.

The ambassador into England following shortly after, with a huge train, in a sumptuous manner, and an accusation framed against me, I was sent for home, of which I was glad, my payment being so ill, that I was run far into debt with my merchants, who had assisted me now with £3,000 or £4,000 more than I was able at the present to discharge. Coming thus to court, the Duke of Buckingham, who was then my noble friend, informed me at large of the objections represented by the French ambassador; to which, when I had made my defence in the manner above related, I added, that I was

ready to make good all that I had said with my sword ; and shortly after I did, in the presence of his majesty and the Duke of Buckingham, humbly desire leave to send a trumpet to Monsieur de Luynes, to offer him the combat upon terms that passed betwixt us ; which was not permitted, otherwise than that they would take my offer into consideration.

Howsoever, notice being publicly taken of this my desire, much occasion of speech was given, every man that heard thereof much favouring me ; but the Duke of Luynes' death following shortly after, the business betwixt us was ended, and I commanded to return to my former charge in France. I did not yet presently go, as finding much difficulty to obtain the moneys due to me from the exchequer, and therewith, as also by my own revenues, to satisfy my creditors in France. The Earl of Carlisle* this while being employed extraordinary ambassador to France, brought home a confirmation of the passages betwixt Monsieur de Luynes and myself, Monsieur de Arnaud, who stood behind the hangings, as above related, having verified all I said, insomuch that the king my master was well satisfied of my truth.

Having by this time cleared all my debts, when demanding new instructions from the king my master, the Earl of Carlisle brought me this message : That his majesty had that experience of my abilities and fidelity, that he would give me no instructions, but leave all things to my discretion, as knowing I would proceed with that circumspection, as I should be better able to discern, upon emergent occasions, what was fit to be done, than that I should need to attend directions from hence, which, besides that they would be slow, might perchance

* James Hay, Earl of Carlisle, Knight of the Garter, Master of the great Wardrobe, and ambassador in Germany and France.

be not so proper, or correspondent to the conjuncture of the great affairs then in agitation, both in France and Germany, and other parts of Christendom ; and that these things therefore must be left to my vigilance, prudence, and fidelity. Whereupon I told his lordship, that I took this as a singular expression of the trust his majesty reposed in me ; howbeit, that I desired his lordship to pardon me, if I said I had herein only received a greater power or latitude to err ; and that I durst not trust my judgment so far as that I would presume to answer for all events in such factious and turbulent times, and therefore again did humbly desire new instructions, which I promised punctually to follow.

The Earl of Carlisle returning hereupon to the king, brought me yet no other answer back than that I formerly mentioned, and that his majesty did so much confide in me that he would limit me with no other instructions, but refer all to my discretion ; promising together, that if matters proceeded not as well as might be wished, he would attribute the default to any thing rather than to my not performing my duty.

Finding his majesty thus resolved, I humbly took leave of him and my friends at court, and went to Monsieur Savage ; when demanding of him new letters of credit, his answer was, he could not furnish me as he had before, there being no limited sum expressed there, but that I should have as much as I needed ; to which, though I answered that I had paid all, yet, as Monsieur Savage replied, that I had not paid it at the time agreed on, he said he could furnish me with a letter only for £3,000, and nevertheless, that he was confident I should have more if I required it ; which I found true, for I took up afterwards upon my credit there as much more as made in the whole £5,000 or £6,000.

Coming thus to Paris, I found myself welcomed by all the principal persons, nobody that I found there being either offended with the passages betwixt me and Monsieur de Luynes, or that were sorry for his death, in which number the queen's majesty seemed the most eminent person, as one who long since had hated him : whereupon also I cannot but remember this passage, that in an audience I had one day from the queen, I demanded of her how far she would have assisted me with her good offices against Luynes ? She replied, that what cause soever she might have to hate him, either by reason or by force, they would have made her to be of his side ; to which I answered in Spanish, *No ay feurce por las a reynas* ("There is no force for queens"), at which she smiled.

And now I began to proceed in all public affairs according to the liberty with which my master was pleased to honour me, confining myself to no rules but those of my own discretion. My negotiations in the meanwhile proving so successful, that, during the remainder of my stay there, his majesty received much satisfaction concerning my carriage, as finding I had preserved his honour and interest in all great affairs then emergent in France, Germany, and other parts of Christendom ; which work being of great concernment, I found the easier, that his majesty's ambassadors and agents everywhere gave me perfect intelligence of all that happened within their precincts ; insomuch that from Sir Henry Wotton, his majesty's ambassador at Venice, who was a learned and witty gentleman, I received all the news of Italy ; as also from Sir Isaac Wake, who did more particularly acquaint me with the business of Savoy, Valentina,* and Switzerland ; from Sir Francis Nethersole, his majesty's agent

* The Valteline.

in Germany, and more particularly with the united princes there, on the behalf of his son-in-law, the palatine or king of Bohemia, I received all the news of Germany; from Sir Dudley Carlton, his majesty's ambassador in the Low Countries, I received intelligence concerning all the affairs of that state; and from Mr. William Trumball, his majesty's agent at Brussels, all the affairs on that side; and lastly, from Sir Walter Aston, his majesty's ambassador in Spain, and after him from the Earl of Bristol and Lord Cottington, I had intelligence from the Spanish court; out of all whose relations being compared together, I found matter enough to direct my judgment in all public proceedings; besides, in Paris I had the chief intelligence which came to either Monsieur de Langherac, the Low Country ambassador; or Monsieur Postek, agent for the united princes in Germany; and Sigr. Contarini, ambassador for Venice; and Sigr. Guiscardi, my particular friend, agent for Mantua; and Monsieur Gueretin, agent for the palatine or king of Bohemia; and Monsieur Villers for the Swiss, and Monsieur Ainorant, agent for Geneva: by whose means, upon the resultance of the several advertisements given me, I found what I had to do.

The wars in Germany were now hot, when several French gentlemen came to me for recommendations to the Queen of Bohemia, whose service they desired to advance, which also I performed as effectually as I could; howbeit, as after the battle of Prague, the imperial side seemed wholly to prevail, these gentlemen had not the satisfaction expected.

About this time the Duke de Crouy, employed from Brussels to the French Court, coming to see me, said, by way of rhodomontade, as though he would not speak of our isles, yet he saw all the rest of the world must bow

under the Spaniard; to which I answered, God be thanked that they are not yet come to that pass, or when they were, they have this yet to comfort them, that at worst they should be but the same which you are now; which speech of mine being afterwards, I know not how, divulged, was much applauded by the French, as believing I intended that other countries should be put under the same severe government to which the Duke of Crouy and those within the Spanish dominions were subject.

It happened one day that the agent from Brussels and ambassador from the Low Countries came to see me, immediately one after the other, to whom I said familiarly that I thought that the inhabitants of the parts of the seventeen provinces which were under the Spaniards, might be compared to horses in a stable, which, as they were finely curried, dressed, and fed, so they were well ridden also, spurred, and galled; and that I thought the Low Country men were like to horses at grass, which, though they wanted so good keeping as the other had, yet might leap, kick, and fling, as much as they would; which freedom of mine displeased neither; or if the Low Country ambassador did think I had spoken a little too sharply, I pleased him afterwards, when, continuing my discourse, I told him that the states of the united provinces had within a narrow room shut up so much warlike provision both by sea and land, and together demonstrated such courage upon all occasions, that it seemed they had more need of enemies than of friends, which compliment I found did please him.

About this time the French, being jealous that the king my master would match the prince his son with the King of Spain's sister, and together relinquish his alliance with France, myself, who did endeavour nothing more than to hold all good intelligence betwixt the two crowns,

had enough to do. The Count de Gondomor passing now from Spain into England, came to see me at Paris, about ten of the clock in the morning, when, after some compliments, he told me that he was to go towards England the next morning, and that he desired my coach to accompany him out of town ; I told him, after a free and merry manner, he should not have my coach, and that if he demanded it, it was not because he needed coaches, the pope's nuntio, the emperor's ambassador, the Duke of Bavaria's agent, and others, having coaches enough to furnish him, but because he would put a jealousy betwixt me and the French, as if I inclined more to the Spanish side than to theirs.

Gondomor then looking merrily upon me, said, " I will dine with you yet." I told him, by his good favour, he should not dine with me at that time, and that when I would entertain the ambassador of so great a king as his, it should not be upon my ordinary, but that I would make him a feast worthy of so great a person ; howbeit, that he might see after what manner I lived, I desired some of my gentlemen to bring his gentlemen into the kitchen, where, after my usual manner, were three spits full of meat, divers pots of boiled meat, and an oven with store of pies in it, and a dresser board covered with all manner of good fowl, and some tarts, pans with tarts in them, after the French manner ; after which, being conducted to another room, they were shown a dozen or sixteen dishes of sweatmeats, all which was but the ordinary allowance for my table.

The Spaniards returning now to Gondomor, told him what good cheer they found, notwithstanding which, I told Gondomor again that I desired to be excused if I thought this dinner unworthy of him, and that when occasion were, I should entertain him after a much better

manner. Gondomor hereupon coming near me, said he esteemed me much, and that he meant only to put a trick upon me, which he found I had discovered, and that he thought that an Englishman had not known how to avoid handsomely a trick put upon him under show of civility ; and that I ever should find him my friend, and would do me all the good offices he could in England, which also he really performed, as the Duke of Lenox and the Earl of Pembroke confirmed to me ; Gondomor saying to them, that I was a man fit for employment, and that he thought Englishmen, though otherwise able persons, knew not how to make a denial handsomely, which yet I had done.

This Gondomor being an able person, and dexterous in his negotiations, had so prevailed with King James, that his majesty resolved to pursue his treaty with Spain, and for that purpose to send his son Prince Charles in person to conclude the match ; when, after some debate whether he should go in a public or private manner, it was at last resolved that he, attended with the Marquis of Buckingham, and Sir Francis Cottington his secretary, and Endimion Porter, and Mr. Grimes, gentleman of the horse to the marquis, should pass in a disguised and private manner through France to Madrid. These five passing, though not without some difficulty, from Dover to Boulogne, where taking post horses, they came to Paris, and lodged at an inn in Rue St. Jacques, where it was advised amongst them whether they should send for me to attend them. After some dispute, it was concluded in the negative, since, as one there objected, if I came alone in the quality of a private person, I must go on foot through the streets, and because I was a person generally known, might be followed by some one or other, who would discover whither my private visit tended ;

besides, that those in the inn must needs take notice of my coming in that manner. On the other side, if I came publicly with my usual train, the gentlemen with me must needs take notice of the prince and the Marquis of Buckingham, and consequently might divulge it, which was thought not to stand with the prince's safety, who endeavoured to keep his journey as secret as possible.

Howbeit, the prince spent the day following his arrival in seeing the French Court and city of Paris, without that anybody did know his person; but a maid that had sold linen heretofore in London, who, seeing him pass by, said, "Certainly this is the Prince of Wales," but withal suffered him to hold his way, and presumed not to follow him. The next day after, they took post horses, and held their ways towards Bayonne, a city frontier to Spain.

The first notice that came to me was by one Andrews, a Scotchman, who, coming late the night preceding their departure, demanded whether I had seen the prince? When I demanded what prince? for, said I, the Prince of Condé is yet in Italy; he told me the Prince of Wales, which yet I could not believe easily, until with many oaths he affirmed the prince was in France, and that he had charge to follow his highness, desiring me in the meanwhile, on the part of the king my master, to serve his passage the best I could. This made me rise very early the next morning, and go to Monsieur Puisieux, principal secretary of state, to demand present audience; Puisieux hereupon entreated me to stay an hour, since he was in bed, and had some earnest business to despatch for the king his master as soon as he was ready; I returned answer that I could not stay a minute, and that I desired I might come to his bedside; this made Puisieux rise and put on his gown only, and so came to the chamber where I attended him.

His first words to me were, I know your business as well as you ; your prince is departed this morning post to Spain : adding further, that I could demand nothing for the security of his passage, but it should be presently granted, concluding with these very words : *Vous serez servi au point nommé*, or, "You shall be served in any particular you can name." I told him that his free offer had prevented the request I intended to make, and that because he was so principal a minister of state, I doubted not but what he had so nobly promised he would see punctually performed ; as for the security of his passage, that I did not see what I could demand more, than that he would suffer him quietly to hold his way, without sending after, or interrupting him. He replied, that the prince should not be interrupted, though yet he could do no less than send to know what success the prince had in his journey.

I was no sooner returned out of his chamber, but I despatched a letter by post to the prince, to desire him to make all the haste he could out of France, and not to treat with any of the religion in the way, since his being at Paris was known, and that though the French secretary had promised he should not be interrupted, yet that they would send after his highness, and when he gave any occasion of suspicion, might perchance detain him. The prince, after some examination at Bayonne (which the governor thereof did afterwards particularly relate to me, confessing that he did not know who the prince was), held his way on to Madrid, where he and all his company safely arrived.

Many of the nobility, and others of the English Court, being now desirous to see the prince, did pass through France to Spain, taking my house still in their way, by whom I acquainted his highness in Spain how much it

grieved me that I had not seen his highness when he was in Paris, which occasioned his highness afterwards to write a letter to me, wholly with his own hand, and subscribe his name "Your friend Charles," in which he did abundantly satisfy all the unkindness I might conceive on this occasion.

I shall not enter into a narration of the passages occurring in the Spanish Court upon his highness's arrival thither, though they were well known to me, for the most part, by the information the French queen was pleased to give me, who, among other things, told me that her sister did wish well unto the prince. I had from her also intelligence of certain messages sent from Spain to the pope, and the pope's messages to them; whereof, by her permission, I did afterwards inform his highness.

Many judgments were now made concerning the event which this treaty of marriage was likely to have; the Duke of Savoy said that the prince's journey thither was, *Un tiro di quelli cavallieri antichi che andavano così per il mondo a diffare li incanti*—that it was a trick of those ancient knight errants, who went up and down the world after that manner to undo enchantments—for as that duke did believe that the Spaniard did intend finally to bestow her on the imperial house, he conceived that he did only entertain the treaty with England, because he might avert the king my master from treating in any other place, and particularly in France; howbeit, by the intelligence I received in Paris, which I am confident was very good, I am assured the Spaniard meant really at that time, though how the match was broken I list not here to relate, it being a more perplexed and secret business than I am willing to insert into the narration of my life.

New propositions being now made, and other counsels thereupon given, the prince, taking his leave of the Spanish

Court, came to St. Andrew's in Spain, where shipping himself with his train, arrived safely at Portsmouth, about the beginning of October, 1623 ; the news whereof being shortly brought into France, the Duke of Guise came to me, and said he found the Spaniards were not so able men as he thought, since they had neither married the prince in their country, nor done anything to break his match elsewhere ; I answered, that the prince was more dexterous than that any secret practice of theirs could be put upon him ; and as for violence, I thought the Spaniard durst not offer it.

The war against those of the religion continuing in France, Père Segnerand, confessor to the king, made a sermon before his majesty upon the text, " That we should forgive our enemies," upon which argument having said many good things, he at last distinguished forgiveness, and said, we were indeed to forgive our enemies, but not the enemies of God, such as were heretics, and particularly those of the religion ; and that his majesty, as the most Christian king, ought to extirpate them wheresoever they could be found. This particular being related to me, I thought fit to go to the queen-mother without further ceremony, for she gave me leave to come to her chamber whensoever I would, without demanding audience, and to tell her, that though I did not usually intermeddle with matters handled within their pulpits, yet because Père Segnerand, who had the charge of the king's conscience, had spoken so violently against those of the religion, that his doctrine was not limited only to France, but might extend itself in its consequences beyond the seas, even to the dominions of the king my master ; I could not but think it very unreasonable, and the rather, that as her majesty well knew that a treaty of marriage betwixt our prince and the princess her daughter was now begun, for

which reason I could do no less than humbly desire that such doctrines as these henceforth might be silenced, by some discreet admonition she might please to give to Père Segnerand, or others that might speak to this purpose.

The queen, though she seemed very willingly to hear me, yet handled the business so that Père Segnerand was together informed who had made this complaint against him, whereupon also he was so distempered, that by one Monsieur Gaellac, a Provençal, his own countryman, he sent me this message: that he knew well who had accused him to her majesty, and that he was sensible thereof; that he wished me to be assured, that wheresoever I was in the world, he would hinder my fortune. The answer I returned by Monsieur Gaellac was that nothing in all France but a friar or a woman durst have sent me such a message.

Shortly after this, coming again to the queen-mother I told her that what I said concerning Père Segnerand was spoken with a good intention, and that my words were now discovered to him in that manner, that he sent me a very affronting message, adding, after a merry fashion, these words, that I thought Segnerand so malicious, that his malice was beyond the malice of women. The queen, being a little startled hereat, said, *A moy femme, et parler ainsi?* "To me a woman, and say so?" I replied gently, *Je parle a vôtre majesté comme reyne, et non pas comme femme,* "I speak to your majesty as a queen, and not as a woman," and so took my leave of her.

What Père Segnerand did afterwards, in way of performing his threat, I know not; but sure I am, that had I been ambitious of worldly greatness, I might have often remembered his words; though, as I ever loved my book, and a private life, more than any busy preferments,

I did frustrate and render vain his greatest power to hurt me.

My book, *De Veritate prout distinguitur à Revelatione verisimili, possibili, et à falso*, having been begun by me in England, and formed there in all its principal parts, was about this time finished ; all the spare hours which I could get from my visits and negotiations being employed to perfect this work, which was no sooner done but that I communicated it to Hugo Grotius, that great scholar, who, having escaped his prison in the Low Countries, came into France, and was much welcomed by me, and Monsieur Tieleners also, one of the greatest scholars of his time, who, after they had perused it, and given it more commendations than is fit for me to repeat, exhorted me earnestly to print and publish it ; howbeit, as the frame of my whole book was so different from any thing which had been written heretofore, I found I must either renounce the authority of all that had written formerly concerning the method of finding out truth, and consequently insist upon my own way, or hazard myself to a general censure concerning the whole argument of my book. I must confess it did not a little animate me that the two great persons above mentioned did so highly value it ; yet, as I knew it would meet with much opposition, I did consider whether it was not better for me a while to suppress it.

Being thus doubtful in my chamber, one fair day in the summer, my casement being opened towards the south, the sun shining clear and no wind stirring, I took my book, *De Veritate*, in my hand, and, kneeling on my knees, devoutly said these words : —

“ O THOU eternal God, Author of the light which now shines upon me, and Giver of all inward illuminations, I do beseech Thee, of Thy infinite goodness, to pardon a,

greater request than a sinner ought to make ; I am not satisfied enough whether I shall publish this book *De Veritate*. If it be for Thy glory, I beseech Thee give me some sign from heaven ; if not, I shall suppress it."

I had no sooner spoken these words, but a loud though yet gentle noise came from the heavens (for it was like nothing on earth), which did so comfort and cheer me, that I took my petition as granted, and that I had the sign I demanded, whereupon also I resolved to print my book. This, how strange soever it may seem, I protest before the Eternal God is true, neither am I any way superstitiously deceived herein, since I did not only clearly hear the noise, but in the serenest sky that ever I saw, being without all cloud, did to my thinking see the place from whence it came.

And now I sent my book to be printed in Paris, at my own cost and charges, without suffering it to be divulged to others than to such as I thought might be worthy readers of it ; though afterwards reprinting it in England, I not only dispersed it among the prime scholars of Europe, but was sent to not only from the nearest but furthest parts of Christendom, to desire the sight of my book, for which they promised anything I should desire by way of return ; but hereof more amply in its place.

The treaty of a match with France continuing still, it was thought fit, for the concluding thereof, that the Earl of Carlisle and the Earl of Holland should be sent extraordinary ambassadors to France.*

Here Lord Herbert's curious work terminates, a fact

* First printed at Strawberry Hill in 1764 ; secondly at London, 1770 ; and thirdly at Edinburgh in 1809, from which last, some of the particulars in the following pages are taken.

much to be regretted, since it cannot be doubted but, that to a mind thus active and observant, many more important details must have presented themselves, especially during the long and eventful struggle between the king and parliament; which it would have been particularly interesting to have had recorded in his own lively and attractive manner. Whether his proceeding no farther arose from choice or necessity cannot now perhaps be distinctly ascertained, though it may be thought probable, from some expressions in a letter which will be found in a subsequent page, that sudden infirmity may have been the cause, as he there represents himself to be in a state of great inability, at certainly not much more than two years, and perhaps not one, from the time of his commencing his history.

The occurrence with M. de Luynes, constable of France, of which he speaks at the close of his narrative, and in which Lord Orford observes, "he returned the insolence of the former with the spirit of a gentleman, without committing his dignity of ambassador," probably induced him to propose giving a history of the transactions which took place during his residence at that Court;* but as this proves to have been an intention never fulfilled, all that perhaps remains from his pen on this subject are the following letters, written at that period, and which, as they have not yet been made public, it may be desirable to preserve, as exemplifying his acute feeling for the honour of the high station he had been called to occupy, as well as of his talent and vigilance in fulfilling the duties of it.

The first of these respects chiefly the affairs of the Protestants in Bohemia, addressed to the Marquis of Buckingham, and appears to refer to a former letter,

* Vide Life, p. 239.

which had then perhaps been very recently written. It is as follows :

TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

Right Honourable and Right Worthy my Lord Marquis.

SINCE my writinge this offer, I understood the Kinge passed neare this place, in his way to Compiene in Picardy ; this made me repaire to court, where I visited only Mr. de Luynes, who amonge other speeches told mee they had given instructions to their ambassadour in England that if there were any overture made of a match for our Prince with Madame Henrietta, the King's sister, that it should be received with all honour and affection : and (if I bee not mistaken in the meaning of his words) sayd so much was already insinuated by their sayd ambassadour : I answerd him as civilly as I could, having no instructions to speake of any such thing, and came to the busines of Bohemia, wherein I desired to know how his Mr. stood affected. Hee told me that hee had not yet leasure to consider the consequences, and that hee first desired to heare how the King my Mr. did declare himself. I told him, his Maty did advise what was to be done ; that in the meane while he did profess that when hee sent his ambassadour to compose the differences of the empire, that hee knew nothing of the Palatine's election to the kingdom of Bohemia, or that there was any such designe ; that besides his Maty's protestation, which was an argument above all that could be made to the contrary, there were many reasons to persuade that even the Palatine's Highnes himselfe knew nothinge of any such intention ; as first, the unanimity of consent in the Bohemians, which argues there was no faction or labouring of voices ; secondly, the necessity, since they could not tell where else to putt themselves under protection ; thirdly, that if it had been the Palatines Highnes desire, that certainly he would have used both that and other means to prevent the election of K. Ferdinand to the empire ; this was the effect of the reasons I gave ; to which I added, that howsoever the King my Mr. did resolve, I hoped at least his Mr. would bee indifferent ; that they had no greatnes to feare but that of the house of Austria : that they might take this tyme to recover the cuntryes detained from them ; that lastly, there was no other way, as matters now stand, to establish the peace of Christendom, since he might bee sure the untamed Germans would never submit themselves to other. Hee here seemed to harken more to my reasons than to answer them ; told me all these matters should be referd to the King being at Compiene ; whither he desired mee to come, which I promised ; as having the business of the king's

renewinge his *offer* to require; I have written these particularities to Mr. Secretary *Nanton*, and attend your L^ds further commandments, with the affection of

Your L^ds most faithfull

Servant and Honorer,

HERBERT.

M. de Luynes doth much desire to hold correspondence with your L^ds, and desired mee to tell your L^ds so much; I should bee glad to have leave to use a little compliment to him on your L^ds part.

Merlou, j of October, Stil. no. 1619.

The next two letters are addressed to his Majesty James I.:

My most gracious Sovereigne,

HAVINGE obtained the cobby of this King's letter to the Emperour, transcribed, as it should seeme, in that haste, that it is a little imperfect, and imparted to me as a secret of that trust, that the discovery of it must bee his ruin who did mee the favour; I have taken the boldnes together with it to present unto your S. Majesty the condition on which I received it, which I therefore submitt to your S. Mat^{yes} most gracious consideration. As for the contents, your S. Maty may be pleased to observe, it is so farre from sending succors, that they desire first to weigh the Emperours propositions: besides, in my opinion, they touch more the revolt in Austria, the ancient patrimony of that House, then in Bohemia and the elective possessions; so that in this sense I may hope to reconcile it with this King's message to mee by the master of his ceremonies, wherein hee promised to proceed in this affair of Bohemia, with all respect unto your S. Majesty, of which I beseech your S. Maty to take notice; for it will assuredly maintain all good correspondence. The rest being but complement, I believe your S. Maty can easily pass over, especially in a stile so secret and particular, as letters of this nature usually are; but that searchinge and unfallible judgement of your S. Maty, that can penetrate and discern even the most inscrutable hearts, can best determine of these things. For my part, it is enough, that I pretend to nothing herein, but to that trust and obedience, in which I shall remain for ever,

Your S. Mat^{yes},

Most humble, most loyal, and most affectionate Subject and Servant,

Paris, 20 Jan. 1619.

HERBERT.

My most good and gracious Sovereigne,

I CANNOT refuse this gentleman the testimony hee desires mee to give your Sacred Majesty, that hee is your S. Matyes most faithfull and most affectionate servant, which I think myselve the rather bound to say, that for his beinge so, he seemes to have sufferd no little hard measures from the bigot ministers of this state. But hee will best tell your S. Maty the evill usage they have given him, and my little power to remedy it, notwithstanding my manny remonstrances which might have obtained, if not a better, yet at least a truer answer from M^{sr}. de Puisieux, who was not ashamed to say, that M^{sr}. de Bellingam (this gentleman's pupil) did put him away, when not only hee himselve did know the contrary, but was assured wee knew it. But these are the ordinary effronteries of two or three of these ministers of state, to whom the answer of the instructions I receive from your S. Maty is referr'd, and with whom, unless I can take some such order as I have already done with Pere Arnoux, I shall not be able to perform that service, to your S. Maty in this place, which I desire. Ld. Buisson is returned, and as M^{sr} Le Prince did tell mee, hath made a proposition to your S. Maty concerninge a marriage betwixt his Highnes and Madame Henrietta, to which hee says your S. Maty did answer, that your S. Maty did desire it too, but that your S. Maty was so farre engaged with Spaine, that your S. Maty could not treat thereof; This M^{sr}. Le Prince told mee, and I thought it my duty to let your S. Maty know the report; on which occasion, I cannot omitt to tell your S. Maty that the match is generally desired by this nation and particularly by Madame herselfe, who hath not only cast out many words to this purpose but, where there hath been question of diversity of relligions, hath sayd, that a wife ought to have no will, but that of her husbands; which words, I confesse, have incited mee to do her this good office: for the rest, beinge so farre from having a voice, that I will not so much as have a thought, which is not warranted by your S. Matyes authority, which I hold in that infinite reverence, that, I am sorry I can say no more, then that I will live and dy

Your S. Matyes

Most obedient, most loyall, and most affectionate Subject and Servant,

Paris, this ¼ Aug. 1620.

HERBERT.

The next letter (partly in cipher) is as follows, addressed to Mr. Secretary Naunton:

Right Honourable,

I WILL begin this dispatch wth giving yr Honr an accompt that the *Ærchinés cono di Bologna* is newly elected Pope : I cannot send your Honr his description (with that certaintie I desire), only I finde that this state is well contented with the choice, or at least would have the world think so.

There hath lately been held a consultation heer, at which were present (Cy.) 69 (*i.e.* French king), (Cy.) 99 (M. de Luynes), (Cy.) 74 (M. Le Prince), and three of the most ancient of (Cy.) 112 (*i.e.*, council). One of whom being demanded by (Cy.) 69 (the king), what hee thought of a warre heer against those of the Religion, answered that it was too late to say any thing, if (Cy.) 69 (the king) had already taken his resolution ; yet because it was (Cy.) 69 (the king's) his pleasure, he should speake, he could doe no lesse then relate unto (Cy.) 69 (the king) the miseries he had observed in the civil warres, between Charles IX. and Henry III. and those of the Religion; of which he never sawe other conclusion, but yt when good subjects had byn lost on either side, they became at last so weary of the warre and of their owne errours that, among the many edicts which were accorded to those of the Religion, the later was ever the better ; that for his part, he desired not to see those of the Religion either in a better or worse estate, then the last edict of Nantes left them ; and so he thought these times did require. This opinion (Cy) 99 (M. de Luynes) would have seconded by using some words tending to pacification ; which (Cy) 69 (the king) interrupted, saying, "Vous ne sçavez pas, ce que vous ditez," whereupon (Cy.) 74 (M. Le Prince) toke courage to pursue (after his wonted manner) his arguments and violences against those of the Religion ; and now the question is, not whether a warre shall be made, but where, when, and how.

Some persuaded the King to begin with the lesser townes in the way to or near Rochelle (as Saumur, St. Jean d'Angely, &c.) but others oppose that, saying the King's principale quarrell is against Rochelle and the Assembly. But that is contradicted againe by others, who say the place is of such strengthe that their army may sooner get an affront there than any thing els, while they of the Religion wil have leisure to assemble and fortifie themselves in other places of the kingdome ; therefore a third conseil hath byn thought of, which is, that an army shall be sent to Prinas to chastise that towne for their late taking and rasing their castle ; and under that colour to keep from joyning together those of ye Religion in Dauphiné and Languedoc, in which countreys the principale forces of those of ye Religion doe consist ; but this conseil hath as well found his opposition, at least for the present ; which whether it proceeds from an expectation that Monsr. des Biguieres

will be heer shortly (by whose meanes it is hoped, all these differences may be accommodated) or that M. de Luynes averseness from entering into any warre at home (as foreseeing that his enemies, who dare not shew themselves openly in time of peace, will not feare to declare themselves in time of warre) be a sufficient cause of this stay, I cannot well affirm.

Sure it is, they have a faire occasion given them to oppresse the Religion in all those southern parts upon an accident which lately happened: Monsr. de Chastillon relates it in this manner. His Excellency in the Low Countreys, thinking it fit, in these troublesome times to fortifie his good towne of Aurance, sent lately thither six or seven bras peeces together with some other provision of lesser armes; which opportunitie, saith Mons. de Chastillon, himself thought to be very proper to supplye with armes some townes and garrisons which he and they of the Religion hold in those quarters; the armes which they formerly had being (as he saith) either consumed with rust or otherwise growne unserviceable; whereupon (he saith) it was necessary to provide armes for three or foure thousand men; the shippe wherein this munition was brought, did very unfortunately strike upon some sands near Arles in Provence; the governor whereof manning out some schalloppes entred the shippe and perceiving it was laden with armes, seased upon them for the King's use. Heerupon Monsr. de Chastillon hath sent to complaine as well in his Excell^s. name as his own; but I think will hardly finde right for either, as matters now stand: though he hath the commodity of the good offices which in this behalf may be done by the new Low Countreys ambassadr^s.

Who in their first and only audience they have yet obteyned have byn so farre from saying any thing which might tend to shew a desire of continewing their truce with the Spaniard, that after some compliments, they made it their principall busines to treat with this King of an accomodement between themselves and the French concerning some maritime affairs, which are yet in controversie. The King received them graciously; and after referring them for answer to his conseil, entred into some such familiar questions with them as gave them contentment.

And now it is time to give your Honr an accompt of two passages, which may give some small augure of this States better disposition to our Religion and affaires. The first is, that whereas they of the Religion on Sunday last coming from Charenton, were assaulted in their coaches and on horseback with stones and durt en la Rue St. Anthonie, near a chappel of ye Jesuits, this State hath taken order, not only vigourously to punishe the offenders, but also to give a reprimende to the seditious preachers, whose bitter and invective sermons are thought the principall cause of this tumult. The second is, that the agent for

the united Princes of Germanie hath desired to know the resolution of this State, concerning the continewing or breaking of the union, and received answer that this State did desire them by all meanes not to break; promising very shortly to send one unto Huilbrun for the further declaration of their minde heerin: the person nominated is one Guicciard, who though he be not of the Religion, yet is held to be bon François.

The King (tis thought) goeth very shortly to Fontainbleau, whereupon I have pressed Monsr. de Cadenet for an answer to my last instructions, and am promised I shall have it very shortly. He saith the hawks he brought from England, and which (as I take it) his Maty gave him, put all ye court in admiration of their good flying. But the King (as it seems) will shortly intend other things, and wants not ye instigation of (Cy.) 74 (M. Le Prince) for making any warre, who offreth a project for paying of ye King's army for three yeares: which this invention, which is, to take backe againe ye venal offices from those who bought them and remburse them their moneyes, and after to sell them againe, which will at least triple the summe: these are the desyres of that boulte feux (Cy.) 74 (M. le Prince) only to get the authoritie of an army into his hands.

My health suffers mee not yet to goe abroad; but I hope in God to recover both it and my hand very shortly to doe his Maty service. So with my due respects I conclude and rest

Your Honor's

Most faithfull and most

Affectionat servant,

Paris, 15 Febr. 1620, Sto. Ango.

HERBERT.*

P. S. Monsr. de Guise desired me to send word to his Maty for the message which his Maty was pleased to send him. I heare that the new Pope hath assumed the name of Gregorie.

The last of these letters was written during his second embassy, to his Majesty James I.:

My most gracious Sovereigne,

Now that I thanke God for it, his Highenes, accordinge to my continuall prayers, hath made a safe and happy returne unto your Sacred Majestie's presence, I think myselfe bounde, by way of

* The signature alone of this letter is in the handwriting of Lord Herbert, and this evidently appears to have been written with great difficulty.

complete obedience to those commandements I received from your Sacred Majestie, both by Mr. Secretarie Calvert and my brother Henry, to give your Sacred Majestie an account of that sense which the generall sort of people doth entertaine here, concerninge the whole frame and contexte of his Highnes voyage. It is agreed on all parts that his Highnes must have received much contentment, in seeinge two great kingdomes, and consequently in enjoyinge that satisfaction which princes but rarely, and not without great perill obtain. His Highnes discretion, diligence, and princely behavior every where, likewise is much praysed. Lastly, since his Highnes journey hath fallen out so well, that his Highnes is come back without any prejudice to his person or dignitie : they say the successe hath sufficiently commended the Councell. This is the most common censure (even of the bigot party, as I am informed) which I approve in all, but in the last pointe in the delivery whereof I finde somethinge to dislike, and therefore tell them, that thinges are not to be judged alone by the successe, and that when they would not looke so highe as God's providence, without which no place is secure, they might finde even in reason of state, so much, as might sufficiently warrante his Highnes person, and libertie to returne.

I will come from the ordinarie voice, to the selecter judgment of the Ministers of State, and more intelligent people in this kingdome, who though they nothinge vary from the above-recited opinion, yet as more profoundly lookinge into the state of this longe-treated-of allyance betwixt your Sacred Majestie and Spaine in the persons of his Highnes and the Infanta, they comprehend their sentence therof (as I am informed) in three propositions.

First, that the protestation, which the Kinge of Spaine made to his Highnes upon his departure, whereby he promised to chase away, and dis-favor all those who should oppose this marriage, doth extende no further, than to the sayd kinges servants, or at furthest, not beyonde the temporall princes his neighbours, so that the Pope, being not included herin, it is thought his consent must bee yet obtained, and consequently that the business is in little more forwardnes than when it first beganne.

Secondly, That the Pope will never yeeld his consent, unless your Sacred Majestie grante some notable privileges and advantage to the Roman Catholique religion in your Sacred Majestie's kingedomes.

Thirdly, That the sayd Kinge of Spaine would never insiste upon obtaininge those privileges, but that hee more desires to forme a party in your Sacred Majestie's kingedomes, which he may keep always obsequious to his will, then to maintain a frendly correspondence betwixt your Sacred Majestie and himselfe. I must not, in the last place, omitte to acquaint your Sacred Majestie very particularly with

the sense which was expressed by the bons Francois, and body of those of the Religion, who hartily wishe that the same greatnes which the King of Spaine doth so affecte over all the worlde, and still maintaines even in this country, which is to bee Protector of the Jesuited and bigot partie, your Sacred Majestie would embrace in beeing Defender of our Faithe. The direct answer to which though I evade, and therefore reply little more, then that this councell was much fitter when the Union in Germany did subsiste than at this tyme; yet do I think myselfe obliged to represente the affection they beare unto your Sacred Majestie. This is as much as is come to my notice, concerninge that pointe your Sacred Majestie gave mee in charge, which therfore I have plainly layd open before your Sacred Majestie's eyes, as understandinge well, that princes never receive greater wronge, then when the ministers they putte in truste do palliate and disguise those things which it concernes them to knowe. For the avoydinge wherof, let me take the boldnes to assure your Sacred Majestie that those of this King's councell here will use all means they can, both to the King of Spaine, and to the Pope (in whom they pretend to have very particular interest) not only to interrupte but yf it be possible, to breake off your Sacred Majestie's allyance with Spaine. For which purpose the Count de Tillieres hath stricte commande to give eether all punctuall advise, that accordingly they may proceede. It rests that I most humbly beseech your Sacred Majestie to take my free relation of these particulars in good part, since I am of no faction, nor have any passion or interest, but faithfully to performe that service and dutie which I owe to your Sacred Majestie, for whose perfect health and happiness I pray, with the devotion of

Your Sacred Majestie's

Most obedient, most loyall, and most affectionate subject and servant,

HERBERT.*

From Merlou Castle, the 31st of October, 1623. Stil. No.

In 1624 he published at Paris "De Veritate," &c. In the year 1625 he was made a Baron of Ireland, by the title of Lord Herbert of Castle Ireland; and in 1631 he was created a Peer of England, by that of Lord Herbert of Cherbury, in Shropshire.

* Harleian MSS. This last has however been twice printed: first in "The Cabala," and recently by Mr. Ellis in his interesting "Collection of Original Letters."

When the differences between King Charles and his Parliament broke out, Lord Herbert joined his interest to that of the latter. He seems previously to have made a speech in behalf of the king, which gave great offence to the house ; but the year after he changed his politics, and supported the Parliament, for which change he became a great sufferer from the vengeance of the Royalists. He attended the army of the Parliament to Scotland in 1639, and obtained indemnification for his castle of Montgomery, which had been demolished by their order.

His strong constitution appears to have given way at a comparatively early period, for in 1643, at the age of about sixty-two, he speaks of his having become exceedingly debilitated, especially in the first of the following letters :

FROM EDWARD LORD HERBERT TO SIR HENRY
HERBERT.

Sir Henry.

THE business I intended by you I have dispatched another way. I am thinkinge of a journey to the Spaw ; but I doubt how I shall be able to go, my body beinge more infirme then to endure any labour. And let me assure you, I finde myselfe grown older in this one yeare than in fifty-nine yeares before ; which as it is true, I should bee glad were knowne among the best of those to whom you go. I shall pray for a good and speedy end to all those troubles : and in particular, that God would guide those who are now met. And here I must remember that of all of us, there remains now but you and I to brother it. I pray you remember my kind love to your lady, and all yours. So I rest,

Your faithfull loving brother,

HERBERT.

Mossley C., 14th June, 1643.

*To the right worthy Sir Henry Herbert, Knight, at his
house near Bewdley, Ribsford, S.S.*

FROM THE SAME TO THE SAME.

Sir Henry,

FOR the good offices you ever done mee, I thanke you. But why thereupon you should fall upon your old whettinge I marvaile. I had

rather, for my parte, forget all unkinde passages then remember them, so as to send you a forgiveness for them. If Richard Whitingham sent you word (as he told mee) of the condition of the two parkes, you would take nothing unkindly, especially when I wished him to tell you, that if you sent a gelding thither, he should be welcome. But here also you may remember the old answer. If you will not take it unkindly that I denyed you a curtesay, I will not take it unkindly that you asked it. Good brother, use no more close repetitions; and now I grow old and infirme, do not afflictions and discomforts to

Your faithful lovinge brother,

June 24, 1643.

E. HERBERT.

To the right worthy Sir H. Herbert, at Oxford.

FROM THE SAME TO THE SAME.

Sir Henry,

THOUGH the messenger brought no letter from you to my selfe, yet because hee tould mee you were well, the welcome news thereof in these troublesome times invites me to congratulate it with you. If it had pleased R. Witingham to have tould you that I had stone horses in my lower parke, and no grasse in my upper parke (as he tould mee he would), there had been no occasion for you to demand that I could not conveniently do: but if you send a gelding or two untill Michelmas, they shall bee received. Wee are here almost in as great straits as if the warre were amongst us. Shrewsbury, which is our ordinary magazine, being exhausted of wine, vinegar, hops, paper, and pepper at four shillings the pound; and shortly a want of all commodities that are not native with us will follow, the intercourse between us and London being interdicted. My dear and only brother, I wish you all health and happiness, and so rest, though much broken in my health,

Your faithfull lovinge brother,

25th Aug., 1643.

E. HERBERT.*

My kind remembrance to your lady and children.

Lord Herbert died in 1648, at his house in Queen Street, London, and was buried at St. Giles's-in-the-Fields, with this inscription over his grave:

Hic inhumatur corpus Edvardi Herbert equitis Balnei, baronis de Cherbury et Castle-Island, auctoris libri, cui titulus est, "De Veritate." Reddor ut herbæ; vicesimo die Augusti anno Domini 1648.

* Warner's "Epist. Curios."

He had, says Lloyd, "designed a fair monument of his own invention, to be set up for him in the church of Montgomery, according to the model following: Upon the ground a hath-piece of fourteen-foot square, on the midst of which is placed a Doric column, with its right of pedestal basis, and capitols of fifteen foot in height; on the capitol of the colum is mounted an urn with a heart flamboul, supported by two angels. The foot of this column is attended with four angels, placed on pedestals at each corner of the said hath-pace; two having torches reverst, extinguishing the motto of mortality, the other two holding up palms, the emblems of victory."

In his lordship's "Occasional Verses" occurs the following characteristic "Epitaph for Himself:"

"READER,

"The monument which thou beholdest here
 Presents Edward, Lord Herbert, to thy sight;
 A man, who was so free from either hope or fear
 To have or lose this ordinary light,
 That when to elements his body turned were,
 He knew that as those elements would fight,
 So his immortal soul should find above
 With his Creator, peace, joy, truth, and love!"

Lord Herbert was succeeded by his son Richard, Lord Herbert, and he by Edward, who dying April 21, 1691, was buried April 28, by the side of his grandfather.

His peculiar religious opinions give an additional interest to the following prayer, which he appears to have been in the habit of using, the copy being found in his own handwriting:

A PRAYER, BY EDWARD, LORD HERBERT OF CHERBURY.

O GOD ! Thou, by whose power and wisdom all things at first were made, and by whose providence and goodness they are continued and preserved, still behold, from thy everlasting dwelling above, me thy creature and inhabitant of this lower world, who from this valley of change and corruption, lifting up heart and eyes to Thee, his eternal God and Creator, does here acknowledge and confess these manifold blessings, these vast gifts bestowed on me ; as namely, that before I yet was, when I could neither know nor consent to be great and good, Thy eternall providence had ordained me this being, by which I was brought into this world, a living, free, and reasonable creature, not senseless or brutish, but capable of seeing and understandinge thy wondrous works herein ; and not only so, but of usinge and enjoyinge them, in that plentiful measure wherein they have been hitherto afforded me. O Lord, with all humbleness I confess, that were there no other pledge of thy favour than this alone, it were more than any of thy creatures in this life can possibly deserve.

But thy mercies go farther yet. Thou hast not only made me see, know, and partake thy works, but hast suffered me to love Thee for the blessings shewed us in them. I say, Thou hast admitted fraile dust and ashes to so high a dignity as to love Thee, the infinite and eternall Beauty. And not only disdainest it not, but acceptest, yea, and rewardest the same : and whence can this come, but from thy everlasting goodness, which, had it not vouchsafed to love me first, I could not have had the power (than which man has no greater) of loving Thee againe. Yet here thy mercies stay not. Thou hast

not only given mee to know and love Thee, but hast written in my heart a desire even to imitate and bee like Thee (as farre as in this fraile flesh I may), and not only so, but many ways inabled me to the performance of it. And from hence, Lord, with how much comfort do I learne the high estate I received in my creation, as beinge formed in thine owne similitude and likenesse. But, O Lord, thy mercies (for they are infinite) are not bounded even here. Thou hast, then, not only given mee the means of knowinge, lovinge, and imitatinge Thee in this life ; but hast given mee the ambition of knowinge, lovinge, and imitatinge Thee after this life ; and for that purpose hast begunne in mee a desire of happinesse, yea of eternal bliss, and from thence proceeded to give mee hope ; and not only so, but also a faith which does promisse and assure mee, that since this desire can come from none but Thee, nothing Thou doest can be in vain. What shall I say, then, but desire Thee, O Lord, to fulfill it in thy good tyme, to mee thy unworthy creature, who in this flesh can come no nearer Thee than the desireing that mortality which both keeps mee from thy abode, and makes me most unlike Thee here. Amen.*

Lord Herbert, not having mentioned the year of his birth, it is necessary to remark, that as he states his age to have been between eighteen and nineteen, on his coming to London in 1600, and Wood, that he was entered a gentleman commoner of the University College, Oxford, in 1595, his birth must certainly have taken place in 1581, so that at his decease he had attained his sixty-seventh year.

The following is the catalogue of the works, which he gave to the world in his lifetime, or which were published posthumously by his friends :

* Warner's "Epist. Curios."

“De * Veritate, prout distinguitur à Revelatione, à verisimili, à possibili, et à falso. Cui Operi additi sunt duo alii tractatus ; primus, de Causis Errorum ; alter, de Religione Laici. Unà cum Appendice ad Sacerdotes de Religione Laici ; et quibusdam poematibus.” Paris 1624, and 1633, and London, 1645 ; a book so strongly imbued with the light of revelation, relative to the moral virtues and a future life, that no man ignorant of the Scriptures, or of the knowledge derived from them, could have written ; and yet most strangely intended to impugn the validity of that revelation itself—designed to question the necessity and truth of *any* communication from the Deity, and yet professing to rely for its sanction on a supposed miraculous interposition of that very kind ;—contradictions so singular, as to point to this work as one of those great errors of a great mind, into which a too confident reliance on the powers of intellect may lead on subjects of inquiry which are in themselves of a nature purely religious. It was replied to by Leland, Baxter, Gassendi, and Haliburton, as well as by Locke, who, in his notice of this work, says Lord Orford, “allows his Lordship to be a man of parts.”* In 1639 a French translation appeared at Paris ; and Thomas Master is said to have assisted Lord Herbert in latinising it.

“De Religione Gentilium, Errorumque apud eos causis.” The first part was printed at London, 1645, 8vo.,

* Lord Orford's remark on this extraordinary singularity of Lord Herbert's is as follows :—“There is no stronger characteristic of human nature, than its being open to the grossest contradictions : one of Lord Herbert's chief arguments against revealed religion is the improbability that Heaven should reveal its will to only a portion of the earth, which he terms *particular* religion. How could a man who doubted of *partial*, believe *individual* revelation ?”—“Royal and Noble Authors.”

and the whole in 1663, 4to., and reprinted in 1700, 8vo. Mr. W. Lewis translated it into English, under this title, "The Ancient Religion of the Gentiles, and Causes of their Errors considered. The mistakes and failures of the heathen priests and wise men in their notions of the Deity, and matters of divine worship, are examined with regard to their being destitute of divine revelation." 1705, 8vo. Lord Herbert sent the manuscript of this work to Gerard Vossius, in the year 1645, as appears from his letter and Vossius's answer. *Biog. Dict.* quoted by Mr. Park

"Expeditio Buckinghami Ducis in Ream Insulam." Published by Tim. Baldwin, LL.D., 1656, Lond., 8vo.

"Life and Reign of Henry the Eighth," Lond., 1649, 1672, and 1682. This latter edition was, according to Wood,* collated by certain scholars of the University of Oxford, with the original manuscript, deposited in the Bodleian Library by the author in 1643. It was reprinted in Kennet's "Complete History of England," vol. ii. The following character of the work is given by Lord Orford: "It was undertaken by command of King James I., and is much esteemed; yet one cannot help regretting that a man who found it necessary to take up arms against Charles I., should have palliated the enormities of Henry VIII., in comparison of whom King Charles was an excellent prince. It is strange, that writing a man's life should generally make the biographer become enamoured of his subject; whereas, one should think that the nicer disquisition one makes into the life of any man, the less reason one should find to love or admire him." In another place,† Lord Orford observes that the "Life of Henry VIII." is allowed to be a master-piece of historic

* "Athenæ," Bliss's Edition, vol. iii. p. 241.

† "Advertisement to Lord Herbert's Life."

biography; and Bishop Nicholson, in his English Historical Library asserts, "that the author has acquitted himself with the like reputation as Lord Chancellor Bacon gained by the 'Life of Henry VII.' having in the politic and martial part been admirably exact, from the best records that remain."

Lord Herbert had, however, a valuable assistant in the person of Thomas Master, "esteemed," says Anthony Wood, "a vast scholar, a general artist and linguist, a noted poet, and a most florid preacher." He died in 1643, at Oxford, of the same malignant fever which carried off Cartwright and many others. Lord Edward honoured his memory with a Latin epitaph, printed in his "Occasional Verses," p. 94. He had also prefixed a Latin poem to Master's "*Mensa lubrica Montgom. illustriss. Domino D. Edwardo Baroni de Cherbury,*" a poem descriptive of Shovelboard play, printed for the second time at Oxford, 1658. What assistance he gave to his lordship may be collected from the following extract:—

"He was a drudge to, and assisted much, Edward Lord Herbert of Cherbury, when he was obtaining materials for the writing of the life of Henry VIII. Four thick volumes in folio of such materials I have lying by me, in every one of which I find his handwriting, either in interlining, adding, or correcting; and one of those four, which is entitled '*Collectaneorum Lib. Secundus,*' is mostly written by him, collected from Parliamentary Rolls, the Paper Office at Whitehall, Vicar-General's Office, books belonging to the Clerks of the Council, MSS. in Cotton's Library, Books of Convocation of the Clergy, &c., printed authors, &c. And there is no doubt, that, as he had an especial hand in composing the said '*Life of Henry VIII.*' (which, as some say, he turned mostly into Latin, but never printed), so had he a

hand in Latinising that lord's book, 'De Veritate,' or others."*

Lord Herbert's Historical Collections are preserved in the Library of Jesus College, Oxford, and several of his letters among the Harleian manuscripts.

In 1688, "A Dialogue on Education," 4to, was published, and attributed to his lordship.

"Occasional Verses of Edward Lord Herbert, Baron of Cherbury and Castle-Island, who deceased in 1648." Lond., 1665, 8vo. Published by Henry Herbert, his younger son, and dedicated to Edward Lord Herbert, the author's grandson.

In Joshua Sylvester's "Lachrymæ Lachrymarum, or The Spirit of Tears, distilled for the untimely death of Prince Henry," Lond. 1613, 4to.; and in other publications, several poems of Lord Herbert may also be found.

The two Latin poems, inserted in his Life, together with a longer, entitled, "Hæred. ac Nepot. suis Præcepta et Consilia, E. B. H. de C. et C. J. de K.," were printed, in 1647, 4to. in the unique tract, preserved in the Bridgewater Library.

As a poet, Lord Herbert does not rank high, and is often almost unintelligible. Mr. Park observes, that "his Lordship's scarce volume of Occasional Poems, consists chiefly of metaphysical love verses; ingenious, but unnatural; platonic in sentiment, but frequently gross in expression; and marked by an eccentricity which pervaded the life and the character of Lord Herbert." Of the following specimens, the first stanzas are pronounced by the editor of the Specimens of Early English Poets to be the most tolerable verses in the volume, and are selected from thirty-five, of which the poem consists. The two others are selected by Mr. Park, in his edition of Lord Orford's "Royal and Noble Authors." †

* Wood's "Athenæ," Bliss's Edition, vol. iii. p. 86. † III. p. 23.

AN ODE

UPON THE QUESTION MOVED, WHETHER LOVE SHOULD CONTINUE
FOR EVER?

HAVING interred her infant birth,
The watery ground, that late did mourn,
Was strewed with flowers, for the return
Of the wished bridegroom of the earth.

The well-accorded birds did sing
Their hymns unto the pleasant time,
And in a sweet consorted chime,
Did welcome in the cheerful spring.

To which, soft whistles of the wind,
And warbling murmurs of a brook,
And varied notes of leaves that shook,
And harmony of parts did bind.

* * * * *

When with a love none can express
That mutually happy pair,
Melander and Celinda fair,
The season with their loves did bless.

Walking thus towards a pleasant grove,
Which did, it seemed, in new delight
The pleasures of the time unite,
To give a triumph to their love,

They staid at last, and on the grass
Reposed so, as o'er his breast
She bowed her gracious head to rest.
Such a weight as no burthen was.

* * * * *

Long their fixed eyes to heaven bent,
Unchanged, they did never move ;
As if so great and pure a love,
No glass but it could represent.

When with a sweet, though troubled look,
She first brake silence, saying " Dear friend,
Oh, that our love might take no end,
Or never had beginning took !

“ I speak not this with a false heart ;”
 Wherewith his hand she gently strained ;
 Or that would change a love maintained
 With so much love on either part.

“ Nay, I protest, though Death with his
 Worst counsel should divide us here,
 His terrors could not make me fear
 To come where your lov'd presence is.

“ Only, if love's fire with the breath
 Of life be kindeled, I doubt,
 With our last air 'twill be breathed out,
 And quenched with the cold of death.”

* * * * *

Then with a look, it seemed denied
 All earthly powers but hers, yet so
 As if to her breath he did owe
 This borrowed life, he thus replied :

* * * * *

“ And shall our love, so far beyond
 That low and dying appetite,
 And which so chaste desires unite,
 Not hold in an eternal bond ?

* * * * *

“ Oh, no, beloved ! I am most sure
 Those virtuous habits we acquire,
 As being with the soul entire,
 Must with it evermore endure.

* * * * *

“ Else should our souls in vain elect ;
 And vainer yet were heaven's laws,
 When to an everlasting cause
 They gave a perishing effect.

“ Nor here on earth, then, nor above,
 Our good affection can impair :
 For, where God doth admit the fair,
 Think you that he excludeth love ?

“ These eyes again thine eyes shall see,
 And hands again these hands infold ;
 And all chaste pleasures can be told,
 Shall with us everlasting be.

“ For if no use of sense remain
 When bodies once this life forsake,
 Or they could no delight partake,
 Why should they ever rise again ?

* * * * *

“ Let, then, no doubt, Celinda, touch,
 Much less your fairest mind invade :
 Were not our souls immortal made,
 Our equal loves can make them such.”

* * * * *

TO A YOUNG PALE BEAUTY.

FROM thy pale look, while angry Love doth seem
 With more imperiousness to give his law,
 Than where he blushing doth beg esteem ;
 We may observe tried beauty in such awe,
 That the brav'st colour under her command
 Affrighted, oft before you doth retire ;
 While, like a statue of yourself you stand
 In such symmetrique form, as doth require
 No lustre but its own ; as then, in vain,
 One should flesh-colouring to statues add,

So were it to your native white a stain
 If it in other ornaments were clad,
 Than what your rich proportions do give,
 Which in a boundless fair being unconfined,
 Exalted in your soul, so seem to live,
 That they become an emblem of your mind ;
 That so, who to your orient white should join
 Those fading qualities most eyes adore,
 Were but like one who, gilding silver coin,
 Gave but occasion to suspect it more.

TO HIS WATCH, WHEN HE COULD NOT SLEEP.

Uncessant minutes, whilst you move you tell,
 The time that tells our life, which, though it run
 Never so fast or far, your new begun
 Short steps shall overtake : for though life well
 May 'scape his own account, it shall not yours.
 You are Death's auditors, that both divide
 And sum whate'er that life inspired endures,
 Past a beginning ; and through you we bide
 The doom of fate, whose unrecalled decree
 You date, bring, execute ; making what's new,
 Ill ; and good, old ; for as we die in you,
 You die in time, time in eternity.

His character, as drawn by Lord Orford at the commencement of this volume, is so complete, that little need be added to it. The following are the remarks of Granger, in his "Biographical History of England :

"Lord Herbert stands in the first rank of the public ministers, historians, and philosophers of his age. It is hard to say whether his person, his understanding, or his courage, was the most extraordinary ; as the fair, the learned, and the brave, held him in equal admiration. But the same man was wise, and capricious ; redressed wrongs, and quarrelled for punctilios ; hated bigotry in religion, and was himself a bigot to philosophy. He exposed himself to such dangers as other men would have carefully declined ; and called in question the fundamentals of a religion which none had the hardiness to dispute besides himself."*

Some late writers † appearing to have entertained something like a doubt respecting Lord Herbert's personal courage, from his differences never having actually terminated in duels, it may not perhaps be amiss to remark,

* Vol. ii. p. 145.

† Aikin's "Court of James I." vol. i. 372. Mills, "History of Chivalry," vol. ii. 143.

that it is far more likely his commanding aspect, and the knowledge his opponents possessed of the unconquerable nature of his resolution, might have operated to prevent his being encountered, than that this was occasioned by any insidious feeling on his part, which indeed his whole character seems to prove, particularly his surprising defence of himself, on occasion of the attack made upon him by Sir J. Ayres ; so that the accuracy of Lord Orford's remark may still be very safely relied on, when, in his "Royal and Noble Authors," he describes Edward Lord Herbert of Cherbury, as "one of the greatest ornaments of the learned Peerage ; a man of a martial spirit and a profound understanding."

The following complimentary lines, which were addressed to him by Ben Jonson, sufficiently show that the man of whom such things could be said before living witnesses, must indeed have been no ordinary kind of personage, even after making all due allowance for the language of friendship, or even of gratitude :

TO SIR EDWARD HERBERT.

If men get name, for some one virtue ; then,
 What man art thou, that art so many men,
 All-virtuous Herbert ! On whose every part,
 Truth might spend all her voice, fame all her art.
 Whether thy learning they would take, or wit,
 Or valour, or thy judgment seasoning it,
 Thy standing upright to thyself, thy ends
 Like straight, thy piety to God, and friends :
 Their later praise would still the greatest be,
 And yet they all together, less than thee.

It appears probable that Lord Herbert's religious opinions towards the close of his life differed from those of his earlier years, for when on his death-bed he sent for Lord Primate Usher of Ireland, and would have

received the Sacrament, saying indifferently of it, that if there was good in any thing it was in that, or if it did no good it could do no harm ; to which the Primate objecting, refused, though many blamed him : then having inquired the time, he said, an hour hence I shall depart, and turning his head on the other side he expired serenely. He had prayers constantly twice a day in his house, and on Sunday would have his chaplain read one of Smyth's Sermons. His monumental* inscription was from the pen of Lord Stanhope.†

* Page 330.

† Aubrey's "Lives." Bodleian Letters.



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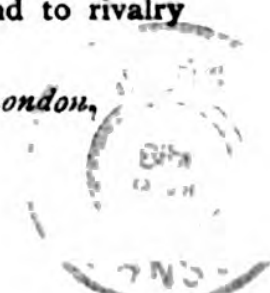
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