

M. F.

THE
WORKS
2 OF 1327
HENRY FIELDING, ESQ.
WITH
AN ESSAY
ON
HIS LIFE AND GENIUS,
BY
ARTHUR MURPHY, ESQ.

A NEW EDITION, IN FOURTEEN VOLUMES.

Revised Edition. 1829

Vol. XIII.

LONDON:

Printed for J. Johnson; J. Nichols and Son; R. Baldwin;
F. and C. Rivington; Otridge and Son; W. J. and J. Richard-
son; R. Faulder and Son; G. Nicol and Son; T. Payne;
G. Robinson; W. Lowndes; Wilkie and Robinson; Seatch-
erd and Letterman; Lane and Newman; J. Walker;
Vernor, Hood, and Sharpe; R. Lea; J. Nunn; Lackington.
Allen, and Co.; Cuthell and Martin; Barker and Son;
C. Law; E. Jeffery; Longman, Hurst, Rees, and Orme;
Cadell and Davies; Black, Parry, and Co.; W. Miller;
I. Booker; R. H. Evans; S. Bagster; J. Harding; J. Maw-
man; J. Asperne; P. and W. Wynne; and Joseph
Harding.

1808.

386

2

THE
TRUE PATRIOT.

3

A JOURNEY

FROM



THIS WORLD TO THE NEXT,

&c.

4

CONTENTS
OF THE
THIRTEENTH VOLUME.

	Page
<i>A Journey from This World to the Next</i> . . .	1
<i>The Journal of a Voyage to Lisbon</i> . . .	155
<i>The True Patriot</i>	299
<i>The Jacobite's Journal</i>	365

CONTENTS

5

TO A JOURNEY FROM THIS WORLD, &c.

INTRODUCTION - - - - -	Page 1
------------------------	--------

BOOK I.

CHAP. I. <i>The author dies, meets with Mercury, and is by him conducted to the stage which sets out for the other world</i> - - - - -	5
CHAP. II. <i>In which the author first refutes some idle opinions concerning spirits, and the passengers relate their several deaths</i> - - - - -	8
CHAP. III. <i>The adventures we met with in the City of Diseases</i> - - - - -	14
CHAP. IV. <i>Discourses on the road, and a description of the palace of Death</i> - - - - -	22
CHAP. V. <i>The travellers proceed on their journey, and meet several spirits, who are coming into the flesh</i> - - - - -	25
CHAP. VI. <i>An account of the wheel of Fortune, with a method of preparing a spirit for this world,</i>	30
CHAP. VII. <i>The proceedings of judge Minos, at the gate of Elysium</i> - - - - -	34
CHAP. VIII. <i>The adventures which the author met on his first entrance into Elysium</i> - - -	40
CHAP. IX. <i>More adventures in Elysium</i> - -	43
CHAP. X. <i>The author is surprised at meeting Julian the apostate in Elysium: but is satisfied by him, by what means he procured his entrance there. Julian relates his adventures in the character of a slave,</i>	47

CONTENTS.

CHAP. XI.	<i>In which Julian relates his adventures in the character of an avaricious Jew</i>	- Page 56
CHAP. XII.	<i>What happened to Julian in the characters of a general, an heir, a carpenter, and a beau,</i>	60
CHAP. XIII.	<i>Julian passes into a fop</i>	- - - 65
CHAP. XIV.	<i>Adventures in the person of a monk,</i>	166
CHAP. XV.	<i>Julian passes into the character of a fiddler</i>	- - - - - 69
CHAP. XVI.	<i>The history of the Wise Man</i>	- - 74
CHAP. XVII.	<i>Julian enters into the person of a king</i>	- - - - - 82
CHAP. XVIII.	<i>Julian passes into a fool</i>	- - 90
CHAP. XIX.	<i>Julian appears in the character of a beggar</i>	- - - - - 95
CHAP. XX.	<i>Julian performs the part of a statesman</i>	- - - - - 101
CHAP. XXI.	<i>Julian's adventures in the post of a soldier</i>	- - - - - 109
CHAP. XXII.	<i>What happened to Julian in the person of a tailor</i>	- - - - - 116
CHAP. XXIII.	<i>The life of alderman Julian</i>	- 120
CHAP. XXIV.	<i>Julian recounts what happened to him while he was a poet</i>	- - - - - 127
CHAP. XXV.	<i>Julian performs the part of a knight and a dancing master</i>	- - - - - 131

BOOK XIX.

CHAP. VII.	<i>Wherein Anna Boleyn relates the history of her life</i>	- - - - - 133
------------	--	---------------

INTRODUCTION.

WHETHER the ensuing pages were really the dream or vision of some very pious and holy person; or whether they were really written in the other world, and sent back to this, which is the opinion of many (though I think too much inclining to superstition; or lastly, whether, as infinitely the greatest part imagine, they were really the production of some choice inhabitant of New-Bethlehem, is not necessary nor easy to determine. It will be abundantly sufficient, if I give the reader an account by what means they came into my possession.

Mr. Robert Powney, stationer, who dwells opposite to Catharine-street in the Strand, a very honest man, and of great gravity of countenance; who, among other excellent stationary commodities, is particularly eminent for his pens, which I am abundantly bound to acknowledge as I owe to their peculiar goodness, that my manuscripts have by any means been legible: this gentleman, I say, furnished me some time since with a bundle of those pens, wrapt up with great care and caution, in a very large sheet of paper full of characters, written as it seemed in a very bad hand. Now, I have a surprising curiosity to read every thing which is almost illegible; partly, perhaps from the sweet remembrance of the dear Scrawls, Skrawls,

or Skrales (for the word is variously spelt,) which I have in my youth received from that lovely part of the creation for which I have the tenderest regard; and partly from that temper of mind which makes men set an immense value on old manuscripts so effaced, bustoes so maimed, and pictures so black, that no one can tell what to make of them. I therefore perused this sheet with wonderful application, and in about a day's time discovered that I could not understand it. I immediately repaired to Mr. Powney, and enquired very eagerly, whether he had not more of the same manuscript? He produced about one hundred pages, acquainting me that he had saved no more; but that the book was originally a huge folio, had been left in his garret by a gentleman who lodged there, and who had left him no other satisfaction for nine months lodging. He proceeded to inform me, that the manuscript had been hawked about (as he phrased it) among all the booksellers who refused to meddle; some alleged that they could not read, others that they could not understand it. Some would have it to be an atheistical book, and some that it was a libel on the government; for one or other of which reasons, they all refused to print it. That it had been likewise shewn to the R—l Society, but they shook their heads, saying, there was nothing in it wonderful enough for them. That hearing the gentleman was gone to the West-Indies, and believing it to be good for nothing else, he had used it as waste paper. He said, I was welcome to what remained, and he was heartily sorry for what was missing, as I seemed to set some value on it.

I desired him much to name a price: but he would receive no consideration farther than the payment of a small bill I owed him, which at that

time he said he looked on as so much money given him.

I presently communicated this manuscript to my friend parson Abraham Adams, who, after a long and careful perusal, returned it me with his opinion, that there was more in it than at first appeared, that the author seemed not entirely unacquainted with the writings of Plato; but he wished he had quoted him sometimes in his margin, that I might be sure (said he) he had read him in the original: for nothing, continued the parson, is commoner than for men now-a-days to pretend to have read Greek authors, who have met with them only in translations, and cannot conjugate a verb in *mi*.

To deliver my own sentiments on the occasion, I think the author discovers a philosophical turn of thinking, with some little knowledge of the world, and no very inadequate value of it. There are some indeed, who from the vivacity of their temper, and the happiness of their station, are willing to consider its blessings as more substantial, and the whole to be a scene of more consequence than it is here represented: but without controverting their opinions at present, the number of wise and good men, who have thought with our author, are sufficient to keep him in countenance: nor can this be attended with any ill inference, since he every where teaches this moral, That the greatest and truest happiness which this world affords, is to be found only in the possession of goodness and virtue; a doctrine, which as it is undoubtedly true, so hath it so noble and practical a tendency, that it can never be too often or too strongly inculcated on the minds of men.

4

5

A

JOURNEY, &c.

BOOK I.

CHAP. I.

The author dies, meets with Mercury, and is by him conducted to the stage, which sets out for the other world.

ON the first day of December 1741,* I departed this life at my lodging in Cheapside. My body had been some time dead before I was at liberty to quit it, lest it should by any accident return to life: this is an injunction imposed on all souls by the eternal law of fate, to prevent the inconveniencies which would follow. As soon as the destined period was expired (being no longer than till the body is become perfectly cold and stiff,) I began to move; but found myself under a difficulty of making my escape, for the mouth or door, was shut; so that it was impossible for me to go

* Some doubt whether this should not be rather 1641⁹ which is a date more agreeable to the account given of it in the introduction; but then there are some passages which seem to relate to transactions infinitely later, even within this year or two.—To say the truth, there are difficulties attend either conjecture; so the reader may take which he pleases.

out at it, and the windows vulgarly called the eyes, were so closely pulled down by the fingers of a nurse, that I could by no means open them. At last, I perceived a beam of light glimmering at the top of the house (for such I may call the body I had been inclosed in) whither ascending, I gently let myself down through a kind of chimney, and issued out at the nostrils.

No prisoner discharged from a long confinement, ever tasted the sweets of liberty with a more exquisite relish, than I enjoyed in this delivery from a dungeon wherein I had been detained upwards of forty years, and with much the same kind of regard I cast my eyes * backwards upon it.

My friends and relations had all quitted the room, being all (as I plainly overhead) very loudly quarrelling below stairs about my will; there was only an old woman left above, to guard the body, as I apprehend. She was in a fast sleep, occasioned, as from her savour it seemed, by a comfortable dose of gin. I had no pleasure in this company, and therefore, as the window was wide open, I sallied forth into the open air; but to my great astonishment found myself unable to fly, which I had always during my habitation in the body conceived of spirits; however, I came so lightly to the ground, that I did not hurt myself; and though I had not the gift of flying (owing probably to my having neither feathers nor wings,) I was capable of hopping such a prodigious way at once, that it served my turn almost as well.

I had not hopped far, before I perceived a tall young gentleman in a silk waistcoat, with a wing on his left heel, a garland on his head, and a ca-

* Eyes are not perhaps so properly adapted to a spiritual substance; but we are here, as in many other places, obliged to use corporeal terms to make ourselves the better understood.

duceus in his right hand.* I thought I had seen this person before, but had not time to recollect where, when he called out to me, and asked me how long I had been departed. I answered, I was just come forth. 'You must not stay here,' replied he, 'unless you have been murdered: in which case indeed, you might have been suffered to walk some time: but if you died a natural death, you must set out for the other world immediately.' I desired to know the way. 'O,' cried the gentleman, 'I will shew you to the inn whence the stage proceeds: for I am the porter. Perhaps you never heard of me, my name is Mercury.' 'Sure, Sir,' said I, 'I have seen you at the playhouse.' Upon which he smiled, and without satisfying me as to that point, walked directly forward, bidding me hop after him. I obeyed him, and soon found myself in Warwick-lane; where Mercury making a full stop, pointed at a particular house, where he bade me enquire for the stage, and wishing me a good journey, took his leave, saying, he must go seek after other customers.

I arrived just as the coach was setting out, and found I had no occasion for enquiry; for every person seemed to know my business the moment I appeared at the door; the coachman told me, his horses were to, but that he had no place left; however, though there were already six, the passengers offered to make room for me. I thanked them, and ascended without much ceremony. We immediately began our journey, being seven

* This is the dress in which the god appears to mortals at the theatres. One of the offices attributed to this god by the ancients, was to collect the ghosts as a shepherd doth a flock of sheep, and drive them with his wand into the other world.

in number; for as the women wore no hoops, three of them were but equal to two men.

Perhaps, reader, thou may'st be pleased with an account of this whole equipage, as peradventure thou wilt not, while alive, see any such. The coach was made by an eminent toyman, who is well known to deal in immaterial substance, that being the matter of which it was compounded. The work was so extremely fine, that it was entirely invisible to the human eye. The horses which drew this extraordinary vehicle were all spiritual as well as the passengers. They had, indeed, all died in the service of a certain post-master; and as for the coachman, who was a very thin piece of immaterial substance, he had the honour while alive of driving the Great Peter, or Peter the Great, in whose service his soul, as well as body, was almost starved to death.

Such was the vehicle in which I set out, and now, those who are not willing to travel on with me, may, if they please, stop here; those who are, must proceed to the subsequent chapters, in which this journey is continued.

CHAP. II.

In which the author first refutes some idle opinions concerning spirits, and the passengers relate their several deaths.

IT is the common opinion that spirits, like owls, can see in the dark; nay, and can then most easily be perceived by others. For which reason, many persons of good understanding, to prevent

being terrified with such objects, usually keep a candle burning by them, that the light may prevent their seeing. Mr. Locke, in direct opposition to this, hath not doubted to assert, that you may see a spirit in open daylight full as well as in the darkest night.

It was very dark when we set out from the inn, nor could we see any more than if every soul of us had been alive. We had travelled a good way, before any one offered to open his mouth : indeed, most of the company were fast asleep * : but as I could not close my own eyes, and perceived the spirit, who sat opposite to me, to be likewise awake, I began to make overtures of conversation, by complaining *how dark it was*. ‘And extremely cold too,’ answered my fellow-traveller, ‘though I thank God, as I have no body, I feel no inconvenience from it: But you will believe, Sir, that this frosty air must seem very sharp to one just issued forth out of an oven : for such was the inflamed habitation I am lately departed from.’ ‘How did you come to your end, Sir?’ said I. ‘I was murdered, Sir,’ answered the gentleman. ‘I am surprised then,’ replied I, ‘that you did not divert yourself by walking up and down, and playing some merry tricks with the murderer.’ ‘Oh, Sir,’ returned he, ‘I had not that privilege, I was lawfully put to death. In short, a physician set me on fire, by giving me medicines to throw out my distemper. I died of a hot regimen, as they call it, in the small-pox.’

One of the spirits at that word started up, and cried out, ‘The small-pox ! bless me ! I hope I am not in company with that distemper, which I

* Those who have read of the gods sleeping in Homer, will not be surprized at this happening to spirits.

‘ have all my life with such caution avoided, and
‘ have so happily escaped hitherto.’ This fright set
all the passengers who were awake into a loud
laughter; and the gentleman recollecting himself
with some confusion and not without blushing,
asked pardon, crying, ‘ I protest I dreamt that I
‘ was alive.’ ‘ Perhaps, Sir,’ said I, ‘ you died of
‘ that distemper, which therefore made so strong
‘ an impression on you.’ ‘ No, Sir,’ answered he,
‘ I never had it in my life; but the continual and
‘ dreadful apprehension it kept me so long under,
‘ cannot, I see be so immediately eradicated.
‘ You must know, Sir, I avoided coming to Lon-
‘ don for thirty years together, for fear of the
‘ small-pox, till the most urgent business brought
‘ me thither about five days ago. I was so dread-
‘ fully afraid of this disease, that I refused the se-
‘ cond night of my arrival to sup with a friend,
‘ whose wife had recovered of it several months
‘ before, and the same evening got a surfeit by
‘ eating too many muscles, which brought me into
‘ this good company.’

‘ I will lay a wager,’ cried the spirit, who sat
next him, ‘ there is not one in the coach able to
‘ guess my distemper.’ I desired the favour of
him, to acquaint us with it, if it was so uncommon.
‘ Why, Sir,’ said he, ‘ I died of honour.’—‘ Of
‘ honour, Sir!’ repeated I, with some surprize.
‘ Yes, Sir,’ answered the spirit, ‘ of honour, for I
‘ was killed in a duel.’

‘ For my part,’ said a fair spirit, ‘ I was inocu-
‘ lated last summer, and had the good fortune to
‘ escape with a very few marks in my face. I es-
‘ teemed myself now perfectly happy, as I ima-
‘ gined I had no restraint to a full enjoyment of
‘ the diversions of the town; but within a few

' days after my coming up, I caught cold by over-dancing my self at a ball, and last night died of a violent fever.'

After a short silence which now ensued, the fair spirit who spoke last, it being now day-light, addressed herself to a female, who sat next her, and asked her to what chance they owed the happiness of her company. She answered, she apprehended to a consumption: but the physicians were not agreed concerning her distemper, for she left two of them in a very hot dispute about it, when she came out of her body. ' And pray, madam,' said the same spirit, to the sixth passenger, ' How came you to leave the other world?' But that female spirit screwing up her mouth, answered, she wondered at the curiosity of some people; that perhaps persons had already heard some reports of her death, which were far from being true: that whatever was the occasion of it, she was glad at being delivered from a world, in which she had no pleasure, and were there was nothing but nonsense and impertinence; particularly among her own sex, whose loose conduct she had long been entirely ashamed of.

The beauteous spirit, perceiving her question gave offence, pursued it no farther. She had indeed all the sweetness and good humour, which are so extremely amiable (when found) in that sex, which tenderness most exquisitely becomes. Her countenance displayed all the cheerfulness, the good-nature, and the modesty, which diffuse such brightness round the beauty of Seraphina,* awing every beholder with respect, and, at the same time, ravishing him with admiration. Had

* A particular lady of quality is meant here; but every lady of quality, or no quality, are welcome to apply the character to themselves.

it not been indeed for our conversation on the small-pox, I should have imagined we had been honoured with her identical presence. This opinion might have been heightened by the good sense she uttered, whenever she spoke : by the delicacy of her sentiments, and the complacence of her behaviour, together with a certain dignity, which attended every look, word, and gesture ; qualities which could not fail making an impression on a heart * so capable of receiving it as mine, nor was she long in raising in me a very violent degree of seraphic love. I do not intend by this, that sort of love which men are very properly said to make to women in the lower world, and which seldom lasts any longer than while it is making. I mean by seraphic love, an extreme delicacy and tenderness of friendship, of which, my worthy reader, if thou hast no conception, as it is probable thou may'st not, my endeavour to instruct thee would be as fruitless, as it would be to explain the most difficult problems of Sir Isaac Newton to one ignorant of vulgar arithmetic.

To return therefore to matters comprehensible by all understandings ; the discourse now turned on the vanity, folly, and misery of the lower world, from which every passenger in the coach expressed the highest satisfaction in being delivered : though it was very remarkable, that notwithstanding the joy we declared at our death, there was not one of us who did not mention the accident which occasioned it, as a thing we would have avoided if we could. Nay, the very grave

* We have before made an apology for this language, which we here repeat for the last time : though the heart may, we hope, be metaphorically used here with more propriety, than when we apply those passions to the body, which belong to the soul.

lady herself, who was the forwardest in testifying her delight, confessed inadvertently, that she left a physician by her bedside. And the gentleman, who died of honour, very liberally cursed both his folly, and his fencing. While we were entertaining ourselves with these matters, on a sudden a most offensive smell began to invade our nostrils. This very much resembled the savour, which travellers, in summer, perceive at their approach to that beautiful village of the Hague, arising from those delicious canals, which, as they consist of standing water, do at that time emit odours greatly agreeable to a Dutch taste; but not so pleasant to any other. Those perfumes, with the assistance of a fair wind, begin to affect persons of quick olfactory nerves at a league's distance, and increase gradually as you approach. In the same manner, did the smell I have just mentioned more and more invade us, till one of the spirits, looking out of the coach-window, declared we were just arrived at a very large city; and indeed he had scarce said so, before we found ourselves in the suburbs, and at the same time, the coachman being asked by another, informed us, that the name of this place was the City of Diseases. The road to it was extremely smooth, and excepting the above-mentioned savour, delightfully pleasant. The streets of the suburbs were lined with bagnios, taverns, and cook's-shops; in the first we saw several beautiful women, but in tawdry dresses, looking out at the windows; and in the latter were visibly exposed all kinds of the richest dainties: but on our entering the city, we found, contrary to all we had seen in the other world, that the suburbs were infinitely pleasanter than the city itself. It was indeed, a very dull, dark, and melancholy place. Few people appeared in

the streets, and these, for the most part, were old women, and here and there a formal grave gentleman, who seemed to be thinking, with large tie-wigs on, and amber-headed canes in their hands. We were all in hopes, that our vehicle would not stop here; but, to our sorrow, the coach soon drove into an inn, and we were obliged to alight.

CHAP. III.

The adventures we met with in the City of Diseases.

WE had not been long arrived in our inn, where it seems we were to spend the remainder of the day, before our host acquainted us, that it was customary for all spirits, in their passage through that city, to pay their respects to that lady Disease, to whose assistance they had owed their deliverance from the lower world. We answered, we should not fail in any complacence which was usual to others; upon which our host replied, he would immediately send porters to conduct us. He had not long quitted the room, before we were attended by some of those grave persons, whom I have before described in large tie-wigs with amber-headed canes. These gentlemen are the ticket-porters in the city, and their canes are the *insignia*, or tickets denoting their office. We informed them of the several ladies to whom we were obliged, and were preparing to follow them, when on a sudden they all stared at one another, and left us in a hurry, with a frown on every countenance. We were surprised at this behaviour, and presently summoned the host, who was no sooner acquainted

with it, than he burst into an hearty laugh, and told us the reason was, because we did not see the gentlemen the moment they came in, according to the custom of the place. We answered with some confusion, we had brought nothing with us from the other world, which we had been all our lives informed was not lawful to do. 'No, no, master,' replied the host, 'I am apprized of that, and indeed it was my fault. I should have first sent you to my lord* Scrape; who would have supplied you with what you want.'—'My lord Scrape supply us!' said I, with astonishment: 'Sure you must know we cannot give him security; and I am convinced he never lent a shilling without it in his life.' 'No, Sir,' answered the host, 'and for that reason he is obliged to do it here, where he is sentenced to keep a bank, and to distribute money *gratis* to all passengers. This bank originally consisted of just that sum, which he had miserably hoarded up in the other world, and he is to perceive it decrease visibly one shilling a day, till it is totally exhausted; after which, he is to return to the other world, and perform the part of a miser for seventy years; then being purified in the body of a Hog, he is to enter the human species again, and take a second trial.' 'Sir,' said I, 'you tell me wonders: but if his bank be to decrease only a shilling a day, how can he furnish all passengers?' 'The rest,' answered the host, 'is supplied again; but in a manner which I cannot easily explain to you.' 'I apprehend,' said I, 'this distribution of his money is inflicted on him as a punishment; but I do not see how it can

* That we may mention it once for all, in the panegyrical part of this work, some particular person is always meant, but in the satirical, nobody.

‘ answer that end, when he knows it is to be restored to him again. Would it not serve the purpose as well, if he parted only with the single shilling, which it seems is all he is really to lose?’ ‘ Sir,’ cries the host, ‘ When you observe the agonies with which he parts with every guinea, you will be of another opinion. No prisoner condemned to death ever begged so heartily for transportation, as he, when he received his sentence did, to go to hell, provided he might carry his money with him. But you will know more of these things, when you arrive at the upper world; and now, if you please, I will attend you to my lord’s, who is obliged to supply you with whatever you desire.’

We found his lordship sitting at the upper end of a table, on which was an immense sum of money, disposed in several heaps, every one of which would have purchased the honour of some patriots, and the chastity of some prudes. The moment he saw us, he turned pale, and sighed, as well apprehending our business. Mine host accosted him with a familiar air, which at first surprised me, who so well remembered the respect I had formerly seen paid this lord, by men infinitely superior in quality to the person who now saluted him in the following manner: ‘ Here, you lord, and be dam—d to your little sneaking soul, tell out your money, and supply your betters with what they want. Be quick, sirrah, or I’ll fetch the beadle to you. Don’t fancy yourself in the lower world again, with your privilege at your a—.’ He then shook a cane at his lordship, who immediately began to tell out his money, with the same miserable air and face which the miser on our stage wears, while he delivers his bank bills. This affected some of us so much,

that we had certainly returned with no more than what would have been sufficient to fee the porters, had not our host, perceiving our compassion, begged us not to spare a fellow, who in the midst of immense wealth had always refused the least contribution to charity. Our hearts were hardened with this reflection, and we all filled our pockets with his money. I remarked a poetical spirit in particular, who swore he would have a hearty gripe at him: 'For,' says he, 'the rascal not only refused to subscribe to my works: but sent back my letter unanswered, though I am a better gentleman than himself.'

We now returned from this miserable object, greatly admiring the propriety as well as justice of his punishment, which consisted, as our host informed us, merely in the delivering forth his money; and he observed we could not wonder at the pain this gave him, since it was as reasonable that the bare parting with money should make him miserable, as that the bare having money without using it should have made him happy.

Other tie-wig-porters (for those we had summoned before refused to visit us again) now attended us; and we having fee'd them the instant they entered the room, according to the instructions of our host, they bowed and smiled, and offered to introduce us to whatever disease we pleased.

We set out several ways, as we were all to pay our respects to different ladies. I directed my porter to shew me to the Fever on the Spirits, being the disease which had delivered me from the flesh. My guide and I traversed many streets, and knocked at several doors, but to no purpose. At one we were told, lived the Consumption; at another, the *Maladie Alamode*, a French lady; at the third, the Dropsy; at the fourth, the Rheu-

matism ; at the fifth, Intemperance ; at the sixth, Misfortune. I was tired and had exhausted my patience, and almost my purse ; for I gave my porter a new fee at every blunder he made : when my guide, with a solemn countenance, told me, he could do no more ; and marched off without any any farther ceremony.

He was no sooner gone, than I met another gentleman with a ticket, *i. e.* an amber-headed cane in his hand. I first fee'd him, and then acquainted him with the name of the disease. He cast himself for two or three minutes into a thoughtful posture, then pulled a piece of paper out of his pocket, on which he writ something in one of the oriental languages, I believe ; for I could not read a syllable : he bade me carry it to such a particular shop, and telling me it would do my business, he took his leave.

Secure, as I now thought myself of my direction, I went to the shop, which very much resembled an apothecary's. The person who officiated, having read the paper, took down about twenty different jars, and pouring something out of every one of them made a mixture, which he delivered to me in a bottle, having first tied a paper round the neck of it, on which were written three or four words, the last containing eleven syllables. I mentioned the name of the disease I wanted to find out ; but received no other answer, than that he had done as he was ordered, and the drugs were excellent.

I began now to be enraged, and quitting the shop with some anger in my countenance, I intended to find out my inn : but meeting in the way a porter, whose countenance had in it something more pleasing than ordinary, I resolved to try once more, and clapp'd a fee into his hand. As soon as

I mentioned the disease to him, he laughed heartily, and told me I had been imposed on, for in reality no such disease was to be found in that city. He then enquired into the particulars of my case, and was no sooner acquainted with them, than he informed me that the *Maladie Alamode* was the lady to whom I was obliged. I thanked him, and immediately went to pay my respects to her.

The house, or rather palace, of this lady, was one of the most beautiful and magnificent in the city. The avenue to it was planted with sycamore trees, with beds of flowers on each side; it was extremely pleasant, but short, I was conducted through a magnificent hall, adorned with several statues and bustoes, most of them maimed, whence I concluded them all to be true antiques; but was informed they were the figures of several modern heroes, who had died martyrs to her ladyship's cause. I next mounted through a large painted staircase, where several persons were depicted in caricatura; and, upon enquiry, was told they were the portraits of those who had distinguished themselves against the lady in the lower world. I suppose I should have known the faces of many physicians and surgeons, had they not been so violently distorted by the painter. Indeed, he had exerted so much malice in his work, that I believe he had himself received some particular favours from the lady of this mansion: It is difficult to conceive a group of stranger figures, I then entered a long room, hung round with the pictures of women of such exact shapes and features, that I should have thought myself in a gallery of beauties, had not a certain sallow paleness in their complexions given me a more distasteful idea. Through this, I proceeded to a second apartment, adorned, if I may so call it, with the figures of old ladies.

Upon my seeming to admire at this furniture, the servant told me with a smile, that these had been very good friends of his lady, and had done her eminent service in the lower world. I immediately, recollected the faces of one or two of my acquaintance, who had formerly kept bagnios: but was very much surprized to see the resemblance of a lady of great distinction in such company. The servant, upon my mentioning this, made no other answer, than that his lady had pictures of all degrees.

I was now introduced into the presence of the lady herself. She was a thin, or rather meagre person, very wan in the countenance, had no nose, and many pimples in her face. She offered to rise at my entrance, but could not stand. After many compliments, much congratulation on her side, and the most fervent expressions of gratitude on mine, she asked me many questions concerning the situation of her affairs in the lower world; most of which I answered to her intire satisfaction. At last with a kind of forced smile, she said, I I suppose the Pill and Drop go on swimmingly. I told her, they were reported to have done great cures. She replied, she could apprehend no danger from any person, who was not of regular practice: for however simple mankind are, said she, or however afraid they are of death, they prefer dying in a regular manner to being cured by a nostrum. She then expressed great pleasure at the account I gave her of the beau-monde. She said, she had, herself, removed the hundreds of Drury to the hundreds of Charingcross, and was very much delighted to find they had spread into St. James's; that she imputed this chiefly to several of her dear and worthy friends, who had lately published their excellent works, endeavouring to

extirpate all notions of religion and virtue; and particularly to the deserving author of the Bachelor's Estimate, to whom, said she, if I had not reason to think he was a surgeon, and had therefore written from mercenary views, I could never sufficiently own my obligations. She spoke likewise greatly in approbation of the method so generally used by parents, of marrying children very young, and without the least affection between the parties; and concluded by saying, that if these fashions continued to spread, she doubted not but she should shortly be the only disease who would ever receive a visit from any person of considerable rank.

While we were discoursing, her three daughters entered the room. They were all called by hard names, the eldest was named * Lepra, the second Chæras, and the third Scorbutia. They were all genteel, but ugly. I could not help observing the little respect they paid their parent; which the old lady remarking in my countenance, as soon as they quitted the room, which soon happened, acquainted me with her unhappiness in her offspring, every one of which had the confidence to deny themselves to be her children, though she said she had been a very indulgent mother, and had plentifully provided for them all. As family complaints generally as much tire the hearer as they relieve him who makes them, when I found her launching farther into this subject, I resolved to put an end to my visit; and taking my leave, with many thanks for the favour she had done me, I returned to the inn, where I found my fellow travellers just mounting into their vehicle. I shook hands with my host, and accompanied them into the coach, which immediately after proceeded on its journey.

* These ladies, I believe, by their names, presided over the leprosy, king's-evil, and scurvy.

CHAP. IV.

Discourses on the road, and a description of the palace of death.

WE were all silent for some minutes, till being well shaken into our several seats, I opened my mouth first, and related what had happened to me after our separation in the city we had just left. The rest of the company, except the grave female spirit, whom our reader may remember to have refused giving an account of the distemper which occasioned her dissolution, did the same. It might be tedious to relate these at large, we shall, therefore, only mention a very remarkable inveteracy, which the Surfeit declared to all the other diseases, especially to the Fever, who, she said, by the roguery of the porters, received acknowledgements from numberless passengers which were due to herself. 'Indeed,' says she, 'those cane-headed fellows,' for so she called them, alluding, I suppose, to their ticket, 'are constantly making such mistakes; there is no gratitude in those fellows; for I am sure they have greater obligations to me, than to any other disease, except the Vapours.' These relations were no sooner over, than one of the company informed us, we were approaching to the most noble building he had ever beheld, and which we learnt from our coachman, was the palace of Death. Its outside, indeed, appeared extremely magnificent. Its structure was of the gothic order: vast beyond imagination, the whole pile consisting of black marble. Rows of immense yews form an amphitheatre round it of such height and thickness, that no ray of the sun ever perforates this grove; where black eternal darkness would reign, was it

not excluded by innumerable lamps, which are placed in pyramids, round the grove. So that the distant reflection they cast on the palace, which is plentifully gilt with gold on the outside, is inconceivably solemn. To this I may add, the hollow murmur of winds, constantly heard from the grove, and the very remote sound of roaring waters. Indeed, every circumstance seems to conspire to fill the mind with horror and consternation as we approached to this palace; which we had scarce time to admire, before our vehicle stopped at the gate, and we were desired to alight, in order to pay our respects to his most mortal majesty (this being the title which it seems he assumes). The outward court was full of soldiers, and, indeed, the whole very much resembled the state of an earthly monarch, only more magnificent. We passed through several courts, into a vast hall, which led to a spacious staircase, at the bottom of which stood two pages, with very grave countenances; whom I recollected afterwards to have formerly been very eminent undertakers, and were in reality the only dismal faces I saw here: for this palace, so awful and tremendous without, is all gay and sprightly within, so that we soon lost all those dismal and gloomy ideas we had contracted in approaching it. Indeed, the still silence maintained among the guards and attendants resembled rather the stately pomp of eastern courts; but there was on every face such symptoms of content and happiness, that diffused an air of cheerfulness all round. We ascended the stair-case, and passed through many noble apartments, whose walls were adorned with various battle-pieces in tapestry, and which we spent some time in observing. These brought to my mind those beautiful ones I had in my life time seen at Blenheim, nor could I prevent my curiosity

from enquiring where the duke of Marlborough's victories were placed; (for I think they were almost the only battles of any eminence I had read of, which I did not meet with :) when the skeleton of a beef-eater, shaking his head, told me a certain gentleman, one Lewis XIVth, who had great interest with his most mortal majesty, had prevented any such from being hung up there; besides, says he, his majesty hath no great respect for that duke, for he never sent him a subject he could keep from him, nor did he ever get a single subject by his means, but he lost 1000 others for him. We found the presence chamber, at our entrance, very full, and a buz ran through it, as in all assemblies, before the principal figure enters; for his majesty was not yet come out. At the bottom of the room were two persons in close conference, one with a square black cap on his head, and the other with a robe embroidered with flames of fire. These, I was informed, were a judge long since dead, and an inquisitor-general. I overheard them disputing with great eagerness, whether the one had hanged, or the other burnt the most. While I was listening to this dispute, which seemed to be in no likelihood of a speedy decision, the emperor entered the room, and placed himself between two figures, one of which was remarkable for the roughness, and the other for the beauty of his appearance. These were, it seems, Charles the XIIth of Sweden, and Alexander of Macedon. I was at too great a distance to hear any of the conversation, so could only satisfy my curiosity by contemplating the several personages present, of whose names I informed myself by a page, who looked as pale and meagre as any court-page in the other world, but was somewhat more modest. He shewed me here two or three Turkish emperors, to whom his

most mortal majesty seemed to express much civility. Here were likewise several of the Roman emperors, among whom none seemed so much caressed as Caligula, on account, as the page told me, of his pious wish, that he could send all the Romans hither at one blow, the reader may be perhaps surprized, that I saw no physicians here; as indeed I was myself, till informed that they were all departed to the city of Diseases, where they were busy in an experiment to purge away the immortality of the soul.

It would be tedious to recollect the many individuals I saw here, but I cannot omit a fat figure, well dressed in the French fashion, who was received with extraordinary complacence by the emperor, and whom I imagined to be Lewis the XIVth himself; but the page acquainted me he was a celebrated French cook.

We were at length introduced to the royal presence, and had the honour to kiss hands. His majesty asked us a few questions, not very material to relate, and soon after retired.

When we returned into the yard, we found our caravan ready to set out, at which we all declared ourselves well pleased; for we were sufficiently tired with the formality of a court, notwithstanding its outward splendor and magnificence.

CHAP. V.

The travellers proceed on their journey, and meet several spirits, who are coming into the flesh.

WE now came to the banks of the great river Cocytus, where we quitted our vehicle, and passed

the water in a boat, after which we were obliged to travel on foot the rest of our journey; and now we met for the first time, several passengers travelling to the world we had left, who informed us they were souls going into the flesh.

The two first we met were walking arm in arm in very close and friendly conference; they informed us, that one of them was intended for a duke, and the other for a hackney coachman. As we had not yet arrived at the place where we were to deposite our passions, we were all surprized at the familiarity which subsisted between persons of such different degrees; nor could the grave lady help expressing her astonishment at it. The future coachman then replied with a laugh, that they had exchanged lots: for that the duke had with his dukedom drawn a shrew of a wife, and the coachman only a single state.

As we proceeded on our journey, we met a solemn spirit walking alone with great gravity in his countenance: our curiosity invited us notwithstanding his reserve, to ask what lot he had drawn. He answered with a smile, he was to have the reputation of a wise man with 100,000*l.* in his pocket, and that he was practising the solemnity which he was to act in the other world.

A little farther we met a company of very merry spirits, whom we imagined by their mirth to have drawn some mighty lot, but, on enquiry, they informed us they were to be beggars.

The farther we advanced, the greater numbers we met; and now we discovered two large roads leading different ways, and of very different appearance; the one all craggy with rocks, full as it seemed of boggy grounds, and every where beset with briars, so that it was impossible to pass through it without the utmost danger and difficulty; the

other, the most delightful imaginable, leading through the most verdant meadows, painted and perfumed with all kinds of beautiful flowers; in short, the most wanton imagination could imagine nothing more lovely. Notwithstanding which we were surprised to see great numbers crowding into the former, and only one or two solitary spirits chusing the latter. On enquiry we were acquainted that the bad road was the way to Greatness, and the other to Goodness. When we expressed our surprise at the preference given to the former, we were acquainted that it was chosen for the sake of the music of drums and trumpets, and the perpetual acclamations of the mob, with which those who travelled this way were constantly saluted. We were told likewise, that there were several noble palaces to be seen, and lodged in, on this road, by those who had past through the difficulties of it (which indeed many were not able to surmount,) and great quantities of all sorts of treasure to be found in it; whereas the other had little inviting more than the beauty of the way, scarce a handsome building, save one greatly resembling a certain house by the Bath, to be seen during that whole journey; and lastly, that it was thought very scandalous and mean-spirited to travel through this, and as highly honourable and noble to pass by the other.

We now heard a violent noise, when casting our eyes forwards, we perceived a vast number of spirits advancing in pursuit of one, whom they mocked and insulted with all kinds of scorn. I cannot give my reader a more adequate idea of this scene, than by comparing it to an English mob conducting a pickpocket to the water; or by supposing that an incensed audience at a playhouse had unhappily possessed themselves of the miserable damned poet. Some laughed, some hissed, some squawled, some

groaned, some bawled, some spit at him, some threw dirt at him. It was impossible not to ask who or what the wretched spirit was, whom they treated in this barbarous manner; when to our great surprize, we were informed that it was a king: we were likewise told that this manner of behaviour was usual among the spirits to those who drew the lots of emperors, kings, and other great men, not from envy or anger, but mere derision and contempt of earthly grandeur: that nothing was more common, than for those who had drawn these great prizes (as to us they seemed) to exchange them with tailors and cobblers; and that Alexander the Great, and Diogenes, had formerly done so; he that was afterwards Diogenes having originally fallen on the lot of Alexander.

And now, on a sudden, the mockery ceased, and the king spirit having obtained a hearing, began to speak as follows: for we were now near enough to hear him distinctly.

‘GENTLEMEN,

‘I am justly surprized at your treating me in this manner; since whatever lot I have drawn, I did not chuse: if therefore it be worthy of derision, you should compassionate me, for it might have fallen to any of your shares. I know in how low a light the station to which fate hath assigned me is considered here, and that when ambition doth not support it, it becomes generally so intolerable, that there is scarce any other condition for which it is not gladly exchanged: for what portion, in the world to which we are going, is so miserable as that of care? Should I therefore consider myself as become by this lot essentially your superior, and of a higher order of being than the rest of my fellow-creatures: should I foolishly

‘ imagine myself without wisdom superior to the
‘ wise, without knowledge to the learned, without
‘ courage to the brave, and without goodness and
‘ virtue to the good and virtuous ; surely so pre-
‘ posterous, so absurd a pride, would justly render
‘ me the object of ridicule. But far be it from me
‘ to entertain it. And yet, gentlemen, I prize the
‘ lot I have drawn, nor would I exchange it with
‘ any of yours, seeing it is in my eye so much
‘ greater than the rest. Ambition, which I own
‘ myself possess of, teaches me this ; Ambition,
‘ which makes me covet praise, assures me, that
‘ I shall enjoy a much larger portion of it than can
‘ fall within your power either to deserve or obtain.
‘ I am then superior to you all, when I am able to
‘ do more good, and when I execute that power.
‘ What the father is to the son, the guardian to the
‘ orphan, or the patron to his client, that am I to
‘ you. You are my children, to whom I will be a
‘ father, a guardian, and a patron. Not one even-
‘ ing in my long reign (for so it is to be) will I re-
‘ pose myself to rest, without the glorious, the
‘ heart-warming consideration, that thousands that
‘ night owe their sweetest rest to me. What a de-
‘ licious fortune is it to him, whose strongest ap-
‘ petite is doing good, to have every day the op-
‘ portunity and the power of satisfying it ! If such a
‘ man hath ambition, how happy is it for him to
‘ be seated so on high, that every act blazes abroad,
‘ and attracts to him praises tainted with neither sar-
‘ casm nor adulation ; but such as the nicest and
‘ most delicate mind may relish ? Thus therefore,
‘ while you derive your good from me, I am your
‘ superior. If to my strict distribution of justice
‘ you owe the safety of your property from domestic
‘ enemies, if by my vigilance and valour you are
‘ protected from foreign foes : if by my encourage-

‘ment of genuine industry, every science, every
‘art which can embellish or sweeten life, is pro-
‘duced and flourishes among you; will any of you
‘be so insensible or ungrateful, as to deny praise
‘and respect to him, by whose care and conduct
‘you enjoy these blessings? I wonder not at the
‘censure which so frequently falls on those in my
‘station: but I wonder that those in my station so
‘frequently deserve it. What strange perverseness
‘of nature! What wanton delight in mischief must
‘taint his composition, who prefers dangers, diffi-
‘culty and disgrace, by doing evil, to safety, ease,
‘and honour, by doing good? Who refuses happi-
‘ness in the other world, and heaven in this, for
‘misery there, and hell here? But be assured,
‘my intentions are different. I shall always en-
‘deavour the ease, the happiness, and the glory of
‘my people, being confident that, by so doing, I
‘take the most certain method of procuring them
‘all to myself.’—He then struck directly into the
road of goodness, and received such a shout of
applause, as I never remember to have heard
equalled.

He was gone a little way, when a spirit limped
after him, swearing he would fetch him back.
This spirit, I was presently informed, was one
who had drawn the lot of his prime minister.

CHAP. VI.

*An account of the wheel of Fortune, with a method
of preparing a spirit for this world.*

WE now proceeded on our journey, without
staying to see whether he fulfilled his word or no;

and without encountering any thing worth mentioning, came to the place where the spirits on their passage to the other world were obliged to decide by lot the station in which every one was to act there. Here was a monstrous wheel, infinitely larger than those in which I had formerly seen lottery tickets deposited. This was called the **WHEEL OF FORTUNE**. The goddess herself was present. She was one of the most deformed females I ever beheld; nor could I help observing the frowns she expressed when any beautiful spirit of her own sex passed by her, nor the affability which smiled in her countenance on the approach of any handsome male spirits. Hence I accounted for the truth of an observation I had often made on earth, that nothing is more fortunate than handsome men, nor more unfortunate than handsome women. The reader may be perhaps pleased with an account of the whole method of equipping a spirit for his entrance into the flesh.

First then, he receives from a very sage person, whose look much resembled that of an apothecary (his warehouse likewise bearing an affinity to an apothecary's shop,) a small phial inscribed, **THE PATHETIC POTION**, to be taken just before you are born. This potion is a mixture of all the passions, but in no exact proportion, so that sometimes one predominates and sometimes another; nay, often in the hurry of making up, one particular ingredient is, as we were informed, left out. The spirit receiveth at the same time another medicine called the **NOUSPHORIC DECOCTION**, of which he is to drink *ad libitum*. This decoction is an extract from the faculties of the mind, sometimes extremely strong and spirituous, and sometimes altogether as weak: for very little care is taken in the preparation. This decoction is so ex-

tremely bitter and unpleasant, that notwithstanding its wholesomeness, several spirits will not be persuaded to swallow a drop of it; but throw it away, or give it to any other who will receive it: by which means some who were not disgusted by the nauseousness, drank double and treble potions. I observed a beautiful young female, who tasting it, immediately from curiosity, screwed up her face and cast it from her with great disdain, whence advancing presently to the wheel, she drew a coronet, which she clapped up so eagerly, that I could not distinguish the degree; and indeed, I observed several of the same sex, after a very small sip, throw the bottles away.

As soon as the spirit is dismissed by the operator, or apothecary, he is at liberty to approach the wheel, where he hath a right to extract a single lot: but those whom fortune favours, she permits sometimes secretly to draw three or four. I observed a comical kind of figure who drew forth a handful, which, when he opened, were a bishop, a general, a privy-counsellor, a player, and a poet laureate, and returning the three first, he walked off smiling with the two last.

Every single lot contained two more articles, which were generally disposed so as to render the lots as equal as possible to each other.

On one was written	<i>Earl,</i> <i>Riches,</i> <i>Health,</i> <i>Disquietude.</i>
On another,	<i>Cobler,</i> <i>Sickness,</i> <i>Good-humour.</i>
On a Third,	<i>Poet,</i> <i>Contempt,</i> <i>Self-satisfaction.</i>

On a Fourth,	<i>General, Honour, Discontent.</i>
On a Fifth,	<i>Cottage, Happy love.</i>
On a Sixth,	<i>Coach and six, Impotent jealous husband.</i>
On a Seventh,	<i>Prime-minister, Disgrace.</i>
On an Eighth,	<i>Patriot, Glory.</i>
On a Ninth,	<i>Philosopher, Poverty, Ease.</i>
On a Tenth,	<i>Merchant, Riches, Care.</i>

And indeed the whole seemed to contain such a mixture of good and evil, that it would have puzzled me which to chuse. I must not omit here, that in every lot was directed whether the drawer should marry or remain in celibacy, the married lots being all marked with a large pair of horns.

We were obliged, before we quitted this place, to take each of us an emetic from the apothecary, which immediately purged us of all our earthly passions, and presently the cloud forsook our eyes as it doth those of *Æneas* in *Virgil* when removed by *Venus*; and we discerned things in a much clearer light than before. We began to compassionate those spirits who were making their entry into the flesh, whom we had till then secretly envied, and to long eagerly for those delightful plains which now opened themselves to our eyes, and to which we now hastened with the utmost eagerness. On our way we met with several spirits with very

dejected countenances ; but our expedition would not suffer us to ask any questions.

At length, we arrived at the gate of Elysium. Here was a prodigious crowd of spirits waiting for admittance, some of whom were admitted, and some were rejected ; for all were strictly examined by the porter, whom I soon discovered to be the celebrated judge Minos.

CHAP. VII.

The proceedings of judge Minos, at the gate of Elysium.

I now got near enough to the gate, to hear the several claims of those who endeavoured to pass. The first, among other pretensions, set forth, that he had been very liberal to an hospital ; but Minos answered, Ostentation, and repulsed him. The second exhibited, that he had constantly frequented his church, been a rigid observer of fast-days. He likewise represented the great animosity he had shewed to vice in others, which never escaped his severest censure ; and, as to his own behaviour, he had never been once guilty of whoring, drinking, gluttony, or any other excess. He said, he had disinherited his son for getting a bastard——
‘Have you so,’ said Minos, ‘then pray return into the other world and beget another ; for such an unnatural rascal shall never pass this gate.’ A dozen others, who had advanced with very confident countenances, seeing him rejected, turned about of their own accord, declaring, if he could not pass, they had no expectation, and as-

cordingly they followed him back to earth ; which was the fate of all who were repulsed, they being obliged to take a farther purification, unless those who were guilty of some very heinous crimes, who were hustled in at a little back gate, whence they tumbled immediately into the bottomless pit.

The next spirit that came up, declared he had done neither good nor evil in the world ; for that since his arrival at man's estate, he had spent his whole time in search of curiosities ; and particularly in the study of butterflies, of which he had collected an immense number. Minos made him no answer, but with great scorn pushed him back.

There now advanced a very beautiful spirit indeed. She began to ogle Minos the moment she saw him. She said, she hoped there were some merit in refusing a great number of lovers, and dying a maid, though she had had the choice of a hundred. Minos told her, she had not refused now yet, and turned her back.

She was succeeded by a spirit, who told the judge, he believed his works would speak for him. ' What works ? ' answered Minos. ' My dramatic works,' replied the other, ' which have done so much good in recommending virtue and punishing vice.'——' Very well,' said the judge, ' if you please to stand by, the first person who passes the gate, by your means, shall carry you in with him : but if you will take my advice, I think, for expedition sake, you had better return, and live another life upon earth.' The bard grumbled at this, and replied, that besides his poetical works, he had done some other good things : for that he had once lent the whole profits of a benefit night to a friend, and by that means had saved him and his family from destruction. Upon this, the gate flew open, and Minos desired

him to walk in, telling him, if he had mentioned this at first he might have spared the remembrance of his plays. The poet answered, he believed, if Minos had read his works, he would set a higher value on them. He was then beginning to repeat, but Minos pushed him forward, and turning his back to him, applied himself to the next passenger, a very genteel spirit, who made a very low bow to Minos, and then threw himself into an erect attitude, and imitated the motion of taking snuff with his right hand.—Minos asked him, what he had to say for himself? He answered, he would dance a minuet with any spirit in Elysium: that he could likewise perform all his other exercises very well, and hoped he had in his life deserved the character of a perfect fine gentleman. Minos replied, it would be great pity to rob the world of so fine a gentleman, and therefore desired him to take the other trip. The beau bowed, thanked the judge, and said he desired no better. Several spirits expressed much astonishment at this his satisfaction; but we were afterwards informed, he had not taken the emetic above-mentioned.

A miserable old spirit now crawled forwards, whose face I thought I had formerly seen near Westminster-Abbey. He entertained Minos with a long harangue of what he had done when in the **HOUSE**; and then proceeded to inform him how much he was worth, without attempting to produce a single instance of any one good action. Minos stopt the career of his discourse, and acquainted him, he must take a trip back again.—‘What, to S—— house,’ said the spirit in an ecstasy? But the judge, without making any answer, turned to another; who, with a very solemn air and great dignity, acquainted him, he was a duke.—‘To the right about, Mr. duke,’ cried

Minos, 'you are infinitely too great a man for 'Elysium;' and then giving him a kick on the b——ch, he addressed himself to a spirit, who with fear and trembling begged he might not go to the bottomless pit: he said, he hoped Minos would consider, that though he had gone astray, he had suffered for it, that it was necessity which drove him to the robbery of eighteen pence, which he had committed, and for which he was hanged: that he had done some good actions in his life, that he had supported an aged parent with his labour, that he had been a very tender husband and a kind father, and that he had ruined himself by being bail for his friend. At which words the gate opened, and Minos bid him enter, giving him a slap on the back, as he passed by him.

A great number of spirits now came forwards, who all declared they had the same claim, and that the captain should speak for them. He acquainted the judge, that they had been slain in the service of their country. Minos was going to admit them, but had the curiosity to ask who had been the invader, in order, as he said, to prepare the back gate for him. The captain answered, they had been the invaders themselves, that they had entered the enemies country, and burnt and plundered several cities,——'And for what reason?' said Minos. 'By the command of him who paid us,' said the captain, 'that is the reason of a soldier. We are to execute whatever we are commanded, or we should be a disgrace to the army, and very little deserve our pay.' 'You are brave fellows indeed,' said Minos, 'but be pleased to face about, and obey my command for once, in returning back to the other world: for what should such fellows as you do, where there are no cities to be burnt, nor people to be

‘destroyed? But let me advise you to have a stricter regard to truth for the future, and not call the depopulating other countries the service of your own.’ The captain answered, in a rage, ‘D—n me, do you give me the lye?’ and was going to take Minos by the nose, had not his guards prevented him, and immediately turned him and all his followers back the same road they came.

Four spirits informed the judge, that they had been starved to death through poverty; being the father, mother, and two children. That they had been honest, and as industrious as possible, till sickness had prevented the man from labour.—‘All that is very true,’ cried a grave spirit, who stood by: ‘I know the fact: for these poor people were under my cure.’—‘You was, I suppose, the parson of the parish,’ cries Minos; ‘I hope you had a good living, Sir.’ ‘That was but a small one,’ replied the spirit; ‘but I had another a little better.’—‘Very well,’ said Minos, ‘let the poor people pass.’—At which the parson was stepping forwards with a stately gate before them; but Minos caught hold of him, and pulled him back, saying, ‘Not so fast, doctor; you must take one step more into the other world first; for no man enters that gate without charity.’

A very stately figure now presented himself, and informing Minos he was a patriot, began a very florid harangue on public virtue, and the liberties of his country. Upon which, Minos shewed him the utmost respect, and ordered the gate to be opened. The patriot was not contented with this applause—he said, he had behaved as well in place as he had done in the opposition; and that, though he was now obliged to embrace the court-measures, yet he had behaved very honestly to his friends, and brought as many in as was possible.—‘Hold a

‘moment,’ says Minos, ‘on second consideration, Mr. Patriot, I think a man of your great virtue and abilities will be so much missed by your country, that if I might advise you, you should take a journey back again. I am sure you will not decline it, for I am certain you will with great readiness sacrifice your own happiness to the public good.’ The patriot smiled, and told Minos, he believed he was in jest; and was offering to enter the gate, but the judge laid fast hold of him, and insisted on his return, which the patriot still declining, he at last ordered his guards to seize him, and conduct him back.

A spirit now advanced, and the gate was immediately thrown open to him, before he had spoken a word. I heard some whisper,—That is our last Lord Mayor.

It now came to our company’s turn. The fair spirit, which I mentioed with so much applause, in the beginning of my journey, passed through very easily; but the grave lady was rejected on her first appearance, Minos declaring, there was not a single prude in Elysium.

The judge then addressed himself to me, who little expected to pass this fiery trial. I confessed I had indulged myself very freely with wine and women in my youth, but had never done an injury to any man living, nor avoided an opportunity of doing good; that I pretended to very little virtue more than general philanthropy and private friendship.—I was proceeding when Minos bid me enter the gate, and not indulge myself with trumpeting forth my virtues. I accordingly passed forward with my lovely companion, and embracing her with vast eagerness, but spiritual innocence, she returned my embrace in the same manner, and we both congratulated ourselves on our

arrival in this happy region, whose beauty no painting of the imagination can describe.

CHAP. VIII.

The adventures which the author met on his first entrance into Elysium.

WE pursued our way through a delicious grove of orange-trees, where I saw infinite numbers of spirits, every one of whom I knew, and was known by them (for spirits here know one another by intuition.) I presently met a little daughter, whom I had lost several years before. Good Gods! what words can describe the raptures, the melting passionate tenderness, with which we kissed each other, continuing in our embrace, with the most ecstatic joy, a space, which if time had been measured here as on earth, could not be less than half a year.

The first spirit with whom I entered into discourse, was the famous Leonidas of Sparta. I acquainted him with the honours which had been done him by a celebrated poet of our nation; to which he answered, he was very much obliged to him.

We were presently afterwards entertained with the most delicious voice I had ever heard, accompanied by a violin, equal to Signior Piantinida. I presently discovered the musician and songster to be Orpheus and Sappho.

Old Homer was present at this concert (if I may so call it,) and Madam Dacier sat in his lap. He asked much after Mr. Pope, and said he was very

desirous of seeing him; for that he had read his *Iliad* in his translation with almost as much delight, as he believed he had given others in the original. I had the curiosity to enquire whether he had really writ that poem in detached pieces, and sung it about as ballads all over Greece, according to the report which went of him? He smiled at my question, and asked me, whether there appeared any connection in the poem; for if there did, he thought I might answer myself. I then importuned him to acquaint me in which of the cities, which contended for the honour of his birth, he was really born? To which he answered—'Upon my soul I can't tell.'

Virgil then came up to me, with Mr. Addison under his arm. 'Well, Sir,' said he, 'how many translations have these few last years produced of my *Æneid*?' I told him I believed several, but I could not possibly remember; for that I had never read any but Dr. Trapp's.——'Ay,' said he, 'that is a curious piece indeed!' I then acquainted him with the discovery made by Mr. Warburton of the Elusinian mysteries couched in his sixth book. 'What mysteries?' said Mr. Addison. 'The Elusinian,' answered Virgil, 'which I have discovered in my sixth book.' 'How,' replied Addison. 'You never mentioned a word of any such mysteries to me in all our acquaintance. I thought it was unnecessary,' cried the other, 'to a man of your infinite learning: besides you always told me, you perfectly understood my meaning.' Upon this I thought the critic looked a little out of countenance, and turned aside to a very merry spirit, one Dick Steel, who embraced him, and told him, He had been the greatest man upon earth; that he readily resigned up all the

merit of his own works to him. Upon which, Addison gave him a gracious smile, and clapping him on the back with much solemnity, cried out, 'Well said, Dick.'

I then observed Shakespear standing between Betterton and Booth; and deciding a difference between those two great actors, concerning the placing an accent in one of his lines; this was disputed on both sides with a warmth, which surprized me in Elysium, till I discovered by intuition, that every soul retained its principal characteristic, being, indeed, its very essence. The line was that celebrated one in Othello;

Put out the light, and then put out the light.
according to Betterton. Mr. Booth contended to have it thus;

Put out the light, and then put out THE light.
I could not help offering my conjecture on this occasion, and suggested it might perhaps be,

Put out the light, and then put out THY light.
Another hinted a reading very sophisticated in my opinion,

Put out the light, and then put out THEE light;
making light to be the vocative case. Another would have altered the last word, and read,

Put out thy light, and then put out thy sight.
But Betterton said, if the text was to be disturbed, he saw no reason why a word might not be changed as well as a letter, and instead of 'put out thy light,' you may read, 'put out thy eyes.' At last it was agreed on all sides, to refer the matter to the decision of Shakespear himself, who delivered his sentiments as follows: 'Faith gentlemen, it is so long since I wrote the line, I have forgot my meaning. This I know, could I have dreamt so much nonsense would have been talked,

‘and writ about it, I would have blotted it out of my works; for I am sure if any of these be my meaning, it doth me very little honour.’

He was then interrogated concerning some other ambiguous passages in his works; but he declined any satisfactory answer: Saying, if Mr. Theobald had not writ about it sufficiently, there were three or four more new editions of his plays coming out, which he hoped would satisfy every one: Concluding, ‘I marvel nothing so much as that men will gird themselves at discovering obscure beauties in an author. Certes the greatest and most pregnant beauties are ever the plainest and most evidently striking; and when two meanings of a passage can in the least balance our judgments which to prefer, I hold it matter of unquestionable certainty, that neither of them is worth a farthing.’

From his works our conversation turned on his monument: upon which, Shakespear, shaking his sides, and addressing himself to Milton, cried out: ‘On my word, brother Milton, they have brought a noble set of poets together, they would have been hanged erst have convened such a company at their tables, when alive.’ ‘True, brother,’ answered Milton, ‘unless we had been as incapable of eating then as we are now.’

CHAP. IX.

More adventures in Elysium.

A crowd of spirits now joined us, whom I soon perceived to be the heroes, who here frequently pay their respects to the several bards, the recor-

ders of their actions. I now saw Achilles and Ulysses addressing themselves to Homer, and Æneas and Julius Cæsar to Virgil: Adam went up to Milton, upon which I whispered Mr. Dryden, that I thought the devil should have paid his compliments there according to his opinion. Dryden only answered, 'I believe the devil was in me when I said so.' Several applied themselves to Shakespear, amongst whom Henry V. made a very distinguishing appearance. While my eyes were fixed on that monarch, a very small spirit came up to me, shook me heartily by the hand, and told me his name was THOMAS THUMB. I expressed great satisfaction in seeing him, nor could I help speaking my resentment against the historian, who had done such injustice to the stature of this great little man: which he represented to be no bigger than a span; whereas I plainly perceived at first sight, he was full a foot and a half (and the 37th part of an inch more, as he himself informed me,) being indeed little shorter than some considerable beaus of the present age.

I asked this little hero concerning the truth of those stories related of him, viz. of the pudding, and the cow's belly. As to the former, he said it was a ridiculous legend, worthy to be laughed at: but as to the latter, he could not help owning there was some truth in it: nor had he any reason to be ashamed of it, as he was swallowed by surprise; adding with great fierceness, that if he had had any weapon in his hand, the cow should have as soon swallowed the devil.

He spoke the last word with so much fury, and seemed so confounded, that perceiving the effect it had on him, I immediately waved the story, and passing to other matters, we had much conversation touching giants. He said, so far from killing

any, he had never seen one alive; that he believed these actions were by mistake recorded of him, instead of Jack the giant-killer, whom he knew very well, and who had, he fancied, extirpated the race. I assured him to the contrary, and told him I had myself seen a huge tame giant, who very complacently staid in London a whole winter, at the special request of several gentlemen and ladies; though the affairs of his family called him home to Sweden.

I now beheld a stern-looking spirit leaning on the shoulder of another spirit, and presently discerned the former to be Oliver Cromwell, and the latter Charles Martel. I own I was a little surprized at seeing Cromwell here; for I had been taught by my grandmother, that he was carried away by the devil himself in a tempest: but he assured me on his honour, there was not the least truth in that story. However, he confessed he had narrowly escaped the bottomless pit; and if the former part of his conduct had not been more to his honour than the latter, he had been certainly scused into it. He was nevertheless sent back to the upper world with this lot,

Army.

Cavalier.

Distress.

He was born for the second time, the day of Charles II.'s restoration into a family which had lost a very considerable fortune in the service of that prince and his father, for which they received the reward very often conferred by princes on real merit, viz.—000. At 16, his father bought a small commission for him in the army, in which he served without any promotion all the reigns of Charles II. and of his brother. At the revolution he quitted his regiment, and followed the fortunes

of his former master, and was in his service dangerously wounded at the famous battle of the Boyne, where he fought in the capacity of a private soldier. He recovered of this wound, and retired after the unfortunate king to Paris, where he was reduced to support a wife, and seven children (for his lot had horns in it,) by cleaning shoes, and snuffing candles at the opera. In which situation, after he had spent a few miserable years, he died half-starved and broken-hearted. He then revisited Minos, who compassionating his sufferings, by means of that family, to whom he had been in his former capacity so bitter an enemy, suffered him to enter here.

My curiosity could not refrain asking him one question, *i. e.* Whether in reality he had any desire to obtain the crown? He smiled and said, 'No more than an ecclesiastic hath to the mitre, when he cries *Nolo episcopari.*' Indeed, he seemed to express some contempt at the question, and presently turned away.

A venerable spirit appeared next, whom I found to be the great historian Livy. Alexander the Great, who was just arrived from the palace of death, passed by him with a frown. The historian observing it, said, 'Ay, you may frown: but those troops which conquered the base Asiatic slaves, would have made no figure against the Romans.' We then privately lamented the loss of the most valuable part of his history, after which he took occasion to commend the judicious collection made by Mr. Hooke, which he said was infinitely preferable to all others; and at my mentioning Echard's, he gave a bounce, not unlike the going off of a squib, and was departing from me, when I begged him to satisfy my curiosity in one point, Whether he was really superstitious or no?

For I had always believed he was, till Mr. Leibnitz had assured me to the contrary. He answered sullenly,—‘Doth Mr. Leibnitz know my mind better than myself?’ and then walked away.

CHAP. X.

The author is surprised at meeting Julian the apostate in Elysium; but is satisfied by him, by what means he procured his entrance there. Julian relates his adventures in the character of a slave.

As he was departing, I heard him salute a spirit by the name of Mr. Julian the apostate. This exceedingly amazed me: for I had concluded, that no man ever had a better title to the bottomless pit than he. But I soon found, that this same Julian the apostate was also the very individual archbishop Latimer. He told me, that several lies had been raised on him in his former capacity, nor was he so bad a man as he had been represented. However, he had been denied admittance, and forced to undergo several subsequent pilgrimages on earth, and to act in the different characters of a slave, a Jew, a general, an heir, a carpenter, a beau, a monk, a fidler, a wise man, a king, a fool, a beggar, a prince, a statesman, a soldier, a tailor, an alderman, a poet, a knight, a dancing-master, and three times a bishop before his martyrdom, which, together with his other behaviour in this last character, satisfied the judge, and procured him a passage to the blessed regions.

I told him such various characters must have produced incidents extremely entertaining; and if

he remembered all, I supposed he did, and had leisure, I should be obliged to him for the recital. He answered, he perfectly recollected every circumstance ; and as to leisure, the only business of that happy place was to contribute to the happiness of each other. He therefore thanked me for adding to his, in proposing to him a method of increasing mine. I then took my little darling in one hand, and my favourite fellow-traveller in the other, and going with him to a sunny bank of flowers, we all sat down and he began as follows :

‘ I suppose you are sufficiently acquainted with my story, during the time I acted the part of the emperor Julian, though I assure you, all which hath been related of me is not true, particularly with regard to the many prodigies forerunning my death. However, they are now very little worth disputing ; and if they can serve any purpose of the historian, they are extremely at his service.

‘ My next entrance into the world, was at Laodicia in Syria, in a Roman family of no great note ; and being of a roving disposition, I came at the age of seventeen to Constantinople, where, after about a year’s stay, I set out for Thrace, at the time when the emperor Valens admitted the *Goths* into that country. I was there so captivated with the beauty of a Gothic lady, the wife of one Rodoric a captain, whose name, out of the most delicate tenderness for her lovely sex, I shall even at this distance conceal ; since her behaviour to me was more consistent with goodness, than with that virtue which women are obliged to preserve against every assailant. In order to procure an intimacy with this woman, I sold myself a slave to her husband, who, being of a nation not over-inclined to jealousy, pre-

‘ sented me to his wife, for those very reasons,
‘ which would have induced one of a jealous com-
‘ plexion to have withheld me from her, namely,
‘ for that I was young and handsome.

‘ Matters succeeded so far according to my
‘ wish, and the sequel answered those hopes which
‘ this beginning had raised. I soon perceived my
‘ service was very acceptable to her, I often met
‘ her eyes, nor did she withdraw them without a
‘ confusion which is scarce consistent with entire
‘ purity of heart. Indeed, she gave me every day
‘ fresh encouragement, but the unhappy distance
‘ which circumstances had placed between us de-
‘ terred me long from making any direct attack ;
‘ and she was too strict an observer of decorum, to
‘ violate the severe rules of modesty by advancing
‘ first ; but passion, at last, got the better of my
‘ respect, and I resolved to make one bold at-
‘ tempt, whatever was the consequence. Accor-
‘ dingly, laying hold of the first kind opportunity,
‘ when she was alone, and my master abroad, I
‘ stoutly assailed the citadel, and carried it by
‘ storm. Well may I say by storm : for the re-
‘ sistance I met was extremely resolute, and in-
‘ deed, as much as the most perfect decency
‘ would require. She swore often she would cry
‘ out for help ; but I answered, it was in vain,
‘ seeing there was no person near to assist her ;
‘ and probably she believed me, for she did not
‘ once actually cry out ; which if she had, I might
‘ very likely have been prevented.

‘ When she found her virtue thus subdued
‘ against her will, she patiently submitted to her
‘ fate, and quietly suffered me a long time to enjoy
‘ the most delicious fruits of my victory : but en-
‘ vious fortune resolved to make me pay a dear
‘ price for my pleasure. One day in the midst of

‘ our happiness, we were suddenly surprized by
‘ the unexpected return of her husband, who
‘ coming directly into his wife’s apartment, just
‘ allowed me time to creep under the bed. The
‘ disorder in which he found his wife, might have
‘ surprized a jealous temper ; but his was so far
‘ otherwise, that possibly no mischief might have
‘ happened, had he not by a cross accident disco-
‘ vered my legs, which were not well hid. He
‘ immediately drew me out by them, and then
‘ turning to his wife with a stern countenance, be-
‘ gan to handle a weapon he wore by his side, with
‘ which I am persuaded, he would have instantly
‘ dispatched her, had I not very gallantly, and
‘ with many imprecations, asserted her innocence
‘ and my own guilt ; which, however, I protested
‘ had hitherto gone no farther than design. She
‘ so well seconded my plea (for she was a woman
‘ of wonderful art,) that he was at length imposed
‘ upon ; and now all his rage was directed against
‘ me, threatening all manner of tortures, which
‘ the poor lady was in too great a fright and con-
‘ fusion to dissuade him from executing ; and per-
‘ haps, if her concern for me had made her at-
‘ tempt it, it would have raised a jealousy in him
‘ not afterwards to be removed.

‘ After some hesitation, Rodoric cried out, he
‘ had luckily hit on the most proper punishment
‘ for me in the world, by a method which would
‘ at once do severe justice on me for my criminal
‘ intention, and at the same time prevent me from
‘ any danger of executing my wicked purpose
‘ hereafter. This cruel resolution was immediately
‘ executed, and I was no longer worthy the name
‘ of a man.

‘ Having thus disqualified me from doing him
‘ any future injury, he still retained me in his

family: but the lady, very probably repenting of what she had done, and looking on me as the author of her guilt, would never, for the future, give me either a kind word or look: and shortly after, a great exchange being made between the Romans and the Goths of dogs for men, my lady exchanged me with a Roman widow for a small lapdog, giving a considerable sum of money to boot.

In this widow's service I remained seven years, during all which time I was very barbarously treated. I was worked without the least mercy, and often severely beat by a swinging-maid servant, who never called me by any other names than those of the Thing, and the Animal. Though I used my utmost industry to please, it never was in my power. Neither the lady nor her woman would eat any thing I touched, saying, they did not believe me wholesome. It is unnecessary to repeat particulars; in a word, you can imagine no kind of ill usage which I did not suffer in this family.

At last, an heathen priest, an acquaintance of my lady's obtained me of her for a present. The scene was now totally changed, and I had as much reason to be satisfied with my present situation, as I had to lament my former. I was so absolutely my master's favourite, that the rest of the slaves paid me almost as much regard as they shewed to him, well knowing, that it was entirely in my power to command, and treat them as I pleased. I was entrusted with all my master's secrets, and used to assist him in privately conveying away by night the sacrifices from the altars, which the people believed the deities themselves devoured. Upon these we feasted very elegantly, nor could invention suggest a rarity which we did not pam-

per ourselves with. Perhaps, you may admire at the close union between this priest and his slave : but we lived in an intimacy which the Christians thought criminal : but my master, who knew the will of the gods, with whom he told me he often conversed, assured me it was perfectly innocent.

This happy life continued about four years, when my master's death, occasioned by a surfeit got by overfeeding on several exquisite dainties, put an end to it.

I now fell into the hands of one of a very different disposition, and this was no other than the celebrated St. Chrysostome, who dieted me with sermons instead of sacrifices, and filled my ears with good things, but not my belly. Instead of high food to fatten and pamper my flesh, I had receipts to mortify and reduce it. With these I edified so well, that within a few months I became a skeleton. However, as he had converted me to his faith, I was well enough satisfied with this new manner of living ; by which he taught me, I might insure myself an eternal reward in a future state. The saint was a good-natured man, and never gave me an ill word but once, which was occasioned by my neglecting to place Aristophanes, which was his constant bedfellow, on his pillow. He was indeed, extremely fond of that Greek poet, and frequently made me read his comedies to him : when I came to any of the loose passages, he would smile, and say, *It was pity his matter was not as pure as his style ;* of which latter, he was so immoderately fond, that notwithstanding the detestation he expressed for obscenity, he hath made me repeat those passages ten times over. The character of this good man hath been very unjustly attacked by his heathen cotemporaries, particularly with regard

‘ to women ; but his severe invectives against that
‘ sex, are his sufficient justification.

‘ From the service of this saint, from whom I
‘ received manumission, I entered into the family
‘ of Timasius, a leader of great eminence in the
‘ Imperial army, into whose favour I so far in-
‘ sinuated myself, that he preferred me to a good
‘ command, and soon made me partaker of both his
‘ company and his secrets. I soon grew intoxicated
‘ with this preferment, and the more he loaded me
‘ with benefits, the more he raised my opinion of
‘ my own merit ; which still outstripping the rewards
‘ he conferred on me inspired me rather with dis-
‘ satisfaction than gratitude. And thus, by pre-
‘ ferring me beyond my merit or first expectation,
‘ he made me an envious aspiring enemy, whom
‘ perhaps, a more moderate bounty would have
‘ preserved a dutiful servant.

‘ I fell now acquainted with one Lucilius, a crea-
‘ ture of the prime minister Eutropius, who had
‘ by his favour been raised to the post of a tribune ;
‘ a man of low morals, and eminent only in that
‘ meanest of qualities, cunning. This gentleman,
‘ imagining me a fit tool for the minister’s purpose,
‘ having often sounded my principles of honour and
‘ honesty, both which he declared to me were words
‘ without meaning ; and finding my ready concur-
‘ rence in his sentiments, recommended me to Eu-
‘ tropius, as very proper to execute some wicked
‘ purposes he had contrived against my friend Ti-
‘ masius. The minister embraced this recommen-
‘ dation, and I was accordingly acquainted by Lu-
‘ cilius (after some previous accounts of the great
‘ esteem Eutropius entertained of me, from the tes-
‘ timony he had borne of my parts) that he would
‘ introduce me to him ; adding, that he was a great

‘ encourager of merit, and that I might depend
‘ upon his favour.

‘ I was with little difficulty prevailed on to accept
‘ of this invitation. A late hour therefore the next
‘ evening being appointed, I attended my friend
‘ Lucilius to the minister’s house. He received me
‘ with the utmost civility and cheerfulness, and af-
‘ fected so much regard to me, that I, who knew
‘ nothing of these high scenes of life, concluded I
‘ had in him a most disinterested friend, owing to
‘ the favourable report which Lucilius had made of
‘ me. I was however soon cured of this opinion;
‘ for immediately after supper, our discourse turned
‘ on the injustice which the generality of the world
‘ were guilty of in their conduct to great men, ex-
‘ pecting that they should reward their private
‘ merit, without ever endeavouring to apply it to
‘ their use, *What avail*, said Eutropius, *the*
‘ *learning, wit, courage, or any virtue which a*
‘ *man may be possessed of to me, unless I receive*
‘ *some benefit from them? Hath he not more merit*
‘ *to me, who doth my business, and obeys my com-*
‘ *mands, without any of these qualities?* I gave
‘ such entire satisfaction in my answers on this
‘ head, that both the minister and his creature grew
‘ bolder. and after some preface, began to accuse
‘ Timasius. At last, finding I did not attempt to
‘ defend him, Lucilius swore a great oath, that he
‘ was not fit to live, and that he would destroy
‘ him. Eutropius answered, that it would be too
‘ dangerous a task: *Indeed*, says he, *his crimes are*
‘ *of so black a dye, and so well known to the em-*
‘ *peror, that his death must be a very acceptable*
‘ *service, and could not fail meeting a proper re-*
‘ *ward; but I question whether you are capable of*
‘ *executing it.* If he is not, cried I, I am; and

surely, no man can have greater motives to destroy him than myself: for, besides his disloyalty to my prince, for whom I have so perfect a duty, I have private disobligations to him. I have had fellows put over my head, to the great scandal of the service in general, and to my own prejudice and disappointment in particular.—I will not repeat you my whole speech: but to be as concise as possible, when we parted that evening, the minister squeezed me heartily by my hand, and with great commendation of my honesty, and assurances of his favour, he appointed me the next evening to come to him alone; when finding me, after a little more scrutiny, ready for his purpose, he proposed to me, to accuse Timasius of high treason; promising me the highest rewards, if I would undertake it. The consequence to him I suppose, you know, was ruin: but what was it to me? Why truly, when I waited on Eutropius, for the fulfilling his promises, he received me with great distance and coldness; and on my dropping some hints of my expectations from him, he affected not to understand me; saying, he thought impunity was the utmost I could hope for, on discovering my accomplice, whose offence was only greater than mine, as he was in a higher station; and telling me, he had great difficulty to obtain a pardon for me from the emperor, which, he said, he had struggled very hardly for, as he had worked the discovery out of me. He turned away, and addressed himself to another person.

I was so incensed at this treatment, that I resolved revenge, and should certainly have pursued it, had he not cautiously prevented me by taking effectual means to dispatch me soon after out of the world.

‘ You will, I believe, now think, I had a second
‘ good chance, for the bottomless pit, and indeed
‘ Minos seemed inclined to tumble me in, till he
‘ was informed of the revenge taken on me by Ro-
‘ doric, and my seven years subsequent servitude
‘ to the widow ; which he thought sufficient to
‘ make atonement for all the crimes a single life
‘ could admit of, and so sent me back to try my
‘ fortune a third time.’

CHAP. XI.

*In which Julian relates his adventures in the cha-
racter of an avaricious Jew.*

‘ THE next character in which I was destined to
‘ appear in the flesh, was that of an avaricious Jew.
‘ I was born in Alexandria in Egypt. My name
‘ was Balthazar. Nothing very remarkable happened
‘ to me, till the year of the memorable tumult, in
‘ which the Jews of that city are reported in his-
‘ tory to have massacred more Christians than at
‘ that time dwelt in it. Indeed, the truth is, they
‘ did maul the dogs pretty handsomely ; but I my-
‘ self was not present, for as all our people were
‘ ordered to be armed, I took that opportunity of
‘ of selling two swords, which probably I might
‘ otherwise never have disposed of, they being ex-
‘ tremely old and rusty : so that having no weapon
‘ left, I did not care to venture abroad. Besides,
‘ though I really thought it an act meriting sal-
‘ vation to murder the Nazarines, as the fact was
‘ to be committed at midnight, at which time, to
‘ avoid suspicion, we were all to sally from our own
‘ houses ; I cannot persuade myself to consume so

‘ much oil in sitting up till that hour : for these reasons therefore, I remained at home that evening.

‘ I was at this time greatly enamoured with one Hypatia, the daughter of a philosopher ; a young lady of the greatest beauty and merit : indeed, she had every imaginable ornament both of mind and body. She seemed not to dislike my person : but there were two obstructions to our marriage, *viz.* my religion and her poverty : both which might probably have been got over, had not those dogs the christians murdered her ; and, what is worse, afterwards burnt her body ; worse, I say, because I lost by that means a jewel of some value, which I had presented to her, designing, if our nuptials did not take place, to demand it of her back again.

‘ Being thus disappointed in my love, I soon after left Alexandria, and went to the Imperial city, where I apprehended I should find a good market for jewels on the approaching marriage of the emperor with Athenais. I disguised myself as a beggar on this journey, for these reasons : first, as I imagined I should thus carry my jewels with greater safety ; and secondly, to lessen my expences : which latter expedient succeeded so well, that I begged two oboli on my way more than my travelling cost me, my diet being chiefly roots, and my drink water.

‘ But, perhaps, it had been better for me if I had been more lavish, and more expeditious : for the ceremony was over before I reached Constantinople ; so that I lost that glorious opportunity of disposing of my jewels, with which many of our people were greatly enriched.

‘ The life of a miser is very little worth relating, as it is one constant scheme of getting or saving

‘ money. I shall therefore repeat to you some few
‘ only of my adventures, without regard to any
‘ order.

‘ A Roman Jew, who was a great lover of Fa-
‘ lernian wine, and who indulged himself very
‘ freely with it, came to dine at my house ; when
‘ knowing he should meet with little wine, and
‘ that of the cheaper sort, sent me in half a dozen
‘ jars of Falernian. Can you believe I would not
‘ give this man his own wine ? Sir, I adulterated it
‘ so, that I made six jars of them ; three, which
‘ he and his friend drank ; the other three I after-
‘ wards sold to the very person who originally sent
‘ them me, knowing he would give a better price
‘ than any other.

‘ A noble Roman came one day to my house in
‘ the country, which I had purchased, for half the
‘ value, of a distressed person. My neighbours
‘ paid him the compliment of some music, on which
‘ account, when he departed, he left a piece of
‘ gold with me, to be distributed among them. I
‘ pocketed this money, and ordered them a small
‘ vessel of sour wine, which I could not have sold
‘ for above two drachmas, and afterwards made
‘ them pay in work three times the value of it.

‘ As I was not entirely void of religion, though I
‘ pretended to infinitely more than I had, so I en-
‘ deavoured to reconcile my transactions to my con-
‘ science as well as possible. Thus I never invited
‘ any one to eat with me, but those on whose
‘ pockets I had some design. After our collation,
‘ it was constantly my method to set down in a
‘ book I kept for that purpose, what I thought
‘ they owed me for their meal. Indeed, this was
‘ generally a hundred times as much as they could
‘ have dined elsewhere for : but however, it was

‘ *quid pro quo* if not *ad valorem*. Now, whenever
‘ the opportunity offered of imposing on them, I
‘ considered it only as paying myself what they
‘ owed me : indeed, I did not always confine my-
‘ self strictly to what I had set down, however ex-
‘ travagant that was ; but I reconciled taking the
‘ overplus to myself as usance.

‘ But I was not only too cunning for others, I
‘ sometimes over reached myself. I have contracted
‘ distempers for want of food and warmth, which
‘ have put me to the expence of a physician ; nay,
‘ I once very narrowly escaped death by taking bad
‘ drugs, only to save one seven-eighth *per cent.* in
‘ the price.

‘ By these, and such like means, in the midst of
‘ poverty, and every kind of distress, I saw myself
‘ master of an immense fortune : the casting up and
‘ ruminating on which was my daily and only plea-
‘ sure. This was however obstructed and embit-
‘ tered by two considerations, which against my
‘ will often invaded my thoughts. One would have
‘ been intolerable (but that indeed seldom troubled
‘ me) was, that I must one day leave my darling
‘ treasure. The other haunted me continually, *viz.*
‘ that my riches were no greater. However, I
‘ comforted myself against this reflection, by an
‘ assurance that they would increase daily : on
‘ which head, my hopes were so extensive, that I
‘ may say with Virgil.

His ego nec metas rerum nec tempora pono.

‘ Indeed I am convinced, that had I possessed the
‘ whole globe of earth, save one single drachma,
‘ which I had been certain never to be master of, I
‘ am convinced, I say, that single drachma, would
‘ have given me more uneasiness than all the rest
‘ could afford me pleasure.

‘ To say the truth, between my solicitude in con-

‘triving schemes to procure money, and my extreme anxiety in preserving it, I never had one moment of ease while awake, nor of quiet when in my sleep. In all the characters through which I have passed, I have never undergone half the misery I suffered in this, and indeed Minos seemed to be of the same opinion: for while I stood trembling and shaking in expectation of my sentence, he bid me go back about my business; for that no body was to be d—n’d in more worlds than one. And indeed, I have since learnt, that the devil will not receive a miser.’

CHAP. XII.

What happened to Julian in the characters of a General, an Heir, a Carpenter, and a Beau.

‘THE next step I took into the world, was at Apollonia in Thrace; where I was born of a beautiful Greek slave, who was the mistress of Eutyches, a great favourite of the emperor Zeno. That prince, at his restoration, gave me the command of a cohort, I being then but fifteen years of age; and a little afterwards, before I had even seen an army, preferred me, over the heads of all the old officers, to be a tribune.

‘As I found an easy access to the emperor, by means of my father’s intimacy with him, he being a very good courtier, or, in other words, a most prostitute flatterer; so I soon ingratiated myself with Zeno, and so well imitated my father in flattering him, that he would never part with me from about his person. So that the first armed

‘ force I ever beheld, was that with which Martian
‘ surrounded the palace, where I was then shut up
‘ with the rest of the court.

‘ I was afterwards put at the head of a legion,
‘ and ordered to march into Syria, with Theodoric
‘ the Goth; that is, I mean my legion was so or-
‘ dered: for, as to myself, I remained at court,
‘ with the name and pay of a general, without the
‘ labour or the danger.

‘ As nothing could be more gay, *i. e. debauched*,
‘ than Zeno’s court, so the ladies of gay disposition
‘ had great sway in it; particularly one, whose
‘ name, was *Fousta*, who, though not extremely
‘ handsome, was by her wit and sprightliness very
‘ agreeable to the emperor. With her I lived in
‘ good correspondence, and we together disposed of
‘ all kinds of commissions in the army, not to those
‘ who had most merit, but who would purchase
‘ at the highest rate. My levee was now pro-
‘ digiously thronged by officers, who returned from
‘ the campaigns; who, though they might have
‘ been convinced by daily example, how ineffec-
‘ tual a recommendation their services were, still
‘ continued indefatigable in attendance, and be-
‘ haved to me with as much observance and res-
‘ pect, as I should have been entitled to, for mak-
‘ ing their fortunes, while I suffered them and their
‘ families to starve.

‘ Several poets, likewise, addressed verses to me,
‘ in which they celebrated my military atchieve-
‘ ments; and what, perhaps, may seem strange to
‘ us at present, I received all this incense with most
‘ greedy vanity, without once reflecting, that as I
‘ did not deserve these compliments, they should
‘ rather put me in mind of my defects.

‘ My father was now dead, and I became so ab-
‘ solute in the emperor’s grace, that one unac-

‘quainted with courts could scarce believe the servility with which all kinds of persons, who entered the walls of the palace, behaved towards me. A bow, a smile, a nod from me, as I passed through cringing crowds, were esteemed as signal favours, but a gracious word made any one happy; and, indeed, had this real benefit attending it, that it drew on the person, on whom it was bestowed, a very great degree of respect from all others; for these are of current value in courts, and like notes in trading communities, are assignable from one to the other. The smile of a court favourite immediately raises the person who receives it, and gives a value to his smile when conferred on an inferior: thus the smile is transferred from one to the other, and the great man at last is the person to discount it. For instance, a very low fellow hath a desire for a place. To whom is he to apply? Not to the great man; for to him he hath no access. He therefore applies to A, who is the creature of B, who is the tool of C, who is the flatterer of D, who is the catamite of E, who is the pimp of F, who is the bully of G, who is the buffoon of I, who is the husband of K, who is the whore of L, who is the bastard of M, who is the instrument of the great man. Thus the smile descending regularly from the great man to A, is discounted back again, and at last paid by the great man.

‘It is manifest, that a court would subsist as difficultly without this kind of coin, as a trading city without paper credit. Indeed, they differ in this, that their value is not quite so certain, and a favourite may protest his smile without the danger of bankruptcy.

‘In the midst of all this glory, the emperor died, and Anastasius was preferred to the crown. As

‘ it was yet uncertain whether I should not continue in favour, I was received as usual at my entrance into the palace, to pay my respects to the new emperor ; but I was no sooner rumped by him, than I received the same compliment from all the rest ; the whole room, like a regiment of soldiers, turning their backs to me all at once, my smile now was become of equal value with the note of a broken banker, and every one was as cautious not to receive it.

‘ I made as much haste as possible from the court, and shortly after from the city, retreating to the place of my nativity, where I spent the remainder of my days in a retired life in husbandry, the only amusement for which I was qualified, having neither learning nor virtue.

‘ When I came to the gate, Minos again seemed at first doubtful, but at length dismissed me ; saying, though I had been guilty of many heinous crimes, in as much as I had, though a general, never been concerned in spilling human blood, I might return again to earth.

‘ I was now again born in Alexandria, and, by great accident entering, into the womb of my daughter-in-law, came forth my own grandson, inheriting that fortune which I had before amassed.

‘ Extravagance was now as notoriously my vice, as avarice had been formerly ; and I spent, in a very short life, what had cost me the labour of a very long one to rake together. Perhaps, you will think my present condition was more to be envied than my former : but upon my word it was very little so ; for, by possessing every thing almost before I desired it, I could hardly ever say, I enjoyed my wish : I scarce ever knew the delight of satisfying a craving appetite. Besides,

‘ as I never once thought, my mind was useless to
‘ me, and I was an absolute stranger to all the pleasures arising from it. Nor, indeed, did my education qualify me for any delicacy in other enjoyments : so that in the midst of plenty I loathed every thing. Taste for elegance, I had none; and the greatest of corporeal blisses I felt no more from, than the lowest animal. In a word, as while a miser I had plenty without daring to use it, so now I had it without appetite.

‘ But if I was not very happy in the height of my enjoyment, so I afterwards became perfectly miserable ; being soon overtaken by disease, and reduced to distress, till at length, with a broken constitution, and broken heart, I ended my wretched days in a gaol : nor can I think the sentence of Minos too mild, who condemned me, after having taking a large dose of avarice, to wander three years on the banks of Cocytus, with the knowledge of having spent the fortune in the person of the grandson, which I had raised in that of the grandfather.

‘ The place of my birth, on my return to the world, was Constantinople, where my father was a carpenter. The first thing I remember was, the triumph of Belisarius; which was, indeed, a most noble shew : but nothing pleased me so much as the figure of Gelimer, king of the African Vandals, who being led captive on this occasion, reflecting with disdain on the mutation of his own fortune, and on the ridiculous empty pomp of the conqueror, cried out, VANITY, VANITY, ALL IS MERE VANITY.

‘ I was bred up to my father’s trade, and you may easily believe so low a sphere could produce no adventures worth your notice. However, I married a woman I liked, and who proved a very

tolerable wife. My days were passed in hard labour, but this procured me health, and I enjoyed a homely supper at night with my wife, with more pleasure than I apprehend greater persons find at their luxurious meals. My life had scarce any variety in it, and at my death, I advanced to Minos with great confidence of entering the gate: but I was unhappily obliged to discover some frauds I had been guilty of in the measure of my work, when I worked by the foot, as well as my laziness, when I was employed by the day. On which account, when I attempted to pass, the angry judge laid hold on me by the shoulders, and turned me back so violently, that had I had a neck of flesh and bone, I believe he would have broke it.

CHAP. XIII.

Julian passes into a Fop.

My scene of action was Rome. I was born into a noble family, and heir to a considerable fortune. On which my parents, thinking I should not want any talents, resolved very kindly and wisely to throw none away upon me. The only instructors of my youth were therefore one Saltator, who taught me several motions for my legs; and one Ficus, whose business was to shew me the cleanest way (as he callad it) of cutting off a man's head. When I was well accomplished in these sciences, I thought nothing more wanting, but what was to be furnished by the several mechanics in Rome, who dealt in dressing and adorning the pope. Being therefore

well equipped with all which their art could produce, I became at the age of twenty a complete finished beau. And now during forty-five years I dressed, I sang and danced, and danced and sang, I bowed and ogled, and ogled and bowed, till, in the sixty-sixth year of my age, I got cold by overheating myself with dancing, and died.

Minos told me as I was unworthy of Elysium, so I was too insignificant to be damned, and therefore bade me walk back again.

CHAP. XIV.

Adventures in the person of a Monk.

FORTUNE now placed me in the character of a younger brother of a good house, and I was in my youth sent to school; but learning was now at so low an ebb, that my master himself could hardly construe a sentence of Latin; and as for Greek, he could not read it. With very little knowledge therefore, and with altogether as little virtue, I was set apart for the church, and at the proper age commenced monk. I lived many years retired in a cell, a life very agreeable to the gloominess of my temper, which was much inclined to despise the world; that is, in other words, to envy all men of superior fortune and qualifications, and in general to hate and detest the human species. Notwithstanding which, I could, on proper occasions, submit to flatter the vilest fellow in nature, which I did one Stephen an eunuch, a favourite of the emperor Justinian II. one of the wickedest wretches whom perhaps the world ever saw. I not only wrote a pan-

‘gyric on this man, but I commended him as a
‘pattern to all others in my sermons, by which
‘means I so greatly ingratiated myself with him,
‘that he introduced me to the emperor’s presence,
‘where I prevailed so far by the same methods,
‘that I was shortly taken from my cell, and pre-
‘ferred to a place at court. I was no sooner
‘established in the favour of Justinian, than I
‘prompted him to all kind of cruelty. As I was
‘of a sour morose temper, and hated nothing
‘more than the symptoms of happiness appearing
‘in any countenance, I represented all kind of di-
‘version and amusement as the most horrid sins.
‘I inveighed against cheerfulness as levity, and
‘encouraged nothing but gravity, or to confess
‘the truth to you, hypocrisy. The unhappy em-
‘peror followed my advice, and incensed the peo-
‘ple by such repeated barbarities, that he was at
‘last deposed by them and banished.

‘I now retired again to my cell (for historians
‘mistake in saying I was put to death), where I
‘remained safe from the danger of the irritated
‘mob, whom I cursed in my own heart, as much
‘as they could curse me.’

‘Justinian, after three years of his banishment,
‘returned to Constantinople in disguise, and paid
‘me a visit. I at first affected not to know him,
‘and without the least compunction of gratitude
‘for his former favours, intended not to receive
‘him, till a thought immediately suggesting itself
‘to me, how I might convert him to my advan-
‘tage, I pretended to recollect him; and blaming
‘the shortness of my memory and badness of my
‘eyes I sprung forward and embraced him with
‘great affection.

‘My design was to betray him to Apsimar,
‘who, I doubted not, would generously reward

‘ such a service. I therefore very earnestly requested him to spend the whole evening with me ; to which he consented. I formed an excuse for leaving him a few minutes, and ran away to the palace to acquaint Apsimar with the guest whom I had then in my cell. He presently ordered a guard to go with me and seize him : but whether the length of my stay gave him any suspicion, or whether he changed his purpose after my departure, I know not : for at my return, we found he had given us the slip ; nor could we with the most diligent search discover him.

‘ Apsimar being disappointed of his prey, now raged at me ; at first denouncing the most dreadful vengeance, if I did not produce the deposed monarch. However, by soothing his passion when at the highest, and afterwards by canting and flattery, I made a shift to escape his fury.

‘ When Justinian was restored, I very confidently went to wish him joy of his restoration : but it seems he had unfortunately heard of my treachery, so that he at first received me coldly, and afterwards upbraided me openly with what I had done. I persevered stoutly in denying it, as I knew no evidence could be produced against me ; till finding him irreconcilable, I betook myself to reviling him in my sermons, and on every other occasion, as an enemy to the church, and good men, and as an infidel, an heretic, an atheist, a heathen, and an Arian. This I did immediately on his return, and before he gave those flagrant proofs of his inhumanity, which afterwards sufficiently verified all I had said.

‘ Luckily, I died on the same day, when a great number of those forces which Justinian had sent against the Thracian Bosphorous, and who had executed such unheard-of cruelties there, pe-

‘rished. As every one of these was cast into the
‘bottomless pit, Minos was so tired with condem-
‘nation, that he proclaimed that all present, who
‘had not been concerned in that bloody expedi-
‘tion, might, if they pleased, return to the other
‘world. I took him at his word, and presently
‘turning about, began my journey.’

CHAP. XV.

Julian passes into the character of a Fidler.

‘ROME was now the seat of my nativity. My
‘mother was an African, a woman of no great
‘beauty, but a favourite, I suppose from her piety,
‘to pope Gregory II. Who was my father, I
‘know not: but I believe no very considerable
‘man: for after the death of that pope, who was,
‘out of his religion, a very good friend of my mo-
‘ther, we fell into great distress, and were at
‘length reduced to walk the streets of Rome; nor
‘had either of us any other support but a fiddle,
‘on which I played with pretty tolerable skill:
‘for as my genius turned naturally to music, so I
‘had been in my youth very early instructed at
‘the expence of the good pope. This afforded us
‘but a very poor livelihood: for though I had
‘often a numerous crowd of hearers, few ever
‘thought themselves obliged to contribute the
‘smallest pittance to the poor starving wretch who
‘had given them pleasure. Nay, some of the
‘graver sort, after an hour’s attention to my music,
‘have gone away shaking their heads, and crying,
‘it was a shame such vagabonds were suffered to
‘stay in the city.

‘To say the truth, I am confident the fiddle
‘would not have kept us alive, had we entirely
‘depended on the generosity of my hearers. My
‘mother therefore was forced to use her own in-
‘dustry; and while I was soothing the ears of the
‘crowd, she applied to their pockets, and that
‘generally with such good success that we now
‘began to enjoy a very comfortable subsistence;
‘and indeed, had we had the least prudence or
‘forecast, might have soon acquired enough to
‘enable us to quit this dangerous and dishonour-
‘able way of life: but I know not what is the
‘reason, that money got with labour and safety is
‘constantly preserved, while the produce of dan-
‘ger and ease is commonly spent as easily, and
‘often as wickedly, as acquired. Thus we pro-
‘portioned our expences rather by what we had
‘than what we wanted, or even desired; and on
‘obtaining a considerable booty, we have even
‘forced nature into the most profligate extrava-
‘gance; and have been wicked without incli-
‘nation.

‘We carried on this method of thievery for a
‘long time without detection: but as Fortune ge-
‘nerally leaves persons of extraordinary ingenuity
‘in the lurch at last; so did she us: for my poor
‘mother was taken in the fact, and together with
‘myself, as her accomplice, hurried before a ma-
‘gistrate.

‘Luckily for us, the person who was to be our
‘judge, was the greatest lover of music in the
‘whole city, and had often sent for me to play to
‘him, for which, as he had given me very small
‘rewards, perhaps his gratitude now moved him:
‘but, whatever was his motive, he browbeat the
‘informers against us, and treated their evidence
‘with so little favour, that their mouths were soon

‘ stopped, and we dismissed with honour; acquitted, I should rather have said: for we were not suffered to depart, till I had given the judge several tunes on the fiddle.

‘ We escaped the better on this occasion, because the person robbed happened to be a poet; which gave the judge, who was a facetious person, many opportunities of jesting. He said, poets and musicians should agree together, seeing they had married sisters; which he afterwards explained to be the sister arts. And when the piece of gold was produced, he burst into a loud laugh, and said it must be the golden age, when poets had gold in their pockets, and in that age, there could be no robbers. He made many more jests of the same kind, but a small taste will suffice.

‘ It is a common saying, that men should take warning by any signal delivery; but I cannot approve the justice of it: for to me it seems, that the acquittal of a guilty person should rather inspire him with confidence, and it had this effect on us: for we now laughed at the law, and despised its punishments, which we found were to be escaped even against positive evidence. We imagined the late example was rather a warning to the accuser than the criminal, and accordingly proceeded in the most impudent and flagitious manner.

‘ Among other robberies, one night being admitted by the servants into the house of an opulent priest, my mother took an opportunity, whilst the servants were dancing to my tunes, to convey away a silver vessel; this she did without the least sacrilegious intention: but it seems the cup, which was a pretty large one, was dedicated to holy uses, and only borrowed

‘ by the priest on an entertainment which he
‘ made for some of his brethren. We were im-
‘ mediately pursued upon this robbery (the cup
‘ being taken in our possession), and carried
‘ before the same magistrate, who had before
‘ behaved to us with so much gentleness : but his
‘ countenance was now changed ; for the mo-
‘ ment the priest appeared against us, his severity
‘ was as remarkable as his candour had been be-
‘ fore, and we were both ordered to be stript and
‘ whipt through the streets.

‘ This sentence was executed with great se-
‘ verity, the priest himself attending and encourag-
‘ ing the executioner, which he said he did for
‘ the good of our souls : but though our backs
‘ were both flea’d, neither my mother’s torments
‘ nor my own afflicted me so much, as the indig-
‘ nity offered to my poor fiddle, which was car-
‘ ried in triumph before me, and treated with a
‘ contempt by the multitude, intimating a great
‘ scorn for the science I had the honour to pro-
‘ fess ; which, as it is one of the noblest inventions
‘ of men, and as I had been always in the highest
‘ degree proud of my excellence in it, I suffered
‘ so much from the ill-treatment my fiddle re-
‘ ceived, that I would have given all my remain-
‘ der of skin to have preserved it from this affront.

‘ My mother survived the whipping a very
‘ short time ; and I was now reduced to great
‘ distress and misery, till a young Roman of con-
‘ siderable rank took a fancy to me, received me
‘ into his family, and conversed with me in the
‘ utmost familiarity. He had a violent attach-
‘ ment to music, and would learn to play on the
‘ fiddle : but through want of genius for the
‘ science, he never made any considerable pro-
‘ gress. However I flattered his performance,

‘ and he grew extravagantly fond of me for so
‘ doing. Had I continued this behaviour, I might
‘ possibly have reaped the greatest advantages
‘ from his kindness: but I had raised his own
‘ opinion of his musical abilities so high, that he
‘ now began to prefer his skill to mine, a pre-
‘ sumption I could not bear. One day as we were
‘ playing in concert he was horribly out; nor
‘ was it possible, as he destroyed the harmony,
‘ to avoid telling him of it. Instead of receiving
‘ my correction, he answered, it was my blunder,
‘ and not his, and that I had mistaken the key.
‘ Such an affront from my own scholar was be-
‘ yond human patience; I flew into a violent pas-
‘ sion, I flung down my instrument in a rage, and
‘ swore I was not to be taught music at my age.
‘ He answered with as much warmth, nor was he
‘ to be instructed by a strolling fiddler. The dis-
‘ pute ended in a challenge to play a prize before
‘ judges. This wager was determined in my fa-
‘ vour; but the purchase was a dear one; for I
‘ lost my friend by it, who now twitting me with
‘ all his kindness, with my former ignominious pu-
‘ nishment, and the destitute condition from which
‘ I had been by his bounty relieved, discarded me
‘ for ever.

‘ While I lived with this gentleman, I became
‘ known, among others, to Sabina, a lady of dis-
‘ tinction, and who valued herself much on her
‘ taste for music. She no sooner heard of my
‘ being discarded, than she took me into her
‘ house, where I was extremely well cloathed and
‘ fed. Notwithstanding which, my situation was
‘ far from agreeable: for I was obliged to submit
‘ to her constant reprehensions before company;
‘ which gave me the greater uneasiness, because
‘ they were always wrong; nor am I certain that

‘ she did not by these provocations contribute to
‘ my death ; for as experience had taught me to
‘ give up my resentment to my bread, so my pas-
‘ sions, for want of outward vent, preyed inwardly
‘ on my vitals, and perhaps occasioned the dis-
‘ temper of which I sickened.

‘ The lady, who, amidst all the faults she found,
‘ was very fond of me ; nay, probably was the
‘ fonder of me the more faults she found ; imme-
‘ diately called in the aid of three celebrated physi-
‘ cians. The doctors (being well fee’d) made me
‘ seven visits in three days ; and two of them
‘ were at the door to visit me the eighth time,
‘ when, being acquainted that I was just dead,
‘ they shook their heads and departed.

‘ When I came to Minos, he asked me with a
‘ smile, whether I had brought my fiddle with me ;
‘ and receiving an answer in the negative, he bid
‘ me get about my business, saying, it was well
‘ for me that the devil was no lover of music.’

CHAP. XVI.

The history of the Wise Man.

‘ I now returned to Rome, but in a very different
‘ character. Fortune had now allotted me a serious
‘ part to act. I had even in my infancy a grave
‘ disposition, nor was I ever seen to smile ; which
‘ infused an opinion into all about me, that I was
‘ a child of great solidity : some foreseeing that I
‘ should be a judge, and others a bishop. At two
‘ years old my father presented me with a rattle,
‘ which I broke to pieces with great indignation.

‘ This, the good parent being extremely wise, regarded as an eminent symptom of my wisdom, and cried out in a kind of ecstasy, Well said, boy ! I warrant thou makest a great man.

‘ At school, I could never be persuaded to play with my mates : not that I spent my hours in learning, to which I was not in the least addicted, nor indeed had I any talents for it. However, the solemnity of my carriage won so much on my master, who was a most sagacious person, that I was his chief favourite, and my example on all occasions was recommended to the other boys, which filled them with envy, and me with pleasure : but though they envied me, they all paid me that involuntary respect, which it is the curse attending this passion to bear towards its object.

‘ I had now obtained universally the character of a very wise young man, which I did not altogether purchase without pains ; for the restraint I laid on myself in abstaining from the several diversions adapted to my years, cost me many a yearning : but the pride which I inwardly enjoyed in the fancied dignity of my character, made me some amends.

‘ Thus I past on, without any thing very memorable happening to me, till I arrived at the age of twenty-three ; when unfortunately I fell acquainted with a young Neapolitan lady, whose name was Ariadne. Her beauty was so exquisite, that her first sight made a violent impression on me ; this was again improved by her behaviour, which was most genteel, easy, and affable : lastly, her conversation completed the conquest. In this she discovered a strong and lively understanding, with the sweetest and most benign temper. This lovely creature was about eighteen when I first unhappily beheld her at

‘ Rome, in a visit to a relation, with whom I had
‘ great intimacy. As our interviews at first were
‘ extremely frequent, my passions were captivated
‘ before I apprehended the least danger ; and the
‘ sooner, probably, as the young lady herself, to
‘ whom I consulted every method of recommen-
‘ dation, was not displeased with my being her
‘ admirer.

‘ Ariadne having spent three months at Rome,
‘ now returned to Naples, bearing my heart with
‘ her : on the other hand, I had all the assurances,
‘ consistent with the constraint under which the
‘ most perfect modesty lays a young woman, that
‘ her own heart was not entirely unaffected. I
‘ soon found her absence gave me an uneasiness
‘ not easy to be borne, or to remove. I now first
‘ applied to diversions (of the graver sort, particu-
‘ larly to music), but in vain ; they rather raised
‘ my desires, and heightened my anguish. My
‘ passion at length grew so violent, that I began to
‘ think of satisfying it. As the first step to this, I
‘ cautiously enquired into the circumstances of
‘ Ariadne’s parents, with which I was hitherto
‘ unacquainted : though, indeed, I did not appre-
‘ hend they were extremely great, notwithstanding
‘ the handsome appearance of their daughter at
‘ Rome. Upon examination, her fortune exceeded
‘ my expectation ; but was not sufficient to justify
‘ my marriage with her, in the opinion of the wise
‘ and prudent. I had now a violent struggle be-
‘ tween wisdom and happiness, in which, after
‘ several grievous pangs, wisdom got the better.
‘ I could by no means prevail with myself to sacri-
‘ fice that character of profound wisdom, which I
‘ had with such uniform conduct obtained, and
‘ with such caution hitherto preserved. I there-
‘ fore resolved to conquer my affection, what-

‘ ever it cost me ; and indeed it did not cost me a
‘ little.

‘ While I was engaged in this conflict (for it
‘ lasted a long time), Ariadne returned to Rome :
‘ her presence was a terrible enemy to my wisdom,
‘ which even in her absence had with great diffi-
‘ culty stood its ground. It seems (as she hath
‘ since told me in Elysium with much merriment)
‘ I had made the same impressions on her which
‘ she had made on me. Indeed, I believe my
‘ wisdom would have been totally subdued by this
‘ surprize, had it not cunningly suggested to me a
‘ method of satisfying my passion without doing
‘ any injury to my reputation. This was by en-
‘ gaging her privately as a mistress, which was at
‘ that time reputable enough at Rome, provided
‘ the affair was managed with an air of slyness
‘ and gravity, though the secret was known to the
‘ whole city.

‘ I immediately set about this project, and em-
‘ ployed every art and engine to effect it. I had
‘ particularly bribed her priest, and an old female
‘ acquaintance and distant relation of her's into
‘ my interest : but all was in vain ; her virtue
‘ opposed the passion in her breast, as strongly as
‘ wisdom had opposed it in mine. She received
‘ my proposals with the utmost disdain, and pre-
‘ sently refused to see or hear from me any more.

‘ She returned again to Naples, and left me in a
‘ worse condition than before. My days I now
‘ passed with the most irksome uneasiness, and my
‘ nights were restless and sleepless. The story of
‘ our amour was now pretty public, and the ladies
‘ talked of our match as certain ; but my ac-
‘ quaintance denied their assent, saying, No, no,
‘ he is too wise to marry so imprudently. This
‘ their opinion gave me, I own, very great plea-

‘ sure : but to say the truth, scarce compensated
‘ the pangs I suffered to preserve it.

‘ One day, while I was balancing with myself,
‘ and had almost resolved to enjoy my happiness,
‘ at the price of my character, a friend brought
‘ me word, that Ariadne was married. This news
‘ struck me to the soul ; and though I had resolu-
‘ tion enough to maintain my gravity before him
‘ (for which I suffered not a little the more), the
‘ moment I was alone, I threw myself into the most
‘ violent fit of despair, and would willingly have
‘ parted with wisdom, fortune, and every thing
‘ else to have retrieved her : but that was impos-
‘ sible, and I had now nothing but time to hope a
‘ cure from. This was very tedious in performing
‘ it, and the longer as Ariadne had married a
‘ Roman cavalier, was now become my near
‘ neighbour, and I had the mortification of seeing
‘ her make the best of wives, and of having the
‘ happiness, which I had lost, every day before my
‘ eyes.

‘ If I suffered so much on account of my wis-
‘ dom, in having refused Ariadne, I was not much
‘ more obliged to it for procuring me a rich widow,
‘ who was recommended to me by an old friend,
‘ as a very prudent match, and, indeed, so it was ;
‘ her fortune being superior to mine, in the same
‘ proportion as that of Ariadne had been inferior.
‘ I therefore embraced this proposal, and my cha-
‘ racter of wisdom soon pleaded so effectually for
‘ me with the widow, who was herself a woman
‘ of great gravity and discretion, that I soon suc-
‘ ceeded ; and as soon as decency would permit
‘ (of which this lady was the strictest observer),
‘ we were married, being the second day of the
‘ second week, of the second year, after her hus-
‘ band’s death : for she said, she thought some

‘ period of time above the year had a great air of
‘ decorum.

‘ But, prudent as this lady was, she made me
‘ miserable. Her person was far from being
‘ lovely; but her temper was intolerable. During
‘ fifteen years habitation, I never passed a single
‘ day without heartily cursing her, and the hour
‘ in which we came together. The only comfort
‘ I received, in the midst of the highest torments,
‘ was from continually hearing the prudence of
‘ my match commended by all my acquaintance.

‘ Thus you see, in the affairs of love, I bought
‘ the reputation of wisdom pretty dear. In other
‘ matters, I had it somewhat cheaper; not that
‘ hypocrisy, which was the price I gave for it,
‘ gives one no pain. I have refused myself a
‘ thousand little amusements with a feign’d con-
‘ tempt, while I have really had an inclination to
‘ them. I have often almost choked myself to
‘ restrain from laughing at a jest, and (which was
‘ perhaps to myself the least hurtful of all my
‘ hypocrisy) have heartily enjoyed a book in my
‘ closet, which I have spoke with detestation of in
‘ public. To sum up my history in short, as I
‘ had few adventures worth remembering, my
‘ whole life was one constant lie; and happy
‘ would it have been for me, if I could as tho-
‘ roughly have imposed on myself, as I did on
‘ others: for reflection, at every turn, would often
‘ remind me I was not so wise as people thought
‘ me; and this considerably embittered the plea-
‘ sure I received from the public commendation of
‘ my wisdom. This self-admonition, like a *me-
‘ mento mori* or *mortalis es*, must be, in my opi-
‘ nion, a very dangerous enemy to flattery: in-
‘ deed, a weight sufficient to counterbalance all
‘ the false praise of the world. But whether it be,

‘ that the generality of wise men do not reflect at
‘ all, or whether they have, from a constant imposi-
‘ tion on others, contracted such a habit of deceit
‘ as to deceive themselves, I will not determine :
‘ it is I believe, most certain, that very few wise
‘ men know themselves what fools they are more
‘ than the world doth. Good gods ! could one
‘ but see what passes in the closet of wisdom ! how
‘ ridiculous a sight must it be to behold the wise
‘ man, who despises gratifying his palate, devour-
‘ ing custard ; the sober wise man with his dram-
‘ bottle ; or, the anticarnalist (if I may be allowed
‘ the expression) chuckling over a b—dy book or
‘ picture, and perhaps caressing his housemaid !

‘ But to conclude a character, in which I apprehend I made as absurd a figure, as in any in which I trod the stage of earth, my wisdom at last put an end to itself ; that is, occasioned my dissolution.

‘ A relation of mine in the eastern part of the empire, disinherited his son, and left me his heir. This happened in the depth of winter, when I was in my grand climacteric, and had just recovered of a dangerous disease. As I had all the reason imaginable to apprehend the family of the deceased would conspire against me, and embuzzle as much as they could, I advised with a grave and wise friend, what was proper to be done ; whether I should go myself, or employ a notary on this occasion, and defer my journey to the spring. To say the truth, I was most inclined to the latter ; the rather as my circumstances were extremely flourishing, as I was advanced in years, and had not one person in the world, to whom I should with pleasure bequeath any fortune at my death.

‘ My friend told me, he thought my question

‘ admitted of no manner of doubt or debate ; that
‘ common prudence absolutely required my immediate departure ; adding, that if the same good-luck had happened to him, he would have been
‘ already on his journey : for, continued he, a
‘ man who knows the world so well as you, would
‘ be inexcusable to give persons such an opportunity of cheating you, who, you must be assured,
‘ will be too well inclined : and as for employing
‘ a notary, remember that excellent maxim, *Ne facias per alium, quod fieri potest per te.* I own
‘ the badness of the season, and your very late recovery, are unlucky circumstances : but a wise
‘ man must get over difficulties, when necessity
‘ obliges him to encounter them.

‘ I was immediately determined by this opinion.
‘ The duty of a wise man made an irresistible impression, and I took the necessity for granted,
‘ without examination. I accordingly set forward
‘ the next morning ; very tempestuous weather
‘ soon overtook me ; I had not travelled three
‘ days before I relapsed into my fever, and died.

‘ I was now as cruelly disappointed by Minos,
‘ as I had formerly been happily so. I advanced
‘ with the utmost confidence to the gate, and really
‘ imagined I should have been admitted by the
‘ wisdom of my countenance, even without any
‘ questions asked : but this was not my case ; and,
‘ to my great surprize, Minos, with a menacing
‘ voice, called out to me——You Mr. there, with
‘ the grave countenance, whither so fast, pray ?
‘ Will you please, before you move any farther
‘ forwards, to give me a short account of your
‘ transactions below. I then began, and recounted
‘ to him my whole history, still expecting, at the end
‘ of every period, that the gate would be ordered
‘ to fly open ; but I was obliged to go quite through

‘with it, and then Minos, after some little consideration, spoke to me as follows :

‘You, Mr. Wiseman; stand forth if you please. Believe me, Sir, a trip back again to earth will be one of the wisest steps you ever took, and really more to the honour of your wisdom, than any you have hitherto taken. On the other side, nothing could be simpler, than to endeavour at Elysium; for who, but a fool, would carry a commodity, which is of such infinite value in one place, into another where it is of none. But without attempting to offend your gravity with a jest, you must return to the place from whence you came : for Elysium was never designed for those who are too wise to be happy.

‘This sentence confounded me greatly, especially as it seemed to threaten me with carrying my wisdom back again to earth. I told the judge, though he would not admit me at the gate, I hoped I had committed no crime, while alive, which merited my being wise any longer. He answered me, I must take my chance as to that matter; and immediately we turned our backs to each other.’

CHAP. XVII.

Julian enters into the person of a King.

‘I WAS now born at Oviedo in Spain. My father’s name was Veremond, and I was adopted by my uncle, king Alphonso the Chaste. I don’t recollect, in all the pilgrimages I have made on earth, that I ever passed a more miserable infancy than now; being under the utmost confinement

and restraint, and surrounded with physicians, who were ever dosing me; and tutors, who were continually plaguing me with their instructions; even those hours of leisure, which my inclination would have spent in play, were allotted to tedious pomp and ceremony, which, at an age wherein I had no ambition to enjoy the servility of courtiers, enslaved me more than it could the meanest of them. However, as I advanced towards manhood, my condition made me some amends; for the most beautiful women of their own accord threw out lures for me, and I had the happiness, which no man in an inferior degree can arrive at, of enjoying the most delicious creatures, without the previous and tiresome ceremonies of courtship, unless with the most simple, young, and unexperienced. As for the court ladies, they regarded me rather as men do the most lovely of the other sex; and though they outwardly retained some appearance of modesty, they in reality rather considered themselves as receiving than conferring favours.

Another happiness I enjoyed, was in conferring favours of another sort; for as I was extremely good-natured and generous, so I had daily opportunities of satisfying those passions. Besides my own princely allowance, which was very bountiful, and with which I did many liberal and good actions, I recommended numberless persons of merit in distress to the king's notice, most of whom were provided for.

Indeed, had I sufficiently known my blest situation at this time, I should have grieved at nothing more than the death of Alphonso, by which the burden of government devolved upon me: but so blindly fond is ambition, and such charms doth it fancy in the power, and pomp,

‘ and splendour of a crown, that though I vehemently loved that king, and had the greatest obligations to him, the thoughts of succeeding him obliterated my regret at his loss, and the wish for my approaching coronation dried my eyes at his funeral.

‘ But my fondness for the name of king, did not make me forgetful of those over whom I was to reign. I considered them in the light in which a tender father regards his children, as persons whose well-being God had intrusted to my care ; and again, in that in which a prudent lord respects his tenants, as those on whose wealth and grandeur he is to build his own. Both these considerations inspired me with the greatest care for their welfare, and their good was my first and ultimate concern.

‘ The usurper Mauregas had impiously obliged himself, and his successors, to pay to the Moors every year an infamous tribute of an hundred young virgins : from this cruel and scandalous imposition I resolved to relieve my country. Accordingly, when their emperor Abderames the Second had the audaciousness to make this demand of me, instead of complying with it, I ordered his ambassadors to be driven away with all imaginable ignominy, and would have condemned them to death, could I have done it without a manifest violation of the law of nations.

‘ I now raised an immense army. At the levying of which I made a speech from my throne, acquainting my subjects with the necessity, and the reasons of the war in which I was going to engage : which I convinced them I had undertaken for their ease and safety, and not for satisfying any wanton ambition, or revenging any private pique of my own. They all declared

‘unanimously, that they would venture their lives,
‘and every thing dear to them, in my defence,
‘and in the support of the honour of my crown.
‘Accordingly, my levies were instantly complete,
‘sufficient numbers being only left to till the land;
‘churchmen, even bishops themselves, enlisting
‘themselves under my banners.

‘The armies met at Alvelda, where we were
‘discomfited with immense loss, and nothing but
‘the lucky intervention of the night could have
‘saved our whole army.

‘I retreated to the summit of a hill, where I
‘abandoned myself to the highest agonies of grief,
‘not so much for the danger in which I then saw
‘my crown, as for the loss of those miserable
‘wretches who had exposed their lives at my com-
‘mand. I could not then avoid this reflection;
‘That if the deaths of these people in a war, un-
‘dertaken absolutely for their protection, could give
‘me such concern; what horror must I have felt,
‘if, like princes greedy of dominion, I had sacri-
‘ficed such numbers to my own pride, vanity,
‘and ridiculous lust of power.

‘After having vented my sorrows for some
‘time in this manner, I began to consider by what
‘means I might possibly endeavour to retrieve this
‘misfortune; when reflecting on the great number
‘of priests I had in my army, and on the pro-
‘digious force of superstition, a thought luckily
‘suggested itself to me, to counterfeit that St.
‘James had appeared to me in a vision, and had
‘promised me the victory. While I was ru-
‘minating on this, the bishop of Nájara came op-
‘portunately to me. As I did not intend to com-
‘municate the secret to him, I took another
‘method, and, instead of answering any thing the

‘ bishop said to me, I pretended to talk to St. James, as if he had been really present; till at length, after having spoke those things which I thought sufficient, and thanked the Saint aloud for his promise of the victory, I turned about to the bishop, and embracing him with a pleased countenance, protested I did not know he was present; and then informing him of this supposed vision, I asked him, if he had not himself seen the Saint? He answered me, he had; and afterwards proceeded to assure me, that this appearance of St. James was entirely owing to his prayers; for that he was his tutelar saint. He added, he had a vision of him a few hours before, when he promised him a victory over the infidels, and acquainted him at the same time of the vacancy of the see of Toledo. Now this news being really true, though it had happened so lately, that I had not heard of it (nor, indeed, was it well possible I should, considering the great distance of the way), when I was afterwards acquainted with it, a little staggered me, though far from being superstitious; till being informed, that the bishop had lost three horses on a late expedition, I was satisfied.

‘ The next morning, the bishop, at my desire, mounted the rostrum, and trumpeted forth this vision so effectually, which he said he had that evening twice seen with his own eyes, that a spirit began to be infused through the whole army, which rendered them superior to almost any force: the bishop insisted, that the least doubt of success was giving the lie to the saint, and a damnable sin, and he took upon him in his name to promise them victory.

‘ The army being drawn out, I soon experienced

the effect of enthusiasm, for having contrived another * stratagem to strengthen what the bishop had said, the soldiers fought more like furies than men. My stratagem was this: I had about me a dexterous fellow, who had been formerly a pimp in my amours. Him I dressed up in a strange antick dress, with a pair of white colours in his right hand, a red cross in his left, and having disguised him so, that no one could know him, I placed him on a white horse, and ordered him to ride to the head of the army, and cry out, Follow St. James! These words were reiterated by all the troops, who attacked the enemy with such intrepidity, that, notwithstanding our inferiority of numbers, we soon obtained a complete victory.

The bishop was come up by the time that the enemy was routed, and acquainting us, that he had met St. James by the way, and that he had informed him of what had passed, he added, that he had express orders from the Saint, to receive a considerable sum for his use, and that a certain tax on corn and wine should be settled on his church for ever; and lastly, that a horseman's pay should be allowed for the future to the Saint himself, of which he and his successors were appointed receivers. The army received these demands with such acclamations, that I was obliged to comply with them, as I could by no means discover the imposition, nor do I believe I should have gained any credit if I had.

I had now done with the saint, but the bishop had not; for about a week afterwards, lights were seen in a wood near where the battle was fought;

* This silly story is told as a solemn truth (i. e. that St. James really appeared in the manner this fellow is described) by Mariana, l. 7. § 78.

‘ and in a short time afterwards, they discovered
‘ his tomb at the same place. Upon this, the bishop
‘ made me a visit, and forced me to go thither, to build
‘ a church to him, and largely endow it. In a word,
‘ the good man so plagued me with miracle after
‘ miracle, that I was forced to make interest with
‘ the pope to convey him to Toledo, to get rid of
‘ him.

‘ But to proceed to other matters,—There was
‘ an inferior officer, who had behaved very bravely
‘ in the battle against the Moors, and had received
‘ several wounds, who solicited me for preferment;
‘ which I was about to confer on him, when one
‘ of my ministers came to me in a fright, and told
‘ me, that he promised the post I designed for this
‘ man to the son of count Alderedo; and that the
‘ count, who was a powerful person, would be
‘ greatly disoblged at the refusal, as he had sent
‘ for his son from school to take possession of it.
‘ I was obliged to agree with my minister’s reasons,
‘ and at the same time recommended the wounded
‘ soldier to be preferred by him, which he faithfully
‘ promised he would; but I met the poor
‘ wretch since in Elysium, who informed me he was
‘ afterwards starved to death.

‘ None, who hath not been himself a prince, nor
‘ any prince, till his death, can conceive the im-
‘ positions daily put on them by their favourites
‘ and ministers; so that princes are often blamed
‘ for the faults of others. The count of Saldagne
‘ had been long confined in prison, when his son
‘ D. Bernard del Carpio, who had performed the
‘ greatest actions against the Moors, entreated me,
‘ as a reward for his service, to grant him his fa-
‘ ther’s liberty. The old man’s punishment had
‘ been so tedious, and the services of the young
‘ one so singularly eminent, that I was very in-

‘clinable to grant the request; but my ministers
‘strongly opposed it. They told me, *My glory*
‘*demanded revenge for the dishonour offered to my*
‘*family; that so positive a demand carried with*
‘*it rather the air of menace than entreaty. That*
‘*the vain detail of his services, and the recompence*
‘*due to them, was an injurious reproach. That*
‘*to grant what had been so haughtily demanded,*
‘*would argue in the monarch both weakness and*
‘*timidity; in a word, that to remit the punish-*
‘*ment inflicted by my predecessors, would be to*
‘*condemn their judgment. Lastly, one told me*
‘*in a whisper, his whole family are enemies to your*
‘*house.* By these means the ministers prevailed.
‘The young lord took the refusal so ill, that he re-
‘tired from court and abandoned himself to despair,
‘whilst the old one languished in prison. By which
‘means, as I have since discovered, I lost the use
‘of two of my best subjects.

‘To confess the truth, I had, by means of my
‘ministers, conceived a very unjust opinion of my
‘whole people, whom I fancied to be daily con-
‘spiring against me, and to entertain the most dis-
‘loyal thoughts; when in reality (as I have known
‘since my death) they held me in universal respect
‘and esteem. This is a trick, I believe, too often
‘played with sovereigns, who, by such means, are
‘prevented from that open intercourse with their
‘subjects, which as it would greatly endear the
‘person of the prince to the people, so might it
‘often prove dangerous to a minister, who was con-
‘sulting his own interest only at the expence of
‘both. I believe I have now recounted to you the
‘most material passages of my life; for, I assure
‘you, there are some incidents in the lives of kings
‘not extremely worth relating. Every thing which
‘passes in their minds and families, is not attended

‘ with the splendor which surrounds their throne :
‘ indeed, there are some hours wherein the naked
‘ king and the naked cobbler can scarce be distin-
‘ guished from each other.

‘ Had it not been, however, for my ingratitude
‘ to Bernard del Carpio, I believe this would have
‘ been my last pilgrimage on earth : for, as to the
‘ story of St. James, I thought Minos would have
‘ burst his sides at it; but he was so displeased with
‘ me on the other account, that, with a frown, he
‘ cried out, Get thee back again, king. Nor would
‘ he suffer me to say another word.’

CHAP. XVIII.

Julian passes into a Fool.

‘ THE next visit I made to the world, was per-
‘ formed in France, where I was born in the court
‘ of Lewis III. and had afterwards the honour to
‘ be preferred to be fool to the prince, who was
‘ surnamed Charles the Simple. But in reality, I
‘ know not whether I might so properly be said to
‘ have acted the fool in his court, as to have made
‘ fools of all others in it. Certain it is, I was very
‘ far from being what is generally understood by
‘ that word, being a most cunning, designing, arch
‘ knave. I knew very well the folly of my master,
‘ and of many others, and how to make my ad-
‘ vantage of this knowledge. I was as dear to
‘ Charles the Simple, as the player Paris was to
‘ Domitian, and, like him, bestowed all manner of
‘ offices and honours on whom I pleased. This
‘ drew me a great number of followers among the
‘ courtiers, who really mistook me for a fool, and

‘ yet flattered my understanding. There was particularly in the court, a fellow who had neither honour, honesty, sense, wit, courage, beauty, nor indeed any one good quality, either of mind or body, to recommend him; but was at the same time, perhaps, as cunning a monster as ever lived. This gentleman took it into his head to list under my banner, and pursued me so very assiduously with flattery, constantly reminding me of my good sense, that I grew immoderately fond of him; for though flattery is not most judiciously applied to qualities which the persons flattered possess, yet as, notwithstanding my being well assured of my own parts, I passed in the whole court for a fool, this flattery was a very sweet morsel to me. I therefore got this fellow preferred to a bishoprick, but I lost my flatterer by it: for he never afterwards said a civil thing to me.

‘ I never baulked my imagination for the grossness of the reflection on the character of the greatest noble, nay even the king himself; of which I will give you a very bold instance. One day, his simple majesty told me, he believed I had so much power, that his people looked on me as the king, and himself as my fool. At this I pretended to be angry as with an affront. Why, how now? says the king: Are you ashamed of being a king, No, Sir, says I, but am devilishly ashamed of my fool.

‘ Hebert, earl of Vermandois, had by my means been restored to the favour of the Simple (for so I used always to call Charles). He afterwards prevailed with the king to take the city of Arras from earl Baldwin, by which means Hebert, in exchange for this city, had Peronne restored to him by count Altmar. Baldwin came to court,

in order to procure the restoration of his city ; but either through pride or ignorance, neglected to apply to me. As I met him at court during his solicitation, I told him, he did not apply the right way ; he answered roughly, he should not ask a fool's advice. I replied, I did not wonder at his prejudice ; since he had miscarried already by following a fool's advice : but I told him, there were fools who had more interest than that he had brought with him to court. He answered me surlily, he had no fool with him, for that he travelled alone.—Ay, my lord, says I, I often travel alone, and yet they will have it I always carry a fool with me. This raised a laugh among the bystanders, on which he gave me a blow. I immediately complained of this usage to the Simple, who dismissed the earl from court with very hard words, instead of granting him the favour he solicited.

I give you these rather as a specimen of my interest and impudence than of my wit ; indeed my jests were commonly more admired than they ought to be ; for, perhaps, I was not in reality much more a wit than a fool. But with the latitude of unbounded scurrility, it is easy enough to attain the character of wit, especially in a court, where, as all persons hate and envy one another heartily, and are at the same time obliged by the constrained behaviour of civility to profess the greatest liking, so it is, and must be wonderfully pleasant to them to see the follies of their acquaintance exposed by a third person. Besides, the opinion of the court is as uniform as the fashion, and is always guided by the will of the prince or of the favourite. I doubt not that Caligula's horse was universally held in his court to be a good and able consul. In the same manner was I universally

* acknowledged to be the wittiest fool in the world.
* Every word I said raised laughter, and was held
* to be a jest, especially by the ladies; who some-
* times laughed before I had discovered my sen-
* timent, and often repeated that as a jest which
* did not even intend as one.

* I was as severe on the ladies as on the men,
* and with the same impunity: but this at last cost
* me dear: for once having joked the beauty of a
* lady, whose name was Adelaide, a favourite of
* the Simple's; she pretended to smile and be
* pleased at my wit with the rest of the company;
* but in reality she highly resented it, and endea-
* voured to undermine me with the king. In which
* she so greatly succeeded (for what cannot a fa-
* vourite woman do with one who deserves the sur-
* name of Simple?) that the king grew every day
* more reserved to me, and when I attempted any
* freedom, gave me such marks of his displeasure,
* that the courtiers (who have all hawk's eyes at a
* slight from the sovereign) soon discerned it: and
* indeed, had I been blind enough not to have dis-
* covered that I had lost ground in the Simple's fa-
* vour, by his own change in his carriage towards
* me, I must have found it, nay even felt it, in
* the behaviour of the courtiers: for, as my com-
* pany was two days before solicited with the utmost
* eagerness, it was now rejected with as much scorn.
* I was now the jest of the ushers and pages; and
* an officer of the guards, on whom I was a little
* jocose, gave me a box on the ear, bidding me
* make free with my equals. This very fellow had
* been my butt for many years, without daring to
* lift his hand against me.

* But though I visibly perceived the alteration in
* the Simple, I was utterly unable to make any
* guess at the occasion. I had not the least sus-

‘picion of Adelaide : for, besides her being a very
‘good humoured woman, I had often made severe
‘jests on her reputation, which I had all the reason
‘imaginable to believe had given her no offence.
‘But I soon perceived, that a woman will bear the
‘most bitter censures on her morals, easier than the
‘the smallest reflection on her beauty ; for she now
‘declared publicly, that I ought to be dismissed
‘from court, as the stupidest of fools, and one in
‘whom there was no diversion ; and that she won-
‘dered how any person could have so little taste,
‘as to imagine I had any wit. This speech was
‘echoed through the drawing-room, and agreed to
‘by all present. Every one now put on an unusual
‘gravity on their countenance whenever I spoke ;
‘and it was as much out of my power to raise a
‘laugh, as formerly it had been for me to open my
‘mouth without one.

‘While my affairs were in this posture, I went
‘one day into the circle, without my fool’s dress.
‘The Simple, who would still speak to me, cried
‘out, ‘So fool, what’s the matter now ?’ ‘Sir,’
‘answered I, ‘fools are like to be so common a com-
‘modity at court, that I am weary of my coat.’
‘How dost thou mean,’ answered the Simple ;
‘what can make them commoner now than usual ?—
‘O Sir,’ said I, ‘there are ladies here make your
‘majesty a fool every day of their lives.’ The
‘Simple took no notice of my jest, and several pre-
‘sent said my bones ought to be broke for my im-
‘pudence ; but it pleased the queen, who knowing
‘Adelaide, whom she hated, to be the cause of my
‘disgrace, obtained me of the king, and took me
‘into her service ; so that I was henceforth called
‘the queen’s fool, and in her court received the
‘same honour, and had as much wit as I had for-
‘merly had in the king’s. But as the queen had

‘ really no power unless over her own domestics, I was not treated in general with that complacency, nor did I receive those bribes and presents, which had once fallen to my share.

‘ Nor did this confined respect continue long : for the queen, who had in fact no taste for humour, soon grew sick of my foolery, and forgetting the cause for which she had taken me, neglected me so much, that her court grew intolerable to my temper, and I broke my heart and died.

‘ Minos laughed heartily at several things in my story, and then telling me, No one played the fool in Elysium, bid me go back again.

CHAP. XIX.

Julian appears in the character of a Beggar.

‘ I now returned to Rome, and was born into a very poor and numerous family, which, to be honest with you, procured its livelihood by begging. This, if you was never yourself of the calling, you do not know, I suppose, to be as regular a trade as any other ; to have its several rules and secrets, or mysteries, which to learn require perhaps as tedious an apprenticeship as those of any craft whatever.

‘ The first thing we are taught is the countenance miserable. This indeed nature makes much easier to some than others ; but there are none who cannot accomplish it, if they begin early enough in youth, and before the muscles are grown too stubborn.

‘ The second thing is, the voice lamentable. In
‘ this qualification too, nature must have her share
‘ in producing the most consummate excellence :
‘ however, art will here, as in every other instance,
‘ go a great way with industry and application,
‘ even without the assistance of genius ; especially
‘ if the student begins young.

‘ There are many other instructions ; but these
‘ are the most considerable. The women are taught
‘ one practice more than the men, for they are in-
‘ structed in the art of crying, that is, to have their
‘ tears ready on all occasions : but this is attained
‘ very easily by most. Some indeed arrive at the
‘ utmost perfection in this art with incredible fa-
‘ cility.

‘ No profession requires a deeper insight into hu-
‘ man nature than the beggar’s. Their knowledge
‘ of the passions of men is so extensive, that I have
‘ often thought, it would be of no little service to a
‘ politician to have his education among them. Nay,
‘ there is much greater analogy between these two
‘ characters than is imagined ; for both concur in
‘ their first and grand principle, it being equally
‘ their business to delude and impose on mankind.
‘ It must be confessed, that they differ widely in
‘ the degree of advantage, which they make by
‘ their deceit ; for, whereas the beggar is contented
‘ with a little, the politician leaves but a little be-
‘ hind.

‘ A very great English philosopher hath remarked
‘ our policy, in taking care never to address any
‘ one with a title inferior to what he really claims.
‘ My father was of the same opinion : for I re-
‘ member when I was a boy, the pope happening
‘ to pass by, I attended him with pray, Sir ; for
‘ for God’s sake, Sir ; for the Lord’s sake, Sir ;—
‘ To which he answered gravely, Sirrah, sirrah,

‘ you ought to be whipt for taking the Lord’s name
‘ in vain ; and in vain it was indeed, for he gave
‘ me nothing. My father overhearing this, took
‘ his advice, and whipt me very severely. While
‘ I was under correction, I promised often never
‘ to take the Lord’s name in vain any more. My
‘ father then said, ‘ Child, I do not whip you for
‘ taking his name in vain : I whip you for not
‘ calling the pope his holiness.’

‘ If all men were so wise and good to follow the
‘ clergy’s example, the nuisance of beggars would
‘ soon be removed. I do not remember to have
‘ been above twice relieved by them during my
‘ whole state of beggary. Once was by a very well-
‘ looking man, who gave me a small piece of silver,
‘ and declared, he had given me more than he had
‘ left himself ; the other was by a spruce young
‘ fellow, who had that very day first put on his
‘ robes, whom I attended with Pray, reverend Sir,
‘ good reverend Sir, consider your cloth. He an-
‘ swered, ‘ I do, child, consider my office, and I
‘ hope all of our cloth do the same.’ He then threw
‘ down some money, and strutted off with great
‘ dignity.

‘ With the women I had one general formulary :
‘ Sweet pretty lady, God bless your ladyship,
‘ God bless your handsome face. This generally
‘ succeeded ; but I observed, the uglier the woman
‘ was, the surer I was of success.

‘ It was a constant maxim among us, that the
‘ greater retinue any one travelled with, the less
‘ expectation we might promise ourselves from
‘ them ; but whenever we saw a vehicle with a
‘ single, or no servant, we imagined our booty
‘ sure, and were seldom deceived.

‘ We observed great difference introduced by
‘ time and circumstance in the same person ; for

instance, a losing gamester is sometimes generous : but from a winner, you will as easily obtain his soul as a single groat. A lawyer travelling from his country seat to his clients at Rome, and a physician going to visit a patient, were always worth asking ; but the same on their return were (according to our cant phrase) untouchable.

The most general, and indeed, the truest maxim among us, was, that those who possessed the least were always the readiest to give. The chief art of a beggarman is therefore to discern the rich from the poor, which, though it be only distinguishing substance from shadow, is by no means attainable without a pretty good capacity, and a vast degree of attention : for these two are eternally industrious in endeavouring to counterfeit each other. In this deceit, the poor man is more heartily in earnest to deceive you than the rich ; who amidst all the emblems of poverty which he puts on, still permits some mark of his wealth to strike the eye. Thus, while his apparel is not worth a groat, his finger wears a ring of value, or his pocket a gold watch. In a word, he seems rather to affect poverty to insult, than impose on you. Now the poor man, on the contrary, is very sincere in his desire of passing for rich ; but the eagerness of this desire hurries him to overact his part, and he betrays himself, as one who is drunk by his overacted sobriety. Thus, instead of being attended by one servant well mounted, he will have two ; and not being able to purchase or maintain a second horse of value, one of his servants at least is mounted on a hired rascallion. He is not contented to go plain and neat in his clothes ; he therefore claps on some tawdry ornament, and what he adds to the fineness of his vestment, he detracts from the fineness

‘ of his linen. Without descending into more
‘ minute particulars, I believe I may assert it
‘ as an axiom of indubitable truth, that who-
‘ ever shews you he is either in himself, or his
‘ equipage, as gaudy as he can, convinces you he
‘ is more so than he can afford. Now whenever
‘ a man’s expence exceeds his income, he is indif-
‘ ferent in the degree ; we had therefore nothing
‘ more to do with such, than to flatter them with
‘ their wealth and splendor, and were always cer-
‘ tain of success.

‘ There is, indeed, one kind of rich man, who,
‘ is commonly more liberal, namely, where riches
‘ surprize him, as it were, in the midst of poverty
‘ and distress, the consequence of which is, I own,
‘ sometimes excessive avarice ; but oftener extreme
‘ prodigality. I remember one of these, who hav-
‘ ing received a pretty large sum of money, gave
‘ me, when I begged an obolus, a whole talent ; on
‘ which his friend having reprov’d him, he an-
‘ swered with an oath, Why not ? Have I not fifty
‘ left ?

‘ The life of a beggar, if men estimated things
‘ by their real essence, and not by their outward
‘ false appearance, would be, perhaps, a more
‘ desirable situation than any of those, which am-
‘ bition persuades us with such difficulty, danger,
‘ and often villainy to aspire to. The wants of a
‘ beggar are commonly as chimerical as the abun-
‘ dance of a nobleman ; for besides vanity, which
‘ a judicious beggar will always apply to with won-
‘ derful efficacy, there are in reality very few na-
‘ tures so hardened, as not to compassionate poverty
‘ and distress, when the predominancy of some
‘ other passion doth not prevent them.

‘ There is one happiness which attends money
‘ got with ease, namely, that it is never hoarded ;

otherwise, as we have frequent opportunities of growing rich, that canker care might prey upon our quiet, as it doth on others : but our money stock we spend as fast as we acquire it ; usually at least, for I speak not without exception ; thus it gives us mirth only, and no trouble. Indeed, the luxury of our lives, might introduce diseases, did not our daily exercise prevent them. This gives us an appetite and relish for our dainties, and at the same time an antidote against the evil effects, which sloth, united with luxury, induces on the habit of a human body. Our women we enjoy with ecstasies, at least equal to what the greatest men feel in their embraces. I can, I am assured, say of myself, that no mortal could reap more perfect happiness from the tender passion, than my fortune had decreed me. I married a charming young woman for love ; she was the daughter of a neighbouring beggar, who, with an improvidence too often seen, spent a very large income which he procured by his profession, so that he was able to give her no fortune down ; however, at his death, he left her a very well-accustomed begging-hut, situated on the side of a steep hill, where travellers could not immediately escape from us, and a garden adjoining, being the twenty-eighth part of an acre, well planted. She made the best of wives, bore me nineteen children, and never failed, unless on her lying-in, which generally lasted three days, to get my supper ready, against my return home in an evening ; this being my favourite meal, and at which I, as well as my whole family, greatly enjoyed ourselves ; the principal subject of our discourse, being generally the boons we had that day obtained, on which occasions laughing at the folly of the donors made no inconsiderable part of the

‘entertainment; for whatever might be their motive for giving, we constantly imputed our success to our having flattered their vanity, or overreached their understanding.

‘But, perhaps, I have dwelt too long on this character; I shall conclude therefore with telling you, that after a life of 102 years continuance, during all which I had **never** known any sickness or infirmity, but that which old age necessarily induced, I at last, without the least pain, went out like the snuff of a candle.

‘Minos having heard my history, bid me compute, if I could, how many lies I had told in my life. As we are here, by a certain fated necessity, obliged to confine ourselves to truth, I answered, I believed about 50,000,000. He then replied with a frown, can such a wretch conceive any hopes of entering Elysium! I immediately turned about, and, upon the whole, was rejoiced at his not calling me back.’

Revised and corrected by the author.

CHAP. XX.

Julian performs the part of a Statesman.

‘It was now my fortune to be born of a German Princess; but a man-midwife pulling my head off, in delivering my mother, put a speedy end to my princely life.

‘Spirits, who end their lives before they are at the age of five years are immediately ordered into other bodies; and it was now my fortune to perform several infancies, before I could again entitle myself to an examination of Minos.

‘ At length I was destined once more to play
‘ a considerable part on the stage. I was born in
‘ England, in the reign of Etheldred II. My fa-
‘ ther’s name was Ulnoth. He was earl or thane
‘ of Sussex : I was afterwards known by the name
‘ of earl Goodwin, and began to make a con-
‘ siderable figure in the world, in the time of Ha-
‘ rold Harefoot, whom I procured to be made
‘ king of Wessex, or the West Saxons, in pre-
‘ judice of Hardicanute, whose mother Emma
‘ endeavoured afterwards to set another of her
‘ sons on the throne : but I circumvented her,
‘ and communicating her design to the king, at
‘ the same time acquainted him with a project
‘ which I had formed for the murder of these
‘ two young princes. Emma had sent for these
‘ her sons from Normandy, with the king’s leave,
‘ whom she had deceived by her religious be-
‘ haviour, and pretended neglect of all worldly
‘ affairs ; but I prevailed with Harold to invite
‘ these princes to his court, and put them to
‘ death. The prudent mother sent only Alfred,
‘ retaining Edward to herself, as she suspected
‘ my ill designs, and thought I should not venture
‘ to execute them on one of her sons, while she
‘ secured the other ; but she was deceived, for
‘ I had no sooner Alfred in my possession, than
‘ I caused him to be conducted to Ely, where I
‘ ordered his eyes to be put out, and afterwards to
‘ be confined in a monastery.

‘ This was one of those cruel expedients, which
‘ great men satisfy themselves well in executing,
‘ by concluding them to be necessary to the ser-
‘ vice of their prince, who is the support of their
‘ ambition.

‘ Edward, the other son of Emma, escaped
‘ again to Normandy ; whence, after the death

‘ of Harold and Hardicanute, he made no scruple
‘ of applying to my protection and favour, though
‘ he had before prosecuted me with all the ven-
‘ geance he was able, for the murder of his bro-
‘ ther: but in all great affairs, private relation
‘ must yield to public interest. Having therefore
‘ concluded very advantageous terms for myself
‘ with him, I made no scruple of patronizing his
‘ cause, and soon placed him on the throne. Nor
‘ did I conceive the least apprehension from his
‘ resentment, as I knew my power was too great
‘ for him to encounter.

‘ Among other stipulated conditions, one was
‘ to marry my daughter Editha. This Edward
‘ consented to with great reluctance, and I had
‘ afterwards no reason to be pleased with it; for
‘ it raised her, who had been my favourite child,
‘ to such an opinion of greatness, that, instead of
‘ paying me the usual respect, she frequently threw
‘ in my teeth (as often at least as I gave her any
‘ admonition), that she was now a queen, and
‘ that the character and title of father merged in
‘ that of subject. This behaviour, however, did
‘ not cure me of my affection towards her, nor
‘ lessen the uneasiness which I afterwards bore on
‘ Edward’s dismissing her from his bed.

‘ One thing, which principally induced me to
‘ labour the promotion of Edward, was the simpli-
‘ city or weakness of that prince, under whom I
‘ promised myself absolute dominion, under ano-
‘ ther name. Nor did this opinion deceive me:
‘ for during his whole reign, my administration
‘ was in the highest degree despotic; I had every
‘ thing of royalty, but the outward ensigns: No
‘ man ever applying for a place, or any kind of
‘ preferment, but to me only. A circumstance,
‘ which as it greatly enriched my coffers, so it no

less pampered my ambition, and satisfied my vanity with a numerous attendance; and I had the pleasure of seeing those, who only bowed to the king, prostrating themselves before me.

Edward the Confessor, or St. Edward, as some have called him in derision, I suppose being a very silly fellow, had all the faults incident, and almost inseparable to fools. He married my daughter Editha, from his fear of disobliging me; and afterwards out of hatred to me, refused even to consummate his marriage, though she was one of the most beautiful women of her age. He was likewise guilty of the basest ingratitude to his mother (a vice to which fools are chiefly, if not only liable), and in return for her endeavours to procure him a throne in his youth, confined her in a loathsome prison in her old age. This, it is true, he did by my advice: but as to her walking over nine ploughshares red-hot, and giving nine manors, when she had not one in her possession, there is not a syllable of veracity in it.

The first great perplexity I fell into, was on the account of my son Swane, who had deflowered the abbess of Leon, since called Leominster in Herefordshire. After this fact, he retired into Denmark, whence he sent to me to obtain his pardon. The king at first refused it; being moved thereto, as I afterwards found, by some churchmen, particularly by one of his chaplains, whom I had prevented from obtaining a bishoprick. Upon this, my son Swane invaded the coasts with several ships, and committed many outrageous cruelties; which, indeed, did his business, as they served me to apply to the fear of this king, which I had long since discovered to be his predominant passion. And at last, he

‘ who had refused pardon to his first offence, submitted to give it him, after he had committed many other more monstrous crimes ; by which his pardon lost all grace to the offended, and received double censure from all others.

‘ The king was greatly inclined to the Normans, had created a Norman archbishop of Canterbury, and had heaped extraordinary favours on him. I had no other objection to this man, than that he rose without my assistance ; a cause of dislike, which, in the reign of great and powerful favourites, hath often proved fatal to the persons who have given it, as the persons thus raised, inspire us constantly with jealousies and apprehensions. For when we promote any one ourselves, we take effectual care to preserve such an ascendancy over him, that we can at any time reduce him to his former degree, should he dare to act in opposition to our wills ; for which reason we never suffer any to come near the prince, but such as we are assured it is impossible should be capable of engaging or improving his affection ; no prime-minister, as I apprehend, esteeming himself to be safe, while any other shares the ear of his prince, of whom we are as jealous as the fondest husband can be of his wife. Whoever, therefore, can approach him by any other channel than that of ourselves, is in our opinion a declared enemy, and one whom the first principles of policy oblige us to demolish with the utmost expedition. For the affection of kings is as precarious as that of women, and the only way to secure either to ourselves, is to keep all others from them.

‘ But the archbishop did not let matters rest on suspicion. He soon gave open proofs of his interest with the Confessor, in procuring an office of some importance for one Rollo, a Roman of

‘mean extraction, and very despicable parts,
‘When I represented to the king the indecency of
‘conferring such an honour on such a fellow, he
‘answered me, ‘That he was the archbishop’s
‘relation.’ ‘Then, Sir,’ replied I, ‘he is related
‘to your enemy.’ Nothing more passed at that
‘time: but I soon perceived by the archbishop’s
‘behaviour, that the king had acquainted him
‘with our private discourse; a sufficient assurance
‘of his confidence in him, and neglect of me.

‘The favour of princes, when once lost, is re-
‘coverable only by the gaining a situation which
‘may make you terrible to them. As I had no
‘doubt of having lost all credit with this king,
‘which indeed had been originally founded and
‘constantly supported by his fear, so I took the
‘method of terror to regain it.

‘The earl of Boulogne coming over to visit the
‘king, gave me an opportunity of breaking out
‘into open opposition: for as the earl was on his
‘return to France, one of his servants, who was
‘sent before to procure lodgings at Dover, and in-
‘sisted on having them in the house of a private
‘man in spite of the owner’s teeth, was, in a fray
‘which ensued, killed on the spot; and the earl
‘himself arriving there soon after, very narrowly
‘escaped with his life. The earl, enraged at this
‘affront returned to the king at Gloucester, with
‘loud complaints and demands of satisfaction.
‘Edward consented to his demands, and ordered
‘me to chastise the rioters, who were under my
‘government as earl of Kent: but instead of obey-
‘ing these orders, I answered with some warmth,
‘that the English were not used to punish people
‘unheard; nor ought their rights and privileges to
‘be violated; that the accused should be first sum-
‘moned: if guilty, should make satisfaction both

‘ with body and estate ; but if innocent, should be
‘ discharged. Adding, with great ferocity, that as
‘ earl of Kent it was my duty to protect those
‘ under my government against the insults of
‘ foreigners.

‘ This accident was extremely lucky, as it gave
‘ my quarrel with the king a popular colour ; and
‘ so ingratiated me with the people, that when I
‘ set up my standard, which I soon after did, they
‘ readily and cheerfully listed under my banners,
‘ and embraced my cause, which I persuaded them
‘ was their own : for that it was to protect them
‘ against foreigners that I had drawn my sword.
‘ The word foreigners with an Englishman hath a
‘ kind of magical effect, they having the utmost
‘ hatred and aversion to them, arising from the
‘ cruelties they suffered from the Danes, and some
‘ other foreign nations. No wonder therefore
‘ they espoused my cause in a quarrel which had
‘ such a beginning.

‘ But what may be somewhat more remarkable
‘ is, that when I afterwards returned to England
‘ from banishment, and was at the head of an army
‘ of the Flemish, who were preparing to plunder
‘ the city of London, I still persisted that I was
‘ come to defend the English from the danger of
‘ foreigners, and gained their credit. Indeed,
‘ there is no lie so gross but it may be imposed on
‘ the people by those whom they esteem their pa-
‘ trons and defenders.

‘ The king saved his city by being reconciled to
‘ me, and taking again my daughter whom he had
‘ put away from him ; and thus having frightened
‘ the king into what concessions I thought proper,
‘ I dismissed my army and fleet, with which I in-
‘ tended, could I not have succeeded otherwise, to
‘ have sacked the city of London, and ravaged the
‘ whole country.

‘ I was no sooner re-established in the king’s favour, or what was as well for me, the appearance of it, than I fell violently on the archbishop. He had of himself retired to his monastery in Normandy ; but that did not content me, I had him formally banished, the see declared vacant, and then filled up by another.

‘ I enjoyed my grandeur a very short time after my restoration to it ; for the king hating and fearing me to a very great degree, and finding no means of openly destroying me, at last effected his purpose by poison, and then spread abroad a ridiculous story of my wishing the next morsel might choke me, if I had had any hand in the death of Alfred ; and, accordingly, that the next morsel, by a divine judgment, stuck in my throat, and performed that office.

‘ This of a statesman was one of my worst stages in the other world. It is a post subjected daily to the greatest danger and inquietude, and attended with little pleasure, and less ease. In a word, it is a pill, which, was it not gilded over by ambition, would appear nauseous and detestable in the eye of every one ; and perhaps that is one reason why Minos so greatly compassionates the case of those who swallow it : for that just judge told me, he always acquitted a prime-minister, who could produce one single good action in his whole life, let him have committed ever so many crimes. Indeed, I understood him a little too largely, and was stepping towards the gate : but he pulled me by the sleeve, and telling me no prime-minister ever entered there, bid me go back again ; saying, he thought I had sufficient reason to rejoice in escaping the bottomless pit, which half my crimes committed in any other capacity would have entitled me to.’

CHAP. XXI.

Julian's adventures in the post of a Soldier.

‘ I WAS born at Caen in Normandy. My mother’s name was Matilda ; as for my father, I am not so certain ; for the good woman on her death-bed assured me, she herself could bring her guess to no greater certainty, than to five of duke William’s captains. When I was no more than thirteen (being indeed a surprizing stout boy of my age) I enlisted into the army of duke William, afterwards known by the name of William the Conqueror ; landed with him at Pemesey, or Pemsey in Sussex, and was present at the famous battle of Hastings.

‘ At the first onset, it was impossible to describe my consternation, which was heightened by the fall of two soldiers, who stood by me ; but this soon abated, and by degrees, as my blood grew warm, I thought no more of my own safety, but fell on the enemy with great fury, and did a good deal of execution ; till unhappily I received a wound in my thigh, which rendered me unable to stand any longer, so that I now lay among the dead, and was constantly exposed to the danger of being trampled to death ; as well by my fellow-soldiers as by the enemy. However, I had the fortune to escape it, and continued the remaining part of the day, and the night following, on the ground.

‘ The next morning, the duke sending out parties to bring off the wounded, I was found almost expiring with loss of blood ; notwithstanding which, as immediate care was taken to dress my wounds, youth and a robust constitution stood

‘ my friends, and I recovered, after a long and tedious indisposition, and was again able to use my limbs and do my duty.

‘ As soon as Dover was taken, I was conveyed thither with all the rest of the sick and wounded. Here I recovered of my wound; but fell afterwards into a violent flux, which, when it departed, left me so weak, that it was long before I could regain my strength. And what most afflicted me was, that during my whole illness, when I languished under want as well as sickness, I had daily the mortification to see and hear the riots and excess of my fellow-soldiers, who had happily escaped safe from the battle.

‘ I was no sooner well, than I was ordered into garrison at Dover-castle. The officers here fared very indifferently; but the private men much worse. We had great scarcity of provisions, and, what was yet more intolerable, were so closely confined for want of room (four of us being obliged to lie on the same bundle of straw) that many died, and most sickened.

‘ Here I had remained about four months, when one night we were alarmed with the arrival of the earl of Boulogne, who had come over privily from France, and endeavoured to surprize the castle. The design proved ineffectual; for the garrison making a brisk sally, most of his men were tumbled down the precipice, and he returned with very few back to France. In this action, however, I had the misfortune to come off with a broken arm; it was so shattered, that besides a great deal of pain and misery, which I endured in my cure, I was disabled for upwards of three months.

‘ Soon after my recovery, I had contracted an amour with a young woman, whose parents

lived near the garrison, and were in much better circumstances than I had reason to expect should give their consent to the match. However, as she was extremely fond of me (as I was indeed distractedly enamoured of her), they were prevailed on to comply with her desires, and the day was fixed for our marriage.

On the evening preceding, while I was exulting with the eager expectation of the happiness I was the next day to enjoy, I received orders to march early in the morning towards Windsor, where a large army was to be formed, at the head of which the king intended to march into the West. Any person who hath ever been in love, may easily imagine what I felt in my mind, on receiving those orders; and what still heightened my torments was, that the commanding officer would not permit any one to go out of the garrison that evening; so that I had not even an opportunity of taking leave of my beloved.

The morning came which was to have put me in the possession of my wishes; but alas! the scene was now changed, and all the hopes which I had raised, were now so many ghosts to haunt, and furies to torment me.

It was now the midst of winter, and very severe weather for the season; when we were obliged to make very long and fatiguing marches, in which we suffered all the inconveniences of cold and hunger. The night in which I expected to riot in the arms of my beloved mistress, I was obliged to take up with a lodging on the ground, exposed to the inclemencies of a rigid frost; nor could I obtain the least comfort of sleep, which shunned me as its enemy. In short, the horrors

‘ of that night are not to be described, or perhaps
‘ imagined. They made such an impression on
‘ my soul, that I was forced to be dipped three
‘ times in the river Lethe, to prevent my remem-
‘ bering it in the characters which I afterwards
‘ performed in the flesh.’

Here I interrupted Julian for the first time, and told him, no such dipping had happened to me in my voyage from one world to the other: but he satisfied me by saying, ‘ That this only happened
‘ to those spirits which returned into the flesh, in
‘ order to prevent that reminiscence which Plato
‘ mentions, and which would otherwise cause
‘ great confusion in the other world.’

He then proceeded as follows: ‘ We continued
‘ a very laborious march to Exeter, which we were
‘ ordered to beseige. The town soon surrendered,
‘ and his majesty built a castle there, which he
‘ garrisoned with his Normans, and unhappily I
‘ had the misfortune to be one of the number.

‘ Here we were confined closer than I had been
‘ at Dover; for, as the citizens were extremely
‘ disaffected, we were never suffered to go without
‘ the walls of the castle; nor indeed could we,
‘ unless in large bodies, without the utmost dan-
‘ ger. We were likewise kept to continual duty,
‘ nor could any solicitations prevail with the com-
‘ manding officer to give me a month’s absence to
‘ visit my love, from whom I had no opportunity
‘ of hearing in all my long absence.

‘ However, in the spring, the people being more
‘ quiet, and another officer of a gentler temper
‘ succeeding to the principal command, I obtained
‘ leave to go to Dover: but alas! what comfort
‘ did my long journey bring me? I found the pa-
‘ rents of my darling in the utmost misery at her

loss ; for she had died, about a week before my arrival, of a consumption, which they imputed to her pining at my sudden departure.

I now fell into the most violent and almost raving fit of despair. I cursed myself, the king, and the whole world, which no longer seemed to have any delight for me. I threw myself on the grave of my deceased love, and lay there without any kind of sustenance for two whole days. At last hunger, together with the persuasions of some people who took pity on me, prevailed with me to quit that situation, and refresh myself with food. They then persuaded me to return to my post, and abandon a place where almost every object I saw, recalled ideas to my mind, which, as they said, I should endeavour with my utmost force to expel from it. This advice at length succeeded ; the rather, as the father and mother of my beloved refused to see me, looking on me as the innocent but certain cause of the death of their only child.

The loss of one we tenderly love, as it is one of the most bitter and biting evils which attends human life, so it wants the lenitive which palliates and softens every other calamity : I mean that great reliever hope. No man can be so totally undone, but that he may still cherish expectation : but this deprives us of all such comfort, nor can any thing but time alone lessen it. This however, in most minds, is sure to work a slow but effectual remedy ; so did it in mine : for within a twelvemonth, I was entirely reconciled to my fortune, and soon after absolutely forgot the object of a passion from which I had promised myself such extreme happiness, and in the disappointment of which I had experienced such inconceivable misery.

‘ At the expiration of the month, I returned to my garrison at Exeter ; where I was no sooner arrived, than I was ordered to march into the north, to oppose a force there levied by the earls of Chester and Northumberland. We came to York, where his majesty pardoned the heads of the rebels, and very severely punished some who were less guilty. It was particularly my lot to be ordered to seize a poor man, who had never been out of his house, and convey him to prison. I detested this barbarity, yet was obliged to execute it ; nay, though no reward would have bribed me in a private capacity to have acted such a part, yet so much sanctity is there in the commands of a monarch, or general, to a soldier, that I performed it without reluctance, nor had the tears of his wife and family any prevalence with me.

‘ But this, which was a very small piece of mischief in comparison with many of my barbarities afterwards, was however the only one which ever gave me any uneasiness ; for when the king led us afterwards into Northumberland to revenge those people’s having joined with Osborne the Dane in his invasion, and orders were given us to commit what ravages we could, I was forward in fulfilling them, and among some lesser cruelties (I remember it yet with sorrow) I ravished a woman, murdered a little infant playing in her lap, and then burnt her house. In short, for I have no pleasure in this part of my relation, I had my share in all the cruelties exercised on those poor wretches ; which were so grievous, that for sixty miles together, between York and Durham, not a single house, church, or any other public or private edifice was left standing.

‘ We had pretty well devoured the country,

when we were ordered to march to the Isle of Ely, to oppose Hereward, a bold and stout soldier, who had under him a very large body of rebels, who had the impudence to rise against their king and conqueror (I talk now in the same style I did then) in defence of their liberties, as they called them. These were soon subdued; but as I happened (more to my glory than my comfort) to be posted in that part through which Hereward cut his way, I received a dreadful cut on the forehead, a second on the shoulder, and was run through the body with a pike.

I languished a long time with these wounds, which made me incapable of attending the king into Scotland. However, I was able to go over with him afterwards into Normandy, in his expedition against Philip, who had taken the opportunity of the troubles in England, to invade that province. Those few Normans who had survived their wounds, and had remained in the isle of Ely, were all of our nation who went, the rest of his army being all composed of English. In a skirmish near the town of Mans, my leg was broke, and so shattered, that it was forced to be cut off.

I was now disabled from serving longer in the army; and accordingly, being discharged from the service, I retired to the place of my nativity, where, in extreme poverty, and frequent bad health from the many wounds I had received, I dragged on a miserable life to the age of sixty-three; my only pleasure being to recount the feats of my youth, in which narratives I generally exceeded the truth.

It would be tedious and unpleasant to recount to you the several miseries I suffered after my return to Caen; let it suffice, they were so terrible,

‘that they induced Minos to compassionate me,
‘and notwithstanding the barbarities I had been
‘guilty of in Northumberland, to suffer me to go
‘once more back to earth.’

CHAP. XXII.

What happened to Julian in the person of a Tailor.

‘FORTUNE now stationed me in a character,
‘which the ingratitude of mankind hath put them
‘on ridiculing, though they owe to it not only a
‘relief from the inclemencies of cold, to which
‘they would otherwise be exposed, but likewise a
‘considerable satisfaction of their vanity. The
‘character I mean was that of a tailor; which, if
‘we consider it with due attention, must be con-
‘fessed to have in it great dignity and importance.
‘For in reality, who constitutes the different de-
‘grees between men but the tailor? the prince in-
‘deed gives the title, but it is the tailor who makes
‘the man. To his labours are owing the respect
‘of crowds, and the awe which great men inspire
‘into their beholders, though these are too often
‘unjustly attributed to other motives. Lastly, the
‘admiration of the fair is most commonly to be
‘placed to his account.

‘I was just set up in my trade, when I made
‘three suits of fine clothes for king Stephen’s coro-
‘nation. I question whether the person who
‘wears the rich coat, hath so much pleasure and
‘vanity in being admired in it, as we tailors have
‘from that admiration; and perhaps a philosopher
‘would say, he is not so well entitled to it. I
‘bustled on the day of the ceremony through the

‘ crowd, and it was with incredible delight, I heard
‘ several say, as my clothes walked by, bless me,
‘ was ever any thing so fine as the earl of Devon-
‘ shire ! Sure he and Sir Hugh Bigot are the two
‘ best dressed men I ever saw. Now both those
‘ suits were of my making.

‘ There would indeed be infinite pleasure in
‘ working for the courtiers, as they are generally
‘ genteel men, and shew one’s clothe’s to the best
‘ advantage, was it not for one small discouragement ; this is, that they never pay. I solemnly
‘ protest, though I lost almost as much by the court
‘ in my life as I got by the city, I never carried a
‘ suit into the latter with half the satisfaction which
‘ I have done to the former ; though from that I
‘ was certain of ready money, and from this almost
‘ as certain of no money at all.

‘ Courtiers may, however, be divided into two
‘ sorts, very essentially different from each other ;
‘ into those who never intend to pay for their clothes ;
‘ and those who do intend to pay for them, but
‘ never happen to be able. Of the latter sort, are
‘ many of those young gentlemen whom we equip
‘ out for the army, and who are, unhappily for us,
‘ cut off before they arrive at preferment. This
‘ is the reason that tailors in time of war are mistaken for politicians, by their inquisitiveness into
‘ the event of battles, one campaign very often
‘ proving the ruin of half a dozen of us. I am sure
‘ I had frequent reason to curse that fatal battle of
‘ Cardigan, where the Welch defeated some of
‘ King Stephen’s best troops, and where many
‘ a good suit of mine, unpaid for, fell to the
‘ ground.

‘ The gentlemen of this honourable calling have
‘ fared much better in later ages than when I was
‘ of it : for now it seems the fashion is, when they

‘ apprehend their customer is not in the best circumstances, if they are not paid as soon as they carry home the suit, they charge him in their book as much again as it is worth, and then send a gentleman with a small scrip of parchment to demand the money. If this be not immediately paid, the gentleman takes the beau with him to his house, where he locks him up till the tailor is contented: but in my time, these scrips of parchment were not in use; and if the beau disliked paying for his clothes, as very often happened, we had no method of compelling him.

‘ In several of the characters which I have related to you, I apprehend, I have sometimes forgot myself, and considered myself as really interested, as I was when I personated them on earth, I have just now caught myself in the fact; for I have complained to you as bitterly of my customers as I formerly used to do when I was the tailor: but in reality, though there were some few persons of very great quality, and some others, who never paid their debts; yet those were but a few, and I had a method of repairing this loss. My customers I divided under three heads: those who paid ready money, those who paid slow, and those who never paid at all. The first of these, I considered apart by themselves, as persons by whom I got a certain but small profit. The two last I lumped together, making those who paid slow, contribute to repair my losses by those who did not pay at all. Thus, upon the whole, I was a very inconsiderable loser, and might have left a fortune to my family, had I not lanced forth into expences which swallowed up all my gains. I had a wife, and two children. These indeed I kept frugally enough: for I half starved them; but I kept a mistress in a finer

‘ way, for whom I had a country house, pleasantly
‘ situated on the Thames, elegantly fitted up,
‘ and neatly furnished. This woman might very
‘ properly be called my mistress; for she was
‘ most absolutely so; and though her tenure was
‘ no higher than by my will, she domineered as
‘ tyrannically, as if my chains had been rivetted
‘ in the strongest manner. To all this I submitted,
‘ not through any adoration of her beauty, which
‘ was indeed but indifferent. Her charms con-
‘ sisted in little wantonnesses, which she knew
‘ admirably well to use in hours of dalliance, and
‘ which, I believe, are of all things the most de-
‘ lightful to a lover.

‘ She was so profusely extravagant, that it seemed
‘ as if she had an actual intent to ruin me. This
‘ I am sure of, if such had been her real intention,
‘ she could have taken no properer way to accom-
‘ plish it; nay, I myself might appear to have had
‘ the same view: for besides this extravagant mis-
‘ tress, and my country-house, I kept likewise a
‘ brace of hunters, rather for that it was fashion-
‘ able so to do, than for any great delight I took in
‘ the sport, which I very little attended; not for
‘ want of leisure, for few noblemen had so much.
‘ All the work I ever did was taking measure, and
‘ that only of my greatest and best customers. I
‘ scarce ever cut a piece of cloth in my life, nor
‘ was indeed much more able to fashion a coat than
‘ any gentleman in the kingdom. This made a
‘ skilful servant too necessary to me. He knew I
‘ must submit to any terms with, or any treatment
‘ from him. He knew it was easier for him to
‘ find another such a tailor as me, than for me to
‘ procure such another workman as him: for this
‘ reason, he exerted the most notorious and cruel
‘ tyranny, seldom giving me a civil word: nor could

‘ the utmost condescension on my side, though attended with continual presents and rewards, and raising his wages, content or please him. In a word, he was as absolutely my master, as was ever an ambitious, industrious prime minister over an indolent and voluptuous king. All my other journeymen paid more respect to him than to me; for they considered my favour as a necessary consequence of obtaining his.

‘ These were the most remarkable occurrences while I acted this part. Minos hesitated a few moments, and then bid me get back again, without assigning any reason.’

CHAP. XXIII.

The life of Alderman Julian.

‘ I now revisited England, and was born at London. My father was one of the magistrates of that city. He had eleven children, of whom I was the eldest. He had great success in trade, and grew extremely rich, but the largeness of his family rendered it impossible for him to leave me a fortune sufficient to live well on, independent of business. I was accordingly brought up to be a fishmonger: in which capacity I myself afterwards acquired very considerable wealth.

‘ The same disposition of mind which in princes is called ambition, is in subjects named faction. To this temper I was greatly addicted from my youth. I was, while a boy, a great partizan of prince John’s against his brother Richard, during the latter’s absence in the holy war, and in his captivity. I was no more than one-and-twenty,

‘ when I first began to make political speeches in
‘ public, and to endeavour to foment disquietude
‘ and discontent in the city. As I was pretty
‘ well qualified for this office, by a great fluency
‘ of words, an harmonious accent, a graceful de-
‘ livery, and above all an invincible assurance, I
‘ had soon acquired some reputation among the
‘ younger citizens, and some of the weaker and
‘ more inconsiderate of a riper age. This co-opera-
‘ ting with my own natural vanity, made me ex-
‘ travagantly proud and supercilious. I soon began
‘ to esteem myself a man of some consequence,
‘ and to overlook persons every way my superiors,

‘ The famous Robin Hood and his companion
‘ Little John, at this time made a considerable figure
‘ in Yorkshire. I took upon me to write a letter
‘ to the former, in the name of the city, inviting
‘ him to come to London, where I assured him of
‘ very good reception, signifying to him my own
‘ great weight and consequence, and how much I
‘ had disposed the citizens in his favour. Whether
‘ he received this letter or no, I am not certain; but
‘ he never gave me any answer to it.

‘ A little afterwards one William Fitz-Osborn,
‘ or, as he was nicknamed, William long-Beard,
‘ began to make a figure in the city. He was a bold
‘ and an impudent fellow, and had raised himself
‘ to great popularity with the rabble, by pretending
‘ to espouse their cause against the rich. I took
‘ this man’s part, and made a public oration in his
‘ favour, setting him forth as a patriot, and one
‘ who had embarked in the cause of liberty: for
‘ which service he did not receive me with the ac-
‘ knowledgments I expected. However, as I
‘ thought I should easily gain the ascendant over
‘ this fellow, I continued still firm on his side,
‘ till the archbishop of Canterbury, with an armed

‘ force, put an end to his progress ; for he was
‘ seized in Bow-church, where he had taken re-
‘ fuge, and with nine of his accomplices hanged in
‘ chains.

‘ I escaped narrowly myself ; for I was seized in
‘ the same church with the rest, and as I had been
‘ very considerably engaged in the enterprize, the
‘ archbishop was inclined to make me an example ;
‘ but my father’s merit, who had advanced a con-
‘ siderable sum to queen Eleanor, towards the
‘ king’s ransom, preserved me.

‘ The consternation my danger had occasioned,
‘ kept me some time quiet, and I applied myself
‘ very assiduously to my trade. I invented all
‘ manner of methods to enhance the price of fish,
‘ and made use of my utmost endeavours to engross
‘ as much of the business as possible in my own
‘ hands. By these means I acquired a substance,
‘ which raised me to some little consequence in the
‘ city : but far from elevating me to that degree,
‘ which I had formerly flattered myself with pos-
‘ sessing, at a time when I was totally insignificant ;
‘ for in a trading society, money must at least lay
‘ the foundation of all power and interest.

‘ But as it hath been remarked, that the same
‘ ambition which sent Alexander into Asia, brings
‘ the wrestler on the green ; and as this same am-
‘ bition is as incapable as quicksilver of lying still ;
‘ so I, who was possessed, perhaps, of a share
‘ equal to what had fired the blood of any of the
‘ heroes of antiquity, was no less restless, and dis-
‘ contented with ease and quiet. My first endea-
‘ vours were to make myself head of my company,
‘ which Richard I. had just published, and soon
‘ afterwards I procured myself to be chosen alder-
‘ man.

‘ Opposition is the only state which can give a

‘ subject an opportunity of exerting the disposition
‘ I was possessed of. Accordingly king John was
‘ no sooner seated on his throne, than I began to
‘ oppose his measures, whether right or wrong. It
‘ is true that monarch had faults enow. He was
‘ so abandoned to lust and luxury, that he addicted
‘ himself to the most extravagant excesses in both,
‘ while he indolently suffered the king of France
‘ to rob him of almost all his foreign dominions :
‘ my opposition therefore was justifiable enough,
‘ and if my motive from within had been as good
‘ as the occasion from without, I should have had
‘ little excuse : but in truth, I sought nothing but
‘ my own preferment, by making myself formid-
‘ able to the king, and then selling to him the in-
‘ terest of that party, by whose means I had be-
‘ come so. Indeed, had the public good been my
‘ care, however zealously I might have opposed
‘ the beginning of his reign, I should not have
‘ scrupled to lend him my utmost assistance in the
‘ struggle between him and pope Innocent the
‘ Third, in which he was so manifestly in the
‘ right ; nor have suffered the insolence of that
‘ pope, and the power of the king of France, to
‘ have compelled him in the issue basely to resign
‘ his crown into the hands of the former, and
‘ receive it again as a vassal ; by means of which
‘ acknowledgement the pope afterwards claimed
‘ this kingdom as a tributary fief to be held of the
‘ papal chair. A claim which occasioned great
‘ uneasiness to many subsequent princes, and
‘ brought numberless calamities on the nation.

‘ As the king had, among other concessions,
‘ stipulated to pay an immediate sum of money to
‘ Pandulph, which he had great difficulty to raise,
‘ it was absolutely necessary for him to apply to the
‘ city, where my interest and popularity were so

high, that he had no hopes without my assistance. As I knew this, I took care to sell myself and country as high as possible. The terms I demanded, therefore, were a place, a pension, and a knighthood. All those were immediately consented to. I was forthwith knighted, and promised the other two.

I now mounted the hustings, and without any regard to decency or modesty, made as emphatical a speech in favour of the king, as before I had done against him. In this speech I justified all those measures which I had before condemned, and pleaded as earnestly with my fellow citizens to open their purses, as I had formerly done to prevail with them to keep them shut. But, alas! my rhetoric had not the effect I proposed. The consequence of my arguments was only contempt to myself. The people at first stared on one another, and afterwards began unanimously to express their dislike. An impudent fellow among them reflecting on my trade, cried out Stinking Fish; which was immediately reiterated through the whole crowd. I was then forced to slink away home; but I was not able to accomplish my retreat without being attended by the mob, who huzza'd me along the street with the repeated cries of Stinking Fish.

I now proceeded to court, to inform his majesty of my faithful service, and how much I had suffered in his cause. I found by my first reception, he had already heard of my success. Instead of thanking me for my speech, he said, the city should repent of their obstinacy; for that he would shew them who he was: and so saying, he immediately turned that part to me, to which the toe of man hath so wonderful an affection, that it is very difficult, whenever it presents

‘ itself conveniently, to keep our toes from the
‘ most violent and ardent salutation of it.

‘ I was a little nettled at this behaviour, and
‘ with some earnestness claimed the king’s fulfill-
‘ ing his promise : but he retired without answer-
‘ ing me. I then applied to some of the courtiers,
‘ who had lately professed great friendship to me,
‘ had eat at my house, and invited me to theirs :
‘ but not one would return me any answer, all
‘ running away from me, as if I had been seized
‘ with some contagious distemper. I now found
‘ by experience, that as none can be so civil, so
‘ none can be ruder than a courtier.

‘ A few moments after the king’s retiring, I was
‘ left alone in the room, to consider what I should
‘ do, or whither I should turn myself. My recep-
‘ tion in the city promised itself to be equal at least
‘ with what I found at court. However, there
‘ was my home, and thither it was necessary I
‘ should retreat for the present.

‘ But, indeed, bad as I apprehended my treat-
‘ ment in the city would be, it exceeded my ex-
‘ pectation. I rode home on an ambling pad through
‘ crowds, who expressed every kind of disregard
‘ and contempt ; pelting me not only with the most
‘ abusive language, but with dirt. However, with
‘ much difficulty I arrived at last at my own house,
‘ with my bones whole, but covered over with
‘ filth.

‘ When I was got within my doors, and had
‘ shut them against the mob, who had pretty well
‘ vented their spleen, and seemed now contented
‘ to retire ; my wife, whom I found crying over
‘ her children, and from whom I hoped some com-
‘ fort in my afflictions, fell upon me in the most
‘ outrageous manner. She asked me, why I would
‘ venture on such a step, without consulting her ;

‘ she said her advice might have been civilly asked,
‘ if I was resolved not to have been guided by it.
‘ That whatever opinion I might have conceived
‘ of her understanding, the rest of the world
‘ thought better of it. That I had never failed
‘ when I had asked her counsel, nor ever suc-
‘ ceeded without it; with much more of the same
‘ kind, too tedious to mention: concluding that it
‘ was a monstrous behaviour to desert my party,
‘ and come over to the court. An abuse which I
‘ took worse than all the rest, as she had been con-
‘ stantly for several years assiduous in railing at the
‘ opposition, in siding with the court party, and
‘ begging me to come over to it. And especially
‘ after my mentioning the offer of knighthood to
‘ her, since which time she had continually inter-
‘ rupted my repose, with dinning in my ears the
‘ folly of refusing honours, and of adhering to a
‘ party, and to principles, by which I was certain
‘ of procuring no advantage to myself and my
‘ family.

‘ I had now entirely lost my trade, so that I had
‘ not the least temptation to stay longer in a city,
‘ where I was certain of receiving daily affronts
‘ and rebukes. I therefore made up my affairs
‘ with the utmost expedition, and scraping together
‘ all I could, retired into the country; where I
‘ spent the remainder of my days in universal con-
‘ tempt, being shunned by every body, perpetually
‘ abused by my wife, and not much respected by
‘ my children.

‘ Minos told me, though I had been a very vile
‘ fellow, he thought my sufferings made some atone-
‘ ment, and so bid me take the other trial.’

CHAP. XXIV.

Julian recounts what happened to him while he was a Poet.

‘ROME was now the seat of my nativity, where
‘I was born of a family more remarkable for honour than riches. I was intended for the church, and had a pretty good education; but my father dying while I was young, and leaving me nothing, for he had wasted his whole patrimony, I was forced to enter myself in the order of mendicants.

‘When I was at school, I had a knack of rhiming, which I unhappily mistook for genius, and indulged to my cost; for my verses drew on me only ridicule, and I was in contempt called The Poet.

‘This humour pursued me through my life. My first composition after I left school, was a panegyric on pope Alexander IV. who then pretended a project of dethroning the king of Sicily. On this subject I composed a poem of about fifteen thousand lines, which with much difficulty I got to be presented to his holiness, of whom I expected great preferment as my reward; but I was cruelly disappointed: for when I had waited a year, without hearing any of the commendations I had flattered myself with receiving, and being now able to contain no longer, I applied to a jesuit who was my relation, and had the pope’s ear, to know what his holiness’s opinion was of my work; he coldly answered me, that he was at that time busied in concerns of too much importance to attend the reading of poems.

‘However dissatisfied I might be, and really was with this reception; and however angry I

‘ was with the pope, for whose understanding I entertained an immoderate contempt, I was not yet discouraged from a second attempt. Accordingly, I soon after produced another work, entitled, *The Trojan Horse*. This was an allegorical work, in which the church was introduced into the world, in the same manner as that machine had been into Troy. The priests were the soldiers in its belly, and the heathen superstition the city to be destroyed by them. This poem was written in Latin. I remember some of the lines :

‘ *Mundanos scandit fatalis machina muros,*
 ‘ *Farta sacerdotum turmis : exinde per alvum*
 ‘ *Visi exire omnes, magno cum murmure olentes.*
 ‘ *Non aliter quàm cum humanis furibundus ab*
 antris
 ‘ *It sonus et nares simul aura invadit hiantes.*
 ‘ *Mille scatent et mille alii; trepidare timore*
 ‘ *Ethnica gens cœpit : falsi per inane volantes*
 ‘ *Effugere Dei—Desertaque templa relinquunt.*
 ‘ *Jam magnum crepitavit equus, mox orbis et alli*
 ‘ *Ingemuere poli : tunc tu pater, ultimus omnium*
 ‘ *Maxime Alexander, ventrem maturus equinum*
 ‘ *Deseres, heu proles meliori digne parente.*

I believe Julian, had I not stopt him, would have gone through the whole poem (for, as I observed, in most of the characters he related, the affections he had enjoyed while he personated them on earth, still made some impression on him) ; but I begged him to omit the sequel of the poem, and proceed with his history. He then recollected himself, and smiling at the observation which by intuition he perceived I had made, continued his narration as follows :

‘ I confess to you, says he, that the delight in

‘ repeating our own works is so predominant in a poet, that I find nothing can totally root it out of the soul. Happy would it be for those persons, if their hearers could be delighted in the same manner: but alas! hence that *ingens solitudo* complained of by Horace: for the vanity of mankind is so much greedier and more general than their avarice, that no beggar is so ill received by them as he who solicits their praise.

‘ This I sufficiently experienced in the character of a poet; for my company was shunned (I believe on this account chiefly) by my whole house; nay, there were few who would submit to hearing me read my poetry, even at the price of sharing in my provisions. The only person who gave me audience was a brother poet; he indeed fed me with commendation very liberally: but as I was forced to hear and commend in my turn, I perhaps bought his attention dear enough.

‘ Well, Sir, if my expectations of the reward I hoped from my first poem had balked me, I had now still greater reason to complain; for instead of being preferred or commended for the second, I was enjoined a very severe penance by my superior, for ludicrously comparing the pope to a fart. My poetry was now the jest of every company, except some few who spoke of it with detestation; and I found, that instead of recommending me to preferment, it had effectually barred me from all probability of attaining it.

‘ These discouragements had now induced me to lay down my pen, and write no more. But, as Juvenal says,

—*Si discedas, Laqueo tenet ambitiosi
Consuetudo mali.*

‘ I was an example of the truth of this assertion: for I soon betook myself again to my muse. In-

‘ deed, a poet hath the same happiness with a
‘ who is dotingly fond of an ugly woman. The
‘ one enjoys his muse, and the other his mistress,
‘ with a pleasure very little abated by the esteem of
‘ the world, and only undervalues their taste for
‘ not corresponding with his own.

‘ It is unnecessary to mention any more of my
‘ poems : they had all the same fate ; and though
‘ in reality some of my latter pieces deserved (I may
‘ now speak it without the imputation of vanity) a
‘ better success, as I had the character of a bad
‘ writer, I found it impossible ever to obtain
‘ the reputation of a good one. Had I possessed
‘ the merit of Homer, I could have hoped for no
‘ applause ; since it must have been a profound
‘ secret ; for no one would now read a syllable of
‘ my writings.

‘ The poets of my age were, as I believe you
‘ know, not very famous. However, there was
‘ one of some credit at that time, though I have the
‘ consolation to know his works are all perished
‘ long ago, the malice, envy, and hatred I bore
‘ this man, are inconceivable to any but an author,
‘ and an unsuccessful one ; I never could bear to
‘ hear him well spoken of, and writ anonymous
‘ satires against him though I had received obliga-
‘ tions from him ; indeed I believe it would have
‘ been an absolute impossibility for him at any rate
‘ to have made me sincerely his friend.

‘ I have heard an observation which was made by
‘ some one of later days, that there are no worse
‘ men than bad authors. A remark of the same
‘ kind hath been made on ugly women, and the
‘ truth of both stands on one and the same reason,
‘ viz. that they are both tainted with that cursed
‘ and detestable vice of envy ; which, as it is the
‘ greatest torment to the mind it inhabits, so is it

‘capable of introducing into it a total corruption,
‘and of inspiring it to the commission of the most
‘horrid crimes imaginable.

‘My life was but short ; for I soon pined my-
‘self to death with the vice I just now mentioned.
‘Minos told me, I was infinitely too bad for Ely-
‘sium ; and as for the other place, the devil had
‘sworn, he would never entertain a poet for
‘Orpheus’s sake : so I was forced to return again
‘to the place from whence I came.’

CHAP. XXV.

*Julian performs the parts of a Knight, and a
Dancing-Master.*

‘I now mounted the stage in Sicily, and became
‘a knight-templar : but as my adventures differ
‘so little from those I have recounted you in
‘the character of a common soldier, I shall not
‘tire you with repetition. The soldier and the
‘captain differ in reality so little from one another,
‘that it requires an accurate judgment to distinguish
‘them ; the latter wears finer clothes, and in
‘times of success lives somewhat more delicately ;
‘but as to every thing else, they very nearly re-
‘semble one another.

‘My next step was into France, where fortune
‘assigned me the part of a dancing-master. I was
‘so expert in my profession, that I was brought to
‘court in my youth, and had the heels of Philip
‘de Valois, who afterwards succeeded Charles the
‘Fair, committed to my direction.

‘I do not remember, that in any of the charac-
‘ters in which I appeared on earth, I ever assumed

‘to myself a greater dignity, or thought myself of
‘more real importance than now. I looked on
‘dancing as the greatest excellence of human na-
‘ture, and on myself as the greatest proficient in it.
‘And indeed, this seemed to be the general opi-
‘nion of the whole court ; for I was the chief in-
‘structor of the youth of both sexes, whose merit
‘was almost entirely defined by the advances
‘they made in that science, which I had the ho-
‘nour to profess. As to myself, I was so fully
‘persuaded of this truth, that I not only slighted
‘and despised those who were ignorant of dancing ;
‘but I thought the highest character I could give
‘of any man was that he made a graceful bow : for
‘want of which accomplishment, I had a sove-
‘reign contempt for most persons of learning ;
‘nay, for some officers in the army, and a few
‘even of the courtiers themselves.

‘Though so little of my youth had been thrown
‘away in what they call literature, that I could
‘hardly write and read, yet I composed a treatise
‘on education ; the first rudiments of which, as I
‘taught, were to instruct a child in the science of
‘coming handsomely into a room. In this I cor-
‘rected many faults of my predecessors, particu-
‘larly that of being too much in a hurry, and in-
‘stituting a child in the sublimer parts of dancing
‘before they are capable of making their honours.

‘But as I have not now the same high opinion
‘of my profession which I had then, I shall not
‘entertain you with a long history of a life which
‘consisted of borées and coupées. Let it suffice
‘that I lived to a very old age, and followed my
‘business as long as I could crawl. At length I
‘revisited my old friend Minos, who treated me
‘with very little respect, and bade me dance back
‘again to earth.

‘ I did so, and was now once more born an Englishman, bred up to the church, and at length arrived to the station of a bishop.

‘ Nothing was so remarkable in this character, as my always voting—*.’

BOOK XIX.

CHAP. VII.

Wherein Anna Boleyn relates the history of her life.

‘ I AM going now truly to recount a life, which from the time of its ceasing, has been, in the other world, the continual subject of the cavils of contending parties ; the one making me as black as hell, the other as pure and innocent as the inhabitants of this blessed place ; the mist of prejudice blinding their eyes, and zeal for what they themselves profess, making every thing appear in that light, which they think most conduces to its honour.

‘ My infancy was spent in my father’s house, in those childish plays, which are most suitable to

* Here part of the manuscript is lost, and that a very considerable one, as appears by the number of the next book and chapter, which contains, I find, the history of Anna Boleyn : but as to the manner in which it was introduced, or to whom the narrative is told, we are totally left in the dark. I have only to remark, that this chapter is, in the original writ, in a woman’s hand : and though the observations in it are, I think, as excellent as any in the whole volume, there seems to be a difference in style between this and the preceding chapters ; and as it is the character of a woman which is related, I am inclined to fancy it was really written by one of that sex.

‘ that state, and I think this was one of the hap-
‘ piest parts of my life ; for my parents were not
‘ among the number of those who look upon their
‘ children as so many objects of a tyrannic power,
‘ but I was regarded as the dear pledge of a vir-
‘ tuous love, and all my little pleasures were
‘ thought from their indulgence their greatest de-
‘ light. At seven years old, I was carried into
‘ France with the king’s sister, who was married
‘ to the French king, where I lived with a person
‘ of quality, who was an acquaintance of my fa-
‘ ther’s. I spent my time in learning those things
‘ necessary to give young persons of fashion a po-
‘ lite education, and did neither good nor evil, but
‘ day passed after day in the same easy way, till I
‘ was fourteen, then began my anxiety, my vanity
‘ grew strong, and my heart fluttered with joy at
‘ every compliment paid to my beauty : and as the
‘ lady, with whom I lived, was of a gay, cheerful
‘ disposition, she kept a great deal of company,
‘ and my youth and charms made me the continual
‘ object of their admiration. I passed some little
‘ time in those exulting raptures, which are felt by
‘ every woman, perfectly satisfied with herself,
‘ and with the behaviour of others towards her : I
‘ was, when very young, promoted to be maid of
‘ honour to her majesty. The court was frequented
‘ by a young nobleman, whose beauty was the
‘ chief subject of conversation in all assemblies of
‘ ladies. The delicacy of his person, added to a
‘ great softness in his manner, gave every thing he
‘ said and did such an air of tenderness, that every
‘ woman he spoke to, flattered herself with being
‘ the object of his love. I was one of those who
‘ was vain enough of my own charms to hope to
‘ make a conquest of him, whom the whole court
‘ sighed for : I now thought every other object

below my notice : yet the only pleasure I proposed to myself in this design was, the triumphing over that heart, which I plainly saw all the ladies of the highest quality, and the greatest beauty would have been proud of possessing. I was yet too young to be very artful ; but nature, without any assistance, soon discovers to a man, who is used to gallantry, a woman's desire to be liked by him, whether that desire arises from any particular choice she makes of him, or only from vanity. He soon perceived my thoughts, and gratified my utmost wishes, by constantly preferring me before all other women, and exerting his utmost gallantry and address to engage my affections. This sudden happiness, which I then thought the greatest I could have had, appeared visible in all my actions ; I grew so gay, and so full of vivacity, that it made my person appear still to a better advantage, all my acquaintance pretending to be fonder of me than ever : though young as I was, I plainly saw it was but pretence, for through all their endeavours to the contrary, envy would often break forth in sly insinuations, and malicious sneers, which gave me fresh matter of triumph, and frequent opportunities of insulting them ; which I never let slip, for now first my female heart grew sensible of the spiteful pleasure of seeing another languish for what I enjoyed. Whilst I was in the height of my happiness, her majesty fell ill of a languishing distemper, which obliged her to go into the country for the change of air ; my place made it necessary for me to attend her, and which way he brought it about, I can't imagine, but my young hero found means to be one of that small train that waited on my royal mistress, although she went as privately as possible. Hitherto all

the interviews I had ever had with him were in public, and I only looked on him as the fittest object to feed that pride which had no other view but to shew its power; but now the scene was quite changed. My rivals were all at a distance: the place we went to, was as charming as the most agreeable natural situation, assisted by the greatest art, could make it; the pleasant solitary walks, the singing of birds, the thousand pretty romantic scenes this delightful place afforded, gave a sudden turn to my mind, my whole soul was melted into softness, and all my vanity was fled. My spark was too much used to affairs of this nature, not to perceive this change; at first the profuse transports of his joy made me believe him wholly mine, and this belief gave me such happiness, that no language affords words to express it, and can be only known to those who have felt it. But this was of a very short duration, for I soon found I had to do with one of those men, whose only end in the pursuit of a woman, is to make her fall a victim to an insatiable desire to be admired. His designs had succeeded, and now he every day grew colder, and, as if by infatuation, my passion every day increased; and, notwithstanding all my resolutions and endeavours to the contrary, my rage at the disappointment at once both of my love and pride, and at the finding a passion fixed in my breast, I knew not how to conquer, broke out into that inconsistent behaviour, which must always be the consequence of violent passions. One moment I reproached him, the next I grew to tenderness, and blamed myself, and thought I fancied what was not true; he saw my struggle, and triumphed in it; but as he had not witnesses enough there of his victory, to give him the full

‘ enjoyment of it, he grew weary of the country,
‘ and returned to Paris, and left me in a condition
‘ it is utterly impossible to describe. My mind
‘ was like a city up in arms, all confusion: and
‘ every new thought was a fresh disturber of my
‘ peace. Sleep quite forsook me, and the anxiety
‘ I suffered, threw me into a fever, which had like
‘ to have cost me my life. With great care I re-
‘ covered; but the violence of the distemper left
‘ such a weakness on my body, that the distur-
‘ bance of my mind was greatly assuaged; and
‘ now I began to comfort myself in the reflection,
‘ that this gentleman’s being a finished coquet, was
‘ very likely the only thing could have preserved
‘ me; for he was the only man from whom I was
‘ ever in any danger. By that time I was got to-
‘ lerably well, we returned to Paris; and I con-
‘ fess, I both wished and feared to see this cause of
‘ all my pain: however, I hoped, by the help of
‘ my resentment, to be able to meet him with in-
‘ difference. This employed my thoughts till our
‘ arrival. The next day, there was a very full
‘ court to congratulate the queen on her recovery;
‘ and amongst the rest, my love appeared dressed
‘ and adorned, as if he designed some new con-
‘ quest. Instead of seeing a woman he despised
‘ and slighted, he approached me with that assured
‘ air which is common to successful coxcombs.
‘ At the same time, I perceived I was surrounded
‘ by all those ladies who were on his account my
‘ greatest enemies: and in revenge, wished for
‘ nothing more than to see me make a ridiculous
‘ figure. This situation so perplexed my thoughts,
‘ that when he came near enough to speak to me,
‘ I fainted away in his arms. (Had I studied
‘ which way I could gratify him most, it was im-
‘ possible to have done any thing to have pleased

‘him more.) Some that stood by, brought
‘smelling-bottles, and used means for my reco-
‘very; and I was welcomed to returning life, by
‘all those ill-natured repartees, which women en-
‘raged by envy are capable of venting. One
‘cried, ‘Well, I never thought my lord had any
‘thing so frightful in his person, or so fierce in his
‘manner, as to strike a young lady dead at the
‘sight of him.’ ‘No, no,’ says another, ‘some
‘ladies senses are more apt to be hurried by agree-
‘able, than disagreeable objects.’ With many
‘more such sort of speeches which shewed more
‘malice than wit. This not being able to bear,
‘trembling, and with but just strength enough
‘to move, I crawled to my coach and hurried
‘home. When I was alone, and thought on what
‘had happened to me in a public court, I was at
‘first driven to the utmost despair; but after-
‘wards, when I came to reflect, I believe this ac-
‘cident contributed more to my being cured of
‘my passion, than any other could have done. I
‘began to think the only method to pique the
‘man, who had used me so barbarously, and to
‘be revenged on my spiteful rivals, was to recover
‘that beauty, which was then languid, and had
‘lost its lustre, to let them see I had still charms
‘enough to engage as many lovers as I could de-
‘sire, and that I could yet rival them, who had thus
‘cruelly insulted me. These pleasing hopes re-
‘vived my sinking spirits, and worked a more ef-
‘fectual cure on me, than all the philosophy and
‘advice of the wisest men could have done. I
‘now employed all my time and care in adorning
‘my person, and studying the surest means of en-
‘gaging the affections of others, while I myself
‘continued quite indifferent; for I resolved for
‘the future, if ever one soft thought made its way

to my heart, to fly the object of it, and by new lovers to drive the image from my breast. I consulted my glass every morning, and got such a command of my countenance, that I could suit it to the different tastes of variety of lovers ; and though I was young, for I was not yet above seventeen, yet my public way of life gave me such continual opportunities of conversing with men, and the strong desire I now had of pleasing them, led me to make such constant observations on every thing they said or did, that I soon found out the different methods of dealing with them. I observed that most men generally liked in women what was most opposite to their own characters ; therefore, to the grave solid man of sense, I endeavoured to appear sprightly, and full of spirit ; to the witty and gay, soft and languishing ; to the amorous (for they want no increase of their passions) cold and reserved ; to the fearful and backward, warm and full of fire, and so of all the rest. As to beaux, and all those sort of men, whose desires are centered in the satisfaction of their vanity, I had learned by sad experience, the only way to deal with them was to laugh at them, and let their own good opinion of themselves be the only support of their hopes. I knew, while I could get other followers, I was sure of them ; for the only sign of modesty they ever give, is that of not depending on their own judgments, but following the opinions of the greatest number. Thus furnished with maxims, and grown wise by past errors, I in a manner began the world again : I appeared in all public places handsomer and more lively than ever, to the amazement of every one who saw me, and had heard of the affair between me and my lord. He himself was much surprized, and vexed at

‘ this sudden change, nor could he account how it
‘ was possible for me so soon to shake off those
‘ chains he thought he had fixed on me for life,
‘ nor was he willing to lose his conquest in this
‘ manner. He endeavoured by all means possible
‘ to talk to me again of love, but I stood fixed to
‘ my resolution (in which I was greatly assisted by
‘ the crowd of admirers that daily surrounded me),
‘ never to let him explain himself: for notwithstanding all my pride, I found the first impression
‘ the heart receives of love is so strong, that it requires the most vigilant care to prevent a relapse.
‘ Now I lived three years in a constant round of
‘ diversions, and was made the perfect idol of all
‘ the men that came to court of all ages, and all
‘ characters. I had several good matches offered
‘ me, but I thought none of them equal to my
‘ merit; and one of my greatest pleasures was to
‘ see those women, who had pretended to rival me,
‘ often glad to marry those whom I had refused.
‘ Yet, notwithstanding this great success of my
‘ schemes, I cannot say I was perfectly happy;
‘ for every woman that was taken the least notice
‘ of, and every man that was insensible to my
‘ arts gave me as much pain as all the rest gave me
‘ pleasure; and sometimes little underhand plots,
‘ which were laid against my designs, would succeed in spite of my care: so that I really began
‘ to grow weary of this manner of life, when my
‘ father returning from his embassy in France,
‘ took me home with him, and carried me to a little
‘ pleasant country-house, where there was nothing
‘ grand, or superfluous, but every thing neat and
‘ agreeable; there I led a life perfectly solitary. At
‘ first, the time hung very heavy on my hands,
‘ and I wanted all kind of employment, and I had
‘ very like to have fallen into the height of the

‘ vapours, from no other reason, but from want of
‘ knowing what to do with myself. But when I
‘ had lived here a little time, I found such a calm-
‘ ness in my mind, and such a difference between
‘ this, and the restless anxieties I had experienced
‘ in a court, that I began to share the tranquillity
‘ that visibly appeared in every thing around me.
‘ I set myself to do works of fancy, and to raise
‘ little flower-gardens, with many such innocent
‘ rural amusements; which although they are not
‘ capable of affording any great pleasure, yet they
‘ give that serene turn to the mind, which I think
‘ much preferable to any thing else human nature
‘ is made susceptible of. I now resolved to spend
‘ the rest of my days here, and that nothing should
‘ allure me from this sweet retirement, to be again
‘ tossed about with tempestuous passions of any
‘ kind. Whilst I was in this situation, my lord
‘ Piercy, the earl of Northumberland’s eldest son,
‘ by an accident of losing his way after a fox-
‘ chase, was met by my father, about a mile from
‘ our house; he came home with him, only with
‘ a design of dining with us; but was so taken
‘ with me, that he stayed three days. I had too
‘ much experience in all affairs of this kind, not to
‘ see presently the influence I had on him; but I
‘ was at that time so intirely free from all ambi-
‘ tion, that even the prospect of being a countess
‘ had no effect on me; and I then thought no-
‘ thing in the world could have bribed me to have
‘ changed my way of life. This young lord, who
‘ was just in his bloom, found his passion so strong,
‘ he could not endure a long absence, but re-
‘ turned again in a week, and endeavoured,
‘ by all the means he could think of, to engage
‘ me to return his affection. He addressed me
‘ with that tenderness and respect, which wo-

men on earth think can flow from nothing but real love : and very often told me, that unless he could be so happy, as by his assiduity and care to make himself agreeable to me, although he knew my father would eagerly embrace any proposal from him, yet he would suffer that last of miseries, of never seeing me more, rather than owe his own happiness, to any thing that might be the least contradiction to my inclinations. This manner of proceeding had something in it so noble and generous, that by degrees it raised a sensation in me, which I know not how to describe, nor by what name to call it ; it was nothing like my former passion ; for there was no turbulence, no uneasy waking nights attending it, but all I could with honour grant to oblige him, appeared to me to be justly due to his truth and love, and more the effect of gratitude, than of any desire of my own. The character I had heard of him from my father, at my first returning to England, in discoursing of the young nobility, convinced me, that if I was his wife, I should have the perpetual satisfaction of knowing every action of his must be approved by all the sensible part of mankind ; so that very soon I began to have no scruple left, but that of leaving my little scene of quietness, and venturing again into the world. But this, by his continual application and submissive behaviour, by degrees entirely vanished, and I agreed he should take his own time to break it to my father, whose consent he was not long in obtaining ; for such a match was by no means to be refused. There remained nothing now to be done, but to prevail with the earl of Northumberland to comply with what his son so ardently desired ; for which purpose, he set out immediately for London, and begged

‘ it as the greatest favour, that I would accompany
‘ my father, who was also to go thither the week
‘ following. I could not refuse his request, and as
‘ soon as we arrived in town, he flew to me with
‘ the greatest raptures, to inform me his father was
‘ so good, that finding his happiness depended on
‘ his answer, he had given him free leave to act in
‘ this affair as would best please himself, and that
‘ he had now no obstacle to prevent his wishes.
‘ It was then the beginning of the winter, and the
‘ time for our marriage was fixed for the latter end
‘ of March: the consent of all parties made his
‘ access to me very easy, and we conversed to-
‘ gether both with innocence and pleasure. As his
‘ fondness was so great, that he contrived all the
‘ methods possible to keep me continually in his
‘ sight, he told me one morning, he was com-
‘ manded by his father to attend him to court that
‘ evening, and begged I would be so good as to
‘ meet him there. I was now so used to act as he
‘ would have me, that I made no difficulty of com-
‘ plying with his desire. Two days after this, I was
‘ very much surprized at perceiving such a me-
‘ lancholy in his countenance, and alteration in his
‘ behaviour, as I could no way account for; but
‘ by importunity, at last, I got from him, that car-
‘ dinal Wolsey, for what reason, he knew not, had
‘ peremptorily forbid him to think any more of me:
‘ and when he urged that his father was not dis-
‘ pleased with it, the cardinal, in his imperious
‘ manner, answered him, he should give his father
‘ such convincing reasons, why it would be at-
‘ tended with great inconveniences, that he was
‘ sure he could bring him to be of his opinion.
‘ On which he turned from him, and gave him no
‘ opportunity of replying. I could not imagine
‘ what design the cardinal could have in inter-

‘ meddling in this match, and I was still more perplexed to find that my father treated my lord Piercy with much more coldness than usual; he too saw it, and we both wondered what could possibly be the cause of all this. But it was not long before the mystery was all made clear by my father, who sending for me one day into his chamber, let me into a secret which was as little wished for as expected: he began with the surprising effects of youth and beauty, and the madness of letting go those advantages they might procure us, till it was too late, when we might wish in vain to bring them back again. I stood amazed at this beginning; he saw my confusion, and bid me sit down and attend to what he was going to tell me, which was of the greatest consequence; and he hoped I would be wise enough to take his advice, and act as he should think best for my future welfare. He then asked me, if I should not be much pleased to be a queen? I answered with the greatest earnestness, that so far from it, I would not live in a court again to be the greatest queen in the world; that I had a lover who was both desirous and able to raise my station, even beyond my wishes. I found this discourse was very displeasing; my father frowned, and called me a romantic fool, and said, if I would hearken to him he could make me a queen; for the cardinal had told him, that the king, from the time he saw me at court the other night, liked me, and intended to get a divorce from his wife, and to put me in her place; and ordered him to find some method to make me a maid of honour to her present majesty, that in the mean time he might have an opportunity of seeing me. It is impossible to express the astonishment these words threw me into; and not-

withstanding that the moment before, when it appeared at so great a distance, I was very sincere in my declaration, how much it was against my will to be raised so high; yet now the prospect came nearer, I confess my heart fluttered, and my eyes were dazzled with a view of being seated on a throne. My imagination presented before me all the pomp, power, and greatness, that attend a crown; and I was so perplexed, I knew not what to answer, but remained as silent as if I had lost the use of my speech. My father, who guessed what it was that made me in this condition, proceeded to bring all the arguments he thought most likely to bend me to his will; at last, I recovered from this dream of grandeur, and begged him, by all the most endearing names I could think of, not to urge me dishonourably to forsake the man, who I was convinced would raise me to an empire, if in his power, and who had enough in his power to give me all I desired. But he was deaf to all I could say, and insisted, that by next week, I should prepare myself to go to court: he bid me consider of it, and not prefer a ridiculous notion of honour to the real interest of my whole family, but, above all things, not to disclose what he had trusted me with. On which, he left me to my own thoughts. When I was alone, I reflected how little real tenderness this behaviour shewed to me, whose happiness he did not at all consult; but only looked on me as a ladder, on which he could climb to the height of his own ambitious desires: and when I thought of his fondness for me in my infancy, I could impute it to nothing, but either the liking me as a plaything, or the gratification of his vanity in my beauty. But I was too much divided between a crown and my engagement to lord Piercy, to spend much time in

‘ thinking of any thing else ; and although my father had positively forbid me, yet, when he came next, I could not help acquainting him with all that had passed, with the reserve only of the struggle in my own mind on the first mention of being a queen. I expected he would have received the news with the greatest agonies ; but he shewed no vast emotion : however, he could not help turning pale ; and taking me by the hand, looked at me with an air of tenderness, and said, If being a queen will make you happy, and it is in your power to be so, I would not for the world prevent it, let me suffer what I will. This amazing greatness of mind had on me quite the contrary effect from what it ought to have had ; for instead of increasing my love for him, it almost put an end to it, and I began to think if he could part with me, the matter was not much. And I am convinced, when any man gives up the possession of a woman, whose consent he has once obtained, let his motive be ever so generous, he will disoblige her. I could not help shewing my dissatisfaction, and told him, I was very glad this affair sat so easily on him. He had not power to answer, but was so suddenly struck with this unexpected ill-natured turn I gave his behaviour, that he stood amazed for some time, and then bowed and left me. Now I was again left to my own reflections ; but to make any thing intelligible out of them, is quite impossible ; I wished to be a queen, and wished I might not be one ; I would have my lord Piercy happy without me ; and yet I would not have the power of my charms be so weak, that he could bear the thought of life after being disappointed in my love. But the result of all these confused thoughts was a resolution to obey my father. I

‘ am afraid there was not much duty in the case,
‘ though at that time I was glad to take hold of
‘ that small shadow, to save me from looking on
‘ my own actions in the true light. When my lover
‘ came again, I looked on him with that coldness
‘ that he could not bear, on purpose to rid my-
‘ self of all importunity: for since I had resolved
‘ to use him ill, I regarded him as the monument
‘ of my shame, and his every look appeared to me
‘ to upbraid me. My father soon carried me to
‘ court; there I had no very hard part to act; for
‘ with the experience I had had of mankind, I could
‘ find no great difficulty in managing a man who
‘ liked me, and for whom I not only did not care,
‘ but had an utter aversion to: but this aversion he
‘ believed to be virtue: for how credulous is a man
‘ who has an inclination to believe? And I took care
‘ sometimes to drop words of cottages and love,
‘ and how happy the woman was who fixed her af-
‘ fections on a man in such a station of life, that
‘ she might shew her love, without being sus-
‘ pected of hypocrisy or mercenary views. All
‘ this was swallowed very easily by the amorous
‘ king, who pushed on the divorce with the utmost
‘ impetuosity, although the affair lasted a good
‘ while, and I remained most part of the time
‘ behind the curtain. Whenever the king men-
‘ tioned it to me, I used such arguments against
‘ it, as I thought the most likely to make him
‘ the more eager for it; begging, that unless
‘ his conscience was really touched, he would not
‘ on my account give any grief to his virtuous
‘ queen; for in being her handmaid, I thought my-
‘ self highly honoured; and that I would not only
‘ forego a crown, but even give up the pleasure of
‘ ever seeing him more, rather than wrong my
‘ royal mistress. This way of talking, joined to

his eager desire to possess my person, convinced the king so strongly of my exalted merit, that he thought it a meritorious act to displace the woman (whom he could not have so good an opinion of, because he was tired of her), and to put me in her place. After about a year's stay at court, as the king's love to me began to be talked of, it was thought proper to remove me, that there might be no umbrage given to the queen's party; I was forced to comply with this, though greatly against my will; for I was very jealous that absence might change the king's mind. I retired again with my father to his country-seat; but it had no longer those charms for me which I once enjoyed there; for my mind was now too much taken up with ambition to make room for any other thoughts. During my stay here, my royal lover often sent gentlemen to me with messages and letters, which I always answered in the manner I thought would best bring about my designs, which were to come back again to court. In all the letters that passed between us, there was something so kingly and commanding in his, and so deceitful and submissive in mine, that I sometimes could not help reflecting on the difference betwixt this correspondence, and that with lord Piercy, yet I was so pressed forward by the desire of a crown, I could not think of turning back. In all I wrote, I continually praised his resolution of letting me be at a distance from him, since at this time it conduced indeed to my honour; but what was of ten times more weight with me, I thought it was necessary for his; and I would sooner suffer any thing in the world, than be any means of hurt to him, either in his interest, or reputation. I always gave some hints of ill health, with some reflections how necessary the peace of

the mind was to that of the body. By these means I brought him to recall me again by the most absolute command, which I for a little time artfully delayed (for I knew the impatience of his temper would not bear any contradiction), till he made my father in a manner force me to what I most wished, with the utmost appearance of reluctance on my side. When I had gained this point, I began to think which way I could separate the king from the queen, for hitherto they lived in the same house. The lady Mary, the queen's daughter, being then about sixteen, I sought for emissaries of her own age, that I could confide in, to instil into her mind disrespectful thoughts of her father, and make a jest of the tenderness of his conscience about the divorce. I knew she had naturally strong passions, and that young people of that age are apt to think those that pretend to be their friends are really so, and only speak their minds freely; I afterwards contrived to have every word she spoke of him carried to the king who took it all as I could wish, and fancied those things did not come at first from the young lady, but from her mother. He would often talk of it to me, and I agreed with him in his sentiments; but then, as a great proof of my goodness, I always endeavoured to excuse her, by saying a lady so long time used to be a royal queen, might naturally be a little exasperated with those she fancied would throw her from that station she so justly deserved. By these sort of plots, I found the way to make the king angry with the queen; for nothing is easier than to make a man angry with a woman he wants to be rid of, and who stands in the way between him and his pleasures: so that now the king, on the pretence of the queen's obstinacy, in a point

where his conscience was so tenderly concerned, parted with her. Every thing was now plain before me: I had nothing farther to do but to let the king alone to his own desires; and I had no reason to fear, since they had carried him so far, but that they would urge him on to do every thing I aimed at. I was created marchioness of Pembroke. This dignity sat very easy on me; for the thoughts of a much higher title took from me all feeling of this: and I looked upon being a marchioness as a trifle, not that I saw the bauble in its true light, but because it fell short of what I had figured to myself I should soon obtain. The king's desires grew very impatient, and it was not long before I was privately married to him. I was no sooner his wife, than I found all the queen come upon me: I felt myself conscious of royalty, and even the faces of my most intimate acquaintance seemed to me to be quite strange. I hardly knew them, height had turned my head, and I was like a man placed on a monument, to whose sight all creatures at a great distance below him, appear like so many little pigmies crawling about on the earth; and the prospect so greatly delighted me that I did not presently consider, that in both cases descending a few steps erected by human hands would place us in the number of those very pigmies who appeared so despicable. Our marriage was kept private for some time, for it was not thought proper to make it public (the affair of the divorce not being finished) till the birth of my daughter Elizabeth made it necessary. But all who saw me knew it; for my manner of speaking and acting was so much changed with my station, that all around me plainly perceived, I was sure I was a queen. While it was a secret, I had yet something to wish for; I could not be

perfectly satisfied, till all the world was acquainted with my fortune: but when my coronation was over, and I was raised to the height of my ambition, instead of finding myself happy, I was in reality more miserable than ever; for besides that the aversion I had naturally to the king was much more difficult to dissemble after marriage than before, and grew into a perfect detestation, my imagination, which had thus warmly pursued a crown, grew cool when I was in the possession of it, and gave me time to reflect what mighty matter I had gained by all this bustle; and I often used to think myself in the case of the fox-hunter, who when he has toiled and sweated all day in the chace, as if some unheard-of blessing was to crown his success, finds at last, all he has got by his labour is a stinking nauseous animal. But my condition was yet worse than his; for he leaves the loathsome wretch to be torn by his hounds, whilst I was obliged to fondle mine, and meanly pretend him to be the object of my love. For the whole time I was in this envied, this exalted state, I led a continual life of hypocrisy, which I now know nothing on earth can compensate. I had no companion but the man I hated. I dared not disclose my sentiments to any person about me; nor did any one presume to enter into any freedom of conversation with me; but all who spoke to me, talked to the queen, and not to me; for they would have said just the same things to a dressed up puppet, if the king had taken a fancy to call it his wife. And as I knew every woman in the court was my enemy, from thinking she had much more right than I had to the place I filled, I thought myself as unhappy, as if I had been placed in a wild wood, when there was no human creature

‘ for me to speak to, in a continual fear of leaving
‘ any traces of my footsteps, lest I should be found
‘ by some dreadful monster, or stung by snakes
‘ and adders ; for such are spiteful women to the
‘ objects of their envy. In this worst of all situa-
‘ tions, I was obliged to hide my melancholy, and
‘ appear cheerful. This threw me into an error
‘ the other way, and I sometimes fell into a levity
‘ in my behaviour, that was afterwards made use
‘ of to my disadvantage. I had a son dead-born,
‘ which I perceived abated something of the king’s
‘ ardor ; for his temper could not brook the least
‘ disappointment. This gave me no uneasiness ;
‘ for not considering the consequences, I could not
‘ help being best pleased when I had least of his
‘ company. Afterwards I found he had cast his
‘ eyes on one of my maids of honour ; and whe-
‘ ther it was owing to art of her’s, or only to the
‘ king’s violent passions, I was in the end used
‘ even worse than my former mistress had been
‘ by my means. The decay of the king’s affection
‘ was presently seen by all those court-sycophants,
‘ who continually watch the motions of royal eyes ;
‘ and the moment they found they could be heard
‘ against me, they turned my most innocent actions
‘ and words, nay, even my very looks, into proofs
‘ of the blackest crimes. The king, who was impa-
‘ tient to enjoy his new love, lent a willing ear to
‘ all my accusers, who found ways of making
‘ him jealous that I was false to his bed. He
‘ would not so easily have believed any thing
‘ against me before, but he was now glad to flatter
‘ himself that he had found a reason to do just
‘ what he had resolved upon without a reason ;
‘ and on some slight pretences, and hearsay evi-
‘ dence, I was sent to the Tower, where the lady,
‘ who was my greatest enemy, was appointed to

‘ watch me and lie in the same chamber with me.
‘ This was really as bad a punishment as my
‘ death; for she insulted me with those keen re-
‘ proaches, and spiteful witticisms, which threw
‘ me into such vapours and violent fits, that I
‘ knew not what I uttered in this condition. She
‘ pretended, I had confessed talking ridiculous
‘ stuff with a set of low fellows, whom I had
‘ hardly ever taken notice of, as could have im-
‘ posed on none but such as were resolved to be-
‘ lieve. I was brought to my trial, and to blacken
‘ me the more, accused of conversing criminally
‘ with my own brother, whom indeed I loved ex-
‘ tremely well, but never looked on him in any
‘ other light than as my friend. However, I was
‘ condemned to be beheaded, or burnt, as the king
‘ pleased; and he was graciously pleased, from
‘ the great remains of his love, to chuse the mildest
‘ sentence. I was much less shocked at this
‘ manner of ending my life, than I should have
‘ been in any other station; but I had had so
‘ little enjoyment from the time I had been a queen,
‘ that death was the less dreadful to me. The chief
‘ things that lay on my conscience, were the arts I
‘ made use of to induce the king to part with the
‘ queen, my ill usage of lady Mary, and my jilting
‘ lord Piercy. However, I endeavoured to calm
‘ my mind as well as I could, and hoped these crimes
‘ would be forgiven me; for in other respects I
‘ had led a very innocent life, and always did all
‘ the good-natured actions I found any opportunity
‘ of doing. From the time I had it in my power,
‘ I gave a great deal of money amongst the poor,
‘ I prayed very devoutly, and went to my execu-
‘ tion very composedly. Thus I lost my life at the
‘ age of twenty-nine, in which short time I believe
‘ I went through more variety of scenes, than many

‘ people who live to be very old. I had lived in a
‘ court, where I spent my time in coquetry and
‘ gaiety : I had experienced what it was to have
‘ one of those violent passions which makes the
‘ mind all turbulence and anxiety. I had had a
‘ lover whom I esteemed and valued, and at the
‘ latter part of my life, I was raised to a station as
‘ high as the vainest woman could wish. But in all
‘ these various changes, I never enjoyed any real
‘ satisfaction, unless in the little time I lived retired
‘ in the country free from all noise and hurry; and
‘ while I was conscious I was the object of the love
‘ and esteem of a man of sense and honour.’

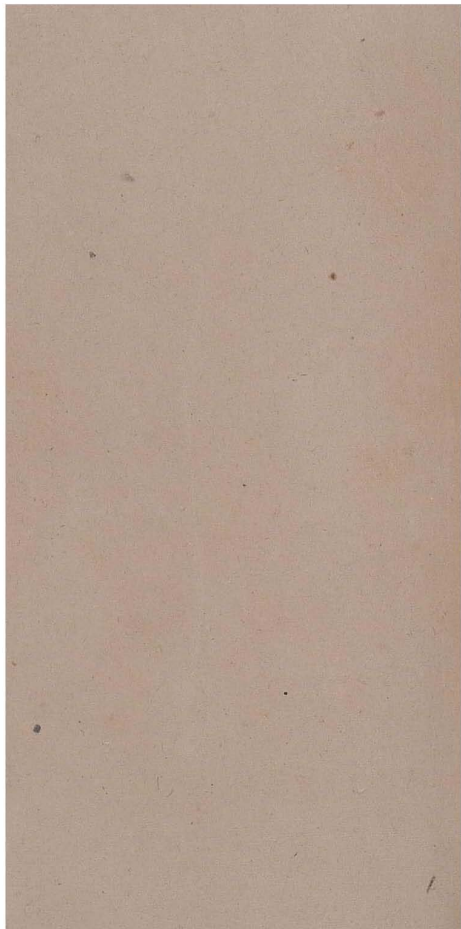
On the conclusion of this history, Minos paused for a small time, and then ordered the gate to be thrown open for Anna Boleyn’s admittance; on the consideration, that whoever had suffered being a queen for four years, and been sensible during all that time of the real misery which attends that exalted station, ought to be forgiven whatever she had done to obtain it*.

* Here ends this curious manuscript; the rest being destroyed in rolling up pens, tobacco, &c. It is to be hoped, heedless people will henceforth be more cautious what they burn, or use to other vile purposes; especially when they consider the fate which had likely to have befallen the divine Milton; and that the works of Homer were probably discovered in some chandler’s shop in Greece.

155

THE JOURNAL
OF A
VOYAGE TO LISBON.

BY THE LATE
HENRY FIELDING, ESQ.



DEDICATION
TO THE PUBLIC.

YOUR candour is desired on the perusal of the following sheets, as they are the product of a genius that has long been your delight and entertainment. It must be acknowledged, that a lamp almost burnt out does not give so steady and uniform a light as when it blazes in its full vigour; but yet it is well known that by its wavering, as if struggling against its own dissolution, it sometimes darts a ray as bright as ever. In like manner, a strong and lively genius will, in its last struggles, sometimes mount aloft, and throw forth the most striking marks of its original lustre.

Wherever these are to be found, do you, the genuine patrons of extraordinary capacities, be as liberal in your applauses of him who is now no more as you were of him whilst he was yet amongst you. And, on the other hand, if in this little work there should appear any traces of a weakened and decayed life, let your own imaginations place before your eyes a true picture in that of a hand trembling in almost its latest hour, of a

body emaciated with pains, yet struggling for your entertainment ; and let this affecting picture open each tender heart, and call forth a melting tear, to blot out whatever failings may be found in a work began in pain, and finished almost at the same period with life.

It was thought proper, by the friends of the deceased, that this little piece should come into your hands as it came from the hands of the author ; it being judged that you would be better pleased to have an opportunity of observing the faintest traces of a genius you have long admired than have it patched by a different hand ; by which means the marks of its true author might have been effaced.

That the success of the last written, though first published volume of the author's posthumous pieces may be attended with some convenience to those innocents he hath left behind, will, no doubt, be a motive to encourage its circulation through the kingdom, which will engage every future genius to exert itself for your pleasure.

The principles and spirit which breathe in every line of the small fragments begun in answer to lord Bolingbroke will unquestionably be a sufficient apology for its publication, although vital strength was wanting to finish a work so happily begun and so well designed.

PREFACE.

THERE would not, perhaps, be a more pleasant or profitable study, among those which have their principal end in amusement, than that of travels or voyages, if they were writ, as they might be, and ought to be, with a joint view to the entertainment and information of mankind. If the conversation of travellers be so eagerly sought after as it is, we may believe their books will be still more agreeable company, as they will in general be more instructive and more entertaining.

But when I say the conversation of travellers is usually so welcome, I must be understood to mean that only of such as have had good sense enough to apply their peregrinations to a proper use, so as to acquire from them a real and valuable knowledge of men and things; both which are best known by comparison. If the customs and manners of men were every where the same, there would be no office so dull as that of a traveller; for the difference of hills, valleys, rivers; in short, the various views in which we may see the face of the earth, would scarce afford him a pleasure worthy of his labour; and, surely, it would give him very little opportunity of communicating any kind of entertainment or improvement to others.

To make a traveller an agreeable companion to a man of sense, it is necessary, not only that he should have seen much, but that he should have overlooked much of what he hath seen. Nature is not, any more than a great genius, always admirable in her productions, and therefore the traveller, who may be called her commentator, should not expect to find every where subjects worthy of his notice.

It is certain, indeed, that one may be guilty of omission, as well as of the opposite extreme; but a fault on that side will be more easily pardoned, as it is better to be hungry than surfeited; and to miss your dessert at the table of a man, whose gardens abound with the choicest fruits, than to have your taste affronted with every sort of trash that can be picked up at the green-stall or the wheelbarrow.

If we should carry on the analogy between the traveller and the commentator, it is impossible to keep one's eye a moment off from the laborious much-read doctor Zachary Grey, of whose redundant notes on *Hudibras* I shall only say, that it is, I am confident, the single book extant in which above five hundred authors are quoted, not one of which could be found in the collection of the late doctor Mead.

As there are few things which a traveller is to record, there are fewer on which he is to offer his observations: this is the office of the reader; and it is so pleasant a one, that he seldom chooses to have it taken from him, under the pretence of lending him assistance. Some occasions, indeed, there are, when proper observations are pertinent, and others when they are necessary; but good sense alone must point them out. I shall lay down only one general rule; which I believe to be of universal truth between relater and hearer, as it is between

author and reader; this is, that the latter never forgive any observation of the former which doth not convey some knowledge that they are sensible they could not possibly have attained of themselves.

But all his pains in collecting knowledge, all his judgment in selecting, and all his art in communicating it, will not suffice, unless he can make himself, in some degree, an agreeable as well as an instructive companion. The highest instruction we can derive from the tedious tale of a dull fellow scarce ever pays us for our attention. There is nothing, I think, half so valuable as knowledge, and yet there is nothing which men will give themselves so little trouble to attain; unless it be, perhaps, that lowest degree of it which is the object of curiosity, and which hath therefore that active passion constantly employed in its service. This, indeed, it is in the power of every traveller to gratify; but it is the leading principle in weak minds only.

To render his relation agreeable to the man of sense, it is therefore necessary, that the voyager should possess several eminent and rare talents: so rare, indeed, that it is almost wonderful to see them ever united in the same person.

And if all these talents must concur in the relator, they are certainly in a more eminent degree necessary to the writer; for here the narration admits of higher ornaments of style, and every fact and sentiment offers itself to the fullest and most deliberate examination.

It would appear, therefore, I think, somewhat strange, if such writers as these should be found extremely common; since nature hath been a most parsimonious distributor of her richest talents, and hath seldom bestowed many on the same person.

But on the other hand, why there should scarce exist a single writer of this kind worthy our regard; and, whilst there is no other branch of history (for this is history) which hath not exercised the greatest pens, why this alone should be overlooked by all men of great genius and erudition, and delivered up to the Goths and Vandals as their lawful property, is altogether as difficult to determine.

And yet that this is the case, with some very few exceptions, is most manifest. Of these I shall willingly admit Burnet and Addison; if the former was not perhaps to be considered as a political essayist, and the latter as a commentator on the classics, rather than as a writer of travels; which last title, perhaps, they would both of them have been least ambitious to affect.

Indeed, if these two, and two or three more, should be removed from the mass, there would remain such a heap of dullness behind, that the appellation of voyage-writer would not appear very desirable.

I am not here unapprised, that old Homer himself is by some considered as a voyage-writer; and, indeed, the beginning of his *Odyssey* may be urged to countenance that opinion, which I shall not controvert. But whatever species of writing the *Odyssey* is of, it is surely at the head of that species, as much as the *Iliad* is of another; and so far the excellent Longinus would allow, I believe, at this day.

But, in reality, the *Odyssey*, the *Telemachus*, and all of that kind, are to the voyage-writing I here intend, what romance is to true history, the former being the confounder and corrupter of the latter. I am far from supposing that Homer, Hesiod, and the other ancient poets and mythologists, had any settled design to pervert and confuse the

records of antiquity : but it is certain they have effected it ; and, for my part, I must confess, I should have honoured and loved Homer more had he written a true history of his own times in humble prose than those noble poems that have so justly collected the praise of all ages ; for, though I read these with more admiration and astonishment, I still read Herodotus, Thucydides, and Xenophon, with more amusement and more satisfaction.

The original poets were not, however, without excuse. They found the limits of nature too strait for the immensity of their genius, which they had not room to exert without extending fact by fiction ; and that especially at a time when the manners of men were too simple to afford that variety which they have since offered in vain to the choice of the meanest writers. In doing this they are again excusable for the manner in which they have done it.

Ut speciosa dehinc miracula promant.

They are not, indeed, so properly said to turn reality into fiction, as fiction into reality. Their paintings are so bold, their colours so strong, that every thing they touch seems to exist in the very manner they represent it ; their portraits are so just, and their landscapes so beautiful, that we acknowledge the strokes of nature in both, without inquiring whether nature herself, or her journeyman the poet, formed the first pattern of the piece.

But other writers (I will put Pliny at their head) have no such pretensions to indulgence ; they lie for lying sake, or in order insolently to impose the most monstrous improbabilities and absurdities upon their readers on their own authority ; treating them as some fathers treat children, and as other fathers

do laymen, exacting their belief of whatever they relate, on no other foundation than their own authority, without ever taking the pains of adapting their lies to human credulity, and of calculating them for the meridian of a common understanding; but with as much weakness as wickedness, and with more impudence often than either, they assert facts contrary to the honour of God to the visible order of the creation, to the known laws of nature, to the histories of former ages, and to the experience of our own, and which no man can at once understand and believe.

If it should be objected (and it can no where be objected better than where I now write *, as there is no where more pomp of bigotry) that whole nations have been firm believers in the most absurd suppositions: I reply, the fact is not true. They have known nothing of the matter, and have believed they knew not what. It is, indeed, with me no matter of doubt, but that the pope and his clergy might teach any of those Christian heterodoxies, the tenets of which are the most diametrically opposite to their own; nay, all the doctrines of Zoroaster, Confucius, and Mahomet, not only with certain and immediate success, but without one Catholic in a thousand knowing he had changed his religion.

What motive a man can have to sit down, and to draw forth a list of stupid senseless, incredible lies upon paper, would be difficult to determine, did not vanity present herself so immediately as the adequate cause. The vanity of knowing more than other men is, perhaps, besides hunger, the only inducement to writing, at least to publishing, at all. Why then should not the voyage-writer be inflamed with the glory of having seen what no

* At Lisbon.

man ever did or will see but himself; This is the true source of the wonderful in the discourse and writings, and sometimes, I believe, in the actions of men, there is another fault, of a kind directly opposite to this, to which these writers are sometimes liable, when, instead of filling their pages with monsters which nobody hath ever seen, and with adventures which never have, nor could possibly have happened to them, waste their time and paper with recording things and facts of so common a kind, that they challenge no other right of being remembered than as they had the honour of having happened to the author, to whom nothing seems trivial that in any manner happens to himself. Of such consequence do his own actions appear to one of this kind, that he would probably think himself guilty of infidelity should he omit the minutest thing in the detail of his journal. That the fact is true is sufficient to give it place there, without any consideration whether it is capable of pleasing or surprising, of diverting or informing the reader.

I have seen a play (if I mistake not it is one of Mrs. Behn's or of Mrs. Centlivre's) where this vice in a voyage writer is finely ridiculed. An ignorant pedant to whose government, for I know not what reason, the conduct of a young nobleman in his travels is committed, and who is sent abroad to shew my lord the world, of which he knows nothing himself, before his departure from a town calls for his journal to record the goodness of the wine and tobacco, with other articles of the same importance, which are to furnish the materials of a voyage at his return home. The humour, it is true, is here carried very far, and yet, perhaps, very little beyond what is to be found in writers who profess no intention of dealing in humour at all.

Of one or other, or of both these kinds are, I conceive, all that vast pile of books which pass under the names of voyages, travels, adventures, lives, memoirs, histories, &c. some of which a single traveller sends into the world in many volumes, and others are, by judicious booksellers, collected into vast bodies in folio, and inscribed with their own names, as if they were indeed their own travels; thus unjustly attributing to themselves the merit of others.

Now from both these faults we have endeavoured to steer clear in the following narrative; which, however the contrary may be insinuated by ignorant, unlearned, and fresh water critics, who have never travelled either in books or ships, I do solemnly declare doth, in my own impartial opinion deviate less from truth than any other voyage extant; my lord Anson's alone being, perhaps, excepted.

Some few embellishments must be allowed to every historian; for we are not to conceive that the speeches in Livy, Sallust, or Thucydides, were literally spoken in the very words in which we now read them. It is sufficient that every fact hath its foundation in truth, as I do seriously aver is the case in the ensuing pages; and when it is so, a good critic will be so far from denying all kind of ornament of style or diction, or even of circumstance, to his author, that he would be rather sorry if he omitted it; for he could hence derive no other advantage than the loss of an additional pleasure in the perusal.

Again, if any merely common incident should appear in this journal, which will seldom I apprehend be the case, the candid reader will easily perceive it is not introduced for its own sake, but for some observations and reflections naturally result-

ing from it ; and which, if but little to his amusement, tend directly to the instruction of the reader or to the information of the public ; to whom, if I choose to convey such instruction or information with an air of joke and laughter, none but the dullest of fellows will, I believe, censure it ; but if they should, I have the authority of more than one passage in Horace to alledge in my defence.

Having thus endeavoured to obviate some censures, to which a man without the gift of foresight, or any fear of the imputation of being a conjurer, might conceive this work would be liable, I might now undertake a more pleasing task, and fall at once to the direct and positive praises of the work itself ; of which, indeed, I could say a thousand good things ; but the task is so very pleasant that I shall leave it wholly to the reader ; and it is all the task that I impose on him. A moderation for which he may think himself obliged to me, when he compares it with the conduct of authors, who often fill a whole sheet with their own praises, to which they sometimes set their own real names, and sometimes a fictitious one. One hint, however, I must give the kind reader ; which is, that if he should be able to find no sort of amusement in the book, he will be pleased to remember the public utility which will arise from it. If entertainment, as Mr. Richardson observes, be but a secondary consideration in a romance ; with which Mr. Addison, I think, agrees, affirming the use of the pastry-cook to be the first ; if this, I say, be true of a mere work of invention, sure it may well be so considered in a work founded, like this, on truth ; and where the political reflections form so distinguishing a part.

But perhaps I may hear, from some critic of the most saturnine complexion, that my vanity

must have made a horrid dupe of my judgment, if it hath flattered me with an expectation of having any thing here seen in a grave light, or of conveying any useful instruction to the public, or to their guardians. I answer, with the great man whom I just now quoted, that my purpose is to convey instruction in the vehicle of entertainment; and so to bring about at once, like the revolution in the Rehearsal a perfect reformation of the laws relating to our maritime affairs: an undertaking, I will not say more modest, but surely more feasible, than that of reforming a whole people, by making use of a vehicular story, to wheel in among them worse manners than their own.

INTRODUCTION.

IN the beginning of August, 1753, when I had taken the duke of Portland's medicine, as it is called, near a year, the effects of which had been the carrying off the symptoms of a lingering imperfect gout, I was persuaded by Mr. Ranby, the king's premier serjeant-surgeon, and the ablest advice, I believe, in all branches of the physical profession, to go immediately to Bath. I accordingly writ that very night to Mrs. Bowden, who, by the next post, informed me she had taken me a lodging for a month certain.

Within a few days after this, whilst I was preparing for my journey, and when I was almost fatigued to death with several long examinations, relating to five different murders, all committed within the space of a week, by different gangs of street-robbers, I received a message from his grace the duke of Newcastle, by Mr. Carrington, the king's messenger, to attend his grace the next morning, in Lincoln's-inn-fields, upon some business of importance; but I excused myself from complying with the message, as, besides being lame, I was very ill with the great fatigues I had lately undergone, added to my distemper.

His grace, however, sent Mr. Carrington, the very next morning, with another summons; with which, though in the utmost distress, I immediately

complied ; but the duke happening, unfortunately for me, to be then particularly engaged, after I had waited some time, sent a gentleman to discourse with me on the best plan which could be invented for putting an immediate end to those murders and robberies which were every day committed in the streets ; upon which I promised to transmit my opinion in writing, to his grace, who, as the gentleman informed me intended to lay it before the privy council.

Though this visit cost me a severe cold, I, notwithstanding, set myself down to work ; and in about four days sent the duke as regular a plan as I could form, with all the reasons and arguments I could bring to support it, drawn out in several sheets of paper ; and soon received a message from the duke by Mr. Carrington, acquainting me, that my plan was highly approved of, and that all the terms of it would be complied with.

The principal and most material of those terms, was the immediately depositing six hundred pounds in my hands ; at which small charge I undertook to demolish the then reigning gangs, and to put the civil policy into such order, that no such gangs should ever be able, for the future, to form themselves into bodies, or at least to remain any time formidable to the public.

I had delayed my Bath-journey for some time, contrary to the repeated advice of my physical acquaintance, and to the ardent desire of my warmest friends, though my distemper was now turned to a deep jaundice ; in which case the Bath waters are generally reputed to be almost infallible. But I had the most eager desire of demolishing this gang of villains and cut-throats, which I was sure of accomplishing the moment I was enabled to pay a fellow who had undertaken, for a small sum, to

betray them into the hands of a set of thieftakers whom I had enlisted into the service, all men of known and approved fidelity and intrepidity.

After some weeks the money was paid at the treasury, and within a few days after two hundred pounds of it had come to my hands, the whole gang of cut-throats was entirely dispersed, seven of them were in actual custody, and the rest driven, some out of the town, and others out of the kingdom.

Though my health was now reduced to the last extremity, I continued to act with the utmost vigour against these villains; in examining whom, and in taking the depositions against them, I have often spent whole days, nay, sometimes whole nights, especially when there was any difficulty in procuring sufficient evidence to convict them; which is a very common case in street-robberies, even when the guilt of the party is sufficiently apparent to satisfy the most tender conscience. But courts of justice know nothing of a cause more than what is told them on oath by a witness; and the most flagitious villain upon earth is tried in the same manner as a man of the best character who is accused of the same crime.

Meanwhile, amidst all my fatigues and distresses, I had the satisfaction to find my endeavours had been attended with such success that this hellish society were almost utterly extirpated; and that, instead of reading of murders and street-robberies in the news almost every morning, there was, in the remaining part of the month of November, and in all December, not only no such thing as a murder, but not even a street-robbery committed. Some such, indeed, were mentioned

in the public papers; but they were all found, on the strictest inquiry, to be false.

In this entire freedom from street-robberies, during the dark months, no man, will, I believe, scruple to acknowledge, that the winter of 1753 stands unrivalled, during a course of many years; and this may possibly appear the more extraordinary to those who recollect the outrages with which it began.

Having thus fully accomplished my undertaking, I went into the country, in a very weak and deplorable condition, with no fewer or less diseases than a jaundice, a dropsy, and an asthma, altogether uniting their forces in the destruction of a body so entirely emaciated that it had lost all its muscular flesh.

Mine was now no longer what is called a Bath case; nor, if it had been so, had I strength remaining sufficient to go thither, a ride of six miles only being attended with an intolerable fatigue. I now discharged my lodgings at Bath, which I had hitherto kept. I began in earnest, to look on my case as desperate, and I had vanity enough to rank myself with those heroes who of old times, became voluntary sacrifices to the good of the public.

But, lest the reader should be too eager to catch at the word *vanity*, and should be unwilling to indulge me with so sublime a gratification, for I think he is not too apt to gratify me, I will take my key a pitch lower, and will frankly own that I had a stronger motive than the love of the public to push me on: I will therefore confess to him, that my private affairs at the beginning of the winter had but a gloomy aspect; for I had not plundered the public or the poor of those sums

which men, who are always ready to plunder both as much as they can, have been pleased to suspect me of taking: on the contrary, by composing, instead of inflaming, the quarrels of porters and beggars (which I blush when I say hath not been universally practised), and by refusing to take a shilling from a man who most undoubtedly would not have had another left, I had reduced an income of about five hundred pounds * a year of the dirtiest money upon earth, to little more than three hundred pounds; a considerable proportion of which remained with my clerk; and, indeed, if the whole had done so, as it ought, he would be but ill paid for sitting almost sixteen hours in the

* A predecessor of mine used to boast that he made one thousand pounds a year in his office; but how he did this (if indeed he did it) is to me a secret. His clerk, now mine, told me I had more business than he had ever known there; I am sure I had as much as any man could do. The truth is, the fees are so very low, when any are due, and so much is done for nothing, that if a single justice of peace had business enough to employ twenty clerks, neither he nor they would get much by their labour. The public will not, therefore, I hope, think I betray a secret when I inform them, that I received from the Government a yearly pension out of the public service-money; which, I believe, indeed, would have been larger, had my great patron been convinced of an error, which I have heard him utter more than once. That he could not indeed say, that the acting as a principal justice of peace in Westminster was on all accounts very desirable, but that all the world knew it was a very lucrative office. Now to have shewn him plainly that a man must be a rogue to make a very little this way, and that he could not make much by being as great a rogue as he could be, would have required more confidence than, I believe, he had in me, and more of his conversation than he chose to allow me; I therefore resigned the office and the farther execution of my plan to my brother, who had long been my assistant. And now, lest the case between me and the reader should be the same in both instances as it was between me and the great man, I will not add another word on the subject.

twenty-four, in the most unwholesome, as well as nauseous air in the universe, and which hath in his case corrupted a good constitution without contaminating his morals.

But, not to trouble the reader with anecdotes, contrary to my own rule laid down in my preface, I assure him I thought my family was very slenderly provided for; and that my health began to decline so fast I had very little more of life left to accomplish what I had thought of too late. I rejoiced therefore greatly in seeing an opportunity, as I apprehended, of gaining such merit in the eye of the public, that if my life were the sacrifice to it, my friends might think they did a popular act in putting my family at least beyond the reach of necessity, which I myself began to despair of doing. And though I disclaim all pretence to that Spartan or Roman patriotism, which loved the public so well that it was always ready to become a voluntary sacrifice to the public good, I do solemnly declare I have that love for my family.

After this confession therefore, that the public was not the principal deity to which my life was offered a sacrifice, and when it is farther considered what a poor sacrifice this was, being indeed no other than the giving up what I saw little likelihood of being able to hold much longer, and which, upon the terms I held it, nothing but the weakness of human nature could represent to me as worth holding at all; the world may, I believe, without envy, allow me all the praise to which I have any title.

My aim, in fact, was praise, which is the last gift they care to bestow; at least, this was not my aim as an end, but rather as a means, of purchasing some moderate provision for my family, which, though it should exceed my merit,

must fall infinitely short of my service, if I succeeded in my attempt.

To say the truth, the public never act more wisely, than when they act most liberally in the distribution of their rewards; and here the good they receive is often more to be considered, than the motive from which they receive it. Example alone is the end of all public punishments and rewards. Laws never inflict disgrace in resentment, nor confer honour from gratitude. For it is very hard, my lord, said a convicted felon at the bar to the late excellent judge Burnet, to hang a poor man for stealing a horse. You are not to be hanged, Sir, answered my ever-honoured and beloved friend, for stealing a horse, but you are to be hanged that horses may not be stolen. In like manner it might have been said to the late duke of Marlborough, when the parliament was so deservedly liberal to him, after the battle of Blenheim. You receive not these honours and bounties on account of a victory past, but that other victories may be obtained.

I was now, in the opinion of all men, dying of a complication of disorders; and were I desirous of playing the advocate, I have an occasion fair enough; but I disdain such an attempt. I relate facts plainly and simply as they are; and let the world draw from them what conclusions they please, taking with them the following facts for their instruction: The one is, that the proclamation offering one hundred pounds for the apprehending felons for certain felonies committed in certain places, which I prevented from being revived, had formerly cost the Government several thousand pounds within a single year. Secondly, that all such proclamations, instead of curing the evil, had actually increased it; had multiplied the

number of robberies ; had propagated the worst and wickedest of perjuries ; had laid snares for youth and ignorance ; which, by the temptation of these rewards, had been sometimes drawn into guilt ; and sometimes, which cannot be thought on without the highest horror, had destroyed them without it. Thirdly, that my plan had not put the Government to more than three hundred pounds expence, and had produced none of the ill consequences above-mentioned ; but lastly, had actually suppressed the evil for a time, and had plainly pointed out the means of suppressing it for ever. This I would myself have undertaken, had my health permitted, at the annual expence of the above-mentioned sum.

After having stood the terrible six weeks which succeeded last Christmas, and put a lucky end, if they had known their own interest, to such numbers of aged and infirm valetudinarians, who might have gasped through two or three mild winters more, I returned to town in February, in a condition less despaired of by myself than by any of my friends. I now became the patient of Dr. Ward, who wished I had taken his advice earlier.

By his advice I was tapped, and fourteen quarts of water drawn from my belly. The sudden relaxation which this caused, added to my enervate, emaciated habit of body, so weakened me, that within two days I was thought to be falling into the agonies of death.

I was at the worst on that memorable day when the public lost Mr. Pelham. From that day, I began slowly, as it were, to draw my feet out of the grave ; till in two months time I had again acquired some little degree of strength ; but was again full of water.

During this whole time, I took Mr. Ward's

medicines, which had seldom any perceptible operation. Those in particular of the diaphoretic kind, the working of which is thought to require a great strength of constitution to support, had so little effect on me, that Mr. Ward declared it was as vain to attempt sweating me as a deal board.

In this situation I was tapped a second time. I had one quart of water less taken from me now than before; but I bore all the consequences of the operation much better. This I attributed greatly to a dose of laudanum prescribed by my surgeon. It first gave me the most delicious flow of spirits, and afterwards as comfortable a nap.

The month of May, which was now begun, it seemed reasonable to expect would introduce the spring, and drive off that winter which yet maintained its footing on the stage. I resolved therefore to visit a little house of mine in the country, which stands at Ealing, in the county of Middlesex, in the best air, I believe in the whole kingdom, and far superior to that of Kensington Gravel-pits; for the gravel is here much wider and deeper, the place higher and more open towards the south, whilst it is guarded from the north wind by a ridge of hills, and from the smells and smoke of London by its distance; which last is not the fate of Kensington, when the wind blows from any corner of the east.

Obligations to Mr. Ward I shall always confess; for I am convinced that he omitted no care in endeavouring to serve me, without any expectation or desire of fee or reward.

The powers of Mr. Ward's remedies want indeed no unfair puffs of mine to give them credit; and though this distemper of the dropsy stands, I believe, first in the list of those over which he is always certain of triumphing; yet, possibly, there

might be something particular in my case, capable of eluding that radical force which had healed so many thousands. The same distemper, in different constitutions, may possibly be attended with such different symptoms, that to find an infallible nostrum for the curing any one distemper in every patient, may be almost as difficult as to find a panacea for the cure of all.

But even such a panacea one of the greatest scholars and best of men did lately apprehend he had discovered. It is true, indeed, he was no physician; that is, he had not by the forms of his education acquired a right of applying his skill in the art of physic to his own private advantage; and yet, perhaps, it may be truly asserted, that no other modern hath contributed so much to make his physical skill useful to the public; at least, that none hath undergone the pains of communicating this discovery in writing to the world. The reader, I think, will scarce need to be informed that the writer I mean, is the late bishop of Cloyne in Ireland, and the discovery, that of the virtues of tar-water.

I then happened to recollect, upon a hint given me by the inimitable and shamefully-distressed author of the *Female Quixote*, that I had many years before, from curiosity only, taken a cursory view of bishop Berkeley's treatise on the virtues of tar-water, which I had formerly observed he strongly contends to be that real panacea which Sydenham supposes to have an existence in nature, though it yet remains undiscovered, and perhaps, will always remain so.

Upon the re-perusal of this book, I found the bishop only asserting his opinion, that tar-water might be useful in the dropsy, since he had known it to have a surprising success in the cure of a

most stubborn anasarca, which is indeed no other than, as the word implies, the dropsy of the flesh; and this was, at that time, a large part of my complaint.

After a short trial, therefore, of a milk diet, which I presently found did not suit with my case, I betook myself to the bishop's prescription, and dosed myself every morning and evening with half a pint of tar-water.

It was no more than three weeks since my last tapping, and my belly and limbs were distended with water. This did not give me the worse opinion of tar-water; for I never supposed there could be any such virtue in tar-water, as immediately to carry off a quantity of water already collected. For my delivery from this, I well knew I must be again obliged to the trochar; and that if the tar-water did me any good at all, it must be only by the slowest degrees; and that if it should ever get the better of my distemper, it must be by the tedious operation of undermining; and not by a sudden attack and storm.

Some visible effects, however, and far beyond what my most sanguine hopes could with any modesty expect, I very soon experienced; the tar-water having, from the very first, lessened my illness, increased my appetite; and added, though in a very slow proportion, to my bodily strength.

But if my strength had increased a little, my water daily increased much more. So that by the end of May, my belly became again ripe for the trochar, and I was a third time tapped; upon which, two very favourable symptoms appeared. I had three quarts of water taken from me less than had been taken the last time; and I bore the relaxation with much less (indeed with scarce any) faintness.

Those of my physical friends, on whose judg-

ment I chiefly depended, seemed to think my only chance of life consisted in having the whole summer before me; in which I might hope to gather sufficient strength to encounter the inclemencies of the ensuing winter. But this change began daily to lessen. I saw the summer mouldering away, or rather indeed, the year passing away, without intending to bring on any summer at all. In the whole month of May the sun scarce appeared three times. So that the early fruits came to the fulness of their growth, and to some appearance of ripeness, without acquiring any real maturity; having wanted the heat of the sun to soften and meliorate their juices. I saw the dropsy gaining rather than losing ground; the distance growing still shorter between the tappings. I saw the asthma likewise beginning again to become more troublesome. I saw the Midsummer quarter drawing towards a close. So that I conceived, if the Michaelmas quarter should steal off in the same manner, as it was, in my opinion, very much to be apprehended it would, I should be delivered up to the attack of winter, before I recruited my forces, so as to be any wise able to withstand them.

I now began to recall an attention, which from the first dawns of my recovery I had conceived, of removing to a warmer climate; and finding this to be approved of by a very eminent physician, I resolved to put it into immediate execution.

Aix in Provence, was the place first thought on; but the difficulties of getting thither was insuperable. The journey by land, beside the expence of it, was infinitely too long and fatiguing; and I could hear of no ship that was likely to set out from London, within any reasonable time, for Marseilles, or any other port in that part of the Mediterranean.

Lisbon was presently fixed on in its room. The air here, as it was near four degrees to the south of Aix, must be more mild and warm, and the winter shorter and less piercing.

It was not difficult to find a ship bound to a place with which we carry on so immense a trade. Accordingly, my brother soon informed me of the excellent accommodations for passengers, which were to be found on board a ship that was obliged to sail for Lisbon in three days.

I eagerly embraced the offer, notwithstanding the shortness of the time; and having given my brother full power to contract for our passage, I began to prepare my family for the voyage with the utmost expedition.

But our great haste was needless; for the captain having twice put off his sailing, I at length invited him to dinner with me at Fordhook, a full week after the time on which he had declared, and that with many asseverations, he must, and would weigh anchor.

He dined with me, according to his appointment; and when all matters were settled between us, left me with positive orders to be on board the Wednesday following; when he declared he would fall down the river to Gravesend; and would not stay a moment for the greatest man in the world.

He advised me to go to Gravesend by land, and there wait the arrival of his ship; assigning many reasons for this, every one of which was, as I well remember, among those that had before determined me to go on board near the Tower.