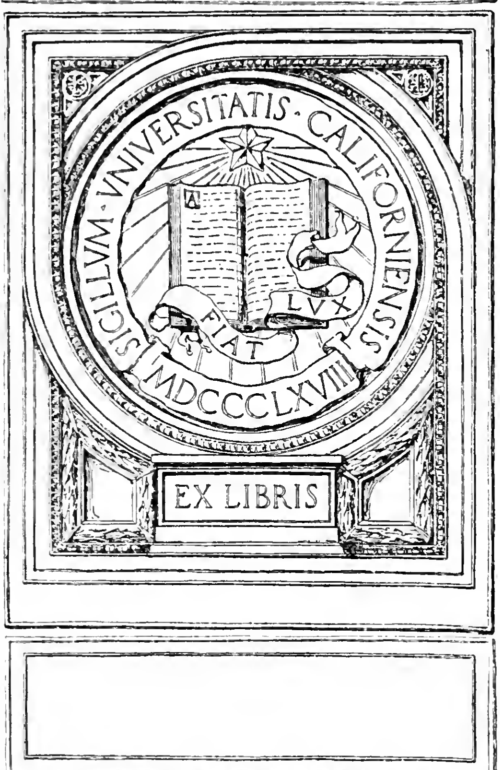
SERO SED SERIO

GIFT OF
JANE K. SATHER



THE HOUSE OF CECIL

Photo Emery Walker *Gheeraedts*

WILLIAM, LORD BURGHLEY, K.G.

THE
CECIL FAMILY

BY

G. RAVENSCROFT DENNIS

ILLUSTRATED

BOSTON AND NEW YORK
HOUGHTON MIFFLIN COMPANY
1914

UNIV. OF
CALIFORNIA

PREFACE

THE house of Cecil rose into eminence in the middle of the sixteenth century, for the latter half of which Lord Burghley was the foremost statesman in England. His sons, Thomas, Earl of Exeter, and Robert, Earl of Salisbury, founded the two branches of the family which still have their seats at Burghley and Hatfield. After the death of Lord Salisbury in 1612, no Cecils with any great claims to distinction appeared in either branch until the middle of the nineteenth century, when the late Marquess of Salisbury, the "greater Cecil of a greater Queen," arose to prove that the spirit of his ancestor was only dormant.

Thus by far the greater part of this record is taken up with the life story of three great men—Lord Burghley, Sir Robert Cecil, and the third Marquess of Salisbury. Of Burghley many lives have been written, and I cannot pretend to have discovered anything new about him. So far as I know, however, no separate biography of Sir Robert Cecil exists, and the chapters devoted to him, inadequate as they are, contain a good deal of material gathered together from various sources for the first time. Since this book is intended to be a history of the family, rather than of public events, I have endeavoured to lay special stress on the private life and character both of Burghley and his son.

203712

Of the late Marquess of Salisbury, no full biography has yet been published, the official Life by Lady Gwendolen Cecil being eagerly awaited. But the history of his public life, at least, is common property, and the main outlines of his character are well known. His many points of resemblance to Lord Burghley have not, I think, been brought out before.

For convenience, the history of the elder branch of the family—the Exeter line—has been told first. Thus the life of Lord Burghley is followed by chapters on Sir Thomas Cecil—a man of no great attainments, but of a straightforward and engaging disposition, who has been unduly depreciated by previous writers—and his son Sir Edward, Viscount Wimbledon. A single chapter is sufficient to chronicle the later fortunes of this branch. The history of the Salisbury line begins with the life of Robert, the first Earl, and ends with that of the late Marquess. The record of the two intervening centuries is again easily contained in one chapter, which, however, is not without elements of human interest.

I have to thank Miss Constance Jacob for her zeal in unearthing information, especially about the less important people whose lives are here recorded; and Mr. S. H. Morgan for reading the proofs and helping me in many ways.

G. R. D.

LUSTLEIGH,
April, 1913

CONTENTS

CHAPTER | PAGE

I. The Founding of the Family . . . 1

II. William Cecil, Lord Burghley . . 15

III. William Cecil, Lord Burghley—*continued*. 36

IV. William Cecil, Lord Burghley—*continued*. 60

V. Thomas Cecil, First Earl of Exeter . 79

VI. Edward Cecil, Viscount Wimbledon . 103

VII. The Exeter Line 121

VIII. Robert Cecil, First Earl of Salisbury . 146

IX. Robert Cecil, First Earl of Salisbury—*continued* 171

X. Robert Cecil, First Earl of Salisbury—*continued* 193

XI. The Salisbury Line 219

XII. The Third Marquess of Salisbury . . 247

XIII. The Third Marquess of Salisbury—*continued* 279

Appendix: The Manuscripts at Hatfield . . 313

Index 317

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

William, Lord Burghley, K.G. . . . *Frontispiece*
By Marc Gheeraedts

Burghley House: North-west View . . *Facing p.* 34

Burghley House: Ground Plan . . . . ,, 54

William, Lord Burghley, K.G., riding on a Mule ,, 76
(*Bodleian Library*)

Thomas, First Earl of Exeter, K.G. . . ,, 96

Burghley House: The Stone Staircase . . ,, 134
From a drawing by Joseph Nash, 1841

Burghley House: The Central Court . . ,, 144
From a drawing by Joseph Nash, 1841

Robert, First Earl of Salisbury, K.G. . . ,, 176
By Marc Gheeraedts

Hatfield House: South View . . . . ,, 204

Hatfield House: Ground Plan . . . . ,, 208

William, Second Earl of Salisbury, K.G. . ,, 220
By Vandyck

Mary Amelia, Wife of James, First Marquess of Salisbury . . . . ,, 240
By Sir J. Reynolds

Hatfield House: The Long Gallery . . ,, 256
From a drawing by Joseph Nash, 1841

Robert, Third Marquess of Salisbury, K.G. . ,, 272
By George Richmond, R.A.

Hatfield House: North View . . . . ,, 304

THE CECILS

CHAPTER I

THE FOUNDING OF THE FAMILY

THE authentic history of the house of Cecil may be said to begin with David Cyssell, or Syssell, of Stamford, the grandfather of Lord Burghley. Unfortunately Burghley delighted in heraldry and genealogy, a dangerous hobby in those days, when even the kings-of-arms were not above manufacturing a long pedigree for a man of wealth and position. Numerous scraps of pedigrees and genealogical notes in Burghley's handwriting exist at Hatfield, which, if they prove nothing else, show at least that the pedigree which was finally accepted was the outcome of a dozen other versions which did not work out satisfactorily. "The collections made for him," says Mr. Oswald Barron, "are suspect in their origin and untrustworthy in detail, and it might have been better for the modern genealogist had Burghley been careless of his source, for we have on this side the suspicion of documents tampered with, and on the other

side the suspicion that inconvenient fact has been suppressed."[1]

According to the official pedigree, David Cyssell was the younger son of Richard Cicell of Allt yr Ynys in Herefordshire, and his descent is traced back through fifteen generations to one Robert Sytsylt, who, in the year 1091, assisted Robert Fitz-Hamon in the conquest of Glamorganshire, and was the father of Sir James Sitsilt, baron of Beauport.

In the course of four centuries the family is said to have become allied by marriage to many of the most ancient and eminent families in the county of Hereford, such as the Frenes, Pembridges, Baskervilles, De la Beres, and others, yet it is a surprising fact that throughout this long period its name does not once appear among the sheriffs of the county, nor among its representatives in Parliament, nor even in the list of the gentry of Herefordshire drawn up in the reign of Henry VI., though that list contains many of the names which are enumerated among the Cecil alliances.[2]

To add further verisimilitude to the record, a picturesque story is told of a great contention between Sir John Sitsilt and Sir William Fakenham, which took place in 1333 at Halidon Hill, near Berwick. Each disputant claimed a certain coat of arms[3] as his right, and offered to maintain the

[1] *Northamptonshire Families* (*Victoria County Histories*), p. 21. Mr. Barron's researches have rendered all other writers on the subject obsolete.

[2] Blore, *History of Rutland* (1811), p. 76.

[3] Viz., Barry of ten, argent and azure, over all six escutcheons, 3.2.1. each charged with a lion rampant of the field. The present arms of the Cecils.

same by force of arms. Edward III., however, referred the dispute to the heralds, who solemnly adjudged the right of bearing these arms to Sir John Sitsilt, as heir of the blood, lineally descended from Sir James Sitsilt, Lord of Beauport, who was killed at the siege of Wallingford in 1139. In his *Workes of Armorie* (1597) Bossewell gives transcripts of these proceedings, adding that he has himself seen in the possession of Lord Burghley the original writing, "being written in parchment, according to the antiquity of the time."

Here again it is surprising to find that the names of neither of these distinguished disputants occur in any of the rolls of arms; and although such disputes did undoubtedly occur in the middle ages, yet, to sum up the matter in the words of Blore, "the evidence should be very decisive indeed, which would induce one to credit such a dispute having been maintained by a member of a family, concerning at least eleven generations of which there does not seem to be a single public record, or another private document, even if those noticed by Bossewell really existed"—or rather, we may say, if they were really authentic. In fact, as Mr. Oswald Barron points out, the whole proceedings are based on the famous suit of Scrope against Grosvenor.

This version of the ancestry of the family may therefore be dismissed. Two other theories must be mentioned before we pass on to surer ground. One of these was propounded by an ingenious Frenchman in the seventeenth century, who

proved to his own satisfaction that the family was descended from the Ceciles of Frâsne in Burgundy, and that David Cecil of Stamford was the first who settled in England.[1] The other suggestion is that of Richard Verstegan, who, speaking of the Welsh people, says, " it is not to be doubted but that during the space of about 500 years that they were subject unto the Romans, divers of the Romans settled and mixed themselves among them ; whose posterity hath since remained in account as being of the ancient families of Wales ; and I do find very probable reason to enduce me to think, that among others, the honourable family of the Cecils, being issued from Wales, is originally descended from the Romans." [2]

Returning to reasonable probabilities, it may be said that although the pedigrees which assign a long lineage to the Cicelts or Seycelds of Allt yr Ynys are entirely untrustworthy, there seems no reason to doubt that a connection did exist between them and the Cecils of Stamford.

The Herefordshire family, " a race of yeomen or small gentry," certainly claimed kinship with the Northamptonshire Cecils, and made frequent requests for preferment and help on the strength of the connection. The Cecils on their side admitted the relationship and Burghley adopted

[1] See Nares, *Memoirs of Burghley*, III. App. I.

[2] *Restitution of Decayed Intelligence in Antiquities*, ed. 1673, p. 346. Mr Andrew Lang considered that the *name* of Cecil was derived from the Roman Cæcilius, which may very likely be the case. He also stated that Russell Lowell thought the original form of the name was " Sicile," and that the family were Jews from Sicily (*Illustrated London News*, November 11th, 1911, p. 762).

the arms of the Seycelds, quartered with Winston and Carlyon.[1]

A pedigree, apparently genuine, at Hatfield, shows that Philip Seyceld of Allt yr Ynys had a son Richard, whose will, October 8th, 1508, is also extant. Richard had two sons, Philip, of Allt yr Ynys, who seems to have died in his father's lifetime, and David, who in all probability is identical with the grandfather of Lord Burghley.

Philip had a son John, who died in 1551; and John had three sons, the eldest of whom, William, died in March, 1598, leaving one son and eight daughters. One of his sons-in-law, Paul de la Hay, sends Burghley an account of the funeral, from which we see that the family looked up to the Lord Treasurer as their patron and protector. He describes how the eight sons-in-law of the deceased and three of his nephews followed the coffin, and after them his son Matthew's wife, the eight daughters, and William's sister Alice in mourning attire. "His wife refused to be present, albeit requested and a gown's cloth sent her." Afterwards a distribution of bread and money was made to the poor, "and so," he continues, "in worshipful manner was the funeral celebrated to your Lordship's commendations, for that to the credit

[1] Mr. A. C. Fox-Davies has pointed out that the fact that Lord Burghley adopted these arms with quartering of Winston only (for Carlyon was brought in by Winston) "would seem to indicate the probability that that much of the pedigree was within his own knowledge which it may well have been." The mother of the first Philip Seyceld, mentioned above, is said to have been a Winston. See *The Genealogy of the Cecils*, in Jack's *Historical Monograph on Lord Burghley* (1904).

of the house of Alterinis, I gave out the charge to be yours, which amounted to £100." [1]

Matthew, William's only son, was dangerously ill at the time and died soon afterwards, not without having tried to oppose his father's will. Two of the sons-in-law also appealed to Lord Burghley, on the ground that William, "wishing to continue the name of Cecil in that house," had conveyed the property to Sir Robert Cecil and his heirs, "to the disherison of his own issue." They also accused Paul de la Hay and another of the sons-in-law of having seized all William's valuable personal property "under a disorderly will which was written by a servant of the said De la Hay."

Nor did the altercations and dissensions in the family end here. Matthew's widow, Catherine, caused great trouble, and De la Hay charges her with "playing a lewd part of purpose to raise seed to disinherit Sir Robert: with waste of goods, with harbouring Lloyd a murderer, of purpose to murder him [De la Hay], and with beating and starving Alice the aged sister of William Cecil." De la Hay, by arrangement with Sir Robert, assumed control of the property, which however he found so hampered with debts, dowries, heriots and legacies that he says, "I shall have as good a bargain as an egg for a penny."

Finally the estate was sold and came into the possession of Guy's Hospital. And so we may take leave of the Herefordshire Cecils.

[1] *Cal. of Hatfield MSS.*, VIII. 82. The details that follow are also obtained from the Hatfield papers.

The history of David Cecil, the younger son of Richard, is of greater interest, as he was the founder of his family's fortunes. Through his grandmother he was related to Sir David Philipp, who accompanied Henry VII. out of Wales and fought at Bosworth Field, afterwards settling at Thornhaugh in Northamptonshire.[1] Burghley states that David Cecil followed Sir David Philipp in the campaign, and "Davy Scisseld" proved his will in 1506 as one of his executors. Further proof of the identity of Burghley's grandfather with the Welsh David is afforded by the fact that the former was one of the yeomen of the guard, who were chiefly composed of Henry's Welsh followers.[2]

As for the differences in the spelling of the name, a letter written by Burghley's son, the first Earl of Exeter, to his uncle, Hugh Allington (November 13th, 1605), is of interest. Some libel having been published reflecting on the origin of the family, he asks his uncle to search in his study at Burghley for documents, and adds: "Likewise my Lord my father's altering the writing of his name maketh many that are not well affected to our house to doubt whether we are rightly descended of the house of Wales, because they write their name Sitselt and our name is written Cecyll; my grandfather wrote it Syssell; and so in autography [*sic*] all the three names

[1] Blore, *History of Rutland.*

[2] A fact discovered by Mr. Oswald Barron, to whom I am indebted for many of the details of David's life. See *Northamptonshire Families.*

differ. Whereof I marvel what moved my Lord my father to alter it.''[1]

To this it may be added that in the Patent Rolls David's name is spelt: Scisseld, Cecille, Cecill, Cecile, Sicile, Ceyssell, and the variants Cicyll and Cecyll occur in connection with his son Richard.

David Cecil, then, settled in Stamford, and soon established himself as a worthy citizen. He was admitted to the freedom of the borough in 1494, and was a common councillor and one of "the twelve" in the following year. He was alderman, or mayor of the borough in 1504, 1515, and 1526, and represented it in three Parliaments. In 1507 he founded a chantry in St. George's Church, and in 1509 his name occurs in the list of the yeomen of the King's guard at the funeral of Henry VII. The same year he was made Bailiff of Preston, Uppingham, and Essendine, in Rutland, and of Skellingthorpe, in Lincolnshire; and in June, 1511, he received the appointment of Water-bailiff of Wittlesea Mere, Huntingdon, and Keeper of the Swans there and throughout the waters and fens in the counties of Huntingdon, Cambridge, Lincoln, and Northampton, for the term of thirty years. Two years later he was made one of the King's Serjeants-at-Arms, and in 1517 he secured for his son Richard the office of a King's page. He also obtained the Keepership of Clyff Park, Northamptonshire, jointly with his son, and afterwards received the further appointment of Steward of the King's

[1] *Collins' Peerage*, ed. Brydges, II. 587.

manor of Colly-Weston in the same county and Escheator for the county of Lincoln. In 1532 and 1533 he was Sheriff of the county of Northampton, "which," says Fuller, "proves him a person of birth, brains, and estate; seeing, in that age, in this county, so plentiful of capable persons, none were advanced to that office except esquires at least of much merit."[1]

This long list of appointments and offices proves also that David Cecil was a man of much more than average energy and perseverance, as well as uncommon ability. The old territorial nobility, whose ranks had been depleted by the Wars of the Roses, were giving place to a new nobility, dependent on the favour of the King; and the large landed proprietors began to be recruited from the ranks of yeomen and smaller gentry. Both David Cecil and his son were quick to take advantage of the situation, assiduously courting the King's favour and acquiring lands, property and influence.

Lord Burghley has recorded in his MS. Diary that his grandfather died in 1536.[2] But there is evidence that he was still a yeoman of the guard in December of that year, and though his will is dated January 25th, 1536, which may have given rise to the mistake, it was not proved till March, 1542. We may conclude therefore that he died shortly before the later date.

He was twice married, first to Alice Dicons, daughter and heir of John Dicons, alderman of Stamford, who was also connected by marriage

[1] *Worthies*, ed. 1840, II. 535.

[2] "*Anno* 1536. David Cecil, avus meus, mortuus est."

with Sir David Philipp, and secondly to Joan Roos, daughter and heir of Thomas Roos, of Dowsby, Lincolnshire, who had twice previously been married. By his first wife he had two sons, Richard and David, and by his second, one daughter, Joan.[1]

Among the various properties which came into his hands was the manor of Burghley, near Stamford, which he bought in 1526—1528 from Margaret Chambers and Thomas Williams junior.[2] From this estate his grandson took his title, after erecting the mansion which still remains the seat of the senior branch of the family.

By his will David left to his wife all his lands for the term of her life (she died in 1537) and after her death to his son Richard; among other things he left her "twenty kye and a bull," three beds and several pieces of silver, to one of which, "a piece gilt with the wheat-sheaf in the bottom, the which I gave her before our marriage," interest attaches since the wheatsheaf is still the crest of the Exeter branch of the Cecils.[3]

[1] Joan married Edmund Browne, alderman of Stamford, and from this marriage was descended Richard Browne (1550—1633), the leader of the earliest Separatists, hence called Brownists, the forerunners of the present Congregationalists. When imprisoned, in 1581, he was released by the influence of Lord Burghley, who afterwards presented him to the living of Achurch, Northamptonshire.

[2] *Victoria County History, Northamptonshire*, II. 524. Earlier authorities state that the old and new Manors of Burghley were bought by Richard Cecil, and a memorandum exists in Lord Burghley's handwriting, in which he gives a history of the manors, and adds "Ista Margarita vendidit omnes suas terras Ricardo Cecill, patri meo" (Peck, *Desiderata Curiosa*, I. 80). Martin Hume, in *The Great Lord Burghley*, and following him Dr. Jessopp, state that Burghley was brought into the family by Richard's wife, Jane Heckington, but this is a mistake.

[3] The Salisbury branch bears a different crest, the origin of which is

He left to his eldest son, Richard, two complete feather beds and his best gown; to his second son, David, two more complete feather beds and one other bed, a black gown lined with damask, a doublet of satin and his green coat; and to his daughter Joan he left £20 to be delivered to her mother for her marriage and half of his household goods at Dowsby. The residue of his goods he left to Richard, against whom David afterwards brought an unsuccessful action on the ground that his brother had fraudulently deprived him of certain lands that were rightfully his.

Among the bequests made by David Cecil to his son Richard was his interest in the Tabard Inn, which had come to him from his father-in-law, John Dicons. This suggests an explanation of a story which obtained a wide circulation in later years, to the effect that Lord Burghley's grandfather "kept the best inn in Stamford." Such an imputation, which first appeared in a scurrilous Latin pamphlet issued in the Low Countries under the title of *Philopatris*,[1] touched Burghley in his most sensitive part, as its originators no doubt knew. It has hitherto been regarded as a mere slander, but it now appears that it may have had some foundation in fact. As Mr. Barron

told in a letter from F. Cordale, July 21st, 1599. Sir Robert Cecil, he says, "has found a new pedigree, by his grandmother, from the Walpoles, and altered his crest from a sheaf of wheat between two lions, to two sheaves of arrows crossed and covered with a helmet, to distinguish his retinue from his brother's" (*Cal. S. P. Dom.*).

[1] *Collins' Peerage*, II. 587. See also letters from Dr. Ch. Parkins to Sir R. Cecil concerning this book, November 22nd and 26th, 1593 (*Hatfield MSS.*, IV. 419, 423).

points out, David was probably only a trustee of the Tabard Inn, yet "the inn-keeper's trade was then a good one, and it is at least possible that he mended his fortunes by following for a while his father-in-law's calling."[1] However this may be, Fuller's words remain true: "No credit is to be given to their pens who tax him with meanness of birth, and whose malice is so general against all goodness that it had been a slander if this worthy man had not been slandered by them."

Richard Cecil entered into his father's inheritance and still further increased the position and the property of the family. As already noticed, he was a King's page in 1517, and in this capacity he attended the King at the Field of the Cloth of Gold in 1520. He was afterwards appointed Groom of the Wardrobe, "a place," says the earliest biographer of Lord Burghley,[2] "though now esteemed but mean, yet at that time of good account. For then the King did ordinarily make himself ready in the robes, where Mr. Cecil being chief and a wise discreet man, was in great favour with the King, who gave him both countenance and living." He profited by the Royal favour, and was appointed in turn Bailiff of the manors and woods of Torpell, Maxey and Bourne, Constable of Maxey Castle, Constable of Warwick Castle, and Steward of the manors of Nassington, Yarwell

[1] *Northamptonshire Families*, pp. 22, 23.

[2] His *Life* by an unknown member of his household is printed in Peck's *Desiderata Curiosa*.

and Upton, all in Northamptonshire. He received the reversion of his father's office of Bailiff of Wittlesea Mere and Keeper of the Swans for a term of thirty years, and in 1539—1540 he was Sheriff of Rutland.

In addition to these appointments, he received very numerous grants of lands, the most important of which, dated July 9th, 1540, included the site of St. Michael's Priory, near Stamford, the church, and 229 acres of land in the parish of St. Martin's Stamford, with the advowson, the convent house in Easton, Northants, and the manor and advowson of the vicarage of Wothorpe. He also purchased various estates in Rutland, as well as in Kent and Lincolnshire.[1]

Henry VIII. showed Richard Cecil a last mark of favour by leaving him £100 in his will, but it is doubtful whether he profited by this generosity, as the legacy was not payable until the King's debts had been discharged. He continued to act as Groom of the Wardrobe to Edward VI., and died at his house in Cannon Row in March, 1553, being buried at St. Margaret's, Westminster. He married Jane, daughter and heir of William Heckington, of Lincolnshire, by whom he had one son, William, afterwards Lord Burghley, and three daughters: Anne (or Agnes), who married Thomas White of Tuxford, Notts: Margaret, who married Roger Cave, and afterwards Ambrose Smith: and Elizabeth, who married Robert Wingfield, and

[1] See Blore, *History of Rutland*, and Barron, *Northamptonshire Families*.

afterwards Hugh Allington. William was also twice married, so that Richard's four children between them underwent matrimony seven times. But second marriages were much more common then than now.

CHAPTER II

WILLIAM CECIL, LORD BURGHLEY

DAVID and Richard Cecil were successful men of the world, and to them the beginnings of the material prosperity of the family are due. But though they planted the stock firmly on the road to greatness, it was William, Lord Burghley, who completed what they had begun, and made the name of Cecil famous throughout the world. With little to help him but his own great abilities, he rose to be Secretary of State at the age of thirty, and from the accession of Elizabeth till his death—a period of forty years—he presided over the affairs of the nation with an authority second only to the Queen, guiding the country successfully through the dangers and difficulties of a supremely critical period, and so increasing her prestige that at his death England had finally taken her place among the great European powers.

William Cecil was born on September 13th, 1520, at Bourne in Lincolnshire, probably at the house of his mother's parents. He gave evidence of more than ordinary ability in his earliest years, "being," we are told,[1] "in his infancy so pregnant in wit, and so desirous and apt to learn, as in

[1] See the *Life*, by a gentleman of his household, already referred to (Peck, *Desiderata Curiosa*, p. 4). Other details of his youth and character are drawn from the same source.

expectation foretold his great future fortune." He was educated at the Grammar School at Grantham, and afterwards at Stamford, and in May, 1535, at the age of fourteen, he entered as a student at St. John's College, Cambridge.

Here he distinguished himself by his " diligence and towardness," hiring the bell-ringer to call him at four o'clock in the morning, and applying himself so closely to his studies that he seriously injured his health (" which was thought one of the original causes of his gout "). The Master of the College, Dr. Medcalf, a man who, though no scholar himself, knew how to breed scholars and had made St. John's the most famous place of education in England, showed special favour to young Cecil, and " would often give him money to encourage him." And he proved so " toward, studious and rarely capable " that he read the sophistry lecture at the age of sixteen and afterwards read the Greek lecture, " as a gentleman for his exercise upon pleasure, without pension, before he was nineteen years old; which he performed so learnedly as was beyond expectation of a student of his time or one of his years or birth. For at that time it was a rare thing to have any perfection in the Greek tongue."

Among Cecil's acquaintances at Cambridge were Matthew Parker, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, Nicholas Bacon, father of Francis and afterwards Lord Keeper, Roger Ascham and John Cheke, who subsequently became Regius Professor of Greek and tutor to Edward VI.

With the latter he was especially intimate, though Cheke was a few years his senior and was already a Fellow of St. John's College, with a great reputation as a Greek scholar. His father, Peter Cheke, had been esquire-bedell of the University, but his widow was left in poor circumstances and supported herself and her children by keeping a wine-shop in the town. Here it was that Cecil met and fell in love with Mary Cheke, the sister of his friend. Whether his father found out what was going on we cannot tell, but in May, 1541, after six years' residence, Cecil left the University without taking a degree and entered Gray's Inn. It is a reasonable inference that his father, who no doubt had more ambitious designs for his son, removed him from Cambridge prematurely on account of this unbecoming attachment. If so his efforts were in vain; for in August, what is, so far as we know, the only romantic episode in the life of William Cecil, culminated in his marriage with Mary Cheke. We learn incidentally from a letter written many years later, that on this occasion he incurred his father's severe displeasure.[1]

As to his studies at Gray's Inn, little is known. In view of his amazing industry throughout his life, it is hardly to be supposed that he was idle. Yet it is strange that in after years he is said to have specially commended the study of the common law above all other learning, saying that "if he should begin again, he would follow that study"; and his ignorance of law is confirmed by

[1] Roger Alford to Cecil, April 9th, 1553 (*Hatfield MSS.*, I. 435).

a letter written to him by Edward Griffin, the Queen's Attorney, in 1557, in which he says he is sorry Cecil was never of Gray's Inn, " nor can skill of no law." Probably he never intended to take up the law as a profession, and if he applied himself seriously to the subject at all, his studies were broken off by his promotion at Court. He is said to have laid the foundation at this time of his knowledge of genealogy and heraldry, of which mention has already been made. In these matters he was afterwards recognised as an expert, being specially interested in the pedigrees of Royal houses and great families in England and abroad—a taste he gratified by decorating the walls of Theobalds with genealogical trees. Such importance did he attach to this study, that when his son was in Paris, in 1561, he was anxious that he should receive instruction from a herald, so as to " understand the principal families and their alliances in France." [1]

Whatever his intellectual occupations may have been while at Gray's Inn, his " witty mirth and merry temper " made him popular among his fellows, and he is said to have been very fond of practical jokes and other merry jests. An example is given by his domestic biographer :—

" Among the rest I heard him tell this merriment of himself. That a mad companion enticed him to play, where in short time he lost all his money, bedding, and books to his companion ; having never used play before. And being among his other company, told how such a one

[1] Burgon, *Life of Sir T. Gresham*, I. 229.

had misled him ; saying he would presently have a device to be even with him. And he was as good as his word ; with a long 'tronke' made a hole in the wall, near his playfellow's bed's-head, and in a fearful voice, spake thus, through the tronke. 'O mortal man, repent ! repent of thy horrible time, play, cousenage, and such lewdness, or else thou art damned, and canst not be saved !' Which at midnight, all alone, so amazed him, as drove him into a sweat for fear. Most penitent and heavy, the next day, in presence of the youths, he told, with trembling, what a fearful voice spake to him at midnight, vowing never to play again : and calling for Mr. Cecil, asked him for forgiveness on his knees ; and restored all his money, bedding and books. So two gamesters were both reclaimed with this merry device, and never played more."

The same authority tells us how Cecil attracted the notice of Henry VIII. Going down to Court one day to see his father, he met two priests, chaplains to Conn O'Neill, the Irish chieftain. With them he fell into a disputation (in Latin), "wherein he showed so great learning and wit, as he proved the poor priests to have neither ; who were so put down, as they had not a word to say," but retired discomfited. The King, hearing of this encounter, called for Cecil, and "after a long talk with him, much delighted with his answers, willed his father to find out a suit for him. Whereupon he became suitor for a reversion of the *Custos Brevium* office in the common pleas, which the King willingly granted." Later writers state that the subject of the argument was the supremacy of the Pope ; but of this there is no evidence. This incident must belong to the year

1542, when O'Neill made submission to the King and was created Earl of Tyrone.

In May of the same year, a son, Thomas, was born to Cecil at Cambridge and less than a year later his wife died (February 22nd, 1543). He did not long remain a widower, and his father can have found no fault with his second choice. In December, 1545, he married the eldest daughter of Sir Anthony Cooke, of Gidea Hall, Essex, one of the leading exponents of the new learning. Mildred Cooke, then aged twenty, was one of four sisters, all of whom were "brought up in learning of Greek and Latin above their sex"[1] and were married to men of note. One of them, Anne, became the wife of Sir Nicholas Bacon and was the mother of Francis Bacon; while another, Elizabeth, married Sir Thomas Hoby, Ambassador in France, and afterwards John, Lord Russell. Of the fourth, who married Sir Henry Killigrew, little is known. The connection must have been socially of considerable value to Cecil. Mildred herself, "a wise and vertuous gentlewoman," is thus commemorated by a contemporary poet :—

> "Cooke is comely, and thereto
> In books sets all her care;
> In learning with the Roman dames
> Of right she may compare."[2]

Ascham, in a letter to Sturmius (August, 1550), couples her with Lady Jane Grey, as the two most

[1] Camden's *Annals*.

[2] *Richard Edwardes's Praze of eight ladyes of Queen Elizabeth's Court.* Quoted by Naunton, *Fragmenta Regalia*, ed. 1824, p. 51.

learned ladies in England, saying that she "understands and speaks Greek like English,[1] so that it may be doubted whether she is most happy in the possession of this surpassing degree of knowledge, or in having for her preceptor and father, Sir Anthony Cooke, whose singular erudition caused him to be joined with John Cheke in the office of tutor to the King; or finally in having become the wife of William Cecil, lately appointed Secretary of State: a young man indeed but mature in wisdom, and so deeply skilled, both in letters and affairs, and endued with such moderation in the exercise of public offices, that to him would be awarded by the consenting voice of Englishmen the four-fold praise attributed to Pericles by his rival Thucydides: 'To know all that is fitting, to be able to apply what he knows, to be a lover of his country, and superior to money.'"

On the death of Henry VIII., in 1547, Cecil was in a very advantageous position. He was connected by marriage with John Cheke and Sir Anthony Cooke, the young King's tutors, and had already gained the good graces of the Earl of Hertford, who now became the Protector Somerset. He was thus identified with the rising party at Court, and about this time, the office of *Custos rotulorum brevium*, of which he held the reversion, fell in, giving him, according to his own estimate, an income of about £240 a year.

[1] She translated a treatise of St. Chrysostom into English.

He was now twenty-seven years of age, and must have already shown his abilities, for Somerset in the same year appointed him his "Master of Requests." This was an office, probably of a secretarial nature, connected with the Court of Requests set up by the Protector in Somerset House "to hear poor men's petitions and suits." Here he had his first experience of such complaints and applications, which, throughout the rest of his life, he received in greater numbers, perhaps, than have ever fallen to the share of any one man, before or since.

He accompanied Somerset in his expedition to Scotland, in the capacity of one of the "judges of the Marshalsea," *i.e.*, in the courts-martial,[1] the other judge being William Patten, the chronicler of the campaign. At the battle of Pinkie, where the Scots were disastrously routed (September, 1547), he had a narrow escape, being "miraculously saved by one that, putting forth his arm to thrust Mr. Cecil out of the level of the cannon, had his arm stricken off."[2] This was his first and only experience of fighting, and indeed he was so essentially a man of peaceful and sedentary habits, caring nothing for any form of sport or athletic exercise, that he must have felt out of place in a field of battle.

He was more at home in Parliament, for which he was elected to sit for the borough of Stamford in November, 1547. In the following year, Somer-

[1] See *Encyclopædia Britannica*, 11th ed., art. "Burghley."

[2] Peck.

set made him his private secretary, a position, however, which he was not to hold for many months. Somerset's well-meaning but unpractical and impolitic measures had gradually roused resentment against him in all classes, except the peasantry, who had no influence; and in the autumn of 1549 matters came to a crisis. The Earl of Warwick, fresh from suppressing the peasants' rising in Norfolk, gathered round him the malcontents in the Council, and the Protector's party quickly dwindled away. On October 10th, Somerset was arrested, and a few days later he was committed to the Tower. Cecil retained his liberty for the time, possibly owing to Warwick's friendship with his father,[1] but in November he too was in the Tower, where he remained until the end of January. He then received his freedom, but was bound under a penalty of a thousand marks to appear before the Council when called upon.

Somerset himself was set free soon afterwards, and was re-admitted to the Privy Council. In the summer the two factions were allied together by the marriage of Somerset's daughter, Lady Anne Seymour, with Warwick's eldest son, Lord Lisle; but one can hardly believe that anyone expected a permanent alliance between men of such entirely different aims and ideals. Warwick was, in fact, already scheming to get rid of his rival, and in October, 1551, Somerset was again arrested on a

[1] Hume, *The Great Lord Burghley*, p. 21. See *S. P. Dom.*, Northumberland to Cecil, May 31st, 1552.

fabricated charge of treason and felony. His trial and condemnation were followed by his execution in January, 1552.

Meanwhile Cecil seems to have lost no time in ingratiating himself with Warwick, and on September, 5th, 1550, he was appointed one of the two Secretaries of State. A year later, October 11th, 1551, he was knighted and sworn of the Privy Council, his brother-in-law, John Cheke, receiving the honour of knighthood at the same time.

Cecil's action at this critical time has been much discussed. The facts are clear. The secretary and right-hand man of the Protector, the most intimate member of his circle, accepted without demur, honours and office from the man who had supplanted him—a man of whose sinister character and ambitions he cannot have been ignorant. Moreover, his behaviour to the statesman who had befriended and advanced him appears to have been callous in the extreme. Somerset, when he first became aware of the scheme against him, sent for Cecil "to tell him he suspected some ill"; whereupon Cecil is said to have replied "that if he were not guilty, he might be of good courage; if he were, he had nothing to say but to lament him."[1]

This incident is said to have occurred on October 14th, three days after Cecil had been knighted and Warwick had become Duke of Northumberland. Two days later Somerset was

[1] *King Edward VI.'s Journal.* See Tytler's *History of Edward VI. and Mary,* II. 4.

in the Tower, and though Cecil took no public part in his trial, a document in his handwriting exists, containing a list of questions to be put to the prisoner, all of a nature to compromise him.[1]

Such conduct is not that of a hero. But Cecil was not cast in a heroic mould. He played for safety all his life, and was quite incapable of sacrificing himself to satisfy the demands of gratitude or friendship, especially as no action on his part could possibly have benefited his former patron.

In such a matter, as in all others affecting the relations between man and man, the standard of conduct is regulated by customs and conventions which vary from age to age; and a course of action which would meet with severe reprobation at the present day was then considered highly meritorious. Sir Thomas Morysine, Ambassador to the Emperor, no doubt echoed the general opinion when he wrote to congratulate Cecil on escaping his patron's fate, and added, "For it were a way to make an end of amity, if, when men fall, their friends should forthwith therefore be troubled."[2] That Sir William's friends thought him fortunate, rather than reprehensible, is shown by a letter from Sir W. Pickering, who wrote from Paris (October 27th, 1551) expressing his pleasure to hear "the form of your good fortune to be found undefiled with the folly of this unfortunate Duke."[3]

[1] *Cotton MSS.*, Titus B. II. Quoted by Hume, p. 29.
[2] *Cal. S. P. Foreign*, November 18th, 1551.
[3] Tytler, II. 67.

At the same time, it is impossible to deny that Cecil was ruled by the dictates of his own ambition, and his cold and calculating nature led him into a course of action from which a man of more generous disposition would have shrunk. Worldly wisdom was his guide, as the Precepts which he addressed to his son Sir Robert Cecil sufficiently show. One of these is concerned with the attitude to be adopted towards the great, and may be quoted here. "Be sure to keep some great man thy friend," he says, "but trouble him not for trifles, compliment him often with many and small gifts, and if thou hast cause to bestow any great gratuity, let it be something which may be daily in sight, otherwise, in this ambitious age, thou shalt remain like a hop without a pole, live in obscurity, and be made a football for every insulting companion to spurn at."

The hand of Cecil is to be seen in all the measures of this reign. While ministers were plotting and scheming, the Secretary was indefatigable in business, giving his whole time and attention to the affairs of state. "Of all men of genius," it has been said, "he was the most of a drudge; of all men of business, the most of a genius."[1]

Financial reform, the liquidation of the King's debt, and the improvement of commerce, were all in turn the objects of his care. He also took an active part in the measures for the settlement of the Church, and Cranmer, before submitting the new "Forty-two Articles" to Parliament and

[1] Guthrie, *History of England*, III. 69.

Convocation, referred them absolutely to Cecil and Cheke, " the two great patrons of the Reformation at Court."[1]

He must have been admitted into the intimate confidence of the young King, as is shown by the story that the Princess Mary, on receipt of a letter from her brother enjoining her conformity, remarked " Ah! good Master Cecil took much pains here."

On April 12th, 1553, he was appointed Chancellor of the Order of the Garter, and notes in his Diary, " Paid the embroiderers for xxxvj schutchyns for my servants' coats at ij s. each, iii l. xii s,"[2] an entry which shows us that already he kept a large establishment.

In the spring of this year the state of the King's health hastened on Northumberland's mad plan for securing the succession to his own family. On May 21st he married his son, Lord Guilford Dudley, to the Lady Jane Grey, daughter of the Duke of Suffolk and grand-daughter of Henry VIII.'s youngest sister Mary, Queen-Dowager of France. He then persuaded the King to set aside his father's will, under which the succession was to descend to Mary and Elizabeth, and to draw up a new deed of settlement, devising the Crown to Lady Jane Grey. These manœuvres placed Cecil in a difficult and dangerous position and he did all he could to avoid personal responsibility in the matter.

[1] Strype.

[2] Burghley invariably used Roman numerals for his accounts and reckonings.

His health was never very good and he had had a serious illness at Wimbledon two years before. He was now again kept to his house by a grave indisposition, which attacked him at so opportune a moment that it is generally supposed to have had a diplomatic origin. There is no doubt, however, that he was over-worked, and his friend Dr. Wotton wrote from Paris to urge him to moderate his labours, "your complexion being not strong enough to continue as you began." It was on this occasion that Lord Audley sent him the following simple recipes.[1]

A good medicine for weakness or consumption.

"Take a sow-pig of nine days old, and flea him and quarter him, and put him in a stillatory with a handful of spearmint, a handful of red fennel, a handful of liverwort, and half a handful of red nepe [turnip], a handful of celery, nine dates clean picked and pared, a handful of great raisins, and pick out the stones, and a quarter of an ounce of mace and two sticks of good cinnamon bruised in a mortar: and distil it together, with a fair fire; and put it in a glass, and set it in the sun nine days; and drink a spoonful of it at once when you list."

A compost.

"Item. Take a porpin, otherwise called an English hedgehog, and quarter him in pieces, and put the said beast in a still with these ingredients: item, a quart of red wine, a pint of rose-water, a quart of sugar, cinnamon and great raisins, one date, twelve nepe."

Whether these remedies were efficacious we do not learn. But by June 14th Sir William was well enough

[1] Tytler, II. 169, 170.

to be at Court, and on that day the "devise" of the Crown was signed by all the members of the Privy Council, with the exception of Sir John Hales. In this matter again Cecil took the safe course. That he protested against the whole proceeding is certain. His servant Roger Alford states that from the first moment it was in contemplation he expressed his aversion to it and declared that "whatever became of it he would never partake of that devise." He must have realised that such a document, extorted from a minor on his deathbed, could not override the will of Henry VIII., which had received parliamentary sanction; and he no doubt foresaw that Northumberland's ambition would overreach itself and involve him and his abettors in ruin.

Nevertheless the violence of Northumberland and the command of the King impelled him to affix his signature, though he afterwards protested that he signed merely as a witness—a plea that avails him nothing in view of the fact that he also signed the promise by which the Council bound themselves "by our oaths and honour to observe, fully perform and keep all and every article" of the devise.

At any rate, he was so much alive to his danger that he went about armed, concealed his valuables, and made such a disposition of his property as to secure it to his son in the event of his being imprisoned or forced to leave the kingdom. After the accession of Mary, he drew up a paper, in which he exculpates himself by an account of his

actions under twenty-one heads. This document serves to show how he tried to throw the responsibility onto others, and while ostensibly acting on behalf of Northumberland, took steps to make himself as safe as possible, whatever might happen. It is interesting to read that, "when the conspiracy was first opened to me, I did fully set me to flee the realm, and was dissuaded by Mr. Cheke, who willed me for my satisfaction to read a dialogue of Plato, where Socrates, being in prison, was offered to escape and flee, and yet he would not. I read the dialogue, whose reasons did indeed stay me."[1]

The King died on July 6th, and Cecil notes in his Diary "*Libertatem adeptus sum morte regis et ex misero aulico factus liber et mei juris.*" He was now free from the domination of Northumberland, whose policy and methods he thoroughly disliked, and whose ruin was soon seen to be certain. No sooner had the Duke set out to seize the person of Mary than Cecil began to intrigue actively against him. He sent his sister-in-law, Lady Bacon, to meet the Queen, and heard from her that "the Queen thought well of her brother Cecil and said he was a very honest man." He himself met Mary at Newhall in Essex, and was graciously received. A general pardon was granted him, but he was not re-instated in his office of Secretary, though he is said to have been offered the post if he would change his religion, and to have refused.

[1] *Lansdowne MSS.*, 102, f. 2. The document is printed in full in Tytler, II. 192—195, and in Hume.

The story is improbable, for he, in common with many others—the Princess Elizabeth among them —conformed to the Catholic ritual during this reign, going to confession, attending mass, and "demeaning himself as a good Catholic," as enjoined by the Government.

At this time he probably held no strong personal views on the subject of religion, though he was a Protestant by inclination. But he believed that the Sovereign was the supreme head of the Church, and that on matters of faith her word was law; and he maintained that "that state could never be in safety where there was a toleration of two religions.[1] For there is no enmity so great as that for religion; and therefore they that differ in the service of their God can never agree in the service of their country." Throughout his life he insisted upon obedience to the law, and the maintenance of uniformity in worship. No doubt he felt therefore that he would best serve the country and at the same time benefit himself by due submission; and thus while his brother-in-law Sir John Cheke, his father-in-law Sir Anthony Cooke, his friend the Duchess of Suffolk, and many others suffered exile for their faith, Cecil, worldly-wise as usual, stayed at home and prospered.

Of his public life during Mary's reign we have little record. He was one of the three commissioners sent to Brussels in November, 1554, to

[1] So, 240 years later, George III. wrote to Pitt, "No country can be governed where there is more than one established religion" (Rose, *Pitt and the Great War*, p. 359).

meet Cardinal Pole, the Papal Legate, who was on his way to London to grant absolution to the Kingdom; and in the following year he attended the Cardinal to Calais on his abortive embassy to negotiate peace between France and the Emperor. He was chosen to represent the county of Lincoln in the Parliament of 1555, and was in some danger owing to his outspoken opposition to the Government on the question of confiscating the estates of Protestant exiles. "I spoke my mind freely," he says in his Diary, "whereby I incurred displeasure; but it is better to serve God than man."

Probably, however, he kept himself as much as possible in the background during this reign, though Lloyd says that "when he was out of place he was not out of service in Queen Mary's days; his abilities being as necessary in those times as his inclination; and that Queen's Council being as ready to *advance* him at last, as they were to *use* him all her reign." [1]

Meanwhile he maintained communication with the Princess Elizabeth, who had known and trusted him for several years. So early as September, 1549, her "cofferer," Thomas Parry, writes to him in a way which shows that Elizabeth thought him the person in highest authority about the Protector, and believed in his integrity.[2] In April, 1553, she asked for his advice in connection with the "lewd demeanour" of one Mr. Keye, the

[1] *State Worthies*, ed. 1766, I. 358.
[2] Tytler, I. 201.

paymaster of the House of Ewelme, of which institution she was foundress, and proposed to appoint him, with others, as a commission to examine into the matter, being "determined to remove the violence and oppression" and to have the poor thoroughly considered. At the same time she sent him the patent of the stewardship of the manor of Colly-Weston, signed and sealed.[1] Yet these confidential relations were conducted with so much caution and discretion on Cecil's part that, as Dr. Jessopp has observed, "all the researches of three centuries have failed to discover, in all the enormous mass of documents that have come to light and bearing upon this period, a single letter or instrument which indicates that any intrigues were going on between Elizabeth and Cecil during the later years of Mary's reign."[2]

During this period of his life he was living at Wimbledon, though we know nothing of the house he lived in. He was already a landowner on a large scale. In November, 1551—between the arrest of Somerset and his trial—he received an enormous grant of estates in Lincolnshire and Rutland; and his landed property was considerably increased on the death of his father in March, 1553. Soon afterwards he began the first enlargement of Burghley House, for though that estate and mansion had been left to his mother, and during her life he always regarded it as hers, he spent immense sums on it.

[1] *Cal. of Hatfield MSS.*, I. 434.
[2] *William Cecil, Lord Burghley*, p. 9.

His building operations were extensive, and later in life he incurred a good deal of censure for his extravagance. In a letter of great interest, addressed to William Herlle (August 14th, 1585), he makes light of these accusations. "My house of Burghley," he says, "is of my mother's inheritance who liveth and is the owner thereof; and I but a farmer. And for the building there, I have set my walls but upon the old foundation. Indeed, I have made the rough stone walls to be of square; and yet one side remaineth as my father left it me. I trust my son shall be able to maintain it, considering there are in that shire a dozen larger, of men under my degree."[1]

In all of this there is great exaggeration. There can never have been a dozen houses in Northamptonshire larger than Burghley. As a matter of fact, Holdenby, the palace of Sir Christopher Hatton, was its only real rival.[2] And though Cecil may have used the old foundations so far as they went, his father's house must have been a mere cottage compared with the completed mansion. According to Mr. Gotch, only part of one wing—the east—can be regarded as representing the original house; and it was this wing which was remodelled and enlarged between 1553 and 1564. The great hall and the kitchen, therefore, belong to this period, as well as the stone-vaulted staircase in the north front, a feature unique in

[1] *S. P. Dom.*, CLXXXI. 42. See *Gentleman's Magazine*, February, 1836, p. 49.

[2] See Mr. Gotch's article on *The Homes of the Cecils* in Jack's *Historical Monograph* (1904).

9412. *G.W.W.*

BURGHLEY HOUSE—NORTH WEST VIEW

England, though not uncommon in France. As it happens, these are almost the only parts of the house which remain to the present day practically unaltered. After 1564 there was an interval of some ten years before building again began and the house was completed.

CHAPTER III

WILLIAM CECIL, LORD BURGHLEY (*continued*)

MARY died on November 17th, 1558, and when the Lords of the Council arrived at Hatfield to announce Elizabeth's accession, they found that Cecil had forestalled them. He had already drawn up a memorandum of all the immediate measures to be adopted for the security of the young Queen and for carrying on the business of the country. Moreover Elizabeth and he together had decided upon the new ministers, Cecil himself being appointed Secretary of State. It was on this occasion that the Queen addressed to him the often-quoted words :—

"I give you this charge, that you shall be of my Privy Council, and content yourself to take pains for me and my realm. This judgment I have of you, that you will not be corrupted with any manner of gift ; and that you will be faithful to the State ; and that, without respect of my private will, you will give me that counsel that you think best ; and if you shall know anything necessary to be declared to me of secrecy, you shall show it to myself only ; and assure yourself I will not fail to keep taciturnity therein. And therefore herewith I charge you." [1]

He justified her confidence by forty years of loyal and honourable service.

[1] Harington, *Nugæ Antiquæ*, ed. 1679, II. 311.

One of the first things that claimed his attention was the state of the Church, and the religious settlement of 1559 was largely due to his moderation and statesmanship. He had to steer his course between the Romanists on the one hand and the Puritans on the other, and the best proof of the wisdom of his policy lies in the fact that each party complained that he favoured the other. His difficulties were increased by the fact that Elizabeth was, at least at the beginning of her reign, personally attracted to many of the rites of the Roman Church, and was not easily persuaded to go so far in the direction of reform as Cecil thought necessary. The attitude of the Bishops, however, made a settlement imperatively necessary, and in April, 1559, the Act of Supremacy which " restored to the Crown the ancient jurisdiction over the State Ecclesiastical " received the Royal assent, after considerable opposition in the House of Lords. The Act of Uniformity, which enforced the use of the Revised Prayer Book, was passed at the same time, and in the course of the next two years, according to Strype, " the Church of England was reduced to the same good state wherein it was at the latter years of King Edward."

Even more credit is due to Cecil for his share in bringing about an enduring peace with Scotland. On the death of Henry I. of France in June, 1559, Mary Stuart became Queen Consort, and her pretensions to the throne of England could no longer be ignored. Her mother, Mary of Guise, was Regent in Scotland, and there was grave fear

lest that country should pass under French domination. In order to avert this danger, Cecil persuaded Elizabeth to send help to the Scottish Protestants, who were hard pressed by the Catholic party, supported by French troops. The result was that the French army, which was besieged in the town of Leith, was compelled to surrender, and Sir William was sent with Dr. Wotton as commissioners to arrange terms of peace. The Treaty of Edinburgh which ensued (July, 1560) was a triumph for Cecil's diplomacy and statesmanship, and finally put an end to the danger of French supremacy in Scotland.

On his return to London Cecil found himself thrown into the background by Lord Robert Dudley, who had become dominant at Court during his absence; and though he regained his influence soon after, owing to the odium incurred by Dudley after the death of Amy Robsart, his difficulties from this time forward until the death of his rival, in 1588, were enormously increased by the unprincipled opposition of Dudley and his faction.

In 1561 he was appointed Master of the Court of Wards, an important and lucrative post involving a great amount of work, as may be seen by the innumerable letters connected with it which are preserved among the Hatfield MSS. It was a position which provided endless opportunities for irregular emoluments and for tyrannical exactions. Cecil reformed the procedure and executed his office, says Camden, " providently for the benefit

of his Prince and the wards, for his own profit moderately, and for the benefit of his followers bountifully, yet without offence; and in all things with great commendations for his integrity."[1] His impartiality and incorruptibility were recognised on all sides. "In a case of hearing," says his domestic biographer, "I had rather of the two been his enemy. For if he leaned any way, as willingly he never would, it was rather to the foe; lest he might be taxed of partiality." The same authority recurs to this characteristic several times, being evidently much struck by the fact that, as the Duchess of Suffolk put it in one of her sprightly letters to Cecil, he would never "break justice's head for friendship."

The onerous duties of this office, and the still more responsible labours which fell to his lot as Secretary, would have more than occupied most men. But at this time Cecil was also a member of Parliament for the county of Lincoln and Chancellor of the University of Cambridge. The latter post was by no means a sinecure, but gave him so much trouble that in 1562 he wished to resign, alleging his want of leisure, his unfitness for the position, and above all the laxity and want of uniformity in the religious observances in the University. He was, however, persuaded to withdraw his resignation, and two years later it was his duty to superintend all the preparations for the Queen's visit to Cambridge. He was then granted the degree of M.A., and the same honour was

[1] *Annals*, p. 495.

awarded to him by the University of Oxford on the occasion of the Queen's visit in 1566.

Moreover, his private affairs must have taken up much of his time. Besides the house at Burghley, where building was still in progress, he had acquired Cecil House in the Strand, and "far more beautifully increased it." This house, which was also known as Burghley House and Exeter House, was on the north side of the Strand, and occupied a large site westward of what is now Wellington Street.[1] It was not finished in July, 1561, when Cecil entertained the Queen to supper there. In the letter to Herlle already quoted (see p. 34) he says of it, "For my house in Westminster, I think it so old as it should not stir any; many having of later times built larger by far, both in city and country. And yet the building thereof cost me the sale of lands worth £100 by year, in Staffordshire, that I had of good King Edward."

A far larger undertaking was the great house at Theobalds, in Hertfordshire.[2] Cecil bought the estate in 1563, and soon afterwards started building and planting. As to this house, he says that it was "begun by me with a mean measure, but increased by occasions of her Majesty's often coming; whom to please I never would omit to

[1] It must not be confused with another Exeter House, or another Cecil House, which afterwards belonged to Sir Robert Cecil. See Gotch, *Homes of the Cecils*, as before.

[2] For an account of Theobalds see Gotch, and also the *Gentleman's Magazine*, February, 1836, which contains an elaborate article by J. G. Nichols.

strain myself to more charges than building is. And yet not without some special direction of her Majesty. Upon fault found with the small measure of her chamber (which was in good measure for me), I was forced to enlarge a room for a larger chamber: which need not be envied of any for riches in it, more than the show of old oaks and such trees, with painted leaves and fruit." His domestic biographer also tells us of Theobalds that "at the first he meant it but for a little pile, as I have heard him say, but after he came to entertain the Queen so often there, he was enforced to enlarge it, rather for the Queen and her grand train, and to set poor on work, than for pomp and glory."

The first two courts—completing, probably, the original plan of the house—were completed about 1570, and Cecil entertained Elizabeth there in September, 1571. The final enlargement was made between 1584 and 1588.

In every detail of these operations, both in the building of the house and the laying out of the grounds, Cecil was keenly and personally interested. He frequently asked his correspondents abroad to send him new books on architecture and gardening, as well as "things meet for his garden."[1] "He greatly delighted in making gardens, fountains and walks," says his

[1] Thus, on one occasion, Windebank, Thomas Cecil's tutor, sent him, at his request, from Paris, "a lemon-tree in a tub, costing 15 crowns, and 2 myrtle trees in pots, costing a crown each, with ample and curious directions for the culture of these plants" (*Cal. S. P. Dom.*, March 25th and April 8th, 1562).

biographer, "which at Theobalds were perfected most costly, beautifully and pleasantly; where one might walk two miles in the walks before he came to their ends." The gardens are also described by Hentzner, who visited them in 1598.[1] They were "encompassed with water, large enough for one to have the pleasure of going in a boat and rowing among the shrubs," and there were labyrinths, a fountain with a marble basin, "built semi-circularly," with statues of the twelve Roman Emperors in white marble. Hentzner also mentions a gallery, or cloister, on the south side of the house, painted with the Kings and Queens of England and, as we learn from another account, with "the pedigree of Lord Burghley and divers others ancient families" as well as castles and battles.[2]

The house itself must have been a noble pile, with its three main courts, its great halls and galleries, its richly ornamented ceilings and chimney-pieces, and its beautiful tapestries. One ceiling is described by a visitor[3] as containing "the signs of the zodiac with the stars proper to each," across which the sun was, by some ingenious mechanism, made to pursue its course. "The walls were decorated with trees, with bark so artfully arranged that it was impossible to dis-

[1] A translation of his *Journey to England* was issued by Horace Walpole at the Strawberry Hill Press, 1758. See *Gentleman's Magazine*, February, 1836, p. 150; Clutterbuck's *History of Hertfordshire*, II. 88.

[2] Parliamentary Survey taken in 1650. Quoted in Lysons' *Environs of London*, IV. 33, *sqq.*; and in the above-named authorities.

[3] The Duke of Würtemberg's secretary (1592). Quoted by Mr. Gotch.

tinguish between the artificial and the natural; the birds themselves were deceived, and on the windows being opened, perched themselves on the trees and began to sing." Cecil delighted in such conceits, and it is sad to think that of all these glories no trace remains. No authentic engraving even of the house exists, though some idea of its size and magnificence may be obtained from the plans made by John Thorpe in 1611, and from the Parliamentary Survey of 1610.[1]

For many years after Cecil's marriage with Mildred Cooke they had no children. Then came a daughter, Francisca, who did not long survive her birth, and then, in 1556, another daughter, Ann. On this occasion Sir Anthony Cooke writes quaintly from abroad that "he is glad to hear his daughter is well-delivered and although a son might have been more welcome, yet the bringing forth fruit twice in so few years and in this time of her age [she was only just thirty], gives good hope, though she were not happy at the beginning."[2] Two boys were born, both named William, in 1559 and 1561, but both died in infancy. Then came Robert (1563), who succeeded his father as Secretary of State, and finally a daughter, Elizabeth, to whom the Queen stood sponsor (1564).

His eldest son, Thomas, the only child of his first marriage, was a cause of great anxiety to him. He had never been a favourite with his

[1] The later history of the house is briefly related in Chapter X.

[2] June 10th, 1557 (*Hatfield MSS.*, I. 511).

father, and in 1561 he was sent to France with his tutor to improve his mind. Of his subsequent escapades some account will be given later, and also of his marriage and subsequent career.

Meanwhile Mary Stuart, left a widow at the age of eighteen through the death of Francis II., had returned to Scotland in August, 1561, and was for many years to be a thorn in the sides of Elizabeth and Cecil. Herself the legitimate heir to the English throne, she was the natural head of the Catholic reaction and the centre of Catholic intrigue. Her marriage with Darnley in 1565, though apparently approved at first by Elizabeth, raised the hopes of the Catholics throughout Europe still further; and the birth of her son James in the following year, may well have appeared as an assurance of ultimate victory. From this catastrophe the country was saved by the crimes and tragedies of the next few months. The murder of Darnley and the marriage with Bothwell alienated all Mary's friends, and her capture and imprisonment on Loch Leven were followed by her abdication in July, 1567. But the troubles of the English government with regard to Mary were only just beginning. With her escape from Loch Leven and flight into England they became acute. All the forces of discontent rallied round her on her arrival in England, and from this time onward Cecil, in whom the Catholics at home and abroad had long recognised the main obstacle to the realisation of their hopes and of Mary's claims, was the object

of innumerable plots and was in constant danger of his life—a fact which must be remembered in judging his actions.

His chief opponents were the party of Norfolk, who was scheming to marry Mary and to this end seeking the aid of Spain; and the northern lords, who hated the "upstart" whose policy aimed at creating a national monarchy, with a consequent weakening of their authority and loss of their feudal privileges. He had also exasperated the Spaniards by his audacious seizure of a cargo of treasure on board Spanish ships which had taken refuge in English ports on their way to the Low Countries—an act of violence to which, as he anticipated, they were not in a position to retaliate by war. Henceforward the Spanish Ambassador intrigued incessantly against him, but as Cecil's spies informed him of all that took place, he was able to counteract his machinations.

One of the most serious plots for his destruction was conceived in 1569, and in this, Dudley, now Earl of Leicester, Norfolk, and the chief Catholic lords were implicated. Sir Nicholas Throckmorton, a follower of Leicester, advised that Cecil should first be consigned to the Tower. "If he were once shut up," he said, "men would open their mouths to speak freely against him." The plot failed, it is said, owing to Leicester himself giving some hint of it to the Queen, who loyally supported her minister throughout this critical time. It is characteristic of Cecil that the discovery of this plot made no difference in his

attitude to his colleagues, with whom he still continued to work loyally. "I am in quietness of mind," he writes to a friend, "as feeling the nearness and readiness of God's favour to assist me with His grace, to have a disposition to serve Him before the world: and therein have I lately proved His mere goodness to preserve me from some clouds or mists, in the midst whereof I trust mine honest actions are proved to have been lightsome and clear. And to make this rule more proper, I find the Queen's Majesty, my gracious lady, without change of her old good meaning towards me, and so I trust by God's goodness to observe a continuance." He adds that "all my lords" professed to bear him as much goodwill as ever. This is one of the most remarkable testimonies to Cecil's character, that, however much his opponents may have fought against him in public, they all seem to have recognised his intrinsic goodness and honesty of purpose. The Duke of Norfolk, shortly before his execution, wrote to the Queen, asking that Burghley might act as a guardian to his "poor orphans," and again two days later (January 23rd, 1572) expressed his "comfort at hearing of the Queen's intended goodness towards his poor unfortunate brats and that she has christened them with such an adopted father as Lord Burghley."[1] Another of the conspirators, Lord Pembroke, made Cecil one of his executors, and even Mary herself, though she always looked on him as her chief

[1] *Hatfield MSS.*, II. 5.

enemy, acknowledged his wisdom, and "wished it might be her luck to get the friendship of so wise a man."[1]

Foiled in this attempt to get Cecil out of the way, the Catholic lords, encouraged by the Spanish Ambassador, and hoping for aid from France, continued their preparations for the Northern rebellion, which broke out in November of the same year. It was promptly crushed and was followed by the excommunication of Elizabeth by the Pope in 1570. By this Bull Englishmen were absolved from their oaths of allegiance and were forced to choose between the Queen and the Pope. They could no longer pretend to reconcile loyalty to Elizabeth with intrigues in favour of Mary. The Catholics did not, however, on this account cease from their designs.

The Bull of Excommunication was posted on the Bishop of London's door by John Felton, who was subjected to torture and executed for high treason. There is no doubt that Cecil authorised the use of torture in this instance,[2] and for this he has been justly censured.[3] Torture had never been recognised as legal by the common law of England, and had only been employed by Royal Warrant. Its use had not been infrequent under Henry VIII., and several cases occurred in the two following reigns. But it reached its culmination in the latter part of the reign of Elizabeth, when, says

[1] *Hatfield MSS.*, I. 400

[2] *Ibid.*, I. 473.

[3] See Jessopp, as before, p. 21.

Hallam, "the rack in the Tower seldom stood idle."[1] For this Cecil must be held mainly responsible. In excuse it can only be alleged, first that he never employed torture for its own sake, or unless he believed that he could obtain necessary information by so doing: and secondly, that not only he personally, but what was of far more importance, the Queen and the country were in constant and dire peril from the diabolical schemes of their unscrupulous enemies. Greatly as we must regret that this stain should rest on his character, we may be quite certain that he acted as he did only under the conviction that the interests of the country required it.

He was anything but a cruel man. Indeed at this very time he treated the leaders of the Catholic party with a magnanimity which amounted to weakness. In spite of the participation of the Duke of Norfolk[2] in the plots of the previous year, and of his proposed marriage with Mary, with whom he was still in constant correspondence, he was released from the Tower in August. His letters show that he owed his liberty to Cecil, who even went so far as to offer him his sister-in-law, Lady Hoby, in marriage. Possibly he may have thought it advisable to conciliate his opponents, for political reasons.[3] In June the appearance of a Spanish fleet in the Channel, of which the osten-

[1] See art. "Torture," in *Encyclopædia Britannica*, 11th ed., XXVII. 7.

[2] Norfolk had been a Protestant, but at this time he professed himself a Catholic; on the scaffold he said he had always been a Protestant (Pollard, *History of England*, 1547—1603, p. 298).

[3] He had several interviews with Mary herself at Chatsworth.

sible purpose was to convey Anne of Austria from Flanders to Spain, produced a panic in London; and one day in July the Queen was in such a state of alarm and excitement that Cecil, on retiring to his own apartment, cried to his wife in deep distress, "O wife! If God do not help us, we shall be lost and undone. Get together all the jewels and money you can, that you may follow me when the time comes, for surely trouble is in store for us."[1] Spain, however, was not ready to fight and the danger passed away.

Next year Cecil's misplaced leniency towards Norfolk was repaid by his participation in the Ridolfi plot. This villainous conspiracy involved the conquest of England by Spain, the assassination of Elizabeth and her great ministers, and the elevation of Mary to the throne with Norfolk as her consort. Cecil soon got wind of the scheme, and with infinite patience and skill unravelled it until he had sufficient evidence on which to work. He then struck hard. The Duke of Norfolk was sent to the Tower, other conspirators arrested, and the Spanish Ambassador, Guerau de Spes, to his unspeakable indignation and astonishment, ignominiously expelled. His opinion of Cecil, as expressed in the report of his embassy, is worth quoting:—

"The principal person in the Council is William Cecil, now Lord Burghley, a Knight of the Garter. He is a man of mean sort, but very astute, false, lying and full of

[1] *Spanish State Papers.* Quoted by Hume, p. 248. The authority is the Spanish agent, de Guaras.

artifice. He is a great heretic and such a clownish Englishman as to believe that all the Christian princes joined together are not able to injure the sovereign of his country, and he therefore treats their ministers with great arrogance. This man manages the bulk of the business, and by means of his vigilance and craftiness, together with his utter unscrupulousness of word and deed, thinks to outwit the ministers of other princes, which to some extent he has hitherto succeeded in doing." [1]

As the main plot failed, so did the attempt to procure the assassination of Burghley himself. The confession of Edmund Mather, one of the conspirators, who stated that he was instigated by the Spanish Ambassador, throws light on the methods adopted.

"Of late," he writes, "I have upon discontent entered into conspiracy with some others to slay your lordship. And the time appointed, a man with a perfect hand attended you three several times in your garden to have slain your lordship."

That failing, they now intended to slay him

"with a shot upon the terrace, or else in coming late from the Court with a pistolet. And being touched with some remorse of so bloody a deed, in discharge of my conscience and before God, I warn your lordship of these evil and desperate meanings."

He adds, naïvely, "For the thanks I deserve, I shall, I doubt not, but receive them hereafter at your hands at more convenient time, when these storms are past." [2]

[1] Quoted by Hume, p. 264.
[2] *Hatfield MSS.*, II., 1, 2. January 4th, 1572.

The Duke of Norfolk, tried by a jury of peers, was condemned to death in January, 1572, and in spite of the reluctance of the Queen, who respited him several times, he was executed in June. With him the last surviving dukedom in England became extinct.

Meanwhile, early in 1571, Sir William Cecil had been raised to the peerage under the title of Baron of Burghley.[1] The Queen, as Fuller says, "honoured her honours by conferring them sparingly," and this is the only instance during her reign of the ennobling of a man who was not an aristocrat by birth. The elevation was not of his own seeking, and he does not seem to have taken much pride in it. In a letter to Nicholas White, a member of the Privy Council in Ireland, he writes, "my style is Lord of Burghley, if you mean to know it, for your writing, and if you list to write truly, the poorest lord in England:" and in letters to Walsingham at about the same time he says, "My style of my poor degree is Lord of Burleigh," and again, "Your assured loving friend William Cecil: I forgot my new word, William Burleigh." But even his enemies were agreed that the honour was well deserved, and the Bishop of Ross, Mary's confidential minister, echoed the general opinion when he wrote, "Your virtue, wisdom and experience has merited that and much more; and happy is that commonwealth where the magistrates are so selected: *et quum aut*

[1] Also written "Burleigh"; but "Burghley" is the spelling officially adopted.

sapientes gubernant, aut gubernantes philosophantur."

In the following year he received still further marks of the Royal favour. Not only was he made a Knight of the Garter, but on the death of the Marquis of Winchester, he succeeded to his post as Lord High Treasurer, an office which he retained for the remaining twenty-six years of his life.

If Burghley was as poor as he pretended, his poverty must have been owing to the enormous expenditure on his houses and estates. The two principal courts of Theobalds were only lately completed, and from this time onward the Queen visited him there almost every year, staying generally three or four days, but sometimes as long as a fortnight. On these occasions the entertainment was on a lavish scale, and the cost was very great. We are told that "his lordship's extraordinary charge in entertainment of the Queen was greater to him than to any of her subjects, for he entertained her at his house twelve several times, which cost him two or three thousand pounds each time. But his love for his sovereign and joy to entertain her and her train was so great, as he thought no trouble, care, nor cost too much and all too little."[1]

The same authority tells us that he kept two principal houses, one at London, and one at Theobalds, "though he was at charge both at Burghley and at Court." He must have spent

[1] Peck, as before.

most of his time in London, but even when he was not at Theobalds he kept a staff of about thirty servants there permanently, at a weekly charge of twelve pounds. " He also relieved there daily 20 or 30 poor people at the gate, and besides gave weekly in money, by Mr. Neale, his lordship's chaplin, vicar of Cheshunt, twenty shillings to the poor there. The weekly charge in setting poor on work as weeders, labourers, etc. came to ten pounds. And so his weekly charge at Theobalds (his household being at London) was twenty-two pounds." This charge was increased to " fourscore pounds in a week " when he was at Theobalds, in addition to the cost of his stable, which was " yearly a thousand marks at the least." At the same time, he kept ordinarily in his household in London fourscore persons, at a charge of thirty pounds a week, which increased ten or twelve pounds a week when he was in London.

At Burghley, building operations had been suspended for some years, though no doubt constant improvements in the gardens and estate were being made.

As before said, the house belonged to the Lord Treasurer's mother, but she does not seem to have taken up her abode there permanently till 1573. On May 26th of that year, Peter Kemp, the steward, writes that, " within ten days my mistress, your mother, doth mean to go to Burghley for altogether. I have almost finished her chamber to her contentation. She giveth you hearty thanks for your courtesy shewed her in your

letter. She did weep for joy when I read it to her."[1]

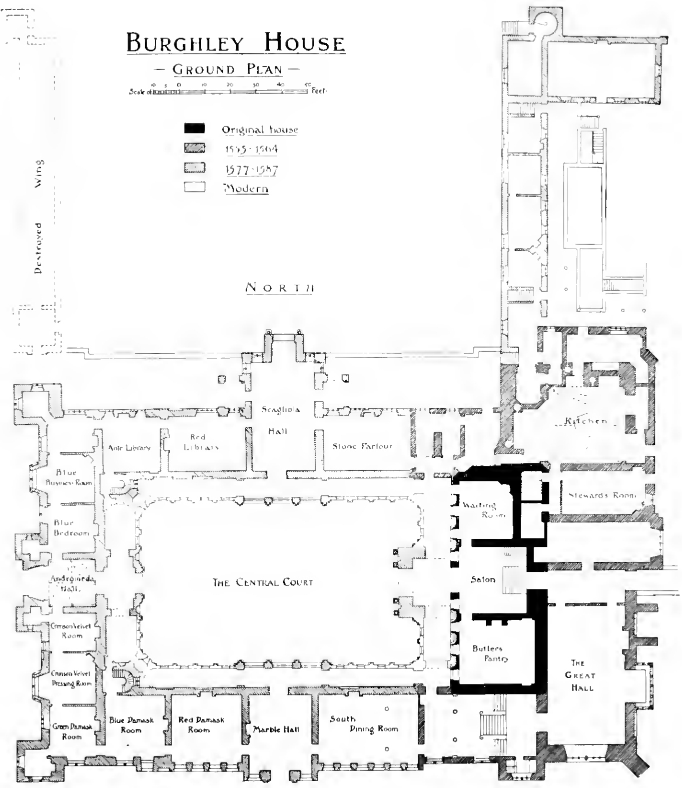
Soon after this, building must have begun again, as in September, 1575, Kemp writes asking for "the upright of the face[2] of the house his lordship intends building, as the workmen are almost at a standstill for want of it." The additions now begun were to include the quadrangle and the North, South and West fronts, and the house was not completed until 1587.

Burghley house remains, so far as the outside is concerned, very much as its builder left it, only some outbuildings having been pulled down. It is a typical example of late Elizabethan architecture, and is imposing rather than beautiful. The interior has been very much altered and redecorated, so that little of the original work remains. There are, however, some fine ceilings by Verrio, who is said to have lived at Burghley for twelve years while engaged on them, and by Laguerre, and there is some carving by Grinling Gibbons. All of this, as well as the great collection of pictures and other works of art, date from the time of the fifth Earl of Exeter.

In addition to its tapestries, furniture, pictures and miniatures, Burghley is famous for its plate, which includes five silver-gilt dishes, used by the successive Earls as hereditary Grand Almoners, at coronations, as well as one which Lord Exeter

[1] *Hatfield MSS.*, II. 52.

[2] *I.e.*, the "elevation." Mr. Gotch seems to have overlooked this letter (*Hatfield MSS.*, II. 111), when he gives 1577 as the date of beginning the final enlargement.



By permission from the Victoria History of the County of Northants

had made in commemoration of the coronation of Edward VII.[1]

The grounds were originally laid out on a large scale. There were enclosed courts on three sides of the house, and on the south extensive pleasure-gardens, formally arranged and including several ponds, a bowling-green, a mount, the "Bantam Grove," wilderness, pheasantry, melon-ground and wilderness. Beyond was the park of 1,500 acres, planted with long and wide avenues, the whole forming a dignified and beautiful setting to the house. All of this was ruthlessly swept away by "Capability" Brown, who destroyed so many of our finest gardens in the last half of the eighteenth century, and the house now rises baldly out of the grass.[2]

Burghley's incessant work was already telling on his health. He had always been subject to attacks of gout and fever, and in the spring of 1572 he had a serious illness, so that at one time his life was despaired of. After this attacks became more and more frequent, and he was inundated with extraordinary remedies for gout sent him by various correspondents. In 1575 he went to Buxton, where he met the Queen of Scots, who had received permission to visit that watering-place for the benefit of her health. Burghley's enemies at Court took the opportunity to insinuate

[1] See *Victoria County History, Northamptonshire*, II. 524—526.

[2] The present Lord and Lady Exeter have done something to remedy the evil; they have made a formal garden on the south of the house, a new rose garden and other improvements.

had made in commemoration of the coronation of Edward VII.[1]

The grounds were originally laid out on a large scale. There were enclosed courts on three sides of the house, and on the south extensive pleasure-gardens, formally arranged and including several ponds, a bowling-green, a mount, the "Bantam Grove," wilderness, pheasantry, melon-ground and wilderness. Beyond was the park of 1,500 acres, planted with long and wide avenues, the whole forming a dignified and beautiful setting to the house. All of this was ruthlessly swept away by "Capability" Brown, who destroyed so many of our finest gardens in the last half of the eighteenth century, and the house now rises baldly out of the grass.[2]

Burghley's incessant work was already telling on his health. He had always been subject to attacks of gout and fever, and in the spring of 1572 he had a serious illness, so that at one time his life was despaired of. After this attacks became more and more frequent, and he was inundated with extraordinary remedies for gout sent him by various correspondents. In 1575 he went to Buxton, where he met the Queen of Scots, who had received permission to visit that watering-place for the benefit of her health. Burghley's enemies at Court took the opportunity to insinuate

[1] See *Victoria County History, Northamptonshire*, II. 524—526.

[2] The present Lord and Lady Exeter have done something to remedy the evil; they have made a formal garden on the south of the house, a new rose garden and other improvements.

suspicions concerning this visit in the Queen's ear, and with some success, for on his return he writes to the Earl of Shrewsbury :—

"I had very sharp reproofs for my going to Buxton, with plain charging of me for favouring the Queen of Scots ; and that in so earnest a sort as I never looked for, knowing my integrity to her Majesty, but specially knowing how contrariously the Queen of Scots conceived of me for many things passed to the offence of the Queen of Scots."

Burghley even thought it prudent to decline a proposed match between his daughter Elizabeth, then nine years of age, and a son of the Earl of Shrewsbury, who, as guardian of Mary, was supposed to have been privy to what was going on.[1]

The Lord Treasurer paid several other visits to Buxton—where, if we may judge from a letter written by the Earl of Leicester in the summer of 1577, he did not always submit himself to the discipline necessary for a cure. Leicester and his brother thought the water would be good for him, "but not if he does as they hear he did last time, take great journeys abroad, 10 or 12 miles a day, and use liberal diet, with dinners and suppers.

[1] In this year also another offer was made for the hand of Elizabeth Cecil by the Earl of Essex, on behalf of his eldest son (then aged six). Essex died in 1576, and the day before his death he wrote a pathetic letter, asking that his son might be brought up in Burghley's household, so that he might grow up "to reverence your Lordship for your wisdom and gravity and lay up your commands and advices in the treasury of his heart." "It is sad to consider," says Hume, "that the son grew up to be the enemy of his father's friend : to succeed, in his enmity, the vile Leicester, who dishonoured his mother and deliberately ruined his father."

They take another way, dining two or three together now Lord Pembroke is there, having but one dish or two at most and taking the air afoot or on horseback, moderately." Whether Burghley followed this advice we cannot say, but he went to Buxton in July and at Leicester's request sent the Queen a " tun of Buxton water." Elizabeth's reception of it was characteristic. " Your water is safely arrived," wrote the Earl, " and I told her Majesty of it, who now it is come, seemeth not to make any great account of it. And yet she more than twice or thrice commanded me earnestly to write to you for it, and after I had done so asked me sundry times whether I had remembered it or no, but it seems her Majesty doth mistrust it will not be of the goodness here it is there ; beside, somebody told her there was some bruit of it about, as though her Majesty had had some sore leg. Such like devices made her half angry with me now for sending to you for it."

At this time Burghley's anxieties were aggravated by the behaviour of his son-in-law, the Earl of Oxford. Ann Cecil had been betrothed in 1569, at the age of thirteen, to Sir Philip Sidney, and the settlements for the proposed marriage are preserved at Hatfield. The arrangement, however, fell through, and in 1571 she was married with much pomp to Edward Vere, Earl of Oxford, who had been brought up as a Royal ward in Burghley's household. " Th' Erle of Oxenforde hath gotten him a wyffe," wrote Lord St. John, " or at the leste a wyffe hath caught him. This is

Mrs. Anne Cycille, whereunto the Queen hath gyven her consent." The Earl was eccentric, extravagant and dissolute, and the result was such as an affectionate parent might have foreseen. During Oxford's absence on the Continent in 1575—1576, he received some reports which disturbed him, and coming home at Burghley's request, he behaved in a most extraordinary manner, refusing to see his wife, or to formulate any grounds of complaint against her. In April, 1576, he writes to Burghley that :—

"Until he can better satisfy himself concerning certain 'mislikes' he is not determined to accompany her. What these are he will not publish until it shall please him, neither will he weary his life any more with such troubles and molestations as he has endured, nor to please his lordship discontent himself. With regard to his lordship's offer to receive her into his own house, it doth very well content him, for there, as his lordship's daughter (or her mother's), rather than as his wife, his lordship may take comfort of her and he himself be well rid of the cumber, whereby he doubts not he will be well eased of many griefs. She hath a sufficient portion for her maintenance."

He expresses his regret that this had not been arranged by private conference without thus becoming "the fable of the world and raising open suspicions, to his wife's disgrace and to his own increased misliking."[1]

[1] *Hatfield MSS.*, II. 375. The same volume contains many documents dealing with this subject, including notes by Burghley of his proposals for the separate maintenance of the Countess, memoranda of the "good offices rendered by him from time to time to the Earl and the latter's subsequent ingratitude," and notes of the amount of money

Some sort of reconciliation took place soon after, as we hear of the Earl and Countess going to Theobalds in the following December, " 28 servants with them " ; but Oxford continued to lead a life of dissipation and to treat his wife with great cruelty, while his extravagance was a source of constant expense to Burghley until the death of his daughter in 1589. " No enemy I have," he wrote to Walsingham two years before, " can envy this match."

expended on his behalf. It may be mentioned that the children of this union were two sons, who died in the lifetime of their father, and three daughters, of whom Elizabeth married the sixth Earl of Derby: Bridget married the Earl of Berkshire (ancestor of the present Earl of Abingdon): and Susan, the youngest, married the fourth Earl of Pembroke. Oxford's quarrel with Sir Philip Sidney is historic.

CHAPTER IV

WILLIAM CECIL, LORD BURGHLEY (*continued*)

THE years which followed the discovery of the Ridolfi plot, if less critical for the nation, were years of strenuous work and anxiety for Burghley. At home he had to contend with incessant intrigues on the part of Leicester and his party, and with the dangers arising from the continued activity of the Catholics, which culminated in the Jesuit mission of Campion and Parsons. Abroad the complications following the massacre of St. Bartholomew, and the progress of the conflict between Protestantism and Catholicism in France, Holland and Germany produced a situation which would have required all Burghley's caution and far-seeing statesmanship to grapple with, even if it had not been rendered immeasurably more difficult and dangerous by the tortuous diplomacy of Elizabeth. For eleven years the Queen kept up negotiations for marriage with the Duke of Anjou, using him as a pawn in her game, and giving endless anxiety to her ministers, who, on the all-important matters of the Queen's marriage and the succession to the throne, were kept in a perpetual state of uncertainty.

This period was marked by the increasing

prosperity of the country and by the voyages of Drake and other seamen, and Burghley's connection with and attitude towards these matters must be briefly defined. From his earliest days of authority he had done everything in his power to encourage the trading classes and to protect and expand commerce. In the first year of his Secretaryship, under Edward VI., he had done away with the privileges of the merchants of the Stillyard, to the great advantage of English traders. Soon after the accession of Elizabeth, he was responsible for the reform of the currency, fine silver coin being substituted for the base money issued by her predecessors; and by this measure, aided by economy in administration and the prevention of waste, he had in a very short time reduced the financial chaos to order and restored the national credit. He was always on the look-out for an opportunity to introduce new industries, and established communities for foreign weavers in Stamford and other towns.

Above all he encouraged and subsidised shipbuilding and foreign trade. "A realm can never be rich," he said, "that hath not an intercourse and trade of merchandise with other nations," and he added a maxim often forgotten at the present day, "A realm must needs be poor that carryeth not out more than it bringeth in."[1] When the Spanish Ambassador complained of English expeditions to the Gold Coast, Cecil replied, "that the Pope had no right to partition

[1] Peck.

the world and to give and take kingdoms,"[1] and when the Portuguese Ambassador made a similar protest he was told that, "the Queen does not acknowledge the right of the King of Portugal to forbid the subjects of another prince from trading where they like, and she will take care that her subjects are not worse treated in the King of Portugal's dominions than his are in hers."[2] At the same time he refused to countenance piracy in any form, not only because it might lead to war, but also because of its bad effect on legitimate trade.

It is not true to say that he was unsympathetic towards the magnificent achievements of the Elizabethan seamen. Though he was not one of those who would give up everything

> "To try the sea and win undying fame,"

he could acknowledge and appreciate the achievements of others, so long as they did not interfere with the political and commercial interests which it was his duty to guard. In the case of Drake's famous voyage in the *Golden Hind* (1577—1580), "the Queen had forbiden any revelation of the voyage to Burghley, who wished to avoid the risk of an open breach with Spain; and Drake felt that he had been encouraged by Leicester and Walsingham in order that his aggression might frustrate Burghley's efforts for peace."[3] Burghley, of course, found out all about the expedition, and

[1] *Cal. S. P. Spanish.* November 27th, 1561.
[2] *Cal. S. P. Foreign.* April 8th, 1561.
[3] Pollard, p. 319.

as he could not forbid it, he sent Doughty with it as his secret agent, instructing him, one must suppose, to thwart Drake's plans in every way. The tragic sequel is well known. Doughty was executed in St. Julian's Bay, after numerous acts of insubordination, and Drake proceeded on his voyage round the world, returning after nearly three years with his ship filled with Spanish treasures, of which, very naturally, the Lord Treasurer refused to accept a share.

As time went on, Burghley's position became more and more difficult and burdensome to him. His increasing years and constant ill-health would have been enough in themselves to justify him in seeking some diminution of his labours. A far greater source of trouble was that he was no longer able to guide the affairs of the nation as he wished. His opponents in the Council were becoming more powerful, and his friend and colleague Walsingham, who had taken his place as Secretary in 1581, now added his influence to that of Leicester and encouraged the Queen in a policy which could only result in war with Spain.

The death of William Wentworth, who had married his daughter Elizabeth in 1582, and fell a victim to the plague at Theobalds a few months later; and the fact that his friend the Earl of Sussex lay dying,[1] must have added to his

[1] He died in June, 1583. The relations between the two men are shown in their correspondence. See, especially, a letter from Sussex (June 28th, 1580), in which, acknowledging a letter written by Burghley to the Countess, he says: "Both she and I do love, honour and reverence you as a father, and will do you all service we can, as far as any

sorrow and depression. It is not surprising, therefore, that in the spring of 1583 he should have sought permission to resign ; nor can we wonder, on the other hand, that the request should have been refused. For Elizabeth, however much she might suffer herself to be influenced by his enemies, relied at heart upon Burghley's "sound, deep judgment and counsel," well knowing that, as she told Sussex a few years before, "no prince in Europe had such a councillor as she had."

During these years the intrigues and plots of the Catholics continued without intermission. The "Jesuit invasion" of Campion and Parsons in 1581, though in itself a complete failure, roused the nation to fury, and the discovery of plot after plot to assassinate the Queen, or to raise a revolt in favour of Mary, led to rigorous measures of repression, which Burghley was powerless to prevent, though he was able in some degree to mitigate their severity.

His enemies took advantage of his moderation to spread reports that he was hostile to the cause of Protestantism. He was also charged with monopolising the Queen's patronage, absorbing the government into his own hand, amassing enormous wealth by encroaching on the realm and the Commons, compelling all suitors to apply to him for justice, and making England in fact "*regnum Caecilianum*."[1] Burghley was informed of these

child you have, with heart and hand, and so pray you to dispose of us both" (*Hatfield MSS.*, II. 326).

[1] Froude, *History of England*, XII. 132, *note*.

accusations by his confidential agent, William Herlle, and his indignation bursts out in his reply :—

"I may say truly," he writes, "*acuerunt linguas suas sicut serpentes ; venenum aspidum sub labris eorum.* If they think me guilty they need not fear to accuse me, for I am not worthy to continue in this place : but I will yield myself worthy not only to be removed but to be punished as an example to all others. If they cannot prove all the lies they utter, let them make any one point wherewith to prove me guilty of falsehood, injustice, bribery, dissimulation, double-dealing in advice in Council either with her Majesty or with her councillors. . . . They that say in a rash and malicious mockery that England is now become *regnum Caecilianum*, may please their cankered humours with such a device, but if my actions be considered, if there be any cause given by me of such a nickname, they may be found out in many other juster causes to attribute other names than mine."

He goes on to speak of his houses at Theobalds, Burghley and in the Strand,[1] and then proceeds to complain of the small rewards he had received from the Queen for all his long services. The fee for the Treasurership was no more than it had been for three hundred years, and would not answer the charges of his stable. He had been obliged to sell land of his own to pay his expenses at Court. The hardest part of the public business was thrown upon him. Yet of the good things which the Queen had to bestow nothing had fallen to kinsman, servant, or follower of the house of Cecil.

[1] These portions of the letter have already been quoted, pp. 34, 40.

"In very truth," he says, "I know my credit in such cases so mean, and others I find so earnest and able to obtain anything, that I do utterly forbear to move for any. Whereupon many, my good friends, do justly challenge me as unwise, that I seek to place neither man nor woman in the chamber nor without to serve her Majesty, whereby I might do my friends good; and therefore indeed I have few partial friends, and so I find the want thereof."[1]

As war with Spain became more and more certain, so did the presence of Mary in England, as a focus of intrigue, become more evidently a source of danger that must be removed. The discovery of her complicity in the villainous Babington plot was all that was now needed to seal her fate. It was this which convinced Burghley, who had hitherto been favourably disposed to her, that her presence could no longer be tolerated. Elizabeth was reluctantly forced to the same conclusion, though, as in the case of the Duke of Norfolk, she wished to avoid the responsibility for her death. When she heard that the execution, the warrant for which she had signed, had actually been carried out, she flew into a rage with all her ministers, and Davison, who, as Secretary, was technically responsible, was made a scapegoat; he was deprived of his office, heavily fined and ruined for life. Burghley himself fell into deep disgrace, though how far the Queen's rage was real and how far assumed for the sake of appearances, it is difficult to say. It is certain at

[1] Burghley to Herlle, August 14th, 1585 (*S. P. Dom. Elizabeth*. CLXXXI. No. 42). The portion here given is quoted by Froude, XII. 132, *note*.

any rate that he was obliged to retire from Court for some months, and that he wrote complaining that she " doth utter more heavy, hard, bitter and minatory speeches against me than against any other."[1] He begged to be allowed to plead his excuses in person, but when at last he obtained an audience, the Queen heaped him with indignities, calling him " traitor, false dissembler, and wicked wretch," so that he again withdrew, until he was finally induced by Sir Christopher Hatton to return.

If Elizabeth hoped to deceive anyone at home or abroad by such conduct, she failed. The character of Lord Burghley was too well known for it to be supposed that, in so important a matter, he had acted against her wishes. Sir Edward Stafford describes the effect of her behaviour on opinion at the French Court :—

" I am very sorry to hear that her Majesty continues so offended with your lordship. She does herself and her service great harm. I assure you it is nuts to them here to hear it ; and yet for that respect she doth it, it rather doth harm than good, and particularly her evil countenance to you that makes the thing less believed than anything else ; for all that she can do cannot persuade them here that your lordship could ever be brought to do anything against her express will. Those that loved the Queen of Scots best will not be persuaded that you have advanced her days a minute more than the Queen willed, nor bear you any speech of evil will for it."[2]

[1] His letters to Elizabeth at this time may be found in Strype's *Annals*, II. 371—374.

[2] Stafford to Burghley, April 4th, 1587 (*S. P. France*). Quoted by Froude, XII. 356, *note*.

Burghley still endeavoured to exert his diplomacy in the cause of peace, but his efforts were continually thwarted by Leicester and his party, who longed for war and plunder. When war could no longer be postponed, and reports of Spanish preparations caused anxiety and alarm in England, he remained calm and confident. "His courage never failed," says his domestic biographer. "In times of greatest danger he ever spake most cheerfully, and when some did often talk fearfully of the greatness of our enemies and of their power and possibility to harm us, he would ever answer, 'they shall do no more than God will suffer them.'" As usual in a crisis the Queen drove her ministers distracted by her parsimony, her irritability, and her vacillation; and it was well for the country that a man of Burghley's imperturbable composure was at the head of the Government. The lion's share of the work of organising the defence fell to him, and in spite of constant illness—so that, as he wrote to Walsingham, "I have no mind towards anything but to groan with my pain"—he was engaged in unremitting labour until the defeat of the Armada relieved the immediate strain.

Shortly afterwards the death of Leicester removed his life-long rival. Two years later Walsingham, the other chief member of the aggressive party, though a statesman of a very different type, also died, leaving Burghley and his friends predominant in the Council.

Death had also been busy in his family circle.

In March, 1588, his mother died at Burghley House, at the age of eighty-seven. On her monument in St. Martin's, Stamford, she is described as "a very grave, religious, virtuous and worthy matron," who "delighted exceedingly in the works of piety and charity. She was crowned with much honour and comfort and by God's great blessing she lived to see her children and her children's children to the fourth and fifth generation[1] and that in a plentiful and honourable succession."

A few weeks later he lost his daughter Ann, the Countess of Oxford, and in the following year (April 4th, 1589) his cup of sorrow was filled to overflowing by the death of his dearly-loved wife, with whom he had lived in uninterrupted happiness for forty-three years. Lady Burghley and her daughter were both buried in Westminster Abbey and Burghley composed a long Latin inscription for their tomb. He also wrote a very interesting *Meditation on the Death of his Lady*, which is still extant[2]; much of it is taken up with an account of her various gifts and charities, which she kept secret from her husband during her lifetime. The document concludes with the words: "written at Colling's Lodge by me in sorrow."

From this great affliction Burghley never entirely recovered, and henceforward a certain

[1] This is an exaggeration. Her eldest great-grandson, William, son of Thomas, was not married until January, 1589, so that there were no children of the fourth generation at the time of her death. The monument, which is of white alabaster, 13 feet high, has figures of Richard and Jane Cecil kneeling at a desk, with their three daughters below.

[2] Among the *Lansdowne MSS.* at the British Museum (C. III. 51).

melancholy pervaded his mind. His incessant work told upon him more than ever, and once more he vainly sought permission to retire. For the last ten years of his life, however, he had the help and loyal support of his son Robert, who after the death of Walsingham, practically undertook the duties of Secretary, though he was not formally appointed to the post till 1596. Father and son worked excellently together, and were on terms of absolute confidence and affection. And it was well that they were so; for as Burghley's infirmities increased, so did the malice of his enemies become more and more persistent. In the Council, Essex, on whom had fallen the mantle of Leicester, followed the example of his father-in-law by endeavouring to thwart the Cecils on every possible occasion; and among his chief adherents were Francis and Anthony Bacon, whose hostility to their uncle and cousin was bitter and unscrupulous.

The country was still torn by religious difficulties. On the one hand, Archbishop Whitgift, with the full approval of Elizabeth, was persecuting the Puritans with a severity against which Burghley protested in vain. On one memorable occasion, when the two leaders of the Brownists, Barrow and Greenwood, had been condemned to death for sedition (1593), he sent a reprieve at the last moment. "No papist had suffered for religion," he said, "and Protestants' blood should not be the first shed, at least before an attempt be made to convince them." In spite of his

efforts, however, Whitgift and the Bishops had their way, and the condemned men were hanged a week later.

On the other hand, the Jesuits and seminarists renewed their activity and their plots against the Queen and the constitution, and they in their turn were met by severe methods of repression. To these intriguers, who were repudiated by the secular priests and the Catholic laity in England, Burghley showed no mercy, but, as he says in a letter written in reply to, and quoted by, the spy Standen, only those who professed themselves by obedience to the Pope to be no subjects to the Queen were punished by death. It was the political, not the religious offence, which to him was intolerable.

In spite of his increasing years and failing health, Burghley continued to attend to the business of the State to the end. His letters to his son during the last four years of his life tell a tale of unimpaired devotion to the Queen and the country, and are full of pathetic humour. In December, 1595, he writes that he is ready to attend the Council, but must presume to keep his chamber, "not as a potentate, but as an impotent aged man." But, he adds, "if the Queen will not mislike to have so bold a person to lodge in her house, I will come as I am (in body, not half a man, but in mind, passable)." He is obliged to sign his letter with a stamp "for want of a right hand." He is fond of making little jokes about his health: "I am but as a monoculus, by reason

of a flux falling into my left eye," he writes to Essex, in July, 1597, and in October of the same year, in a letter to his son, "I am worse since my physic, being now μονοπους and μονοχειρ but not monoculus." On his seventy-seventh birthday he writes, "to my verie lovyng sonne Sir Robert Cecile Kt. . . . Though my body be this very day at the period of iij^xx^xvij years, and therefore far unable to travel either with my body or with lively spirits, yet I find myself so bound with the superabundant kindness of her Majesty in dispensing with my disabilities as, God permitting me, I will be at Westminster to-morrow in the afternoon, ready to attend the lords.—Your old loving father, W. Burghley."

It is a mistake to speak of Burghley being left alone and unfriended in his old age. It is true that he outlived the friends of his youth and manhood, but he was a man of strong family affection—a characteristic of the Cecil family—and rejoiced in the company of his children and grandchildren. "All your offspring are here, merry," he writes to Sir Robert from Theobalds a year before his death, and the numerous children and grandchildren of Sir Thomas Cecil were no doubt often with him. "If he could get his table set round with young little children, he was then in his kingdom," says his domestic biographer. "He was happy in most worldly things, but most happy in his children and children's children. He had his own children, grandchildren and great-grandchildren ordinarily at his table, sitting about

him, like the olive branches . . . wherein he would many times rejoice as in one of God's great blessings." The last letter which he wrote with his own hand was addressed to Sir Robert (July 10th, 1598), and shows the Queen's care for her old minister :

"Though I know you count it your duty in nature so continually to show you careful of my state of health, yet were I also unnatural, if I should not take comfort thereby, and to beseech Almighty God to bless you with supply of such blessings, as I cannot, in this infirmity, yield you. Only I pray you diligently and effectually let her Majesty understand, how her singular kindness doth overcome my power to acquit it ; who, though she will not be a mother, yet she sheweth herself, by feeding me with her own princely hand, as a careful nurse. And if I may be weaned to feed myself, I shall be more ready to serve her on the earth. If not, I hope to be in heaven a servitor for her and God's Church. And so I thank you for your partritches. Serve God by serving of the Queen ; for all other service is indeed bondage to the devil.

"Your languishing father,
"W. BURGHLEY."

The end came on August 4th, 1598. The previous evening he was seized with convulsions, and exclaimed, "Now the Lord be praised, the time is come." He then called his children together, "and blessed them and took his leave, commanding them to love and fear God and love one another ; he also prayed for the Queen that she might live long and die in peace." He lingered on until the early morning, and at eight o'clock passed peacefully away. The funeral

ceremony was performed in Westminster Abbey "with all the rites that belonged to so great a personage," the number of mourners exceeding five hundred; the body was then taken to Stamford and buried in St. Martin's Church, where between the north aisle and the chancel stands a fine monument to his memory.[1]

To the Queen, the death of her old and trusted minister—*Pater pacis patriæ*, as she called him at his funeral[2]—was a severe blow, and on hearing the news she burst into tears. She had treated him as she treated no one else, allowing him to sit in her presence, and saying, "My lord, we make much of you not for your bad legs, but for your good head." She used to visit him when ill, and would hold the Council in his chamber. On one occasion the story goes that she went to see him at Cecil House, wearing the high head-dress then in fashion, and Burghley's servant requested her to stoop on going through the door: "For your master's sake I will stoop," replied the Queen, "but not for the King of Spain." She knew how to value his sound, level-headed judgment, and shrewd common sense; and no doubt she appreciated him all the more because, almost alone among her councillors, he never flattered or cajoled her, and never used his position to gain undue benefits for himself or his friends.

[1] "Many kinds of marble are used, and its colour and gilding and excellent state of preservation make it one of the finest specimens of its kind in existence" (*Victoria County History, Northamptonshire*, II. 528).

[2] Goodman, *Court of James I.*, I. 21.

He has defined his own principle in dealing with the Queen, where they differed on points of policy, in a letter to Sir Robert[1] :—

"I do hold, and will always, this course in such matters as I differ in opinion from her Majesty—as long as I may be allowed to give advice, I will not change my opinion by affirming the contrary. For that were to offend God, to whom I am sworn first. But, as a servant, I will obey her Majesty's commandment, and no wise contrary the same. Presuming that she, being God's chief minister here, it shall be God's will to have her commandments obeyed ; after that I have performed my duty as a counseller ; and shall in my heart wish her commandments to have good success, as, I am sure, she intendeth. You see I am in a mixture of divinity and policy. Preferring in policy her Majesty above all others on the earth ; and in divinity, the King of Heaven above all betwixt Alpha and Omega."

In the end, fortunately for England, his policy prevailed. "Vain as Elizabeth was of her own sagacity," says Froude, "she never modified a course recommended to her by Burghley without injury both to the realm and to herself. She never chose an opposite course without plunging into embarrassments from which his skill and Walsingham's were barely able to extricate her. The great results of her reign were the fruits of a policy which was not her own, and which she starved and mutilated when energy and completeness were needed." Finally, then, the wonderful results of the reign of Elizabeth, on which the material and spiritual progress of the country

[1] March 13th, 1596 (*Hatfield MSS.*).

throughout the succeeding centuries was to depend, were due first of all to Burghley. To him, despite his limitations, England owes a debt such as she owes to few of her statesmen.

Burghley was of middle height, " of visage well-favoured and of an excellent complexion." He was of a gentle, good-natured disposition, considerate to his inferiors, hating pomp and show, and a man of real piety and devotion. He had an extraordinary capacity for work, and his domestic biographer states he " never saw him half an hour idle in four and twenty years together." Yet, in his moments of leisure, he was able to throw off entirely the cares of business and, though temperate in food and drink, was so " pleasant and merry " at table that " one would imagine he had nothing else to do." " At night, when he put off his gown, he used to say 'Lie there, Lord Treasurer,' and bidding adieu to all State affairs, disposed himself to his quiet rest."[1]

He lived a simple life and was content with simple pleasures, such as riding about his gardens on his mule.[2] " He seldom or never played at any game," we read, " for he could play at none. He would sometimes look a while on shooters or bowlers as he rid abroad." And though Elizabeth used to enjoy hawking and hunting at Theobalds,

[1] Fuller, *Holy State*, ed. 1841, p. 253.

[2] One of these animals he had for twelve years. " A beast hardly to be matched for my purpose," he writes, " yet now both the 'moyle' and her master are grown very aged, and therefore, though I cannot amend, yet I would be glad to amend my old beast with a new." To Sir Ed. Stafford, October 2nd, 1586 (*Hatfield MSS.*, III. 366).

WILLIAM, LORD BURGHLEY, K.G., RIDING ON A MULE
From the picture in the Bodleian Library

Burghley took no part in such sport.[1] He delighted in books and carried Cicero's *Offices* about with him. He is said also to have enjoyed the conversation of "learned men," but he was no patron of literature or the arts, about which he probably cared nothing. He neglected Spenser, who revenged himself in the following stanza in "The Ruins of Time":—

> "O grief of griefes! O gall of all good heartes!
> To see that vertue should dispised bee
> Of him, that first was raisde for vertuous parts,
> And now, broad spreading like an aged tree,
> Lets none shoot up that nigh him planted bee:
> O, let the man, of whom the Muse is scorned,
> Nor alive nor dead be of the Muse adorned!"[2]

And the only man of letters whom he patronised, so far as we know, was John Norden, the topographer, whose idea of producing a series of county histories would naturally appeal to his tastes.[3]

Burghley's charities were extensive. He founded a hospital at Stamford and endowed it for the maintenance of thirteen old men for ever. He was also a patron and benefactor of St. John's College, Cambridge, to which he left £30 per annum as well as plate. He bought up corn in times of dearth and sold it at low prices to the poor, besides

[1] It is stated in the *Victoria County History, Hertfordshire*, I. 345, that he was "a keen sportsman and hunted in Herts," but the evidence all proves the contrary.

[2] *Spenser's Poetical Works*, Aldine ed., IV. 304.

[3] See *Hatfield MSS.*, IX. 255, 433, whence it appears that Sir Robert Cecil refused to continue his patronage after his father's death. One of Norden's MSS. in the British Museum has corrections in Burghley's handwriting.

distributing money, clothing and food to those who were in need, both at Theobalds and in London. The amount of his regular charities was computed at £500 per annum, a very large sum in those days.

His property at the time of his death was less than was generally expected. "Of his private wealth there is but £11,000," says Chamberlain,[1] "of which £6000, and £800 or £900 land are left to his two nieces of Oxford. His lands seem less than we thought, as Mr. Secretary's share will bring but £1600 a year at most." His estates included manors in the counties of Northampton, Rutland, Lincoln, Essex, York, Herts, Middlesex and Kent. Of these the northern property, including Burghley, was left to Sir Thomas Cecil, with the exception of the manor and castle of Essendine in Rutland, which together with Theobalds and the remaining property in the home counties descended to Sir Robert.

[1] Chamberlain to Carleton, August 30th, 1598 (*Cal. S. P. Dom.*).

CHAPTER V

THOMAS CECIL, FIRST EARL OF EXETER

At the time of Lord Burghley's death he had two children only surviving—Thomas and Robert. Of these Thomas was afterwards created Earl of Exeter, while Robert on the same day became Earl of Salisbury. The present Marquesses of Exeter and Salisbury are the descendants of the two brothers.

Thomas Cecil was born at Cambridge on May 5th, 1542. Of his youth and education we have no record, but we know that his father, to use his own words, "never showed any fatherly fancy to him but in teaching and correcting."[1] The reason for this coldness on the part of Sir William lay no doubt in the character of Thomas, who was a sturdy, healthy boy, with strong passions, loving sport, eager for a military career, and hating beyond all things the thought of a studious and sedentary life. He incurred his father's heavy displeasure by his "slothfulness," his extravagance, his carelessness in dress, and his "inordinate love of unmeet plays, as dice and cards."[2] That

[1] Letter from Sir W. Cecil to Throckmorton, May 8th, 1561 (*Cal. S. P. Foreign*).

[2] Cecil to Windebank, September 10th, 1561 (*ibid.*). The letters quoted in the next few pages are all to be found in the *State Papers, Domestic and Foreign*.

a son of his should be "in study soon weary, in game, never" must have been a sore disappointment to the hard-working, pleasure-shunning statesman, and when Thomas was nineteen, he determined to send him for a year to Paris with his tutor, Thomas Windebank. The English Ambassador, Sir Nicholas Throckmorton, offered them the hospitality of the Embassy, which Windebank accepted in order that the young man "might learn to behave himself, not only at table, but otherwise, according to his estate." Unfortunately, Thomas had other views, and his behaviour caused his father and his tutor grave anxiety.

Travelling by way of Dieppe and Rouen, Windebank and his charge reached Paris in June, 1561, and soon afterwards Thomas was presented at the French Court to Mary, Queen of Scots, who was pleased to say that "if he proved as wise as his father, the one might be glad of the other; for though she had never seen his father, yet she had heard of him, and did not let to say that the Queen had a very good servant in him." At Court he also witnessed "a terrible battle between a lion and three dogs, in which the latter were victorious."

Sir Nicholas recommended that Thomas should "learn to ride, to play the lute, to dance, to play at tennis, and use such exercises as are noted ornaments to courtiers." Such advice was very much to Thomas's liking, and he proceeded to amuse himself in such a way as might have been expected of a spirited youth, now for the first time

released from strict supervision. His father was suspicious from the first. Before Thomas had been in Paris a month, he writes wishing him God's blessing, though "how he inclines himself to deserve it, he knows not." He complains that he receives no account of expenses, and exhorts his son to "begin by time to translate in French. Serve God daily. Take good heed of your health, and visit once a week your instructions." He adds, "write at every time somewhat to my wife," and from phrases in other letters we gather that one of his causes of annoyance was that Thomas sent no messages to his stepmother.

In August he writes to Windebank that he "has had a watchword sent him out of France that his son's being there shall serve him to little purpose, for that he spends his time in idleness." He threatens to call him home, a threat which is repeated a few weeks later, when, writing on the subject of expenses (September 10th), he says "Let me understand if the default be in my son; for if I see him so untoward and inconsiderate, I will revoke him home, where he shall take his adventure with as mean bringing up as I myself have had. Surely I have hitherto had small comfort in him, and if he deserve no better by well-doing, I will learn to take less care than I have done."

In the autumn Thomas had two attacks of ague, and was rather seriously ill—a circumstance which provoked not a word of sympathy, or even acknowledgment, from his father. On his recovery, he settled down for a time to a more industrious life,

if we are to believe Windebank's account of how he spent his day.

"In the morning, from viii. to ix. of the clock," he writes (November 12), "he hath one that readeth Munster[1] with him: that done, he hath his hour to learn to dance, and in these ii things is the whole of the forenoon consumed. After dinner at one of the clock he goeth to a lesson of the Institutes, whereof he wrote his determination himself unto you—persuaded thereunto by my Lord Ambassador. Towards iii of the clock, he hath one that teacheth him to play on the lute; wherein (and an hour's reading the history of Josephus *de bello Judaïco*), he bestoweth the whole afternoon. After supper, he lacketh no company to talk with, for learning the tongue that way; and besides, either recordeth on the lute or taketh some book in hand. This is presently the order of dividing his time, which I thought my duty to let you understand."

However, this improvement did not last long. Sir William continued to receive bad accounts from Paris, and became more and more angry with his son, and at the same time anxious lest his own good name should suffer. In one of his letters he writes: "Sir Henry Paget returned home with great commendations and fraughted with qualities; but I see in the end my son shall come home like a spending sot, meet to keep a tennis court." In another, to his son, he sounds a deeper note. "Children," he writes, "ought to be as gifts of God, comfort to their parents; but you, on the contrary, have made me careless of all children—you see how your former misbehaviour hath filled me full of all discontentation; and how

[1] Munster's *Cosmography*.

it will be cured, I leave it to Almighty God. I charge you, be serviceable to Almighty God; and think of your time, that yesterday will never return."

In March, 1562, he is evidently at his wits' end. No good has come from sending his son to France, but "discomfort and loss of money," and to Thomas "shame and increase of lewdness." He complains of his extravagance, and after reminding him to write to his stepmother, "and show yourself careful of the health of your brother[1] and sister, wherein, besides the satisfaction of natural love, you shall acquire your mother's good will," ends in the following characteristic manner: "I wish you grace to spare yourself, and by some virtue to recover your name of towardness, being here commonly reputed by common fame fleeing from thence, a dissolute, slothful, negligent and careless young man, and specially noted no lover of learning nor knowledge. These titles be meet for me to hear as thou thinkest, or else thou wouldest procure me some better reports.—Your father of an unworthy son."

This was followed a week later by a still more pathetic letter to Windebank, which may be quoted, since, as has been well said, "it shows the man more clearly than reams of State papers."

"Windebank," it runs, "I am here used to pains and troubles: but none creep so near my heart as doth this

[1] Not Robert, who was not born yet, but an infant, William, who died within the year.

of my lewd son. I am perplexed what to think. The shame that I shall receive to have so unruled a son grieveth me more than if I had lost him by honest death. Good Windebank, consult with my dear friend Sir N. Throckmorton, to whom I have referred the whole. I would be best content that he would commit him secretly to some sharp prison. If that shall not seem good, yet would I rather have him sent away to Strasburg, if it could be possible, or to Lorraine, for my grief will grow double to see him until some kind of amends. If none of these will serve, then bring him home, and I shall receive that which it pleaseth God to lay upon my shoulders: that is, in the midst of my business, for comfort a daily torment. If you shall come home with him, to cover the shame let it appear to be by reason of the troubles there. I rather desire to have this summer spent, though it were but to be absent from my sight. I am so troubled as well what to write I know not."

Poor Windebank had lost all control over his charge, and on April 26th, he writes in despair: "I have foreborne to write plainly, but now I am clean out of hope and am forced to do so. Sir, I do see that Mr. Thomas has utterly no mind nor disposition in him to apply to any learning, being carried away by other affections that rule him, so as it maketh him forget his duty in all things." He begs Cecil to recall his son to England and desires that he may himself be "discharged of this burden and care, such as he never had the like." "For, Sir," he is obliged to add, "I must needs let you know (as my duty constraineth me) that I am not able to persuade him to spend his time better or to do any other thing than he liketh himself, and so he hath told me plainly, and so indeed do I find it."

The immediate cause of this outburst may be surmised from a letter written by Throckmorton to Cecil on the following day, in which he desires him to write to his son to "check his inordinate affection with which he is transported towards a young gentlewoman abiding near Paris, which the writer and Mr. Windebank by their admonition have tried to dissuade him from, but in vain. She is a maid, and her friends will hardly bear the violation of her." He urges Cecil to recall Thomas home, or to send him into Flanders, and his kindly feeling for the wayward youth induces him to add a hope that Cecil "will judge of his passion as fathers do when they censure their sons' oversights, committed when most subject to folly and lost to reason; and not measure his son by himself, but repute him as other young men."

Neither Throckmorton nor Windebank thought it necessary to tell Cecil the whole truth, which was that Thomas had actually made a promise of marriage to the young lady, who was a nun in an abbey near Paris. It appears that he had even planned to carry her off, having arranged to obtain a couple of horses, "upon credit of a merchant," and to provide himself with money by selling both his own and Windebank's clothes. He defied his tutor, saying that he was sure of his position, and that his father could not disinherit him. He had in fact "come to an extremity of evil meaning," and Windebank's anxiety to have him safely back in England is not surprising.

In reply to his appeal Cecil wrote to his son

commanding him to "banish his wanton lusts," but he ignored his tutor's request to be allowed to resign his post, and altogether refused to let Thomas come home. His injunctions, however, evidently made an impression, and Thomas's reply, written in French, deserves to be quoted in full :—

"Mon très honoré seignour et père,—
Vos lettres m'ont apportés tant de facherie, que rien plus : par lesquelles j'entend que vous estes fort corrusée contre moy—estant adverty que j'employe mon temps en poursuivant les vanités d'amour. Come je suis bien marry que vous entendres chooses de moy qui sont tant à mon desavantage (et d'avanture beaucoup plus qu'ilz sont), ainsi, je ne puis excuser en tout : mais come je suis junne, ainsi il fault que je confesse que je suis subjett à les affections qui gouvernent quelque fois ceux qui sont junnes. Pourtant, de paour de vous facher trop avec ma longue et facheuse lettre : et que vous ne penses que, en usant beaucoup de parolles, je sercherois de vous déguiser le mattier, je vous supplie bien, humblement de me donner vostre benediction ! Si, par le passé, j'ay mis en oublie mon devoir, je vous promette de me mestre en paine, doresnevant, de me monstrer, en tout, prest de vous obéir : priant le Créatur vous avoir tousjours en sa divine garde. Votre très humble, et filz trèsobéissant.
"THOMAS CECIL."

How far these admirable sentiments were genuine it is impossible to say, but the immediate danger at any rate was averted, and after this an improvement certainly took place in Thomas's behaviour. Windebank took him to Dammart, twenty miles from Paris, for the summer, and

early in August the intervention of England in the French war of religion, and the news of the occupation of Havre, compelled them to leave France secretly and make their way to Antwerp. In announcing this step to Sir William, Windebank takes occasion to hope that he "will like Mr. Thomas's personage and behaviour better than in times past, and that his little folly past will increase him in wisdom."

At Antwerp the travellers were hospitably entertained by Sir Thomas Gresham, the English agent, whose opinion of young Cecil must also have comforted his father. "Without flattery," he wrote, "you have as handsome a man to your son, and as toward and inclined to all virtue, as your own heart can desire." Sir William, however, did not wish to see his son at present "for indeed the wound is yet too green for me to behold him," and after a short stay in Antwerp, Windebank and his charge proceeded to Germany, visiting Spires, Heidelberg, Frankfurt, Marburg, Leipzig and other places, and making the acquaintance of the Elector Palatine, and many other German potentates. At Frankfurt, in October, they witnessed the assembling of the Princes for the Diet—the Elector of Saxony with 500 horse, the Duke of Würtemberg with 300; the Duke of Bavaria with 500; the Duke of Cleves with 600; the Palatine with 600; "and the Emperor's train with his sons is said to be 5,000 horse."

In December Windebank received a letter from his master, thanking him for his "continual care

towards my son" and expressing a wish that he "were out of Germany, and might see Italy, and pass by the Helvetians, and to Geneva. Marry, I wish you to have good regard to pass as unknown as you may, because of the malice that I know the papists owe me; and could be content to avenge the same in my son. My meaning is that, since my son is abroad, he should see all things requisite, for I do mean at his return to move him to marry, and then to plant him at home." Windebank, however, thought that Italy would be dangerous, "by reason of the enticements to pleasure and wantonness there," and thought it better to pass the winter at Strasburg, where poor Thomas's "daily exercise" was to hear a sermon in the French church, that he "might profit in the French tongue and in goodness also."

By this time they were both longing to be home: Thomas bored beyond measure, and begging to be allowed to return and "see the war, which would be most agreeable to him"; and his tutor urging that "for qualities commonly commended in gentlemen, Germany is not the place to obtain them." At last Windebank, moved by the state of Thomas's health, which was far from satisfactory, and by the dangers to which he was exposed owing to the "looseness in religion with corruption of manners that reign in those parts," decided in consultation with Henry Knollys, who was with them, to come home, whether he had permission or not. What reception Thomas met with from his father we do not know, but the

experience of these two years is enough to account for Lord Burghley's prejudice against foreign travel. In his famous Precepts, addressed to Sir Robert, he warns him not to allow his sons to travel, for if by so doing "they get a few broken languages, that shall profit them nothing more than to have one meat served in divers dishes." And we are told that in his old age, if anyone came to the Lords of the Council for a licence to travel, "he would first examine him of England, and if he found him ignorant would bid him stay at home and know his own country first."[1]

Thomas Cecil returned to England in the Spring of 1563, and took his seat in Parliament as member for the borough of Stamford, which place he represented till 1576. In the following year (November 27th, 1564) he married Dorothy Neville, one of the daughters and co-heirs of John Neville, Lord Latimer. The marriage had been strongly advocated by Sir Henry Percy, afterwards Earl of Northumberland, who had married Catherine Neville, the eldest daughter. In a letter to Sir William Cecil[2] he gives an alluring description of the first Countess of Exeter at the age of fifteen. He has made, he says, "some trial of the conversation of the young woman: which I assure you is so good and vertuous, as hard it is to find such a spark of youth in this realm. For both is she very wise, sober of behaviour, womanly

[1] Peacham's *Compleat Gentleman*.

[2] January 21st, 1561-2. Printed in Burgon's *Life of Sir T. Gresham*, I. 451.

and in her doings so temperate as if she bare the age double her years; of stature like to be goodly; and of beauty very well. Her hair brown, yet her complexion very fair and clear; the favour of her face everybody may judge it to have both grace and wisdom. Sir, although it be a dangerous matter thus much to write of a young woman, yet do I assure you I have said nothing more than she deserveth."[1]

The young couple settled down to a quiet domestic life at Wimbledon, and afterwards at Burghley, and for several years we hear no more of them, beyond the bare announcement of the birth of their numerous children.

In 1569 Cecil took part as a volunteer in the suppression of the Northern Rebellion, and gained the favour of the Earl of Sussex, the Commander-in-Chief. Again, in 1573, he served as a volunteer in the expedition which was sent into Scotland under Sir W. Drury to the assistance of the Earl of Murray, and was present at the siege of the Castle of Edinburgh. Two years later, on the

[1] By this marriage Thomas Cecil obtained the manor of North Crawley, Bucks, part of the ancient barony of Bedford, in virtue of the possession of which he officiated as Grand Almoner at the coronation of James I. Thus, as Mr. Oswald Barron has pointed out, the connection of the Marquesses of Exeter with the "stately sinecure of the Grand Almonership" is territorial only. "Originally vested in the Beauchamps of Bedford, it was held by the earlier Lords Latimer, in co-heirship with others. From the later Lords Latimer, who, though not their descendants, inherited a portion of the Beauchamp fief, some of the old lands passed by marriage to the first Earl of Exeter, who was appointed as Lord Burghley from among their holders, to officiate at the Coronation of James I. since when the Earls have been similarly selected by the Crown at certain coronations" (*Northamptonshire Families*, p. 24).

occasion of Elizabeth's memorable visit to Kenilworth, Thomas Cecil took an active part in the masques and pageants which were enacted, and was among those who received the honour of knighthood. He again distinguished himself in the tournaments and the entertainments which were held in honour of the Duke of Alençon's visit to England in 1581, as a suitor for the Queen's hand. He was a strong supporter of the marriage, and in the previous year he had addressed a long letter to the Queen, containing an elaborate analysis of the troubles likely to ensue if the marriage were broken off, and the best means to divert these perils. At the same time he assured her that finding that she no longer inclined to the marriage, "he is also in conscience and duty persuaded to yield to the way that may best please her, not because he thinks it best for her, for with his hands and heart he will defend while he lives her marriage, to be her only security at home and abroad, but because he is so faithfully addicted to her service that he will spend his blood not only in that which he thinks best for her, but in any other thing that she herself would have done. For himself," he concludes, "he humbly beseeches her Majesty that he may be the first man to be employed to spend his blood in her service in the place where she thinks her first peril to be, without exception of persons, time, place or matter." [1]

[1] *Hatfield MSS.*, II. 308-10, January 28th, 1580. This letter has been supposed to be the work of Lord Burghley, for no reason whatever, except that detractors of Sir Thomas consider him incapable of having written it.

This spirited outburst, so unlike the conventional addresses which the Queen was accustomed to receive from her courtiers, displays the character of the writer—a brave and unaffected man of action, out of place in Courts, but with all the finest instincts of a soldier. That he was highly thought of is shown by the fact that in 1585, when Leicester was about to be employed in the Netherlands, he wrote to Burghley asking that "if her Majesty command my service, I may have your good will for my cousin, Sir Thomas Cecil, to have his company."[1] This request was granted and on the conclusion of the treaty with the States of Holland in August, 1585, Sir Thomas was appointed Governor of the Brill, one of the cautionary towns placed as pledges in English hands, an office which he resigned in 1587. Both he and his brother Robert are said to have served as volunteers on board the fleet which defeated the Armada in the following year, but no direct evidence of this statement has been found.

Meanwhile, at home, he had been High Sheriff of Northamptonshire, in 1578, when Fuller tells us that his father "would not have him excused from serving his country"; and in the Parliament of 1585 he was returned as Knight of the Shire for the county of Lincoln. Twelve years later (1597), he represented the same county, but in the Parliament of 1593 he was elected member for Northamptonshire.

His family now consisted of five sons and six

[1] *Hatfield MSS.*, III. 108.

daughters; two more daughters died in infancy. Of the sons, William, the eldest, succeeded his father as second Earl of Exeter; Richard was already (1587) member of Parliament for Peterborough; Edward, afterwards Viscount Wimbledon, was serving in the Low Countries; and Christopher and Thomas were still boys. Lucy, the eldest surviving daughter, was married to Lord St. John, afterwards Marquess of Winchester,[1] and on his return from the Netherlands, in 1587, Sir Thomas wrote to Lord Burghley, to inform him of the expected advent of his first grandchild.[2]

Cecil was at this time superintending the building operations which his father was carrying out at Burghley, and in the same letter he urges the purchase of some hangings which Pallavicini had delivered to him, and offers to join Burghley in buying them and to pay half the price; "rather than your Lordship should refuse them, being already made fit for the rooms here, and hardly to get the like hangings as the times are now, I will strain myself therein." He adds that the buildings are going on very fast, and hopes that next year his father "can get leave to see the perfection of your long and costly buildings, wherein your posterity I hope will be thankful unto your Lordship for it, as myself must think myself most bound, who of all others receiveth the most use of it."

[1] Their grandson was the first Duke of Bolton, and the present Marquess of Winchester is their direct descendant.

[2] *Hatfield MSS.*, III. 276.

At the same time he was engaged in building the great mansion at Wimbledon, called Wimbledon Hall, which was completed in the following year (1588).[1] Of this building no trace remains, but it must have been, as Aubrey calls it, "a noble seat." Camden says it was Wimbledon's greatest ornament, "as pleasant by its prospect and gardens as it was stately in its structure." On the north side a series of terraces, with seventy steps in all, led down to the park, across which a straight avenue of elms led to Putney Common. The gardens covered twenty acres and were specially remarkable.

The Earl of Exeter left the house at his death to his son, Sir Edward, who afterwards took his title of Viscount Wimbledon from it. By his heirs it was sold to Queen Henrietta Maria, and, after changing hands several times, it was finally pulled down by Sir Theodore Janssen in 1717.

By this time Robert Cecil—who was, it must be remembered, twenty-one years younger than Sir Thomas—was already making his way in the political world. In spite of one or two differences, there existed a very real affection between the brothers, and Sir Thomas, especially, makes frequent professions of his love. Writing from Snape, July 9th, 1595, he apologises with characteristic humility, for his letter as "not much worth your reading," and adds "I can grace it

[1] The manor of Wimbledon did not come into his hands till 1590, when it was granted to him in exchange for the manors of Langton and Wibberton, in the county of Lincoln (*Hatfield MSS.*, IV. 12; and see Gotch, *The Homes of the Cecils*, as before).

unto you with no better a farewell than to assure you, that you shall never find friend next your father and your wife, that shall more truly love you than I will, and upon that pledge I hope I shall be assured of yours."[1] Similar expressions are frequent in his letters. "I perceive the kind care you have of my well-doing, which shall every day tie the knot of our love harder and harder. I wish in all your private and public designs a happy event, and your life long and happy to do her Majesty and your country service."[2] Again, "I think you happy for your great and honourable fortune, and happier that the Lord has given you grace of judgment so to use it as to carry as much love and reputation, and as little envy as ever councillor had in any time."[3] Such phrases, coming from such a man as Sir Thomas, who despised the conventional language of flattery common at the time, do equal credit to both brothers, though here as in other cases the character of Sir Robert is much less easy to understand.

Sir Thomas seems to have felt no jealousy at the rapid promotion of his younger brother in the political world, but he occasionally grumbles that he receives no advancement himself. Thus on the death of Sir Thomas Heneage, in October, 1595, when a most indecent scramble took place for the many lucrative offices he held,[4] poor Sir Thomas

[1] *Hatfield MSS.*, V. 273.

[2] September 2nd, 1599 (*ibid.*, IX. 345).

[3] July 21st, 1601 (*Cal. S. P. Dom.*).

[4] Sir Robert was one of the chief offenders. In sending him the patent for the "Clerkship of Sarum," the Bishop of Salisbury mentions

writes: "The hope of that whereof you write unto me promiseth little assurance; for my friends are barred to speak for me, my enemies strong to dissuade, her Majesty not apt to give, nor I to receive so small advancement as perhaps she would allow me: so as, to conclude, there will be no such office void by his death, which her Majesty will think me worthy of, that I would take in place of this contentment, I sue for of my travail."[1] Next year he asks for the office of President of the North, or for the Governorship of Berwick, and writes: "If my friends in this opportunity speak not for me, I must not look that strangers will, who think my Lord's greatness a sufficient fortune for me to look for somewhat, and as for my own letter to her Majesty, it hath no reply. If I be forsaken by a father and a brother, who are in that place, I must take it as an unkind fortune. Her Majesty cannot think that my friends have been much importunate, or partial unto me, having not all this time moved her in anything for me."[2]

Sir Thomas succeeded his father as Lord Burghley in 1598, being then fifty-six years old. He inherited large estates in Northamptonshire, Lincolnshire, and Rutland, including of course Burgh-

that he had asked for it before Sir Thomas Heneage was dead, but had requested the Bishop to conceal his request, which put him in an awkward position when several other people (including the Earl of Essex) also asked for it before the death of Sir Thomas. However, he told them the office was not in his disposition. Sir Robert also made efforts to obtain the Stewardship of Cambridge and the Recordership of Colchester and Hull (*Hatfield MSS.*, V. 417, 433, 439).

[1] October 8th, 1595 (*ibid.*, V. 401).

[2] July 21st, 1596 (*ibid.*, VI. 275).

Photo Emery Walker

THOMAS, FIRST EARL OF EXETER, K.G.

ley House, completed some ten years before. In addition, he still possessed Wimbledon Hall, where he frequently entertained the Queen,[1] though her visits were not an unmixed blessing to her subjects. On the first occasion of her coming, she altered the date of her arrival four times, till Burghley was in despair, complaining that " her Majesty's so often coming and not coming so distempers all things with me as upon every change of coming I do nothing but give directions into the country for new provisions: most of the old thrown away by reason of the heat." [2] He soon perceived that it was not the Queen, but his father who had stood in the way of his advancement, for within a few months of his succeeding to the title, he was constituted Warden of Rockingham Forest, and Constable of the Castle there, for life, and in August, 1599, he was appointed President of the Council of the North, and Lord Lieutenant of Yorkshire. He took up his new duties with enthusiasm. The Queen urged a policy of greater severity towards recusants, owing to the " notorious defections " in the north, and Burghley had soon " filled a little study with copes and mass-books." " I dare promise her Majesty," he writes to his brother, " that she shall be obeyed either with their purses (I mean of them that be recusants), or with their full obedience and loyalty." [3] His measures seem to have been effective, for six months later he

[1] See letter to Lady Guilford, April 8th, 1602 (*Hatfield MSS.*, XII. 99).

[2] Letters to Sir Robert Cecil, July 17th and 19th, 1599 (*ibid.*, IX. 236, 239).

[3] September 1st, 1599 (*ibid.*, IX. 344).

writes: "This county is in good order. I doubt not that soon eighteen out of every twenty recusants will come to the Church. In the worst parts of this shire I hear that five hundred have come in this three weeks, so that a notable papist complained that the common people are declining from them." Nevertheless he asks permission to come to town, assigning among other reasons that "his health requires him to take some physic this spring, and he dare not trust any 'potycarye' in this town (York) being none but that are recusants."[1]

It was about this time that Lord Burghley built his house at Wothorpe, which, says Fuller, "must not be forgot, (the least of noble houses, and best of lodges) seeming but a dim reflection of Burghley, whence it is a mile distant. It was built by Thomas Cecil, Earl of Exeter, 'to retire to,' as he pleasantly said, 'out of the dust, whilst his great house at Burghley was a-sweeping.'"[2] This house must have been of considerable size, but it was dismantled at the end of the eighteenth century, and only ivy-covered ruins now remain.

In February, 1601, Lord Burghley took a prominent part in the suppression of the Essex Rebellion. He was "Colonel General of the foot" and, "with some ten horse went into London and proclaimed the Earl of Essex a traitor with all his adherents, by the mouth of the King-of-Arms, notwithstanding that my Lord of Essex with all his complices were in the

[1] March 1st, 1600 (*Hatfield MSS.*, X. 48).
[2] Fuller's *Worthies*, ed. 1840, II. 499.

city."[1] On the 26th of May following he was installed at Windsor a Knight of the Garter.

On the death of Elizabeth, Burghley entertained the new King on his progress to London, first for two days at York, and afterwards at Burghley, " where his Highness with all his train were received with great magnificence, the house seeming as rich, as if it had been furnished at the charges of an Emperor."[2] A fortnight later (May 10th, 1603) the King held his first Privy Council at the Charterhouse, and Lord Burghley was sworn a member of the Council and appointed Lord Lieutenant of Northamptonshire. In the following January he was offered an earldom, which, however, he refused, for reasons explained in the following letter to Sir John Hobart, the Attorney-General (January 12th, 1604). " Your letter," he says, " found me in such estate, as rather I desired three days' ease of pain, than to delight to think of any title of honour. I am resolved to content myself with this estate I have of a Baron. And my present estate of living, howsoever those of the world hath enlarged it, I find little enough to maintain the degree I am in. And I am sure they that succeed me will be less able to maintain it than I am, considering there will go out of the baronage three younger brothers' livings. This is all I can write unto you at this time being full of pain: and therefore you must be content with

[1] Sir Robert Cecil to Sir G. Carew, February 10th, 1601 (Birch, *Memoirs of the Reign of Elizabeth*, II. 469).

[2] Nichols, *Progresses of James I.*, I. 95.

this my brief writing. And I give you my very hearty thanks for your good wishes, and think myself beholding to those my friends that had care of me therein."

In spite of this decision, however, Burghley withdrew his refusal in the following year, and on May 4th, 1605, was created Earl of Exeter.[1]

From this time onward the Earl appears to have led a retired life at Burghley or Wimbledon. We hear of his being present at the ceremony when Prince Henry was created Prince of Wales, and his name appears as a witness to the patent, dated May 30th, 1610. In 1616 he was one of the Commissioners who treated for the surrender of the cautionary towns to the States of Holland, and he served on other commissions in connection with the laws against heresies and other matters of ecclesiastical jurisdiction.

The first Countess of Exeter died in 1609, and in the following year the Earl, then aged sixty-eight, married Frances Brydges, daughter of Lord Chandos, and widow of Sir Thomas Smith, Master of Requests to James I. The new Countess was thirty-eight years younger than her husband, and younger than all of her step-children except one. She survived until 1663, and we shall hear of her again in connection with the feuds between her husband's grandson, Lord Roos, and the Lake family into which he was so unfortunate as to

[1] Robert Cecil, then Viscount Cranborne, was created Earl of Salisbury on the morning of the same day, and was given precedence of his brother.

marry. The last few years of the Earl's life were overshadowed by these and other troubles.

The unhappy marriage of his daughter, Elizabeth, the young and beautiful widow of Sir William Hatton, to Sir Edward Coke, the Lord Chief Justice, reached its climax soon after her husband's disgrace in 1616, when she made up her mind not to live with him any more and appealed against his tyranny to the Privy Council. Her misery, and, we may be sure, that of her father, to whom she came with all her troubles, was increased by the marriage between her daughter Frances and Sir John Villiers, afterwards Viscount Purbeck, Buckingham's elder brother, which was brought about by the intrigues of the bridegroom's mother, backed up by the King. Coke was bribed by being restored to his seat at the Council, and his wife's protestations were of no avail.[1] In addition to these misfortunes, Lord Roos, Exeter's grandson and future heir, died in Naples under very suspicious circumstances in 1618; another grandson, Lord St. John, son of the Marquess of Winchester, died in 1621; and most grievous of all, the only child of the Earl's second marriage, a daughter, named in

[1] A full account of this disgraceful transaction, "the issue of which was a tragedy hardly inferior to that which sprung from the marriage of Lady Essex," is given by Gardiner (*History of England*, 1603—1642, Vol. III., Chap. XXIV.). Lady Purbeck deserted her husband in 1621, and, having given birth to a child in October, 1624, was convicted in the High Court of Commission of adultery with Sir Robert Howard. She died in 1645. Another grandchild of the Earl of Exeter got into trouble over his marriage. This was the son of Lady Dorothy Cecil, who married Sir Giles Alington. Sir Giles (the younger) married his niece, and was fined in the High Court £32,000, the marriage being pronounced void (April, 1631).

the register of her birth, "Georgi-Anna,"[1] died in 1621 at the age of five.

The Earl died in February, 1623, at the age of eighty, and was buried by the side of his first wife in Westminster Abbey.[2]

Though not a man of any great distinction, he was upright, honourable and good-natured. From his portrait we should judge him to have been of a kindly and humorous, if somewhat hesitating, disposition. James I. thought much of him, and after his early escapes he seems to have led a meritorious and useful life, and to have deserved to be called "right pious and charitable." Some years before his death he converted part of the old palace of the Bishops of Lincoln, at Liddington, in Rutland, into a hospital called Jesus Hospital, which he endowed for the maintenance of a warden, twelve brethren, and two women. He was an extensive benefactor to the town of Stamford, and in 1612 he granted to Clare Hall, Cambridge, lands to the yearly amount of £108, for the endowment of three fellows and eight scholars.

[1] Charlton, *Burghley*, p. 122. She was born at Wimbledon, the Queen standing sponsor. The pedigree makers name her "Sophia Anna."

[2] The inscription on the monument in the Chapel of St. John the Baptist, states that the second Countess was also buried there, but, as a matter of fact, she was buried in Winchester Cathedral.

CHAPTER VI

EDWARD CECIL, VISCOUNT WIMBLEDON

Of the first Earl of Exeter's five sons, the only one who distinguished himself was Edward, Viscount Wimbledon. Of his youth or education nothing is recorded, until we find him, in 1594, at the age of twenty-two, setting out to travel on the Continent with his elder brother Richard.[1] He was in Florence in 1596, and was entertained by the Duke, Ferdinand de' Medici, "and which was an extraordinary favour the duke gave him leave to ride his own horse, and at his departure gave him gifts of price."[2] Later he made his way to the Low Countries, and made up his mind to serve under Sir Francis Vere. His determination is expressed in a letter to his uncle, Sir Robert, dated February 9th, 1599,[3] in which he says: "My fortune is now to follow the wars, having had always heretofore a disposition thereunto. . . . The profession I have taken upon me wills that I

[1] Richard Cecil, of Wakerley, the second son, was born in 1570. He was M.P. for Westminster, Peterborough, and Stamford, and was knighted at Woodstock in 1616. He acquired the manor of Wakerley, Northamptonshire, in 1618. He married Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Anthony Cope, and his son, David, eventually succeeded as third Earl of Exeter.

[2] Peck, *Desiderata Curiosa*, I. 27.

[3] Dalton, *Life and Times of General Sir Edward Cecil*, I. 15. In the *Calendar of Hatfield MSS.*, X. 31, the date of this letter is given as February 9th, 1599-1600, instead of 1598-9.

vow myself to someone that will protect me, (as all men of the like profession doth) and I not knowing to whom my poor service belongeth more than to your Honour, maketh me hope that your Honour will with some little favour help my poor fortunes forward."

As usual, Sir Robert responded effectively to his nephew's appeal, using his influence to obtain for him the captaincy of an English foot company. Edward expressed his deep gratitude for his uncle's "extraordinary favours" to him and added, "I hold it honour and happiness to spend my life for the honour of the house; accounting your Honour the house as the principalest part of it, and myself the unnecessaryest."[1] His ambition, however, was to be a cavalry commander. "If you ever wish to be a soldier," Sir Francis Vere told him, "get up on horseback."[2] This was a much more difficult matter, for there were few troops of horse in the Low Countries, and the competition for them was great. But Captain Cecil was strongly supported by Vere, as well as by his father and Sir Robert, and in May, 1600, he obtained the command of a troop of cavalry, paying £500 to the retiring captain, Sir Nicholas Parker. A few weeks later he was present at the battle of Nieuport, and distinguished himself in a decisive cavalry charge. After this there was a lull in the military operations, and Cecil took advantage of it to return to England.

[1] July 16th, 1599 (*Hatfield MSS.*, IX. 205).
[2] Dalton, I. 37.

In the following spring he married Theodosia Noel, daughter of Sir Andrew Noel, of Dalby, Leicestershire. But he was eager for active work, and in July he volunteered for and was appointed to the command of 1,000 men raised in London for the relief of Ostend, then in imminent danger of being captured by the Spaniards. On his return he was knighted by the Queen at Basing, the seat of his sister, the Marchioness of Winchester, and soon afterwards he was chosen member of Parliament for Aldborough. Next year Prince Maurice gave him the command of all the English horse in the Dutch service, though he was not actually raised to the rank of colonel till 1605.

Determined to lose nothing for the asking, Cecil begged Sir Robert, in 1602, to obtain for him the post of President of Munster, and two years later he again appealed to his uncle to appoint him to one of the important commands vacated by the death of Sir Francis Vere, who was Governor of the Brill and of Portsmouth. But there were others who had far better claims to these appointments than Sir Edward, and Sir Robert, though always ready to help his nephew in any legitimate way, was not the man to use his influence unfairly for the benefit of his family.

Cecil took part in the various military operations of the next few years, and gained an increasing reputation as a brave and capable soldier. In 1610 he was appointed general of the English contingent of 4,000 men which took part in the

expedition to Cleves and the siege of Juliers. His experience in the Netherlands, where he had assisted at the sieges of Grave, Sluys and other places, had made him proficient in everything connected with fortification, and at Juliers he had plenty of opportunity of showing his skill as an engineer, and his ability as a commander. Writing to Lord Salisbury, Sir Ralph Winwood, the British ambassador at the Hague, who had himself visited the army investing Juliers, says, "I cannot sufficiently represent unto your Lordship his industry and diligence, and how by his example, to stir up watchfulness and care in others, he doth descend to the duty of a simple Captain. If anything be to be desired in him, it is this, that he would be more respectful of his person, which he doth often hazardously expose to danger ; *quem saepe transit casus aliquando invenit :* his horse this week was killed under him by a shot of a culverin."[1] Other writers bear witness to his activity, his reckless courage, and his power of inspiring enthusiasm in his men. The town surrendered on August 22nd, after five weeks' siege, and Winwood declared that though the honour belonged of right to Count Maurice, yet for his part he would attribute the successful outcome "to the diligence and judgment of Sir Edward Cecil."

For the next few years he passed much of his time at Court, where he stood high in the favour of the Prince of Wales, who sent him in May, 1612, as his proxy to stand sponsor to the child of

[1] Dalton, I 183.

Count Ernest of Nassau, at Arnheim. The tragic death of the Prince six months later does not appear to have injured his prospects so far as they depended upon Court favour, for in the following year, after the marriage of the Princess Elizabeth with the Elector Palatine, Cecil was appointed to accompany the young couple and their train on the journey to the Palatinate, in the capacity of Treasurer, while his wife was one of the ladies in attendance on the Princess. On the birth of the Elector's first child the King sent Sir Edward and Lady Cecil on a special mission to Heidelberg to report on the health of his daughter and grandson.

After serving in what Motley calls " the phantom campaign " of 1614, he remained for the next two years with his regiment at Utrecht, and there his wife died in March, 1616. " I must confess it inflicted a very strong sorrow upon me," he writes to Sir Dudley Carleton, " for she was a dear and good wife to me. But it hath pleased God to allow me patience with my affliction, and according to your good counsel I do humbly submit myself to his pleasure."[1] A few months later it was already rumoured that he was about to marry again, the lady being Diana Drury, who was the younger sister of the second wife of his eldest brother, William, and was said to be a good match, having £10,000 or £12,000.[2] The marriage, however, did not take place till February, 1618.

[1] *S. P. Holland*, 1616. Quoted by Dalton, I. 236.
[2] Chamberlain to Carleton, November 23rd, 1616 (*Cal. S. P. Dom.*).

In the same year he again made efforts to obtain an official appointment, first as Comptroller, and afterwards as Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, but in spite of his interest at Court, he failed in each case. A much more serious disappointment awaited him two years later.

On the outbreak of the Thirty Years' War, followed by the acceptance of the crown of Bohemia by the Elector Palatine, the hopes of the Protestant princes of Europe were centred on James, upon whose aid they relied to prevent the conquest of the Palatinate by Spain. Very tardily and grudgingly James gave permission for a small force to be raised for this purpose, and Sir Edward Cecil had every hope of being appointed to the command. The Duke of Buckingham had promised him the post, and the King was favourable to his claim. Unfortunately, however, Baron Dohna, the King of Bohemia's Ambassador, passed over Cecil and other applicants, and insisted that the troops should be led by Sir Horace Vere, the commander of the English forces in the service of the United Provinces. On receiving this information Cecil was furious, and his anger was increased by the fact that, notoriously, a feud had long existed between Vere and himself. Moreover, his appointment had been publicly spoken of, and he had "made great promises to himself and his friends."[1]

He felt himself disgraced, and at an interview, of

[1] R. Woodward to F. Windebank, July 1st, 1620 (*Cal. S. P. Dom.* See Gardiner, III. 358; Dalton, I. 321 *sqq.*).

which full accounts have been preserved, proceeded to vent his wrath on Dohna. After expatiating on his own services to the King and Queen of Bohemia, he complained that although he had been "nominated by his Majesty for the present employment, and that the world took notice of it, and he (Dohna) in particular," yet Dohna had waited until he knew it must "prove a dishonour" to him, and had then nominated "one who had never done the King of Bohemia service." He went on to say that while he knew what was due to an ambassador, he hoped he might meet him one day in another place or in another rank, where they could "speak upon equal terms." [1]

Dohna at once complained to the King of the treatment he had received, and James sent for Cecil, who, however, had gone to join his regiment at the Hague. Sir Robert Naunton, the Secretary of State, therefore wrote to Carleton, the British Ambassador at the Hague, instructing him to tell Sir Edward that his Majesty "will have him acknowledge his fault, and ask forgiveness both of his Majesty and Baron Dohna, or to expect condign punishment from his Majesty whenever he shall return hither." [2] Nothing was left for Cecil but humbly to ask "pardon of his Majesty and of the Ambassador, for having forgotten what belonged to his quality." [3] With this apology,

[1] Dohna's and Cecil's accounts of the interview are printed by Dalton from *S. P. Holland*.

[2] July 20th, 1620 (*S. P. Holland*).

[3] Carleton to Naunton, July 27th, 1620 (*ibid.*).

James expressed himself well satisfied, and so the incident ended.

Sir Dudley Carleton also succeeded at the same time in bringing about a reconciliation between Vere and Cecil, thereby greatly increasing the efficiency of the English army in the Netherlands.

Cecil, with the Dutch army, accompanied Vere and his regiment as far as Wesel, where he had the mortification of seeing his successful rival march off to the seat of war, while he himself remained inactive for a couple of months within sight of a force of 6,000 Spaniards, with whom, owing to the existence of a truce, they were on the most friendly terms. The only thing of interest connected with the campaign which need be recorded here is the following "Military Rhyme":—

"Some say Sir Edward Cecil can
Do as much as any man;
But I say no—for Sir Horace Vere
Hath carried the Earl of Oxford where
He neither shall have wine nor cheer.
Now Hercules himself could do no more."[1]

On his return to England, Sir Edward was elected member for Chichester, and took his seat in the Parliament which met in January, 1621. He has been credited with a fine speech, during

[1] *Court and Times of James I.*, II. 208. The "dissolute and reckless" Earl of Oxford, who accompanied his cousin, Sir Horace Vere, to the Palatinate, was the son, by a second marriage, of the Earl who proved so bad a husband to Lord Burghley's daughter, as already related. He was himself connected with the Cecils through his marriage with Lady Diana, Sir Edward's niece.

this session, on the importance of granting an immediate supply to the Palatinate. This speech was published under his name, and attracted considerable attention, but there seems to be no doubt that it was a forgery, and was never uttered in Parliament by Cecil or anyone else.[1] He was at this time a member of the Council of War, which was considering the best means of securing the safety of the Palatinate, and no doubt he lent his name to the pamphlet, in order to promote what he considered a good cause.[2]

The session was a stormy one, and at the last sitting before the adjournment on June 4th, Sir John Perrot made his momentous speech, in which, after alluding to the danger in which the true religion stood, both at home and abroad, and recalling the King's declaration at the beginning of Parliament, that "if the Palatinate could not be recovered by treaty, he would adventure his blood and life in the cause," he appealed to the House to make a public declaration before they parted, "that if the treaty failed, they would, upon their return, be ready to adventure their lives and estates, for the maintenance of the cause of God, and of his Majesty's royal issue."

[1] A copy exists in the British Museum, and it is printed in the *Cal. S. P. Dom.*, February 5th, 1620-1. Professor Gardiner, who was the first to discover that it was not authentic, says: "Whoever was the author, the speech does him great credit. There is a fine ring in its language from beginning to end. Nothing, in the course of writing this work, has been more painful than the act of drawing my pen, in obedience to the laws of historical veracity, through the extracts which I had credulously inserted in the text" (IV. 29, *note*).

[2] Dalton, I. 346.

As soon as Perrot sat down, Cecil rose and said, "This declaration comes from Heaven. It will do more for us than if we had ten thousand soldiers on the march." The motion was unanimously agreed to amidst scenes of enthusiasm such as have rarely been witnessed in Parliament.[1]

Cecil continued to advocate a war with Spain, in order to save the Palatinate, but James still relied on Spanish professions, and was eager for the marriage of the Prince of Wales to the Infanta; and it was not until the disastrous visit of the Prince and Buckingham to Madrid had destroyed all hope of that alliance that a breach between the two countries became inevitable. The death of James in March, 1625, gave Charles and Buckingham a free hand, and remembering the success of the Cadiz expedition of 1596, the first adventure they decided upon was to send a large fleet with 10,000 men, under the supreme command of Buckingham himself, to raid the Spanish coast.

For the last few years Cecil had spent much of his time in the Low Countries, and had taken part in all the most important military operations. He had not omitted to press his claims to advancement, and his opportunity had now come. On May 4th, 1625, the Duke of Buckingham wrote, informing him of the proposed expedition, and appointing him second in command to himself. "I will use no other expression to you," his letter ends, "than that I have put into your hands the first infinite trust and pawn of my

[1] Gardiner, IV. 128, 129.

goodwill that ever I had in my power to bestow, which I have done with confidence and affection."[1]

Cecil's command was to be that of Lord Marshal of the Army on board the fleet and Deputy to Buckingham, and this appointment he gratefully accepted, at once setting about the necessary preparations. But the occasion was not to pass without a display of his jealous and quarrelsome temper. At the same time that Buckingham had written to him, he had also informed Sir Horace Vere that the States-General could not dispense with his services, but that the King was pleased to create him a Baron.[2] One would have supposed that Cecil, having been chosen for so high a command, though junior to Vere, would have been pleased that his old comrade-in-arms should also be honoured; yet on receipt of the news, he wrote to Buckingham as follows:

"The occasion of my boldness in presenting your Excellency with these lines, is for that, contrary to my expectation, I hear that there is a commission a drawing to make Sir Horace Vere a Baron of England. It is strange to me at this time to hear it, for that I know not what worth there is more in him, than in those that are equal in profession and before him in birth. If your Excellency have made choice of me to be your second in this journey of so much charge and expectation, and to make me less than I was, what courage shall I have to do you service? or what honour will redound to your Excellency? But although I write it, yet I cannot believe it, for that I know you of that judgment and nobleness that you will rather add to your faithful servants,

[1] Dalton, II. 94.
[2] *Ibid.*, II. 95.

although they beg it not, than to disgrace them and make them less."[1]

Meanwhile preparations for the great expedition went forward, but it soon became evident that success under the conditions prevailing was more than doubtful. Money, food, clothing and stores were all deficient, and the raw recruits who were pressed into the service were ignorant of even the rudiments of drill and discipline, and no attempt was made to train them. The officers were little better than the men, being mostly untried and appointed by favour rather than merit; and the ships were mainly merchantmen hastily converted. The expedition was unpopular from the first, and distrust of Buckingham's intentions was so intense that Parliament refused to grant supplies.

Finally, in August, Buckingham very wisely decided not to command in person, and though he still absurdly styled himself "Generalissimo of the fleet," he appointed Cecil to the supreme command on sea and land, under the title of Admiral and Lieutenant-General, "the greatest command," as was said at the time, "that any subject hath had these hundred years."[2]

When it is considered that neither Cecil nor his Vice-Admiral, the Earl of Essex, had any experi-

[1] July 19th, 1625 (Dalton, II. 108). The same authority records a dispute which took place in 1622 between Cecil and Sir Edward Vere, who was his second in command in the absence of Sir Horace, and resulted in a challenge, the duel only being stopped at the last moment by the intervention of the Prince of Orange (II. 6, *note*).

[2] *Court and Times of Charles I.*, I. 53.

ence whatever of naval warfare, one cannot wonder that some surprise was expressed at the appointment. "Would any man take upon himself the charge of a general by sea," wrote Admiral Monson, "that had never passed further than between England and Holland? It were good to know whether he sought the employment or whether it was put upon him against his will; if he was led upon it by ambition let him answer his error and that with severity; if it was procured by others they ought to have the same chastisement."[1] Cecil, however, was not the man to throw away so splendid a chance of distinguishing himself, even had he known—as apparently he did not—of the miserable condition of his ships and men. Before the fleet sailed he had realised that an enterprise undertaken so late in the year, with unseaworthy ships, discontented crews, raw troops, and ignorant officers, had little hope of success, but it was then too late to draw back.

On September 15th, the King, accompanied by the Duke of Buckingham, came himself to Plymouth to inspect the fleet and the troops, and to endeavour to put some enthusiasm into the officers and men. Buckingham, who was still sanguine, induced the King to announce that Cecil was to be raised to the peerage, under the title of Viscount Wimbledon.[2] He seems to have forgotten, says

[1] Churchill, *Naval Tracts*, III. 238. Quoted by Dalton.

[2] Wimbledon House had come into his possession on the death of his father in the previous year.

Gardiner, "that honours granted before success has crowned an undertaking are apt to become ridiculous in case of failure."

And from the very beginning failure dogged the ill-fated expedition. When it actually sailed, early in October, it was met in the Channel by a violent south-west gale, and put back in the greatest disorder to Falmouth and Plymouth. Finally, the fleet, consisting of seventy-six English and twenty Dutch vessels, with 5,000 sailors and 10,000 soldiers on board, put to sea on October 8th. The object in view was to destroy the King of Spain's shipping, to seize some important Spanish town, and above all to intercept the treasure-ships coming from the West Indies and the River Plate.[1] But no plan of action had been decided upon, and Cecil throughout proved entirely incapable of coming to any decision whatever. On the slightest provocation he called a council of war, and it was not till the fleet had arrived, without serious damage, in Spanish waters, that Puerto de Santa Maria in Cadiz Bay was selected as the point of attack. The operations which followed might, under more favourable circumstances and under less incompetent leaders, have been crowned with success. The Spaniards were unprepared, and the whole garrison of Cadiz consisted of 300 men; and had the first attack been followed up with energy, the town could not have held out. Instead of this, time was frittered away in bombarding a fort and in marching hungry troops for twelve

[1] Glanville's *Voyage to Cadiz*, p. 32.

miles in pursuit of a non-existent enemy.[1] By this time Cadiz had received strong reinforcements and "was apprehended to be so strongly fortified that it was not to be carried without a siege"; moreover, the commanders were convinced by experience that their troops were unfit for any serious enterprise; and, above all, it was time to be on the look-out for the Plate fleet.[2] The troops were therefore re-embarked, the fort evacuated, and six days after its arrival in Cadiz Bay, the fleet again put out to sea.

Cecil still hoped to be able to cover his ill-success by the capture of the treasure-ships, and he therefore took up his position in the Atlantic to await their arrival. Unfortunately, the Spanish fleet, having heard rumours of war, had taken a southerly course, and sailing up the coast of Africa, crept into Cadiz Bay two days after the English had left. Of this Cecil was ignorant, and from November 4th to 17th, his foul and leaky ships "beat it out at sea," until, battered by storms which they were in no state to resist, and with their crews diminishing daily owing to the putrid condition of their food and drink, they made

[1] Cecil was himself in command of this adventure. Finding that there had been a false alarm, instead of returning, he marched on, in the hope of something turning up. Meanwhile most of his men had had no food since the previous day, and, finding a store of wine in some houses near where they halted for the night, they threw off all discipline, broke violently into the cellars, and very soon the whole army was raving drunk. The only thing to be said for Cecil in this affair is that he had given instructions that provisions should be provided, though he had omitted to see whether they were carried out (Gardiner, VI. 18, 19; Glanville, pp. 59, 60).

[2] Glanville, p. 66.

their way home as best they could. A succession of gales did still further damage, and Cecil himself, on the *Anne Royal*, arrived in Kinsale Harbour on December 11th, having already lost 130 men from disease, and with 160 sick on board. The rest of the fleet suffered as severely, and it was many months before all the vessels which survived found their way back into English ports.

So ended this disastrous enterprise, which was fitly commemorated in the following lines:

> "There was a crow sat on a stone;
> He flew away and there was none.
> There was a man that ran a race;
> When he ran fast, he ran apace.
> There was a maid that ate an apple;
> When she ate two, she ate a couple.
> There was an ape sat on a tree;
> When he fell down, down fell he.
> There was a fleet that went to Spain;
> When it returned, it came again." [1]

For the fiasco Buckingham must bear the chief part of the blame. Not only was he responsible for the inception of the expedition and for its equipment, but he filled all the most important positions with his own nominees, whom Wimbledon was unable to reject. But even with the materials at his command, had he shown any decision or dash, Cecil should have had no difficulty in sacking Cadiz and destroying the ships in the harbour; while his failure to intercept the Plate fleet was due far more to incapacity than to ill-luck. He lacked

[1] *Court and Times of Charles I.*, I. 118.

the qualities necessary for success, and being raised to a position of great responsibility, was only able to prove that he was utterly unfit for it.

The *Anne Royal* remained in Kinsale harbour for several weeks to re-fit, and on putting to sea was again hindered by bad weather, so that Cecil did not reach London till the beginning of March. To his great indignation he was at once summoned before the Privy Council to answer charges of mismanagement brought against him by the Earl of Essex and other officers of the expedition. But Buckingham stood by him, and the perfunctory examination which took place resulted in his acquittal. The King at first showed his disappointment and displeasure by refusing to receive him at Court; but he soon regained the Royal favour, and in a short time he seems to have entirely recovered his prestige.

On May 4th, 1626, he took his seat in the House of Lords as Viscount Wimbledon,[1] and at the end of the year he was appointed Lord Lieutenant of Surrey. He was sworn a member of the Privy Council in February, 1628, and on the death of the Earl of Pembroke two years later, he received the important appointment of Captain and Governor of Portsmouth for life.

Being still a colonel of a regiment in the army of the States-General, he was present at the siege of Groll in 1627, and at Bois-le-duc two years later, but in 1631 he relinquished the command which

[1] His patent as Baron Cecil of Putney and Viscount Wimbledon is dated November 9th, 1625 (Dalton, II. 258).

he had held for six-and-twenty years and took final leave of Holland.[1]

From this time onward he displayed great energy, acting on numerous commissions and enquiries as member of the Privy Council—no sinecure in those days—and of the Council of War. He incurred the hatred, not unmixed with fear, of the civil authorities of Portsmouth, by his strenuous endeavours to strengthen the fortifications of the town. His name is prominent in all the military commissions of the time, and he was recognised as the chief authority on all matters connected with the Army, into which he introduced many necessary reforms.

His second wife died in May, 1631, and he had still no son and heir. He therefore determined to marry once more, and in 1635, he being sixty-three and his bride seventeen, he allied himself to Sophia Zouch, daughter of Sir Edward Zouch of Woking. His ambition was realised by the birth of a son, Algernon, in December, 1636; but the boy survived only for a few months and his father's hopes were then finally shattered.

Viscount Wimbledon died on November 16th, 1638, and was buried in St. Mary's Church, Wimbledon, where a monument of black marble, erected by his daughters, preserves a record of his achievements.

[1] Mr. Dalton suggests that he fell into disgrace with the Dutch Government, owing to a dispute about compensation for the damage done by a fire at Cecil House, which Wimbledon had leased as a residence for the Dutch Ambassador, and that, in consequence, he was removed from his command (II. 311). But he was in his sixtieth year and his activities at home demanded all his time.

CHAPTER VII

THE EXETER LINE

LORD WIMBLEDON'S eldest brother, William, who succeeded his father as second Earl of Exeter, was born in 1566. In spite of his own experiences of foreign travel Sir Thomas sent him to Paris with his tutor, Mr. Bird, at the age of seventeen, and two years later he was travelling in Italy, where the reputation of his grandfather, Lord Burghley, stood him in good stead. He visited Rome, contrary to his father's express command, and wrote to Walsingham, requesting him to intercede with Sir Thomas for him.[1] Enemies of the Cecils reported that he had become a Catholic,[2] as they did again when he was in Italy fifteen years later.

In January, 1589, he married Elizabeth Manners, Baroness Roos, or de Ros, daughter of the Earl of Rutland. She was only thirteen years old, and being a ward of the Crown, could not marry without licence, which she had not obtained. For this offence she and her husband were fined £600, it having been shown in their defence that the late Earl of Rutland desired the marriage, and that the Countess had given her consent to it.[3] Their

[1] *Cal. S. P. Dom.*, November 24th, 1585.
[2] *Hatfield MSS.*, III. 130.
[3] Barron, *Northamptonshire Families*, p. 29.

happiness was short-lived, for Lady Roos died in 1591, after giving birth to one son, William, who succeeded her as Lord Roos. The old Lord Burghley greeted the birth of his first great-grandson with the pious ejaculation, "God bless him to follow my purposes, but not my pains nor dangers,"[1] a prayer which, unfortunately, was not granted.

In 1600 Cecil was again travelling in Italy, and had the misfortune to incur the Queen's suspicion that he was "going to Rome." His wife—he had married again—writes to the all-powerful Sir Robert to ask him to assure her Majesty that he had no such intention. "I had thought," she says, "his very name in his travel would have proved his greatest foe, which I see is more subject to vipers at home,"[2] and Cecil himself writes from Venice (February 1st, 1600), "Those which in my absence do slander me with coming hither for remission of sins and to become a Catholic, do themselves injury and not me in reporting so great an untruth. I write not this to trouble you to defend my innocency against these leprous tongues, because it is the nature of certain poor spirits that if such bitter fanns [? fangs] should not have their natural passage, they would presently fall into some grievous disease."[3]

William Cecil was knighted in 1603, on the occasion already described, when his father enter-

[1] *Historical MSS. Commission*, Report XII., App. IV. p. 282.
[2] *Hatfield MSS.*, X. 21.
[3] *Ibid.*, X. 25.

tained King James at York. After this we hear of him occasionally as taking part in functions at Court, and serving on various commissions, but he did not distinguish himself in any way. A thick-and-thin adherent of Buckingham, his judgment is shown by the fact that he wrote to the Duke after the fiasco of the expedition to Rhé congratulating him on his "miraculous success."[1] He succeeded his father as Lord Burghley in 1605, and as Earl of Exeter in 1623. He was Lord Lieutenant of Northampton, a member of the Privy Council, and a Knight of the Garter; and he died in July, 1640, and was buried in Westminster Abbey.

By his second wife, Elizabeth Drury, daughter of Sir William Drury, of Halstead, the Earl had three daughters only: Elizabeth, who married Thomas Howard, Earl of Berkshire:[2] Diana, a noted beauty, who married Henry Vere, eighteenth Earl of Oxford,[3] and afterwards Thomas Bruce, Earl of Elgin: and Anne, who married Henry, Lord Grey of Groby, afterwards Earl of Stamford. Lord Exeter's only son having predeceased him, his daughters conveyed considerable portions of the family estates to their husbands, and the manor

[1] *Cal. S. P. Dom.*, November 3rd, 1627.

[2] Their eldest daughter married John Dryden.

[3] See p. 110, *note*. "The Earl of Oxford after 20 months' imprisonment was released out of the tower and conveyed to the Earl of Exeter's, and on New Year's Day married the Lady Diana Cecil, with a portion of £30,000." Chamberlain to Carleton, January 3rd, 1624 (*Court and Times of James I.*, II. 445). She took part in a masque at Court on one occasion, and the popular cry was: "Great is Diana of the Cecilians" (*ibid.*, II. 351).

of Stamford passed to Lord Grey, who took his title from it.[1]

Lady Exeter survived until 1658, when she died at the age of eighty, "leaving behind her an example for piety, wisdom, bounty, charity, and all goodness, fit for imitation of all ladies of honour and virtue."[2] She was a staunch adherent of the Parliament during the Civil War, and in 1643 her house at Newark was sacked and her "rich furniture pillaged." Three years later she sent a petition to Parliament praying for relief "out of the compositions of delinquents' estates," owing to the great losses she had incurred "by the burning, plundering, and spoiling of her houses and goods about Newark and elsewhere." "I have chosen," she says, "to bear these losses in silence, till I can no longer forbear, on account of my many wants and debts."[3]

Lord Exeter's son, William, Lord Roos,[4] had a

[1] The manor was bought back by the eighth Earl of Exeter, 1747.

[2] From the inscription on her monument in St. James', Clerkenwell.

[3] *House of Lords MSS., Hist. MSS. Com.*, Report VII., App. p. 153. At this time (1646) there were no fewer than four Countesses and Dowager Countesses of Exeter living, as will be seen from the following abbreviated table :—

THOMAS CECIL, 1st EARL
(1542—1623).
Married (1) Dorothea Nevill (died 1609),
(2) **Frances Brydges** (died 1663).

WILLIAM, 2nd EARL
(1566—1640).
Married (1) Elizabeth Manners, Lady Roos (died 1591).
(2) **Elizabeth Drury** (died 1658).

William, Lord Roos
(1591—1618).
Married Elizabeth Lake.

Richard
(1570—1633).

DAVID, 3rd EARL
(? 1600—1643).
Married **Elizabeth Egerton** (died 1688).

JOHN, 4th EARL
(1628—1678).
Married(1), in 1646, **Frances Manners** (died 1669)
(2) Mary Fane (died 1681).

[4] The title was granted to him by letters of credence from the King, on the death of his mother in 1591, the year after his birth. His claim

brief but by no means uneventful career. He spent most of his youth in travelling on the Continent, and was accompanied on his first tour by his tutor, John Molle. On their arrival in Rome in 1608, Molle, who had rendered himself obnoxious to the Papal authorities by translating portions of Duplessis-Mornay into English, and had been persuaded by his pupil, against his own better judgment, to cross the Alps, was arrested by the Inquisition and thrown into prison. To all appeals for his release the Pope replied " with assurances that he should be well treated and efforts made for his conversion;" and in spite of the efforts of Lord Salisbury and others for his release, the unfortunate man was kept in prison for thirty years until his death at the age of eighty.[1]

Roos himself, who already felt leanings towards Catholicism, was well received and entertained in Rome, and afterwards at Venice, and he then proceeded, " both out of curiosity and because he is very rich," to visit the Courts of Vienna, Munich, Buda-Pesth, and Prague.[2] We hear of him next at Madrid, where he intended to remain a year in order to learn the language, had not his great-uncle, Lord Salisbury, expressed a wish that

to the title was afterwards disputed by the Earl of Rutland, but was confirmed in his favour. On his death without issue it reverted to the Manners family.

[1] *Court and Times of James I.*, I. 77; *Cal. S. P. Dom.*, October 2nd, 1608; January 3rd, 1610; *Cal. S. P. Venetian*, September 6th, 1608.

[2] See *Cal. S. P. Venetian*, March 30th, 1609. Roos sent home from Rome a collection of statues, which he presented to the Earl of Arundel.

he should leave that country.[1] The result of this journey was that he became a violent partisan of Spain, and was accustomed henceforward to vilify every other country, including his own. Early in 1611 he was in Paris, whence he carried off Sir Thomas Puckering and his reluctant tutor, the Rev. Thomas Lorkin, on a tour through the Low Countries. Lorkin has given a sad account of his behaviour, which was gross in the extreme and set a very bad example to Sir Thomas. He shows also that Lord Roos was at this time a Catholic, "if they may be accounted of any [religion], which make conscience of none."[2]

In 1612 he was employed as Ambassador to the Emperor Matthias, to congratulate him on his accession, and in 1616 the King sent him on a special mission to the Court of Madrid, "ostensibly to congratulate Philip on the recent marriages of his children, but in reality to plead the cause of the Duke of Savoy,[3] with whom Philip was at war. Lord Roos set out in great style, with six footmen, eight pages, twelve gentlemen, and twenty ordinary servants, and sailed "in a good and fair ship of the King's, called the Dreadnought."[4] He met with a very gratifying reception

[1] *Winwood's Memorials*, III. 104; *Cal. S. P. Dom.*, March 13th, 1610 (wrongly calendared 1611); May 20th, 1610.

[2] Lorkin to Sir Adam Newton, March, 1611 (*Harleian MSS.*, No. 7002). Roos, however, in a letter to Lord Salisbury, thanks him for not believing the rumours of his having turned Romanist, and "hopes he will never so disgrace his parentage" (*Cal S. P. Dom.*, March 13th, 1610 (not 1611)).

[3] Gardiner, III. 50.

[4] Chamberlain to Carleton, October 12th, 1616 (*Court and Times of James I.*, I. 426).

as he passed through Portugal and Spain, and in a letter to the Earl of Arundel [1] he has described the somewhat embarrassing audiences which he had with Philip III. and his son, both of whom stood immovable like statues, leaning against a table, and gave grave and courteous replies without any change of countenance. At his departure the King presented him with a jewel worth £5,000, but though peace was soon afterwards concluded between Spain and Savoy, contemporary gossip judged that Lord Roos had "succeeded ill in his negotiation, another argument of his great weakness." [2]

Shortly before he had set out upon this mission, Roos had married Elizabeth Lake, daughter of Sir Thomas Lake, who had succeeded the Earl of Salisbury as Secretary of State. The marriage was in every way disastrous. "He was a dissolute, a heartless youth, and both Lady Roos and her mother, Lady Lake, were alike, artful and unprincipled women." [3] A quarrel soon arose, owing to an arrangement about the conveyance of some property, which the Lakes tried to extort by unfair means. On Lord Roos' return from Spain, he was subjected to every kind of insult and threat by his wife and his mother-in-law, until he could stand their "diabolical devices" no longer and determined on flight. Pretending

[1] January, 1617 (Lodge, *Illustrations of British History*, III. 286).

[2] Ed. Sherburn to Carleton, April 6th, 1617 (*Cal. S. P. Dom.*, IX 458).

[3] Gardiner, Vol. III., Chap. XXVII. See also Spedding, *Life and Letters of Bacon*, Vol. VII.

that he was going into Yorkshire, he took "a good equipage, with sixteen or twenty men," and at Huntingdon gave them the slip, saying that he was called back urgently to London. He then made his way to Rome, having with him letters of introduction from Gondomar, the Spanish Ambassador.[1]

In his absence Lady Roos proceeded to make public the scandalous charges with which she had already frightened him in private. She accused him of incestuous connection with the Countess of Exeter, the young wife of his grandfather; and she further accused the Countess of endeavouring to poison her, in order to conceal her guilt.

The quarrel came to the ear of the King, who did his best to have the matter settled, without being brought into Court. This, however, was impossible, and the case came before the Star Chamber in March, 1618.

In order to bolster up their case, Lady Roos and her mother produced a paper purporting to be a full confession by the Countess of her guilt. They declared that all the parties had met at Wimbledon, and that the Countess had there,

[1] "The Earl of Exeter complains very much of the Spanish Ambassador, that he having from time to time afforded him many favours, and given entertainment both at his house in Northamptonshire, at Wimbledon, and often here in town, upon assurance that he would procure the delivery of Molle out of the Inquisition of Rome, he hath been so far from performing his promise, that he hath now, lastly, seduced his [grand] son Roos, and sent him to Rome with such recommendations, as he is in danger to be utterly deprived of him." Chamberlain to Carleton, January 10th, 1618 (*Court and Times of James I.*, I. 454).

sitting in the window of the great chamber, written and signed the confession. This being denied, the King asked for further evidence, whereupon they stated that one Sarah Swarton, their maid, had stood behind the hangings at the far end of the room and had heard the Countess read over what she had written. To this Sarah swore before the King, who, however, was still unsatisfied, and took an opportunity of visiting Wimbledon Hall and inspecting the room. He then discovered, first, that the room was so large that anyone speaking in the window could not be heard at the far end, and secondly, that the hangings were two feet short of the ground, so that no one could hide behind them. "Oaths cannot confound my sight," said James.

Lord Roos had already written to the King, denying the charges, and hoping that his Majesty "will not allow Lady Roos's title to save her from any severity, she being a base creature, a dishonour to his grandfather's house, and not worthy to wipe the shoes of the Countess of Exeter, whom she has wronged."[1] Anxious to have Roos's own testimony, however, the King sent for him by an express messenger, who also brought him a formal pardon for having left the kingdom without a licence. But before the messenger arrived news was received by Lord Burghley of his son's death at Naples.[2] "Rumour

[1] *Cal. S. P. Dom.*, June 1st, 1618.

[2] Lorkin to Puckering, July 14th and July 28th, 1618 (*Court and Times of James I.*, II. 80, 83).

attributed his death to poison, but such a rumour was too certain to spring up to merit attention in the absence of all corroboration." [1]

So complicated were the charges and counter-charges in the case—the documents filling 17,000 sheets of paper—that the trial did not take place till February, 1619. It occupied five days, the King being present throughout and finally delivering the sentence, by which the Lakes were fined upwards of £22,000, and were condemned to imprisonment during his Majesty's pleasure. Lady Roos was compared to the "old serpent," having beguiled her daughter, Eve, while she in her turn had seduced her father, Adam. Poor Sarah Swarton came off very badly. She "was adjudged to the Fleet, from thence to be whipt to Westminster, and after from the same place to Cheapside, there to be branded with F. A., signifying *false accusation*, one letter on either cheek; to return back again to the Fleet, there to remain until they do weary of her, and then to be sent to Bridewell, there to spend and end her days." [2] However, the prisoners were told that they would be set free, if they acknowledged their guilt, and Sarah at once confessed, and her sentence was remitted. Lady Roos also confessed in June, but her father did not submit until the following January, and her mother held out until May, 1621.

[1] Gardiner, III. 192.

[2] Lorkin to Puckering February 16th, 1619 (*Court and Times of James I.*, II. 139)

The second Earl of Exeter was succeeded by his nephew, David, son of Sir Richard Cecil of Wakerley.[1] His estate was seriously diminished by the portions allotted to his uncle's three daughters, and the dowers of his aunt and grandmother. He took the side of the Parliament in the Civil War, and is mentioned as having offered £500 towards the cost of raising a troop of horse. He was Lord Lieutenant of Rutlandshire in 1642, and died on April 18th, 1643, having enjoyed his title for less than three years.

David Cecil married Elizabeth, daughter of the first Earl of Bridgewater, by whom he had six sons and three daughters. At his death, however, only two of his children survived: Frances, who married Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper, first Earl of Shaftesbury, and John, who succeeded as fourth Earl of Exeter, being then fifteen years of age. Shortly afterwards, Burghley House was occupied by the Royalist troops, and from them re-captured by Cromwell. The operations are thus described by a contemporary writer[2]:—

"Much also about the same time [July 27, 1643], came certain intelligence to London by letters out of Lincolnshire, that about 1,000 of the Cavaliers from Newark and Bever Castle hovered and roved about Stamford and Wothrop House, a great and strong seat in those parts, but were bravely molested and chased thence by that brave and most worthily renowned Commander, Colonel Cromwell, and at last forced to take sanctuary in a very strong and

[1] See p. 103, *note*.

[2] John Vicars, in *God's Arke over-topping the World's Waves.* Quoted by Charlton, p. 135.

stately stone-built house, not far from Stamford also, called Burghley House, situated in a large park and surrounded with a strong stone wall, but God seasonably sending Colonel Hubbard and Colonel Palsgrave to his assistance, both with men and ordnance, the brave Colonel with this auxiliary strength immediately advanced to the said Burghley House, sat down before it, and having commodiously planted his ordnance, shot at it two or three hours (beginning about three of the clock that morning), but could do no good that way, the house being so strongly built.[1] Then the noble Colonel sounded a parley to the enemy, and offered them quarter, to have their lives and liberty to depart without their weapons; but the enemy utterly refused the motion, resolutely answering, that they would neither take nor give quarter. Hereupon the valiant Colonel gave present order to storm and assault it with his musketeers; whereupon the fight grew very hot, and was bravely performed on both sides for awhile, and with much difficulty and danger on ours, the enemy being very active and confident; and thus the assault continued divers hours, till at last the Cavaliers' courage began to fail, ours pressing on them very fiercely and furiously, so that they sounded a parley from within the house: whereupon the as virtuous as valourous Colonel, commanding presently that not one of his soldiers should dare to shoot or kill any man during the parley on pain of death, notwithstanding their former cruel and bloody answer to his foresaid proffer of quarter to them: in brief they soon concluded upon quarter for their lives, and so they took them all, being two colonels, six or seven captains, three or four hundred foot, and about an hundred and fifty or two hundred horse, with all their arms and ammunition, together with the pillage of the whole house."

[1] Charlton states that the attack was directed against the south side of the house, and that several indentations, supposed to be the marks made by cannon balls are visible below the first floor windows on that side.

Cromwell is said to have shown great courtesy to the inmates of Burghley House after its capture, and to have presented the Countess of Exeter, widow of the late Earl, with the portrait of himself by Walker, which is still in the collection there. The Countess being a staunch Parliamentarian, this was no more than her due.

Of John, the fourth Earl of Exeter, nothing is recorded except that he was for many years Lord Lieutenant of Northamptonshire and that he married first, Frances, daughter of the eighth Earl of Rutland,[1] and secondly, Mary, daughter of the Earl of Westmorland. He died in 1678 at the age of fifty.

He left two children, for both of whom he had provided what he considered suitable alliances. John, his son and heir, was married, all unwilling, to a wealthy widow, Anne, Lady Rich, only daughter of the third Earl of Devonshire and Elizabeth Cecil, daughter of the second Earl of Salisbury. "He can endure my Lady Rich as well as any other wife," wrote a friend of the family,[2] "but he had rather have none." However, there is no reason to suppose that he regretted his marriage.

His sister, Lady Frances Cecil, was described by Lady Campden[3] as "one of the impudentest women as ever was known or heard of." Married

[1] Another daughter married the third Earl of Salisbury. See p. 230.

[2] Lady Sunderland to Lady Giffard, January 28th, 1668 (*Life and Letters of Lady Giffard*).

[3] In a letter of August 25th, 1681. Quoted by G. E. C., *Complete Peerage*, s.v. Scudamore.

to a worthy but elderly invalid, Viscount Scudamore, her great beauty inflamed the ardour of Thomas (afterwards Lord) Coningsby, to whose importunities she at last yielded.[1] The guilty pair were surprised by Mrs. Coningsby, from whose fury they fled on horseback—the lady in the scantiest attire. As soon as he discovered their flight, Lord Scudamore, " full of pity for his wife's youth and frailty, resolved to tear her from that infamy she was pursuing," and sent his servants in all directions in pursuit of the fugitives. They were soon tracked to an inn some thirty miles distant, whereupon Coningsby precipitately mounted his horse and fled, leaving Frances to her fate. Disgusted at his cowardice, and now full of remorse, the unfortunate lady returned to her husband, who " received her with tears of tenderness and commiseration," and proceeded to bring an action against Coningsby " for invading his property." The villain, however, " did not scruple at all to sacrifice her fame to his own security," and had the effrontery to plead that the lady ran away with him. This cowardly behaviour, we are told, " so far ruined his credit with the ladies, that he was forced to be regular, and confine his caresses to his wife. The meanest woman would not be brought to trust him for fear he should betray her, and report as before, that she had seduced him." He was a

[1] The story is told at great length in Mrs. Manley's *New Atlantis*, II. 217—240, and, if the details are more picturesque than accurate, the main outline is true to fact.

BURGHLEY HOUSE—THE STONE STAIRCASE
From a drawing by Joseph Nash, 1841

violent and unscrupulous politician, and at his death, in 1729, well deserved Pope's epitaph:

> "Here lies Lord Coningsby: be civil,
> The rest God knows, or else the devil."[1]

John, fifth Earl of Exeter, was a man of some talent and considerable taste. Keenly interested in art and letters, he travelled extensively on the Continent, and acquired a reputation for learning and culture. After the Revolution, he refused to take the oath of allegiance to William III., and when the King paid a visit to Burghley, while passing through Stamford in 1695, Lord Exeter contrived to be absent. William was so much pleased with the place, that he repeated his visit on the following day, and when one of his attendants asked him how he liked Burghley, he is said to have replied, "that the house was too large for a subject."[2]

To the fifth Earl is mainly due the fine collection of pictures and works of art of which Burghley is justly proud. Unfortunately, during a long residence in Rome at the time when Luca Giordano and Carlo Dolci were flourishing, he employed these two second-rate painters to such an extent as to produce "a surfeit" of their pictures.[3] He also made considerable alterations to the house itself, and was responsible for the carvings by Grinling Gibbons and the ceilings by Laguerre and Verrio, of whom the last-named

[1] *Spence's Anecdotes*, 1820, p. 13.
[2] Peck, *Desiderata Curiosa*, I. 237; Charlton, p. 141.
[3] *Walpole's Letters*, Mrs. Paget Toynbee's ed. XIV. 291.

was engaged at Burghley for a space of twelve years, at an annual salary, it is said, of £1,500.[1] The portraits of himself, his wife and his children by Lely and Kneller[2] bear further witness to his love of art, and among the other artists he patronised was William Wissing, who painted portraits of several members of the family. Wissing died while at Burghley in 1687, and the Earl erected a monument to his memory in St. Martin's, Stamford.

Another still more illustrious inmate of Burghley was Matthew Prior, who, about the year 1689, on the recommendation of the Master of St. John's College, Cambridge, was appointed tutor to the Earl's sons. Several of his poems are dated from Burghley,[3] notably the lines "To the Countess of Exeter," beginning :—

> "What charms you have, from what high race you sprung,
> Have been the pleasing subjects of my song :
> Unskill'd and young, yet something still I writ,
> Of Ca'ndish beauty join'd to Cecil's wit."

Lord Exeter, with the Countess and three children, "in all thirty-six in family," set out in September, 1699, to go to the jubilee at Rome, intending to "continue in those parts" for three years. He was, however, taken very ill at Turin,

[1] Charlton, p. 216.

[2] The Earl formed a weird society at Burghley, called "The Honble. Order of Little Bedlam," of which Kneller was a member. See *Hist. MSS. Com.*, 5th Report, 399.

[3] See Introduction to *Prior's Poetical Works*, by R. B. Johnson (Aldine edition, 1892, I. xxii).

on his way to Rome, and though he then recovered, he returned to France and died at Issy, near Paris, in September, 1700.[1] He was buried in St. Martin's, Stamford, where a magnificent monument of white veined marble, made at Rome by Monnot, and brought home by the Earl himself, commemorates his virtues and talents, and the worth and beauty of his wife.

Of their children only two were married, John and Elizabeth. The latter married Charles Boyle, fourth Earl of Orrery, whose edition of the *Epistles of Phalaris* originated the famous controversy with Bentley. She died in 1708 at the age of twenty-one, leaving a son, John, afterwards fifth Earl of Orrery, the friend of Pope and Swift.[2] John (1674—1721), who succeeded as sixth Earl of Exeter, was fond of hawking, horse matches, and other country sports, but has no other claim to distinction. Nevertheless, he added to the wealth of the family by making two very judicious marriages, first with Annabella Bennet, daughter of Lord Ossulston, with a fortune of £30,000, and secondly with Elizabeth, daughter of Sir John Brownlow, Bart., of Belton, Lincolnshire, with £1,200 a year, and £10,000 in money.[3]

His eldest son, John (1700—1722), died unmarried, after holding the title for only a few months. He was succeeded by his brother,

[1] *Luttrell's Diary*, IV. pp. 563, 564, 599, 681, 683, 684.
[2] Elwin and Courthope, *Works of Pope*, VIII. 369, *note*.
[3] *Luttrell's Diary*, III. 178; IV. 563.

Brownlow, the eighth Earl (1701—1754), and he in his turn by his son, Brownlow, the ninth Earl (1725—1793), a man of more activity and more culture than his immediate predecessors. Besides sitting in two Parliaments as member for Rutland, and acting as Lord Lieutenant of that county, he was a Fellow of the Royal Society and of the Society of Antiquaries, and received the degree of LL.D. at Cambridge in 1751. A keen musician, he was one of the directors of the Handel Commemoration in 1784, and his private concerts were famous. Further, he refurnished Burghley House, and added to the library and to the art collections. Though twice married, he left no issue, and on his death, in 1793, the title descended to his nephew, Henry, whose father, Thomas Chambers Cecil, married Charlotte Gormiez or Garnier (said, by family tradition, to have been a Basque), and lived on the Continent, dying in France in 1778.

Henry, the tenth Earl and first Marquess of Exeter, was born at Brussels in 1754. For many years he was member for Stamford, and like his father, was a Fellow of the Royal Society and of the Society of Antiquaries, but his chief claim to distinction lies in his matrimonial adventures. His first wife was Emma, daughter and heiress of Thomas Vernon, of Hanbury, Worcestershire, to whom he was married in 1776 at St. George's, Hanover Square. Only one child was born, a son, who died in infancy; and in May, 1789, after thirteen years of married life, Mrs. Cecil ran away

with the Rev. William Sneyd, a curate. The story, as divulged at the "Action for Criminal Conversation," tried before Lord Kenyon on June 26th, 1790, shows all the parties in a very unfavourable light. Counsel for the defence endeavoured to show that Mr. Sneyd "fell into the snare of this young woman," who, though "possessed of no personal beauty or attractions," yet "from the rank and dignity which she held in the country as wife of Mr. Cecil, had an opportunity of drawing into her snare an unfortunate young man, who possessed an handsome person which happened to attract her attention." He went on to declare that "it is a fact absolutely notorious that no person in the family dreamed of anything like a criminal intercourse between these parties, until it was confessed by this unhappy young man, in the hour of sickness, who was desirous of making some sort of atonement to the person whom he had injured, and to obtain his forgiveness." In spite of these protestations, the cross-examination of the servants, witnesses for Mr. Cecil, tended to establish the fact that the whole household of twenty-four persons, and their master, were perfectly well aware, for weeks before the defendant's confession, of what was going on. After the confession, Mr. Sneyd left Mr. Cecil's house with his father, and Mrs. Cecil "fell down on her knees and implored her husband to allow her once more to go and see this defendant, and to take her final leave of him, and to give up his embraces for ever; and that she would return to

her duty." Accordingly, Mr. Cecil took his wife to Birmingham, where Mr. Sneyd was staying, and leaving her there, to be brought back by Mr. Sneyd senior, returned home. Mrs. Cecil, however, immediately persuaded her lover to rise from his sick bed, and to fly with her, partially disguised, to Exeter, where they lived together at an hotel under the names of Mr. and Mrs. Benson. After these revelations it is scarcely surprising that the jury found for the plaintiff with £1,000 damages, thus entitling him to a divorce, which he obtained by Act of Parliament in June, 1791.

It can hardly be doubted that Henry Cecil connived at his wife's seduction and elopement, and, in fact, in less than a year after she had left him, and before the trial, he succumbed to the charms of a "village maiden," named Sarah Hoggins (aged seventeen), and wooing her under the name of John Jones, led her to the village altar at Bolas Magna, in Shropshire (April, 1790). After the divorce he married her again at St. Mildred's, Bread Street, but the marriage seems to have been kept secret until after his accession to the title in 1793. Of the Countess we know little, though Horace Walpole records that he "heard a good account of her, especially of her great humility and modesty on her exaltation," and adds: "if she is brought into the fashionable world, I should think the Duchess of Gordon would soon laugh her out of those vulgar qualities, though she may not correct her diction

and spelling." [1] We have no reason to suppose that she sank under "the burthen of an honour unto which she was not born"; and all we know is that she died in 1797, at the age of twenty-three, in giving birth to her fourth child. Thus Tennyson's ballad, which is based on this somewhat sordid episode, has very little foundation in fact, and it seems a pity that he should have attached a real name to his romantic version of the story.

The Earl was still in the prime of life. His experiences of wedlock had possessed a pleasing variety, but he had not yet exhausted its possibilities. Having taken his first wife from the landed gentry, and his second from the people, it remained for him to choose a third from the higher ranks of the peerage. Accordingly, in August, 1800, he replaced his peasant Countess by a divorced Duchess, Elizabeth, relict of the sixth Duke of Hamilton.[2] In the following year Lord Exeter was advanced to the dignity of Marquess, and in 1804 he died, at the age of fifty, leaving three young children by his second wife.[3]

The second Marquess, who succeeded to the title at the age of nine, was educated at Eton and St. John's College, Cambridge, as usual in

[1] *Walpole's Letters*, Mrs. Paget Toynbee's ed., XV. 333.

[2] She had been divorced in 1794. The Duke died in 1799.

[3] The only daughter, Sophia, married Henry Pierrepont, and their daughter, Auguste, married Lord Charles Wellesley, brother of the Duke of Wellington, and was the mother of the third and fourth Dukes. Another brother of the Duke of Wellington married Lady Georgiana Cecil, sister of the second Marquess of Salisbury. See p. 240.

this branch of the family. In 1824, he married Isabella, daughter and co-heir of William Stephen Poyntz, of Cowdray. He was appointed Lord Lieutenant of Rutland in 1826, and of Northampton in 1842; received the Garter in 1827, and was sworn of the Privy Council in 1841. He held various offices in the Household, being Groom of the Stole to the Prince Consort from 1841—1846; Lord Chamberlain in 1852, and Lord Steward in 1858—9. A bigoted Tory, though he did not participate in the debates in the House of Lords, he voted consistently against all the great reforming measures of the period.

His unreasoning hatred of reform of any kind led him to oppose with all his power the proposal of the Great Northern Railway to carry their main line through the town of Stamford. The result of his obstinacy was that the company were obliged to alter their plans and carry the line through Peterborough, to the irreparable loss of Stamford. In the end Lord Exeter had to build a branch line from Essendine to Stamford at his own expense, and in order to pay for this, most of his London property had to be sold.

The Marquess was a member of the Jockey Club, and kept an extensive racing stud. He was particularly fortunate with the Oaks, which he won three times: with Augusta in 1821, with Green Mantle in 1829, and with Galatea in 1832: but he never succeeded in winning the Derby.

In 1844 he entertained the Queen and the

Prince Consort at Burghley for three days, when the Prince stood sponsor to the Lady Victoria Cecil. The company included Sir Robert Peel and other ministers, and the cost of the entertainment was colossal.

Disraeli has given an interesting picture of Burghley and its inmates at this time :—

"The exterior," he writes, "is faultless, so vast and so fantastic, and in such fine condition that the masonry seems but of yesterday. In the midst of a vast park, ancient timber in profusion, gigantic oaks of the days of the Lord Treasurer, and an extensive lake. The plate is marvellous. The History of England in the golden presents from every sovereign, from Elizabeth and James I. to Victoria and Albert—shields, vases, tankards, etc. Our host shy, but very courteous ; Lady Exeter tall, still handsome, engaging, and very pious. Great battues every day ; five hundred head slaughtered as a matter of course. The interior not equal to Belvoir, the state rooms, lofty and painted by sprawling Verrio, open one into each other by small side doors, like a French palace or Hampton Court, and so a want of consecutive effect. There is, however, a Hall as large as a college hall, and otherwise very striking. But the family live in a suite of rooms fit only for a squire of degree, and yet the most comfortable in the world." [1]

On his death in 1867, the second Marquess was succeeded by his son, William Alleyne (1825—1895), who sat for twenty years in Parliament as member for South Lincolnshire, and afterwards for North Northamptonshire, and held various offices at Court. He was Militia Aide-de-Camp

[1] *Disraeli's Correspondence*, January 24th, 1850.

to the Queen, and colonel in 1860; Treasurer of the Household, 1866—7; sworn of the Privy Council, 1866; Captain of the Corps of Gentlemen-at-Arms, 1867—8 and 1874—5. But his chief interest lay in the management of his estates, which were considerably encumbered by his father's extravagance, and by the prevailing depression. On all matters connected with agriculture he was a recognised authority, and he achieved greatness in pisciculture and in breeding shorthorns. Though obliged to cut down his establishment, he liberally supported all local charities, and performed his duties as a magistrate and as a guardian. He was also an enthusiastic yachtsman, and a general favourite among all classes.

The third Marquess married Georgina Sophia Pakenham, daughter of the Earl of Longford, a foolish woman, of whom Peel said he thought she was "the sort of person who would do pretty well for a public man; she wouldn't ask what the division was when he came home."[1] They had four sons and six daughters. The eldest son, Brownlow, who succeeded his father in 1895 at the age of forty-six, enjoyed the title and estates for only a short three years. But he had lived for some time at Deeping St. James, between Spalding and Stamford, and was well known and immensely popular in the district. He had been Captain in the Grenadier Guards (in which regiment his two brothers, Lord William Cecil and Lord John

[1] Sir M. Grant Duff, *Notes from a Diary*, January 25th, 1894.

BURGHLEY HOUSE—THE CENTRAL COURT
From a drawing by Joseph Nash, 1841

Joicey-Cecil also served), and was afterwards Hon. Colonel of the 3rd and 4th Batallions, Northamptonshire Regiment. He represented North Northamptonshire in Parliament for twenty-eight years before his accession, was Groom-in-Waiting to the Queen in 1886, Vice-Chamberlain to the Queen in 1891—2, and was a member of the Privy Council. Like his father he took great interest in local affairs, and was a familiar figure on political platforms in Lincolnshire. He married Isabella, daughter and heir of Sir Thomas Whichcote, Bart., and the present Marquess (born in 1876) was their only child. In 1901 Lord Exeter married the Hon. Myra Rowena Sibell Orde-Powlett, daughter of Lord Bolton, and has two sons and one daughter.

Here, for the present, ends the chronicle of the Exeter branch of the family.

CHAPTER VIII

ROBERT CECIL, FIRST EARL OF SALISBURY

Turning now to the Salisbury branch of the family, we are confronted with the enigmatical figure of Sir Robert Cecil, the only son of Lord Burghley by his second wife, Mildred Cooke.

Few great statesmen are so little known, and of few is it more difficult to form a satisfactory judgment. The private life of Lord Burghley lies open for all to read; the character of Sir Thomas Cecil is simple and presents few problems. But the first Earl of Salisbury hid his real self behind a mask, and even the mass of papers at Hatfield throw only a confused light on his character. They tell us almost nothing of his private life, and perhaps the strongest impression we gain from them is the extraordinary affection shown by his friends to this man whose own reserve is so impenetrable. Yet many of those who knew him best seem always to have distrusted him. He was surrounded by enemies and detractors, and subjected to every form of personal vilification; and much of the mud thrown both during his life and after his death has stuck to him. As Gardiner remarks, it was difficult for his contemporaries "to imagine that the man who succeeded whilst Essex and Raleigh,

Northumberland and Bacon failed, could have prospered except by the most unscrupulous treachery." It is certain that the sympathy naturally felt for such splendid figures as Essex and Raleigh, and the suspicion that Cecil was in some way responsible for the tragedies of their careers, has involved him in undeserved odium.

The date of Robert Cecil's birth is always said to be uncertain, but one of Burghley's many memoranda of family events preserved at Hatfield, gives it as June 1st, 1563, a date which on other grounds may be accepted as probable. He was a sickly youth, and was educated at home under private tutors, until he entered St. John's College, Cambridge, in 1581. Three years later he went to Paris, where he acquired an excellent knowledge of French.

"He was his father's own son," says Sir Robert Naunton,[1] adding, "he was a courtier from his cradle, and had his sufficiency from the instructions of his father, the tutorship of the times and Court, which were then the academies of art and cunning." He early gained the favour of the Queen, and in 1588 he accompanied the mission sent by Elizabeth to treat with the Prince of Parma, and headed by Lord Derby. From Ostend, Cecil and a young Spencer were despatched to Ghent to announce their arrival, and were received by the Prince with elaborate politeness. Writing to his father, Robert mentions that

[1] *Fragmenta Regalia*, p. 138.

though the garrison of Ostend had run short of provisions, game was plentiful in the shape of pheasants and partridges, which "flew continually within the walls." He had himself "a setting dog and nets," and "hoped to eat partridges in tent of his own catching, asking no favours of the lord of the soil."[1]

On his return from Ostend he began to help his father in his multifarious labours, and practically exercised the office of Secretary, though he was not actually appointed to the post until July, 1596. He was a Knight of the Shire for the county of Hertford, in the Parliament of 1589, and continued to represent the county until the end of the reign. In 1591, on the occasion of the great entertainment given to her Majesty at Theobalds, he received the honour of knighthood, and soon afterwards was sworn of the Privy Council.

That he should thus have gained a secure position in a Court which prized so highly all those exterior graces and accomplishments which he lacked is, at first sight, somewhat surprising. The Venetian Ambassador speaks of his "noble countenance and features," but, as Naunton says, "his face was the best part of his outside." He was very short—not above five feet two inches in height—and ill-formed, and though not "hump-backed," as his enemies called him, had an ungainly appearance, owing to his large head and round shoulders, and to this, the dress of the

[1] *S. P. Spain.* Quoted by Froude, *History*, XII. 403.

day, and especially the large ruff, contributed.[1] Anthony Bacon, in a letter to Essex,[2] tells an anecdote which shows that his diminutive stature was a source of merriment to the Court. "Lord Wemyss," he says, "coming out of the Privy Chamber after an audience with the Queen, asked the Lord Chamberlain for Sir Robert Cecil. 'Why, Sir,' said he, 'he was within.' 'By my soul,' saith the Lord Wemyss, 'I could not see him.' 'No marvel,' said Sir George Carey, 'being so little.' Whereat the Lord Wemyss confessed he burst out of laughing."

Yet, in spite of these disadvantages, he was the only one of Elizabeth's courtiers whose career suffered no reverse. Her affection for his father, and his own great abilities—above all, perhaps, his steadiness and discretion, in which qualities his rivals were lamentably deficient—counted for much. But even his personal defects may have helped to maintain him in the Queen's good graces. She liked to treat him with a mixture of affection and raillery, calling him her "pigmy," or her "elf," and though such terms galled him, he had the good sense and good temper to hide his mortification. His very infirmities, too, perhaps roused her dormant spirit of protection, and provoked her to defend him against the slanders and malice of his rivals. A story is told, which belongs to this period, and has been

[1] See article on "Hatfield House," by J. S. Brewer, in his *English Studies*, to which I am considerably indebted.

[2] January 24th, 1594 (*Hatfield MSS.*, V. 98).

interpreted as showing that Cecil was a "man of gallantry." It occurs in a letter from W. Browne to the Earl of Shrewsbury,[1] and is as follows:—

The young Countess of Derby wore about her neck "a picture which was in a dainty tablet." One day the Queen, "espying it, asked what fine jewel that was. The Lady Derby was curious to excuse the showing of it; but the Queen would not have it, and opening it and finding it to be Mr. Secretary's, snatched it away, and tied it upon her shoe, and walked long with it there; then she took it thence and pinned it on her elbow, and wore it some time there also." Hearing of this, Cecil "compounded" some verses, and "got Hales to frame a ditty unto it." In reading this story it is well to remember, what, of course, was perfectly well known to Shrewsbury and his correspondent, that the Countess of Derby was a daughter of the Earl of Oxford, and therefore Cecil's own niece.

In September, 1592, Cecil was sent to Dartmouth as Commissioner to apportion the spoil brought home in the "Great Carrack," the *Madre de Dios*, captured by Sir John Borough in Raleigh's ship, the *Roebuck*. The excitement caused by the news of the capture, "the most brilliant feat of privateering ever accomplished by Englishmen," was intense, and the value of the cargo, though not so great as at first estimated, proved to be upwards of £141,000, equivalent to three-quarters of a million in our present currency. Sir Robert

[1] September 18th, 1592 (Lodge's *Illustrations*, III. 146).

reached Exeter on September 19th, and at once found it necessary to take active steps to prevent embezzlement and waste. "Whomsoever I met by the way," he writes to Burghley, "within seven miles, that either had any thing in cloak-bag or in mail which did but smell of the prizes, either at Dartmouth or Plymouth (for I assure your Lordship, I could smell them almost, such hath been the spoils of amber and musk amongst them), I did, though he had little about him, return him with me to the town of Exeter; where I stayed any that should carry news to Dartmouth and Plymouth, at the gates of the town. I compelled them also to tell me where any trunks or mails were. And I, by this inquisition, finding the people stubborn till I had committed two innkeepers to prison—which example would have won the Queen £20,000 a week past—I have lit upon a Londoner's [? agent], in whose house we have found a bag of seed pearls." He further ordered every bag or mail coming from the west to be searched, and made an impression on the "Mayor and the rest" by his "rough dealing" with them. "My Lord," he continues, "there never was such spoil! . . . My sending down hath made many stagger. Fouler ways, desperater ways, nor more obstinate people, did I never meet with."[1]

Soon after he came to Dartmouth, Raleigh arrived, having been joined with him in the Commission. Raleigh was at this time in disgrace,

[1] *Cal. S. P. Dom.*, September 19th, 1592.

owing to the discovery of his *liaison* with Elizabeth Throckmorton (who became his wife), and had consequently had to give up the command of the expedition to Frobisher. But when his crews returned and heard that he was in prison, their wrath was unbounded, and it became necessary to send him down to pacify them. Cecil notes that "his poor servants to the number of a hundred and forty goodly men, and all the mariners came to him with such shouts and joy, as I never saw a man more troubled to quiet them in his life. . . . Whensoever he is saluted with congratulations for liberty, he doth answer, 'No; I am still the Queen of England's poor captive.' I wished him to conceal it, because here it doth diminish his credit, which I do vow to you before God is greater amongst the mariners than I thought for."[1]

The following draft of a letter written by Sir Robert from Dartmouth to the Queen is endorsed by Burghley, and therefore was presumably approved by him. All one can say of it is, that though Elizabeth may have been pleased with such an effusion, written in the flamboyant style then current, neither Burghley himself nor Sir Thomas Cecil would ever have approached her Majesty in such terms:—

"It is the property of the Creator, to accept the labour of men, from the abundance of their affection, without measure of their abilities, to perform any action acceptable to divine worthiness. Herein I am most blessed that I

[1] To Sir Thomas Heneage (Edwards, I. 154).

am a vassal to His celestial creature, who pleaseth out of angelic grace, to pardon and allow my careful and zealous desires. My services are attended with envy, I must be offensive to the multitude, and to others that may be revengeful, who also have many and great friends. I can please none because I thirst only to please one, and malice is no less wakeful in itself than fearful to others, were not my trust in her divine justice which never suffereth her creatures to complain. The comfort I receive of those sacred lines are best expressed in silence, but I have written them anew in my heart, and adjoined them unto the rest of my admiring thoughts, which always travailing from wonder to wonder spend themselves in contemplation, being absent and present in reading secretly the story of marvels in that more than human perfection. I hope the end of this my travail shall be accepted with no less than the beginning is vouchsafed, for I have no other purpose of living, but to witness what I would perform if I had power. If I could do more than any man it were less than nothing balanced with my desires ; if I could do as much as all the world, it were neither praise nor thanks worthy in respect of the duty I owe and the princess whom I serve." [1]

To Cecil's character and abilities at this time Bacon has borne eloquent witness. Replying to a scurrilous pamphlet published in 1592, in which Burghley was charged with bringing into the Council his second son, " who had neither wit nor experience," he says :—

" It is confessed by all men that know the gentleman that he hath one of the rarest and most excellent wits of England ; with a singular delivery and application of the same, whether it be to use a continued speech, or to

[1] Sept. 29th, 1592 (*Hatfield MSS.*, IV. 632).

negotiate, or to couch in writing, or to make report, or discreetly to consider of the circumstances and aptly to draw things to a point ; and all this joined with a very good nature, and a great respect to all men, as is daily more and more revealed. And for his experience, it is easy to think that his training and helps hath made it already such as many that have served long prentishood for it have not attained the like. So as if it be true that *qui beneficium digno dat omnes obligat,* not his father only but the State is bound unto her Majesty for the choice and employment of so sufficient and worthy a gentleman." [1]

One has to remember that Bacon was a candidate for office, and the spirit of the age encouraged more outspoken flattery of those in power than would be possible nowadays. Making every allowance for Bacon's self-seeking, however, such a description remains a high tribute to Sir Robert's true merit. And though Bacon was his first cousin, yet he and his elder brother, Anthony, had already thrown in their lot with Essex, with whose party Cecil's rapid rise to a position of influence brought him into active opposition. The Bacons had joined Essex, chiefly from admiration of that fascinating person and a belief that he was the coming man, but partly also out of jealousy of Cecil, by whom they considered themselves slighted. Three years before, a correspondent of Anthony Bacon wrote, "There never was in Court such emulation, such envy, such backbiting, as is now at this time," and as time went on, and old Burghley's

[1] "Observations on a libel, etc." (Spedding's *Life and Letters of Bacon,* I. 206).

influence waned, the bitterness between the two factions increased.

Matters were brought to a pitch in 1594, by the efforts of Essex to obtain the office of Attorney-General for Francis Bacon, to which the Queen would not consent. The Cecils evidently thought that Bacon, an untried man, had no chance of receiving so high a post, for which Coke, a man with a great reputation and nine years Bacon's senior, had far higher claims. They therefore considered it injudicious to apply for it. Essex, with his usual impetuosity and indiscretion, spoilt whatever chance Bacon might have had by urging his claims on the Queen in season and out of season. On one occasion Sir Robert expressed his surprise that he "should go about to spend his strength in so unlikely or impossible a matter," and added, "If at least your lordship had spoken of the Solicitorship that might be of easier digestion to her Majesty." "Digest me no digesting," burst out the Earl, "for the Attorneyship is that I must have for Francis Bacon; and in that will I spend all my uttermost credit, friendship and authority against whomsoever." The Attorney-Generalship was not filled up for a year (April, 1594), but when it was finally decided in favour of Coke, the Cecils both backed Bacon warmly for the Solicitorship. In reply to a letter in which Bacon asks him to use his influence, and that of his father in his favour, Sir Robert says, "I protest I suffer with you in mind that you are thus yet gravelled; but

time will founder all your competitors and set you on your feet, or else I have little understanding."[1] The Queen, however, was still angry with Bacon on account of a speech he had made in Parliament in opposition to the Subsidies Bill in the previous year, and, though she kept the office of Solicitor-General open for eighteen months, she finally gave it to Serjeant Fleming. Bacon was always suspicious of Sir Robert, and was led to believe that he had "wrought underhand" against him, though he afterwards confessed he was wrong. Writing to Lord Burghley in March, 1595, he says: "If I did show myself too credulous to idle hearsays in regard of my right honourable kinsman and good friend, Sir Robert Cecil (whose good nature will well answer my honest liberty), your lordship will impute it to the complexion of a suitor and of a tired, sea-sick suitor, and not to mine own inclination."[2]

The venom of the Bacons, and especially of the elder brother, against Sir Robert, was well shown at an interview which Anthony had with his aunt, Lady Russell, in September, 1596, and of which he sent a long account to Essex.[3] Lady Russell was endeavouring, without any success, to promote peace between Bacon and the Cecils. After complaining that Burghley was "so loth, yea, so backward," to advance his nephews, Anthony said that Sir Robert, "whether

[1] May, 1594 (Spedding, I. 296).
[2] Spedding, I. 358. See also Bacon's letter to Sir R. Cecil (*ibid.*, 355).
[3] Birch, *Memoirs of the Reign of Queen Elizabeth*, II. 136.

with his lordship's privity, God knows," had denounced a deadly feud "to an ancient lady, my mother and his aunt, swearing that he held me for his mortal enemy, and would make me feel it when he could." "Ah, vile wretched urchin," said Lady Russell; "is it possible?" "Whether it be true or no, madam," answered Bacon, "I refer to my mother, who marvelled when she told me of it that I did but laugh at it, alleging and expounding to her ladyship a Gascon proverb, which was, 'Brane d'asne ne monte pas al ciel.'" "By God," replied Lady Russell; "but he is no ass." "Let him go for a mule then," rejoined Bacon, "the most mischievous beast that is." Such is Anthony's version of the interview, and perhaps the best comment on it is the fact that Lady Russell's strong affection for Sir Robert is well known; only three months before she had written to him thanking God "for the heavenly breath proceeding from a saint so sweet and gracious to me as you write."[1]

Sir Robert had now been made Secretary, and Anthony declares that he "finds the Secretaryship a harder province to govern than he looked for, and inwardly beginneth to be a weary of it, as outwardly the world is already of him."[2] But a few weeks later he informs his mother that Secretary Cecil "had of late professed very seriously an absolute amnesty and oblivion of all misconceits passed, with earnest protestation,

[1] June 15th, 1596 (*Hatfield MSS.*, VII. 215).
[2] Letter to Dr. Hawkins, December 11th, 1596 (Birch, II. 227).

that to the Queen, to his father, or of himself, he would be glad and ready to do Mr. Bacon any kind office if the latter would make proof of him."

All this is very easy to understand, and no part of his relations with the Bacons redounds in any degree to the discredit of Sir Robert. He did all he could for them, and never allowed his attitude towards them to be affected by their injustice and rancour. "He had too much good sense, too much self-control and moderation, to be moved by the perpetual calumnies to which he was exposed, wisely remarking: 'He that will not be patient of slander must procure himself a chair out of this world's circle.'"[1]

An examination of his relations with Essex produces still greater testimony to his kindness of heart and forbearance. It is often said that he and his future rival were brought up together at Hatfield. But this is an exaggeration, as Essex was not a member of Burghley's household for more than a few months. It is certain that Cecil was only too willing to be friendly with him, but Essex, in spite of his extraordinary influence at Court, felt that Sir Robert stood in the way of his ambitions. The two men were, in fact, antagonistic in every way. The contrast between them has been well brought out by John Bruce.[2]

"Essex was what in those days was termed 'full of

[1] Brewer, *English Studies*, p. 131.

[2] In his Introduction to the *Correspondence of King James VI. of Scotland with Sir R. Cecil, &c.*" (Camden Society, 1861).

humours,' wayward, uncertain, impatient, fantastic, capricious; acting by fits and starts, upon impulses and prejudices; but ever with a dash and brilliancy that were nearly allied to genius. Sir Robert Cecil was his very contrary in all these respects. Brought up at the feet of his pre-eminent father, he acquired, perhaps inherited, the highest official qualities; a calm, quiet, patient thoughtfulness, the power of mastering and applying details however intricate; diligence that was never weary, patience that could not be exhausted, temper that was seldom ruffled, and a habit of comparing and sifting and weighing and balancing, which generally led him to right conclusions. Essex was generous in the highest degree, a patron of literature, and of all noble and gentle arts, and ever ready to take the lead in kind and liberal deeds; he was at the same time impetuous, fiery, vehement,—a man of action; courageous, daring, and more than anything delighted with military command, and with the *éclat* and brilliancy of a soldier's life. Cecil was a man of thought and law and peace, neither a soldier himself nor looking upon war in any shape save as a necessity to be deplored. Consciousness of his own physical defects kept the one man comparatively humble: consciousness of his own power of dazzling and attracting people, and of attaching them to himself, puffed up the other, and led him into continual extravagances."

Essex was the leader of all the young spirits who longed for adventure and for active measures against Spain, while the policy of the Cecils was, above all things, to avoid war. Thus Essex found his rash schemes constantly opposed and balked, and in his turn he neglected no opportunity of thwarting his adversaries. On the death of Walsingham, in 1590, in order to prevent Cecil from

being made Secretary, he first tried to have Davison restored to the office, and afterwards he urged the claims of Sir Thomas Bodley, whose own account of the matter has a peculiar interest, as it gives the reasons which induced him to retire from public life, and devote himself to the formation of the library which bears his name. He states that Lord Burghley had always been his friend, and had told the Queen that no man was so fit for the office of Secretary as himself, and adds that Sir Robert afterwards told him that "when his father first intended to advance him to that place, his purpose was withall to make me his colleague." When he returned from the United Provinces in 1597, Essex,

" . . . who sought by all devices to divert the Queen's love and liking both from the father and the son (but from the son in special) to withdraw my affection from the one and the other, and to win me altogether to depend upon himself, did so often take occasion to entertain the Queen with some prodigal speeches of my sufficiency for a Secretary, which were ever accompanied with words of disgrace against the present Lord Treasurer [Sir Robert], as neither she herself, of whose favour before I was thoroughly assured, took any great pleasure to prefer me the sooner . . . and both the Lord Burghley and his son waxed jealous of my courses, as if underhand I had been induced by the cunning and kindness of the Earl of Essex, to oppose myself against their dealings. And though in very truth they had no solid ground at all of the least alteration in my disposition towards either of them both . . . yet the now Lord Treasurer, upon occasion of some talk, that I have since had with him, of the Earl and his actions, hath freely confessed of his own accord unto

me that his daily provocations were so bitter and sharp against him, and his comparisons so odious, when he put us in a balance, as he thought thereupon he had very great reason to use his best means, to put any man out of hope of raising his fortune, whom the Earl with such violence, to his extreme prejudice, had endeavoured to dignify."

Bodley, considering "how very untowardly these two Councillors were affected unto me," how ill it became him to be known as a partisan, and how well he was able to live for the "short time of further life," if he could be content with a "competent livelihood," resolved to take farewell of State employments, and to "set up his staff at the Library door in Oxford."[1] The Bodleian thus owes its foundation ultimately to the jealous arrogance of the Earl of Essex.

The Cecils, of course, opposed Essex in the matter of the Cadiz expedition of 1596. "This day," writes the Earl to Anthony Bacon, "I was more braved by your little cousin than ever I was by any man in my life. But I am not now nor was, angry, which is all the advantage I have of him."[2] Yet, when it was once decided upon, Sir Robert gave him all the help in his power. In the same way he provided for all his needs in the "Islands Voyage" of 1597, and in his Irish campaign two years later, so much so that Essex was led to exclaim, "You heap coals

[1] *Life of Sir Thomas Bodley written by Himself.* Some years afterwards (1604) Cecil tried to induce Bodley to be his associate in the Secretary's office, but he refused.

[2] September 8th, 1596 (Birch, II. 131).

of kindness." Indeed, it has been suggested that Cecil was actuated by the idea of giving Essex rope to hang himself, feeling sure that he would come to grief if given a good chance. But, as Brewer points out, it is more natural and probable to accept Sir Robert's own explanation, given in a letter to James after Essex had charged him with upholding the Spanish claim to the succession :—

"If I could have contracted such a friendship with Essex, as could have given me security that his thoughts and mine should have been no further distant than the disproportion of our fortunes, I should condemn my judgment to have willingly intruded myself into such an opposition. For who know not, that have lived in Israel, that such were the mutual affections in our tender years, and so many reciprocal benefits interchanged in our growing fortunes, as besides the rules of my own poor discretion, which taught me how perilous it was for Secretary Cecil to have a bitter feud with an Earl Marshal of England, a favourite, a nobleman of eminent parts, and a councillor, all things else in the composition of my mind did still concur on my part to make me desirous of his favour." [1]

At the time of Essex's disgrace, after his return from Ireland, Cecil specially befriended him, and did all he could to mitigate the consequences of his folly. He prevailed on the Queen not to commit him to the Tower, but to place him under the charge of the Lord Keeper, Sir Thomas Egerton, and he further obtained permission for his wife to visit him. "No time or fortune," writes the Countess, "shall ever extinguish in my

[1] *Correspondence of King James VI. of Scotland with Sir R. Cecil, &c.*, p 6.

Lord and me a thankful memory and due acknowledgment of so undeserved a benefit from him whom this friendly favour assures me will never be proved my Lord's malicious enemy."[1]

"It was Cecil's speech in the Star Chamber, when the conduct of the Earl was called in question, that was marked with a greater tone of moderation than that of any other of the judges. When, to avoid being tried in the Chamber, the Earl, at his own request, was brought before a Commission, though Cecil condemned him for abandoning his post contrary to the Queen's command, he mitigated the severity of his remarks by giving Essex credit for his services in Ireland. His conduct on this and other occasions, when the Earl was concerned, won for him general approbation. 'Sir Robert Cecil,' says a writer of the time, by no means his indiscriminate admirer,[2] 'is highly commended for his wise and temperate proceeding in this matter, showing no gall, though perhaps he had been galled, if not by the Earl, by some of his dependants. By employing his credit with her Majesty in behalf of the Earl, he has gained great credit, both at home and abroad.'"[3]

It was certainly mainly owing to Cecil that Essex was let off so lightly, yet his followers assailed Sir Robert with every species of insult. "They posted lampoons on his doors in Salisbury

[1] December 12th, 1599 (*Hatfield MSS.*, IX. 411).
[2] John Petit, June 14th, 1600 (*Cal. S. P. Dom.*).
[3] Brewer, p. 140.

Street and elsewhere, 'Here lieth the toad at Court, and here lieth the toad at London.' They attributed to him 'the injustice,' as they were pleased to call it, of keeping Essex in prison. They vilified his person in taverns and eating-houses, observing 'that it was an unwholesome thing to meet a man in the morning who had a wry neck, a crooked back, and a splay foot.' So powerful was the influence of the Earl, and so audacious were his followers, that none dared to contradict them."[1] It must be remembered that Essex was the popular favourite, and that the people were quite in the dark as to the nature of his offence.

Then came the fiasco of the Essex rebellion. One of the Earl's cries was that "the Crown of England was offered to be sold to the Infanta," and at his trial he tried to justify himself by saying that Cecil had maintained to one of his fellow-councillors that the title of the Infanta to the Crown was as good as any other. Whereupon a dramatic scene occurred. "Upon this his allegation, Mr. Secretary, standing out of sight in a private place, only to hear (being much moved with so false and foul an accusation), came suddenly forth and made humble request to the Lord Steward that he might have the favour to answer for himself." This being granted, Cecil made an eloquent speech in his own defence, and finally urged that the name of Essex's informant might be given. This Essex refused, but stated that the Earl of Southampton had also

[1] Brewer, p. 140.

heard the same report. "Whereupon Cecil adjured the Earl of Southampton by all former friendship (which had been, indeed, very great between them) that he would declare the person; which he did presently, and said it was Mr. Comptroller (Sir William Knollys)." At Cecil's request Knollys was sent for, and being questioned, stated that about two years before, during a casual conversation, "Mr. Secretary told him that one, Doleman, had maintained in a book (not long since printed) that the Infanta of Spain had a good title to the Crown of England: which was all that ever he heard Mr. Secretary speak ot that matter."[1] This was the whole foundation of the story, and it turned out that Doleman had actually dedicated his book to Essex. The Earl now apologised for his misunderstandings, whereupon Cecil exclaimed: "Your misunderstanding arose from your opposition to peace. It was your ambition that every military man should look up to you as his patron, and hence you sought to represent me and the councillors, who wished to put an end to the war, as the pensioners of Spain. I confess I have said," he continued, "that the King of Spain is a competitor of the Crown of England, and that the King of Scots is a competitor, and my Lord of Essex, I have said, is a competitor; for he would depose the Queen, and call a Parliament, and so be King himself; but as to my affection to advance the Spanish

[1] Official "Declaration of the Treasons, &c.," printed by Spedding, II. 279—281.

title to England, I am so far from it that my mind is astonished to think of it, and I pray to God to consume me where I stand if I hate not the Spaniard as much as any man living."

We have anticipated and must return. In 1589 Cecil had married Elizabeth Brooke, sister of the notorious Lord Cobham, and of George Brooke. They had three children, a boy, William, afterwards second Earl of Salisbury, and two daughters, Frances, who married Henry Clifford, Earl of Cumberland, and Catherine, who died in infancy. Lady Cecil died in January, 1597, and the occasion drew forth several letters of affection and sympathy. That from Sir Walter Raleigh is interesting, not only intrinsically, but also, as has been pointed out before, because indirectly it bears witness to the character of the recipient. "No one who knew Robert Cecil so intimately as Raleigh did, would have written thus, save under the conviction that the man to whom he was giving such consolation as he then had to give had loved truly and would grieve deeply." [1] Part of this letter must be quoted :—

"Sir, because I know not how you dispose of yourself, I forbear to visit you, preferring your pleasing before mine own desire. I had rather be with you now than at any other time; if I could thereby either take off from you the burden of your sorrows or lay the greatest part thereof on mine own heart. In the meantime, I would put you in mind of this, that you should not overshadow your wisdom with passion, but look aright unto things as they are. There is no man sorry for death itself, but only for

[1] Edwards, *Life of Raleigh*, II. 157.

the time of death; everyone knowing that it is a bond never forfeited to God. If then we know the same to be certain and inevitable, we ought withal to take the time of his arrival in as good part as the knowledge, and not to lament at the instant of every seeming adversity; which we are assured have been on their way towards us from the beginning. It appertaineth to every man of a wise and worthy spirit to draw together into suffrance the unknown future to the known present; looking no less with the eyes of the mind than with those of the body, the one beholding afar off and the other at hand, that those things of this world in which we live be not strange unto us when they approach, as to feebleness which is moved with novelties, but that like true men participating immortality and know [ing] our destinies to be of God, we should then make our estates and wishes, our fortunes and desires all one. It is true that you have lost a good and virtuous wife and myself an honourable friend and kinswoman; but there was a time when she was unknown to you, for whom you then lamented not. She is now no more yours, nor of your acquaintance, but immortal, and not needing and knowing your love and sorrow. Therefore you shall but grieve for that which now is, as then it was when not yours: only bettered by the difference in this, that she hath past the wearisome journey of this dark world, and hath possession of her inheritance. . . . .

"Yours beyond ever the power of words to utter,

"W. RALEGH."[1]

Another friend who wrote in a similar strain of pious exhortation and affection was Lord Howard of Effingham, the Lord Admiral.

"The Lord's will must be fulfilled" he says, "and she was too virtuous and good to live in so wretched a world

[1] January 24th, 1597 (*Hatfield MSS.*, VII. 35). At this time the friendship between Cecil and Raleigh was close, Sir Walter being, of course, strongly opposed to Essex.

and you that hath an extraordinary judgment by His gifts that doth all must with that wisdom seek now to master your good and kind nature and to think that sorrow nor anything else can now redeem it. And as she is now most assured happier than all we that live in this 'pudeled' and troubled world, so do I assure you, as long as God shall spare me life in it, there shall not be any tread on the earth that shall love you better than my poor self; and I vow it to God I think none doth or can do so much as I do." [1]

But it was long before the Secretary could rouse himself from his grief, and in June his aunt, Lady Russell, found it necessary to give him a characteristic exhortation:—

"If you be so without comfort of worldly delight as you seem, it is most ill to the health of your both body and soul; I speak by experience, and know too well that to be true which I say; and, therefore, both am sorry to hear it, and beseech the God of all consolation and comfort to remedy it, with giving you a contrary mind. Else will you find the *Daemonius meridianus* to creep so far into your heart, with his variety of virtues, seeming good to be yielded to (melancholy I mean) as in the end will shorten life by cumbrous conceits and sickness: and when it is rooted so as with peevish persuasions of good thereby and solitary ejaculations, it will bring forth the fruit of stupidity, forgetfulness of your natural disposition of sweet and apt speeches, fit for your place: and instead thereof breed and make you a surly, sharp, sour plum, no better than in truth a very melancholy mole and a *misanthropos* hateful to God and man; and only with persuasions seeming holy, wise and good." [2]

Although Cecil had been transacting the

[1] January 25th, 1597 (*Hatfield MSS.*, VII. 39).
[2] *Ibid.*, VII. 281.

business of Secretary for several years, he was not actually appointed to the office until 1596, during the absence of Essex on the Cadiz expedition. In the following year he was made Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, a position which he resigned when he succeeded to the Mastership of the Court of Wards after his father's death. In February, 1598, he was sent on an embassy to France, the object of which was to prevent Henry IV. from contracting an alliance with Spain. He was loth to go, and extracted a promise from Essex that he would do nothing to his prejudice during his absence. Among the many letters of congratulation he received on this occasion one, from Dr. Mount, must have given him great satisfaction, for he announced that he was sending him "two glasses of compound distilled water, the one of cinnamon, the other of sage, both comfortable if at any time in your travel you shall find yourself in health not well affected, one spoonful or two at one time, with half so much sugar." [1]

His mission was successful, but while he was in France he received news of his father's illness and hurried home, though Lord Burghley lived till the following August. During this time, and still more after his death, Sir Robert must have been overwhelmed with work. "In your industry," writes Sir Charles Danvers, "you seem to have drawn the offices of all other men into your own

[1] *Hatfield MSS.*, VIII. 38.

hands."[1] Certainly the correspondence at Hatfield shows that everybody with any grievance, public or private, thought Cecil the right man to apply to for relief. A typical appeal is presented in the following letter from a Mrs. Anne Williamson :—[2]

"I lived happily with my husband for twelve years, until for causes to me unknown he was committed to the Tower. Now, being released from thence, he utterly rejects my company. I have tried the mediation of friends without avail. He yields me no relief, although at his request I sold and conveyed away my jointure, without assurance of other living. Wherefore, forcedly and with shame, I have presumed to trouble your Honour, to whom the reformation of such demeanours doth appertain."

[1] June 20th, 1598 (*Cal. S. P. Dom.*).

[2] November 6th, 1598 (*Hatfield MSS.*, VIII. 430).

CHAPTER IX

ROBERT CECIL, FIRST EARL OF SALISBURY
(*continued*)

ON the death of Essex (February, 1601) the power and influence of Sir Robert were largely enhanced. While Essex lived, he would tolerate no division of service. Those who followed him, must give no allegiance to Cecil. "As for your Honour," wrote Sir F. Gorges after Essex's death, "the opposition was so apparent between you two as there was no possibility for me to 'interest' myself in you without abjuring of him, and so must have manifested my dishonest humour and fickle disposition. . . . I vow to God I did endeavour, by what means I was able, the reconciliation of your Honour and him; but he answered me that he would receive no good from you or by your means. The truth of this his soul can testify."[1] But when Essex was dead, his followers soon transferred their allegiance to his former rival.

It was at this time that Cecil entered upon the "secret correspondence" with King James of Scotland, which had so great an influence, not only on his own fortunes, but on the future of

[1] April 27th, 1601 (*Hatfield MSS.*, XI. 179; and see Introduction to that volume).

England. Hitherto, misled by the slanders of Essex, with whom he had been in correspondence for some time, James had looked upon Sir Robert as an adherent of the Spanish cause. Moreover, he could not forget the death of his mother, for which he considered Cecil's father responsible. Light is thrown upon this point, as well as on the essential loyalty of Cecil, by the following letter written by the Master of Gray to James, in December, 1600.[1]

"Of one thing I am sorry, that your Majesty should speak so hardly of Mr. Secretary Cecil, for that you allege my Lord his father 'cuttit' your mother's throat. I am assured your Majesty knoweth that I know more in that nor any Scottish or English living, the Queen excepted, and that for I do remember your Majesty of a note I gave you in that matter; that the Earl of Leicester or Sir Francis Walsingham were only the cutters of her throat, and inducers of Davison to do as he did. I take on my conscience it was far from the Queen or his father's mind that she should die when she died, as I have yet some witnessing in the world. And, Sir, I assure you this, that if your Majesty shall fall again in good course with the Queen, Mr. Secretary will prove as good a friend as you have in all England. Let them inform you of him as they please, but think never to have him otherways, for he has sworn to me that if he knew to be the greatest subject that England ever bred, he shall never serve any other prince after the Queen. And I think if it were not for love and obligation, he would never endure the excess trouble he has presently, nor almost is it possible for him to serve so 'penibly,' for albeit he has a very well composed mind,

[1] *Hatfield MSS.*, X. 414. See also another letter in very similar terms, June 13th, 1602 (*ibid.*, XII. 18).

yet the ability of the body is so discrepant that it cannot correspond the capacity of the mind."

Probably the incident already recorded at the Essex trial convinced the King that he had been mistaken as to Cecil's opinions with regard to Spain. The Master of Gray, no doubt, testified to his innocence in this matter also, for Sir Robert writes to him :[1] "I do thank you for the assumption in my behalf that I was never so foul nor so foolish as to traffic with the Spaniards, either by your means or by any earthly creature. God hath forgiven his soul, I hope, who was the author of that poor invention." James, at any rate, made overtures to Cecil through his ambassadors, and the "secret correspondence" was the result. Sir Robert's motives in this matter are beyond suspicion. The Queen was growing old and infirm, and it was essential that all arrangements with regard to the succession should be perfected before her death. Yet it was a subject on which no public or official action could be taken, since the Queen refused to discuss it. By coming to an understanding with James, Cecil ensured his peaceful succession, and saved the country from the dangers arising from rival claims, including the horrible possibility of the Papists and the Spanish faction winning the day. He was also able to impress on James the necessity of avoiding any premature action, and to give him much sound advice.

It was obviously necessary to keep this corre-

[1] July 9th, 1601 (*Hatfield MSS.*, XI. 272).

spondence private, lest the Queen's suspicions should be aroused, but on one occasion the secret nearly leaked out. The story is told by Sir Henry Wotton.[1]

"The Queen having for a good while not heard anything from Scotland, and being thirsty of news, it fell out that her Majesty, going to take the air towards the Heath (the Court being then at Greenwich), and Master Secretary Cecil then attending her, a post came crossing by and blew his horn. The Queen, out of curiosity, asked him from whence the despatch came, and being answered 'From Scotland,' she stops the coach and calleth for the packet. The Secretary, though he knew there were in it some letters from his correspondents, which to discover were as so many serpents, yet made more show of diligence than of doubt to obey, and asks some one that stood by (forsooth in great haste), for a knife to cut up the packet (for otherwise he might have awaked a little apprehension); but in the meantime approaching with the packet in his hand, at a pretty distance from the Queen, he telleth her it looked and smelt ill-favouredly, coming out of a filthy budget, and that it should be fit first to open and air it, because he knew she was averse from ill scents. And so, being dismissed home, he got leisure by this seasonable shift, to sever what he would not have seen."

The correspondence began between March and June, 1601, and seven letters exist from James to Cecil, and six from Cecil to James,[2] besides others through intermediaries. Cecil's first letter is of special importance, as it "contains an explanation of his past conduct, a vindication of the steps

[1] *Reliq. Wotton*, ed. 1672, p. 169. Quoted by Bruce, p. xxxix.
[2] There is a mistake in the numbering by Bruce.

taken by him in opening up this secret communication, a full assurance of the state of the Queen's mind, and plain advice with respect to James's future conduct." He protests his absolute loyalty to the Queen.

"I do herein truly and religiously profess before God, that if I could accuse myself to have once imagined a thought which could amount to a grain of error towards my dear and precious Sovereign, or could have discerned (by the overtures of your ministers) that you had entertained an opinion or desire to draw me one point from my individual centre, I should wish with all my heart that all I have done or shall do, might be converted to my own perdition."

But when he heard of the "foul impressions" which James continued to receive concerning him, he found it necessary

"to pluck up quickly by the roots those gross inventions of my conspiracies. . . . For when I perceived that the practices which were used to disgrace me, must consequently have settled an apprehension in you of an alienation of heart in her Majesty towards you, which must have mortised an opinion in your mind, that she must needs be inclined (if not resolved) to cut off the natural branch and graft upon some wild stock, seeing those that held the nearest place about her were described to be so full of pernicious practices against your Majesty, I did think it my duty to remove that inference, by that occasion which was offered me upon your Ambassadors being here, though I assure myself, it being known would prejudice me in her Majesty's judgment, of whom that language which would be tunable in other princes' ears would jar in hers, whose creature I am. But, Sir, I know it holdeth so just proportion, even with strictest loyalty and soundest

reason, for faithful ministers to conceal sometime both thought and action from princes, when they are persuaded it is for their own greater service, as albeit I did observe the temperature of your mind (in all your courses) to be such as gave me great hopes that you would do always like yourself, yet I was still jealous, lest some such causeless despair of the Queen's just intentions might be wrought into you, as might make you (though happily not dissolve the main bond of honour and amity) plunge yourself unawares into some such actions, as might engage all honest men, out of present duty, to oppose themselves so far against you, as they would stand in doubt hereafter what you would do, in the future, towards those which should so lately have offended you. Wherein I will only for the present lay down this position, which I know I can justly maintain. That it is and will be, in no man's power on earth, so much as your own, to be *faber fortunae tuae*."

He further counsels James as to his future conduct towards the Queen, "to whose sex and quality nothing is so improper as either needless expostulations or overmuch curiosity in her own actions."

In a later letter Cecil prophesies that "when that day (so grievous to us) shall happen, which is the tribute of all mortal creatures, your ship shall be steered into the right harbour, without cross of wave or tide that shall be able to turn over a cock-boat." This prediction was fulfilled. Elizabeth died in the early morning of March 24th, 1603. Within three hours, the Council had met and agreed to the proclamation of James's accession, which Cecil had drawn up in readiness. "At ten o'clock the ceremony of proclamation

Gheeraedts

ROBERT, FIRST EARL OF SALISBURY, K.G.

was commenced at Whitehall Gate, at eleven it was repeated at the Cross in Cheapside, and that same night printed copies of the proclamation were transmitted to the new Sovereign. Before he received them, the voice of the nation had fully ratified the act of the Council; the will of Henry VIII. had been set aside; all questions respecting inheritable blood had been passed over; James I. was in full possession, and the act of statesmanship of Sir Robert Cecil was complete." [1]

He soon reaped his reward. "James's first thought on receiving intelligence of the Queen's death, was to express his thanks to Cecil for his careful attention to his interests. 'How happy I think myself,' he wrote, 'by the conquest of so faithful and so wise a counsellor, I reserve it to be expressed out of my own mouth unto you.' The confidence which James thus bestowed was never withdrawn as long as Cecil lived." [2] He also gained a full share of those honours of which Elizabeth was so chary. On his way to London, James spent ten days at Theobalds, and took the opportunity to raise his host to the peerage, with the title of Baron Cecil of Essendon (May 13th, 1603). In August, 1604, he was created Viscount Cranborne,[3] and in May, 1605, Earl of Salisbury. He obtained the Garter in 1606.

[1] Bruce, Introduction, p. liv.

[2] Gardiner, *History of England*, I. 91.

[3] The manor of Cranborne was not actually or formally granted to him till 1611, but he began the restoration and enlargement of the Manor House some years before that date.

But in spite of these marks of the King's appreciation, he cannot have been a happy man. In Elizabeth he had lost his best friend, the very centre of his life, and though he worked loyally for James, he can never have been in full sympathy with his aims and methods. When congratulated on not being obliged to speak to the King kneeling, as he was used to do to Elizabeth, he replied "I wish to God that I spoke still on my knees." Since his father's death, he had led a lonely life, and devoted as he was to work, he hated the intrigues and gaieties of the Court. No wonder that he wrote to Sir John Harington, in 1603:—

"Good Knight, rest content and give heed to one that hath sorrowed in the bright lustre of a Court, and gone heavily even on the best seeming fair ground. 'Tis a great task to prove one's honesty, and yet not mar one's fortune. You have tasted a little hereof in our blessed Queen's time, who was more than a man, and, in truth, sometimes less than a woman—I wish I waited now in your presence chamber, with ease at my food, and rest in my bed. I am pushed from the shore of comfort, and know not where the winds and waves of a Court will bear me. I know it bringeth little comfort on earth; and he is, I reckon, no wise man, that looketh this way to heaven."

He certainly deserved his honours. "The labours which he underwent," says Gardiner, "were enormous. As Secretary, he had to conduct the whole of the Civil administration of the kingdom, to keep his eye upon the plots and conspiracies which were bursting out in every direction, to correspond with the Irish Govern-

ment and to control its policy, and to carry on through the various ambassadors complicated negotiations with every State of importance in Europe. Besides all this, when Parliament was sitting, it was on him that the duty chiefly devolved of making the policy of the Government palatable to the House of Commons, of replying to all objections, and of obtaining the King's consent to the necessary alterations. As if all this were not enough, during the last few years of his life he undertook the office of Treasurer in addition to that of Secretary. Upon him fell all the burden of the attempt which he made to restore to a sound condition the disordered finances, and of mastering the numerous details from which alone he could obtain the knowledge necessary in order to remedy the evil."

It is impossible here to touch upon all these manifold activities, but a brief account must be given of the "plots and conspiracies" (especially in so far as they concern Cecil's relations with Raleigh); of the religious question and his policy towards Catholics and Puritans; and of his financial measures.

Soon after James's accession, a Catholic conspiracy, known as the "Bye Plot," came to light, and during the examination of the prisoners, another and more formidable plot was discovered, in which Raleigh and his friend, Lord Cobham, were implicated. What the whole rights and wrongs of the matter were will never be known, but Raleigh had certainly laid himself open to

suspicion. He was admittedly the intimate friend of Cobham, a thorough scoundrel, and he had been the confidant of his designs, even if, as seems probable, he had not countenanced or assisted in them. Cecil had suspected him of disaffection even before James came to the throne, and since then he had been deprived of his office of Captain of the Guard, and of the lucrative post of Warden of the Stannaries, and had every reason to be discontented. " Whatever may be the truth on this difficult subject," says Gardiner, " there is no reason to doubt that Cecil at least acted in perfect good faith," and he easily disposes of the ridiculous theory that the whole conspiracy was a trick got up by Cecil.

The relations between the two men had previously been intimate. Raleigh's letter on the death of Lady Cecil has already been quoted. Other letters at Hatfield give further proof of their friendship. " Sir Walter," writes Cecil's young son, William, " we must all exclaim and cry out because you will not come down. You being absent, we are like soldiers that when their Captain is absent they know not what to do: you are so busy about idle matters. Sir Walter, I will be plain with you. I pray you leave all idle matters and come down to us." [1]

Moreover, for the past two or three years Cecil had been a partner with Raleigh and Cobham in various privateering enterprises,

[1] 1600 (*Hatfield MSS.*, X. 459). Cecil lent Raleigh £4,000 in 1602, but, perhaps, this is not a sign of friendship.

and though he complained to Sir G. Carew that they "used him unkindly," his intimacy and trust in Raleigh is shown by a letter written so late as January, 1603, concerning one of their vessels which had made captures of a more than doubtful nature; in it he says: "I pray you, as much as may be, conceal our adventure, or at the least my name, above any other. For though, I thank God, I have no other meaning than becometh an honest man in any of my actions, yet that which were another man's *Pater noster*, would be accounted in me a charm."[1]

At Raleigh's trial, Cecil, at his first intervention in the proceedings, proclaimed both his old friendship for the prisoner and his present suspicions. "I am divided in myself," he began, "and at great dispute what to say of this gentleman at the bar. For it is impossible, be the obligation never so great, but the affections of nature and love will show themselves. A former dearness betwixt me and this gentleman tied upon the knot of his virtues, though slacked since by his actions, I cannot but acknowledge; and the most of you know it." Probably he believed Raleigh guilty, at least of favouring the claims of Arabella Stuart, but at the same time he was the only member of the Court who raised his voice to protect the prisoner from the brutalities of Sir Edward Coke, and Lord Chief Justice Popham.

After the trial Cecil continued his good offices, and it was owing to him that Raleigh's wife and

[1] Quoted by Edwards, I. 335.

child were saved from destitution. He also interfered to prevent the confiscation of his estate of Sherborne, at least for the time.

Raleigh at least had no doubt of Cecil's good will towards him, and both he and his wife were always grateful. "Your lordship hath been our only comfort in our lamentable misfortune," wrote Lady Raleigh, and Sir Walter expressed himself still more warmly. No apology is needed for introducing another of his characteristic letters, written in December, 1603.

"To give you thanks, to promise gratefulness, to return words, is all I can do; but that your lordship will esteem them I cannot promise myself; no, not so much as hope it. To use defences for the errors of former times, I cannot. For I have failed, both in friendship and in judgment. Therefore this is all that I can now say for myself; vouchsafe to esteem me as a man raised from the dead, though not in body, yet in mind. For neither Fortune, which sometimes guided me—or rather Vanity, for with the other I was never in love—shall turn mine eyes from you toward her, while I have being: nor the World, with all the cares and enticements belonging unto it, shall ever weigh down (though it be of the greatest weight to mortal men) the memory alone of your lordship's true respects had of me; respects tried by the touch; tried by the fire; true witnesses in true times; and then only, when only available.

"And although I must first attribute unto God, who inclined: and secondly and essentially, after God, to my dear Sovereign, who had goodness apt to be inclined:—goodness and mercy without comparison and example;—yet I must never forget what I find was in your lordship's desire, what in your will, what in your words and works,

so far as could become you as a Councillor and far beyond all due to me, as an offender. These I have fixed to my heart inseparably. From these, neither time nor persuasion or aught else wont to change affections or to waste them, shall beat from me, or make old in me; who will acknowledge your lordship with a love without mask or cover, and follow you to the end."[1]

And several years later, after an angry interview with Salisbury, the occasion of which is not known, Raleigh wrote to Sir Walter Cope:—

"I ever have been and am resolved that it was never in the worthy heart of Sir Robert Cecil to suffer me to fall, much less to perish. For whatsoever terms it hath pleased his lordship to use towards me, which might utterly despair anybody else, yet I know that he spake them as a Councillor, sitting in Council, and in company of such as would not otherwise have been satisfied. But, as God liveth, I would have bought his presence at a far dearer rate than those sharp words and these three months' close imprisonment, for it is in his lordship's face and countenance that I behold all that remains to me of comfort and all the hope I have, and from which I shall never be beaten till I see the last of evils and the despair which hath no help. The blessing of God cannot make him cruel that was never so, nor prosperity teach any man of so great worth to delight in the endless adversity of an enemy, much less of him who in his very soul and nature can never be such a one towards him."[2]

Such expressions afford strong testimony to the generous qualities of Salisbury, nor, as has been pointed out, is their witness invalidated by the suggestion that they were used for selfish reasons,

[1] Edwards, II. 288.
[2] October 9th, 1611 (*Ibid.*, II. 329).

to flatter a man in power. " Raleigh used no such flatteries to Northampton ; though he well knew that Northampton, in 1603, had exhausted neither his venom nor his power to sting." [1]

James entered upon his reign with the intention of being as tolerant in religious matters as was consistent with his own prerogatives. He promised not to persecute any Catholics who would give an outward obedience to the law, and he remitted the recusancy fines " so long as they behaved as loyal subjects." He made his position perfectly clear to Cecil before his accession. " I did ever hold persecution as one of the infallible notes of a false Church," he writes ; and again " I will never allow in my conscience that the blood of any man shall be shed for diversity of opinion in religion, but I would be sorry that Catholics should so multiply as that they might be able to practise their old principles upon us." As far as laymen are concerned, that is to say, they should be tolerated so far as was consistent with the peace and safety of the realm. As to the priests and Jesuits (" venomed wasps and fire-brands of sedition "), he urged Cecil to put the edict of banishment into execution, that they might be " safely transported beyond seas, where they may freely glut themselves upon their imaginated gods."

Unfortunately the Catholics increased to such an extent in " number, courage, and insolence," during the first months of James's reign that he

[1] Edwards, I. 503.

took alarm, and in February, 1604, issued a proclamation for the banishment of the priests. This was followed in July by a severe Act against recusants. Neither of these measures was enforced, but they served to show the Catholics that they had little to hope for from the King, and their anger and disappointment led a section of them to give their sanction to deeds of violence, culminating in the Gunpowder Plot. It has been suggested that Salisbury deliberately egged on the conspirators to their destruction, while others have thought he got wind of the plot at an early stage, but allowed it to proceed so as to gain more credit by a dramatic discovery. On the whole, however, it may be said that "in the judgment of those best qualified to pronounce, the received story of Gunpowder Plot remains more likely to be true than any other."[1]

The natural result of the plot was the introduction of new and still more stringent penal laws, though once more James prevented their strict enforcement. In this matter Cecil upheld his sovereign, disliking persecution, except in so far as Catholics showed themselves "absolute seducers of the people from temporal obedience and confident persuaders to rebellion." Strongly as one must condemn the severe restrictions placed on the recusants, it must always be remembered that the Church of Rome "was pledged to change the moral and intellectual atmosphere in which Englishmen moved and breathed."

[1] Professor Montague, *History of England*, 1603—1660, p. 31.

Salisbury himself defines his views in a letter to Sir Henry Wotton (June 16th, 1606).[1]

"So clear and apparent," he writes, "is now the hatred of almost all those of that profession to the present government of this Church and Commonwealth, and so envious are they of the long blessings of peace and plenty which God hath bestowed upon our nation these many years in the true profession of the Gospel, as they have not only sought by all overt means to practise the destruction thereof, but their masters and rabbins, the Jesuits, who are now become the only fire-brands of Christendom, have and do continually seek to corrupt the very souls and consciences of his Majesty's simpler sort of subjects with this detestable doctrine, that they may not stick at rebellion and conspiracy, when they are summoned to it for the good of the Church."

On the Continent Salisbury was looked upon as the special enemy of the Catholics, owing to the malicious reports of the Jesuits. "Among the Duke of Lerma's pages of the Chamber," writes Sir Charles Cornwallis from Madrid, this same year "a common table talk it is, what an extreme persecutor your lordship is of the Catholics in England. Hereupon every man wishes that their hands might give you the *Pugnaladoll*, that your cruelty deserveth"; to which Salisbury replies with dignity, that he commends himself to God's protection, and that "the more danger is laid before me, the more zealous it makes me of God's and my country's service."[2]

[1] *Court and Times of James I.*, I. 65.

[2] Winwood's *Memorials*, II. 236, 253. See also, for other Jesuit plots II. 202, III. 49

The case of the Puritans is entirely different. On opening Parliament, in March, 1604, the King declared his hostility to the Puritans, who were "ever discontented with the present Government, and impatient to suffer any superiority, which maketh their sect unable to be suffered in any well-governed Commonwealth." At the Hampton Court Conference in January they had stated their grievances, but James had not the slightest sympathy with them, and rated them soundly. "If this be all they have to say," were his last words, "I shall make them conform themselves, or I will harry them out of the land, or else do worse." Whereupon we are told that Cecil thanked God for having given the King an understanding heart. Cecil's views are set forth in a letter to the Archbishop of York,[1] in which he says it was necessary to correct the Puritans "for disobedience to the lawful ceremonies of the Church; wherein, although many religious men of moderate spirits might be borne with, yet such are the turbulent humours of some that dream of nothing but a new hierarchy, directly opposite to the state of a Monarchy, as the dispensation with such men were the highway to break all the bonds of unity, to nourish schism in the Church and Commonwealth. It is well said of a learned man that there are schisms in habit, as well as in opinion, *et non servatur unitas in credendo, nisi adsit in colendo*." Unity of belief could not be

[1] February, 1605 (Lodge's *Illustrations*, III. 125).

preserved except by uniformity of worship. Holding such opinions, Salisbury supported the King in the severe measures adopted in order to impose conformity on the Puritans. By the Canons of 1604 the penalty of excommunication was inflicted on all who "should affirm any of the Thirty-nine Articles to be erroneous, or anything in the Prayer Book to be repugnant to Scripture, or any of the rites and ceremonies of the Church to be superstitious, or should maintain that government by bishops was contrary to the Word of God." Some three hundred of the clergy refused to conform and were ejected, and writing of them, Salisbury says:—

"For the religion which they profess I reverence them and their calling; but for their unconformity, I acknowledge myself in no way warranted to deal for them, because the course they take is no way safe in such a monarchy as this; where his Majesty aimeth at no other end than where there is but one true faith and doctrine preached, there to establish one form, so as a perpetual peace may be settled in the Church of God; where contrarywise these men, by this singularity of theirs in things approved to be indifferent by so many reverend fathers of the Church, by so great multitudes of their own brethren, yea many that have been formerly touched with the like weaknesses, do daily minister cause of scandal in the Church of England, and give impediment to that great and goodly work, towards which all honest men are bound to yield their best means, according to their several callings, namely to suppress idolatry and Romish superstition in all his Majesty's dominions." [1]

[1] Cranborne to some gentlemen of Leicestershire, April, 1605 (*Hatfield MSS.* Quoted by Gardiner, I. 201).

Salisbury succeeded the old Earl of Dorset as Lord Treasurer in April, 1608. "I know not anything the King hath done in that kind more universally applauded," wrote Sir Henry Neville.[1] "So great a reformation many imagine will follow that change."

The Exchequer was then in a desperate condition. The debt amounted to nearly a million and the ordinary annual expenditure exceeded the ordinary revenue by £73,000. To a great extent this condition of affairs was due to the King's extravagance, which, in spite of real endeavours on his part, he was quite unable to control. A story is told which illustrates his ignorance of the value of money, and at the same time shows how Salisbury tried to keep his prodigality in check. It appears that James had ordered a large sum of money (variously stated as £5,000 and £20,000) to be given to his favourite, Carr, then Viscount Rochester. Salisbury, "thinking it too great a sum to be disposed of lightly, laid it in silver upon tables in the gallery of Salisbury House; and, having invited the King to dinner, conducted him through that gallery to the dining-room. The King, suddenly struck with the appearance of so large a heap of silver, asked what the money was for; to which the Treasurer replied that he had received his Majesty's commands to give it to the Viscount Rochester. The King, who had not

[1] To Sir R. Winwood, May 12th, 1608 (Winwood's *Memorials*, II. 929).

before appreciated the value of the gift, said it was too much, and made the favourite be contented with less than half." [1]

One of Salisbury's first proceedings as Treasurer was to impose duties to the amount of £70,000, without the sanction of Parliament. At the same time he lessened the duties on articles of general consumption, such as currants, sugar, and tobacco. In addition to this, by severe economies, by sale of Crown lands, and by enforcing every payment to which the King could lay claim, the debt was reduced in two years to £300,000 More, however, was still required, and Salisbury therefore endeavoured to raise money by what is known as the "Great Contract." He asked the Commons for a supply of £600,000 to discharge the King's debts and for other outstanding expenses, and for a permanent support of £200,000 a year. In return for this, he promised, on behalf of the King, to remit certain burdensome prerogatives of the Crown, especially those connected with feudal tenures, wardships and purveyance. Prolonged negotiations followed, during which Salisbury, as the mouthpiece of James, continually shifted his ground. The Treasurer was supported throughout by the Lords. As Sir Roger Aston wrote, "The little beagle hath run about and brought the rest of the great hounds to a perfect tune." [2] But as the King continually raised his demands, the Commons, influenced by the growing opposition

[1] Wilson's *Life and Reign of James I.*, p. 61.
[2] July 24th, 1610 (*Cal. S. P. Dom.*).

of the various interests affected by the proposals, hardened their hearts and refused to make any further concessions. The inevitable result was that the whole scheme fell through, and though the King was mainly to blame, the odium, both of the proposals and of their failure, fell on the Treasurer.

Bacon, the shrewdest political observer of the time, has left on record his opinion of Salisbury's financial methods, in a letter to the King written a few months after his cousin's death :—

"To have your wants and necessities in particular as it were hanged up in two tablets before the eyes of your lords and commons, to be talked of for four months together: to have all your courses to help yourself in revenue or profit put into printed books, which were wont to be held *arcana imperii* : to have such worms of aldermen to lend for ten in the hundred upon good assurance, and with such [entreaty ?], as if it should save the bark of your fortune : to contract still where mought be had the readiest payment, and not the best bargain: to stir a number of projects for your profit, and then to blast them, and leave your Majesty nothing but the scandal of them : to pretend even carriage between your Majesty's rights and the ease of the people, and to satisfy neither : These courses and others the like I hope are gone with the deviser of them ; which have turned your Majesty to inestimable prejudice."[1]

In reading this, one has to remember Bacon's personal animus against his cousin, and also the fact that he was hoping to take his place. But malicious as is the expression of his opinion, it no doubt represents a widely held view. It is, however, not the whole of the truth. The fact remains

[1] Bacon to the King, September, 1612 (Spedding, IV. 313).

that Salisbury did produce some sort of order out of the chaos that existed before he took over the office of Treasurer, and succeeded in "raising the revenue to an amount which would have filled Elizabeth with admiration, though it was all too little for her successor." And if it is true, as has been said, that the total result of his financial administration was the halving of the debt, at the cost of almost doubling the deficiency, it is, nevertheless, to be remembered that the former was the result of his own labour, while over the latter he had little control.[1]

Undoubtedly the system of bargaining set up between King and Commons was undignified and demoralising, and emphasised the divergence of interests between the Sovereign and his people which led to such disastrous results. It is Salisbury's action in the matter of the Great Contract which is thought to have been responsible for the decline of his power during the last months of his life. Goodman tells a story about a certain un-named "great peer," who, on his death-bed, sent to the King, begging him not to part with any of his prerogatives, especially the Court of Wards, and warning him against being ruled by "some who did endeavour to engross and monopolise the King, and kept other able men out of his service." After which, adds Goodman, "the Earl of Salisbury, who had been a great stirrer in that business, and was the man aimed at, began to decline." [2]

[1] Gardiner, II. 144; Spedding, IV. 276.
[2] *Court of James I.*, I. 141.

CHAPTER X

ROBERT CECIL, FIRST EARL OF SALISBURY
(*continued*)

On other matters, as well as the "Great Contract," it is difficult to say how far the policy carried out by Salisbury was in its origin his or the King's. He certainly gave him good advice on the subject of the Union with Scotland, urging, though in vain, that the time was not ripe, and that all that could be done at present was to appoint commissioners to examine the whole question.

In foreign affairs his policy was to preserve the independence of the Netherlands and to preserve the balance of power between France and Spain. Though filled with hatred of the latter country, he, no doubt, agreed with James in thinking peace necessary, and he was instrumental in bringing it about in 1604. And this led to an incident which is very difficult to understand or explain. On the completion of the treaty, all the chief ministers of James, including Cecil, accepted pensions from the Spanish Ambassador. Cecil's amounted to £1,000 a year, and was raised in the following year to £1,500. In 1609 he demanded a still further increase, and asked that each piece of information should be paid for separately. Such a transaction is, of course, not to be judged by the standards of

the present day. "It was," says Dr. Jessopp,[1] "part of that vile system which his father had established, and into which he was perhaps forced, of employing every means that came to hand for obtaining information of the doings of the Catholics. That he gave any information, or that he ever betrayed the trust committed to him, there is not a tittle of evidence to show." This is not strictly true, for he certainly did give information, but of such a character that the Spanish Ambassadors continually complained that he was not keeping to his part of the bargain, and as the relations between the countries grew worse, the information became more and more confused.[2] He is said to have accepted a pension also from France, and it is probable that he was able, or thought he would be able, to do good services to both these friendly powers, and so to further the growth of good relations between them, without in any way betraying the interests of England.

These transactions are the more strange since we know from other sources that Salisbury was distinguished among his contemporaries for being impervious to bribes. "The heart of man," says Sir Walter Cope, "was never more free from baseness and bribes: he hated the bribe and the taker." [3]

The corruption at Court in the early part of

[1] *Dict. Nat. Biog.*, IX. 402.
[2] Gardiner, I. 216.
[3] "Apology for Sir R. Cecil," etc. (Gutch, *Collectanea Curiosa*, I. 120).

James's reign was notorious, but Cecil set himself against it with all his power. As an instance, we may quote from his instructions to the commissioners who were to act in a proposed scheme for compounding wardships.

"And now," he writes, "because I do consider how subject all men's actions are to calumny, . . . I do also require you to make it known particularly to all persons that shall seek composition, that they shall not receive their assurance from his Majesty without taking their corporal oath in open court that they have neither promised nor paid, directly nor indirectly, any money, or other benefit, for obtaining the same, other than the sums agreed upon to his Majesty's use, and the ordinary fees of the clerks and officers. Thus have you now a perfect understanding of his Majesty's royal intention . . . and have also perceived the care I have to preserve your reputation as much as my own, though that is more in danger to be touched, because the envious minds of men, who judge others commonly by their own affections, will be apt to conceive that I, who am his Majesty's principal officer in the Court of Wards, would not endeavour to further this his Majesty's good intention with so great care and such contentment, except some way were open for me by this course to derive to myself some private gain, to countervail the diminution of that power and authority which by this means is taken from me to bind or pleasure any man by virtue of this office during my time." [1]

This proposal came to nothing, but later in the reign Salisbury handed over to the King all the profits of the office of Master of the Wards.

Even Osborne, a very unfavourable witness,

[1] Letter to Sir John Savile and others, October 3rd, 1603 (Lodge's *Illustrations*, III. 41).

says: "How many soever his faults were, he was of an incomparable prudence, and coming so near after such an unadvised scatterer as King James, he might have feathered his family better than he did, but that he looked upon low things with contempt . . . he not standing charged with any grosser bribery or corruption than what lay inclusive under the ceremony of New Year's gifts, or his own or servants sharing with such as by importunity rather than merit had obtained debentures out of the Exchequer." As to the New Year's gifts, another writer states that the first year he was Lord Treasurer he refused them all, amounting to above £1,800, "as supposing them to be some kind of bribes whereby he might wink at the corruption of officers."[1]

Even before he was Treasurer, his "New Year's gifts" were of considerable value. The list of those received at Christmas, 1602, has been preserved, and is worth transcribing.[2]

"From Lord Burghley, one bason and ewer of silver white, 108½ oz. 3 plates of silver, 27 oz.

From the Company of Merchant Venturers, one great standing bowl in a case. [Margin: 'sold to Prescott.']

From Sir John Roper, one other great standing bowl in a case. ['Sold to Prescott.']

From my Lord of Hertford, one pair of great Dutch pots, gilt, 162¾ oz.

From Mr. Nicolson, one fair standing bowl. ['Sold to Prescott.']

[1] Goodman, I. 36.
[2] *Hatfield MSS.*, XII. 527.

From Mr. Owen, one other standing bowl, lesser, 8 oz. ['Given to Sir Henry Neville's child.']

From the Bishop of Winchester, one standing cup.

From Doc. Stanop, one other standing cup, lesser. ['Given to Doctor Elvine.']

From my Lord Nores, one cup of gold in a velvet case.

From Mr. Coalle, of Devonshire, one basin and ewer of fine 'purslen,' gilt. Six fair dishes of 'purslen,' gilt. Six lesser, of fine 'purslen,' gilt. One perfuming pot in the form of a cat, of 'purslen.' One fine voider of China, gilt.

From my Lady Digbie, one fine 'quishon,' lined with carnation satin.

From Mr. Cope, one sweet-bag.

From Mr. Skenner, one other sweet-bag.

From my Lady Laiton, one chair embroidered.

From Comptroller of the Works, a fire shovel, tongs, and a lock for a door.

Mr. Savadge, two barrels of figs.

From Sir Robert Crosse, one little casket.

From a ward, one great standing cup with scollop shells, 66 oz. ['Given at the christening of the French Amb: child.']

From a ward, one great salt set in crystal, 106 oz.

From Mr. Penruddock, one salt, 28 oz."

On the subject of valuable presents, Cecil expressed himself plainly in a letter to the Earl of Northumberland :—[1]

"I have received a coach and four horses from you," he writes, "a gift greater than ever I was beholding to any subject, and that I would have refused, whatsoever had come of it, if I could have been present to have argued with you. For first, I must say that gifts of value ought

[1] October 9th, 1600 (*Hatfield MSS.*, X. 347).

not to pass between those whose minds contemn all the knots that utility can fasten. Toys, which argue only memory in absence, may be interchanged, so long as they are no other. Secondly, there is at this time something in question which concerns you in profit, wherein the care I have shown to further your desires will now be imputed to this expectation, and so give a taint to that profession which I have made only to delight in your favour, in respect of your sincerity and ability to do her Majesty service. Thirdly, it grieves me to think that divers of my adversaries, who are apt to decry all values that are set upon my coin, may think that you, who should know me better than they do, find me either facile or not clear from servile ends; the conceit whereof so much troubles me as it has almost made me venture a desperate refusal, but that I feared to have made you doubtful that I had judged you by others' scantling. Next, I pray you think whether the eyes of the world can wink at these shows, and whether if the Queen shall hear it, she will not be apt to suspect me that I am the earnester in your cause for it. But what should I now call back yesterday? For I have accepted your fair present rather than discontent you, and have only reserved an assurance that this was given me out of the vastness of your kindness, not out of any other mistaking my disposition. For requital whereof, I can only return this present, that though I have neither gold nor silver, yet I have love and honesty."

The records of gifts made to Cecil are almost the only indications of his tastes and private occupations which his correspondence affords. Thus we learn that he was very fond of horses, and also of hawking. Within a few months, in 1593, he received four horses, as gifts from different friends, as well as "a suite of four

white horses" for his coach, which he ordered from Embden—and not a year passes without his receiving both horses and other animals. Some of these must have been embarrassing pets, such as a dog sent by Sir S. Bagenall, which the donor boasts is "the most furiosest beast that ever I saw," or the "paraquito," given by Sir John Gilbert, with instructions as follows: "He will eat all kinds of meat, and nothing will hurt him except it be very salt. If you put him on the table at meal time he will make choice of his meat. He must be kept very warm and after he hath filled himself he will set in a gentlewoman's ruff all the day. In the afternoon he will eat bread or oatmeal groats, drink water or claret wine: every night he is put in the cage and covered warm."

His correspondence bears constant witness to his interest in hawking, and his friends vie with each other in seconding his efforts to secure hawks that will "fly in a high place." In the year 1600 he was stocking his park at Theobalds with deer, and received many "fat bucks" and does, as well as ten red deer from Lord Sheffield.

Among other gifts, Bishop Bancroft sends him a vat of Rhenish wine, containing six score gallons, which he had brought from Embden. "You should not have had it," he writes, "but that I did so surfeit at Embden, in quaffing to such and so many healths, not forgetting your own (but remembering you better, I trust, in my

prayers), that now I can be well content to part with it, and to make it as you have made me, that is, your own for ever." [1]

Many towns chose him as their patron and protector. The Corporation of Exeter begs him to accept the "small annuity which we paid to our Lord, your father"; the bailiffs of Colchester present him with £10 in gold, "as their best means to express their duties"; and the Corporation of Waterford sends him "a pair of bed coverings and two rondells of aquavite," and begs his furtherance of their suits.

The Bishop of Carlisle (Henry Robinson) sends him a Bible, and his letter on the occasion is worth quoting:—[2]

> "I desire greatly to show you my gratitude. But, as one said to Augustus, "*effecisti ut vivam et moriar ingratus.*" Still, hoping that you are like God, of whom it is written 'If there be a willing mind, it is accepted according to that a man hath and not according to that he hath not,' I send you this book (indeed incomparably better than all worldly treasures), &c."

One more letter must be given in this connection, as it proves that Cecil was not so indifferent to books as has generally been maintained, and also affords additional evidence of his avoidance of recompense for services rendered. A Mr. Proby sends him "a collection from ancient records of personal services due to the Crown, especially at the Coronation," and says: "When I brought you

[1] July 26th, 1600 (*Hatfield MSS.*, X. 245).
[2] January 8th, 1599 (*ibid.*, IX. 13).

the book of the state and condition of Island, you told me that you esteemed books more than gold, as you showed last year, when I could not procure you to accept a small token of the good I received by your means; which astonished me much until Sir John Stanhope told me it was your practice not to take anything of charge from those you liked best of." [1]

As to his other personal pleasures, it is not necessary to pay attention to the scurrilous gossip which charged him with immoral pursuits.[2] But we learn that he was fond of play, and on one occasion lost £600 in one night.[3]

He also delighted in buying and selling land and houses in all parts of the country, and engaged in various mercantile and maritime transactions. On one occasion he purchased a fourth share of the *Refusal*, of Plymouth, 120 tons, "now at sea, in cause of reprisal, and of all the prizes and gains that have been or shall be taken during the voyage." This was a most fortunate speculation, as within a fortnight, the *Refusal* returned, in company with two other ships, bringing two prizes which they took coming out of Lisbon. One was a ship of 400 tons, laden with sugar, pepper, cinnamon, ginger, indigo, and other goods, intended for Venice; the other, a "flyboat" of 140 tons, with muskets and calivers, gum, lacquer,

[1] January 3rd, 1599 (*Hatfield MSS.*, IX. 8).

[2] It is curious, by the way, that in one of his letters (to his servant Roger Kirkham, 1605), he speaks of "my younger son," a person not known to the genealogists (Lodge's *Illustrations*, III. 171). What became of this youth?

[3] This was in 1603 (*Cal. S. P. Dom.; James I.*, VI. 283).

oil, iron, calico, spices, etc., the total value being estimated at £100,000.[1]

Salisbury's main occupation, however, outside his official labours, lay in building and laying out grounds, tastes which he inherited from his father. On the death of Lord Burghley the house and estate of Theobalds came into his possession, and though the house itself was actually completed some ten years earlier, he continued to improve it and to beautify the estate so long as it remained in his hands. The large number of letters from his agents, which still exist, show that he devoted much time and thought to improving the grounds, making an artificial pond and lakes, and enlarging the property whenever possible. His extensive purchases and enclosures earned him some ill-will, and in 1605, Anthony Wingfield, writing to the Earl and Countess of Shrewsbury, sends the following "homely English epigram of the Contented Peer," no doubt intended for him:—

> "The Peer content, but not contented Peer,
> Saith still content, but never is content:
> For, search the wide world over far and near
> None like this Peer to filthy lucre bent.
> Content, he saith, but you must thus expound him,
> Content to buy his neighbour's lands that bound him." [2]

This was one of many scurrilous lampoons circulated by the envious hangers-on of the

[1] April, 1602 (*Hatfield MSS.*, XII. 83, 98).
[2] Lodge's *Illustrations*, III. 178.

Court. Another, which also refers to his enclosures, takes the form of an epitaph:—

> "Here lyes throwne, for the wormes to eate
> Little bossive[1] Robin, that was so great.
> Not Robin Goodfellow, nor Robin Hood,
> But Robin, th' encloser of Hatfield Wood." [2]

In July, 1606, Salisbury entertained James and his brother-in-law, Christian IV., King of Denmark, at Theobalds. The two Kings rode thither in great state, and were entertained with "many very learned, delicate, and significant shows and devices." At the entrance of one of the gates was a tree "with leaves and other ornaments resembling a great oak; the leaves cut all out of green silk, and set so artificially, that after certain speeches delivered, and songs of Welcome sung, as the Kings' Majesties passed away, even in a trice all the leaves showered from the tree, both upon the heads and garments of both the Kings, and of a great multitude of their followers; upon every leaf being written in gold letters this word, 'Welcome,' and upon some, twice 'Welcome.'" [3]

The visit lasted for four days, and Sir John Harington, who was one of the guests, has left a lurid description of the scenes which took place.[4]

"I have been well-nigh overwhelmed with carousal and sport of all kinds," he says. "The sports began each day

[1] Bossive, humpbacked. So Standen nicknamed him "Monsieur de Bossu."

[2] *Secret History of the Court of James I.* (1811), I. 235.

[3] Quoted from a contemporary pamphlet in Clutterbuck, *Hist. of Hertfordshire*, II. 92.

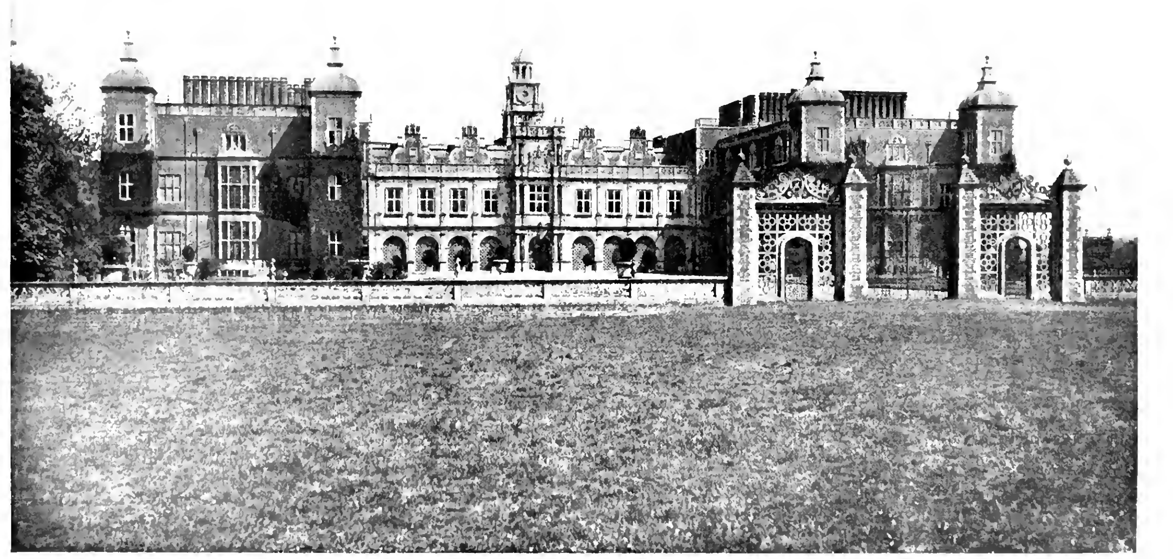
[4] *Nugae Antiquae*, ed. 1679, II. 126 *sqq.*

in such manner and such sort, as well nigh persuaded me of Mahomet's paradise. We had women, and indeed wine too, of such plenty as would have astonished each sober beholder. Our feasts were magnificent and the two Royal guests did most lovingly embrace each other at table, and I think the Dane hath strongly wrought on our good English nobles, for those, whom I never could get to taste good liquor, now follow the fashion and wallow in beastly delights. The ladies abandon their sobriety and are seen to roll about in intoxication."

On one occasion when a masque representing Solomon and the coming of the Queen of Sheba was performed after a great feast, none of the performers, from the Queen of Sheba downwards, could stand upright, "wine did so occupy their upper chambers," and the King of Denmark fell down, and had to be carried to bed. "I never did see such lack of good order, discretion or sobriety, as I have now done," adds Sir John.

James became so enamoured of Theobalds that he induced Salisbury, in 1607, to make it over to him, giving him in exchange the estate and palace of Hatfield. The preamble of the Act of Parliament for the conveyance of Theobalds to commissioners for the use of the King, states that :—

"Whereas the Mansion-house of Theobalds, in the County of Hertford, being the inheritance of Robert Earl of Salisbury, as well for situation in a good open air, and for the large and goodly buildings, and delight of the gardens, walks and park, replenished with red fallow deer, as also for the nearness to the city of London northward, and to his Majesty's Forest of Waltham Chase and Park of Enfield, with the commodity of a navigable river falling



6473. J. V.

HATFIELD HOUSE—SOUTH VIEW

into the Thames, is a place so convenient for his Majesty's princely sports and recreation, and so commodious for the residence of his Highness' Court and entertainment of foreign Princes or their ambassadors, upon all occasions, as his Majesty hath taken great liking thereunto; of which the said Earl having taken particular knowledge, although it be the only dwelling-house left unto him by his father, most willingly, dutifully made offer thereof unto his Highness, with any such other his manors and lands thereabouts as should be thought fit for his Majesty's use, preferring therein his Majesty's health and contentation before any private respects of his own, which offer his Majesty hath graciously forborne to accept, without a full and princely recompense to the said Earl," etc.[1]

Salisbury gave up possession with another grand entertainment to the King, and Ben Jonson composed a masque for the occasion. It opened with a speech by the genius of the house, who appeared in a melancholy posture and dressed in a mourning garb. The first stanza ran as follows:

"Let not your glories darken, to behold
The place and me, her genius here, so sad;
Who, by bold rumour have been lately told,
That I must change the loved lord I had,
And he, now in the twilight of sere age,
Begin to seek a habitation new;
And all his fortunes and himself engage
Unto a seat his father never knew:
And I, uncertain what I must endure,
Since all the ends of Destiny are obscure."

James still further enlarged the Park, and surrounded it with a brick wall ten miles in circumference. He made it his chief country

[1] Clutterbuck, II. 93.

seat, and died there in 1625. In 1650 the commissioners appointed by Parliament to survey the Royal palaces, reported that Theobalds was an excellent building in very good repair, and estimated the materials of the house to be worth £8,275. Notwithstanding, the palace was pulled down in 1651, the proceeds of the sale of the materials being divided among the army.[1]

The Manor of Hatfield, which thus came into possession of the Cecils, had already a distinguished history.[2] Originally the property of the monastery of St. Ethelred of Ely, it became the residence of the bishops of that see, when the monastery was erected into a bishopric in 1108. The palace was rebuilt by Cardinal Morton, who was Bishop of Ely from 1479 to 1486, and of his fine red-brick building, portions, including the gatehouse and the old banqueting hall (now the stables), still remain. In 1539 Bishop Goodrich conveyed the lordship and manor to Henry VIII., in exchange for the site of Icklington Priory and other lands, and the palace became a Royal residence. Here Prince Edward lived with his tutor, Richard Coxe; and in 1550, in the fourth year of his reign, he transferred it to his sister, the Princess Elizabeth, who resided at Hatfield during Mary's reign. Here, too, "under the celebrated oak which tradition has associated with her name, it is more than probable that she learned the news of her sister's death, and her

[1] Lysons, *Environs of London*, IV. 38.

[2] Brewer, *English Studies*. See also Gotch, *Homes of the Cecils*, as before.

own accession to the throne; and here she held her first Council." Throughout her life Elizabeth delighted in the place, and often availed herself of the opportunity it afforded for hunting, and hawking, and coursing.

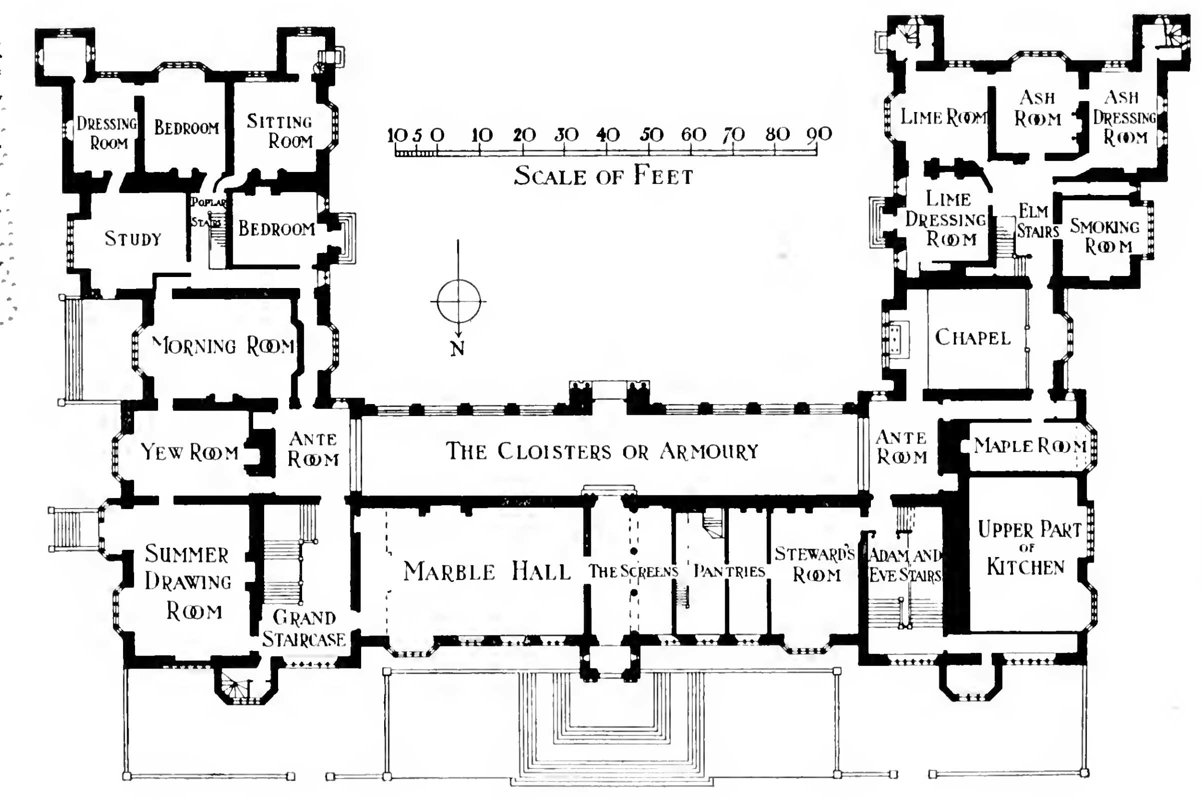
The old palace was not suitable for Salisbury's purposes, and he lost no time in setting about his new house. He paid a farewell visit to Theobalds in April, and on the same day the Earl of Suffolk (the builder of Audley End), the Earl of Worcester and the Earl of Southampton, met him at Hatfield, "to discuss the site of his future habitation." The site chosen was close to the old building, part of which was turned into stables for the new owner. We may be sure that Salisbury was aided by these three noblemen also in planning his house, for he remained his own architect, employing Robert Lyminge as his foreman builder, and Thomas Wilson, his steward, as general superintendent of the works. Building was begun before the end of the year, and proceeded so rapidly that the house was practically finished in 1612, not, however, until after the death of its owner.

Burghley and Theobalds were built in the old feudal manner, round courts. Hatfield occupies three sides of a hollow square, open to the south. In spite of two disastrous fires, one in March, 1667, the other in 1835, when the west wing was destroyed, the exterior of the house presents very much the same appearance as it did three hundred years ago. Inside more changes have

been made, but much of it still retains its original character. The two great chambers—one at each end of the house—the Library on the west and King James's room on the east, have been little altered, and the Long Gallery, one hundred and sixty feet long, which connects them, though the fretted ceiling has been restored and other renovations made, remains a noble example of a Jacobean interior. The same applies to the hall and the chapel; fine oak panelling and carving—including the great staircase, with its richly carved newel-posts, each supporting a figure—remains a characteristic feature, and bears witness to the taste of the founder and to the excellence of the workmanship.

Hatfield provided Salisbury with ample scope to display his taste in laying out the grounds, which interested him only less than the house itself. Of the original garden little remains, but that on the west side, called the Priory Garden, with its four mulberry trees planted by James I., belonged to the old palace, and the rosery is also of ancient date.

Evelyn, who visited Hatfield in 1643, specially mentions the garden and vineyard, "rarely watered and planted"; and Pepys also has something to say about them. On his first visit (July 22nd, 1661) "Mr. Looker, my Lord's gardener, showed me the house, the chappell with brave pictures, and above all, the garden, such as I never saw in all my life: nor so good flowers, nor so great gooseberrys, as big as nut-



PLAN OF GROUND FLOOR, HATFIELD HOUSE

(Adapted from the Inventory of the Historical Monuments of Hertfordshire with the permission of the Royal Commission and the consent of the Controller of His Majesty's Stationery Office)

megs." On another occasion (August 11th, 1667) he records: "As soon as we had dined, we walked out into the park through the fine walk of trees, and to the vineyard, and there showed them that, which is in good order, and indeed a place of great delight: which, together with our fine walk through the park, was of as much pleasure as could be desired in the world for country pleasure and good ayre."[1]

For this vineyard Lord Salisbury received from France 20,000 vines, at the cost of £50, and 10,000 more were expected. But though the name still remains, the vines have long since disappeared. From the French Queen he received 500 fruit trees, and other friends sent him cherries, nectarines and other trees. "His two gardeners were Montague Jennings and John Tradescant, afterwards horticulturist to Charles I., and father of the still more celebrated John Tradescant, founder of the Tradescant Museum, now better known as the Ashmolean Museum, at Oxford."[2]

Salisbury was not yet fifty years old, but his incessant labours were rapidly wearing out his feeble frame. He had been out of health for some time, and towards the end of 1611 he had a severe attack of rheumatism in his right arm. This passed off, but a few weeks later he was seized with ague and other complications. He was reported also to be melancholy and heavy-spirited; "so as it is on all hands concluded,"

[1] *Diary*, ed. Wheatley, II. 68, 69; VII. 64.
[2] Brewer, p. 122.

wrote Sir John More to Winwood, "that his lordship must shortly leave this world, or at least disburden himself of a great part of his affairs. In this short time of his lordship's weakness, almost all our great affairs are come to a stand, and his hand is already shrewdly missed; *carendo magis quam fruendo quod bonum est perspicimus.*"[1] From this attack he recovered so far that at the beginning of March he was able to "walk daily in his garden," and to receive frequent visits from the King and Queen. "His sickness drowned all other news," we hear.[2] "Everyman's care and curiosity ran that way, insomuch that it seems he was never so well loved as now, when they thought him so near lost." After a short respite, however, his malady, which now proved to be a complication of scurvy and dropsy, gained upon him, and on April 27th, "the vigour of his mind maintaining his weak body," he left London and proceeded to Bath. Here, at first, he derived benefit from the waters, but his disease again got the upper hand, and his condition became so desperate that his son, Lord Cranborne, was sent for, and came posthaste with Sir Edward Cecil to Bath. After some sixteen days' sojourn Salisbury resolved to return to London, but his strength was unequal to the effort, and he died at Marlborough on May 24th, 1612. His body was carried to Hatfield, and he

[1] February 17th, 1612 (Winwood's *Memorials*, III. 338).
[2] Chamberlain to Carleton, March 11th, 1612 (*Court and Times of James I.*, I. 137).

was buried in Hatfield Church "without any great pomp, by his special appointment."[1] According to his own directions the mourners were to be confined to his own servants and intimate friends, since he desired "to go without noise and vanity out of this vale of misery as a man that hath long been satiated with terrestrial glory, and now contemplates only heavenly joy." These words are taken from his will, which was made only two months before his death. In this document he makes a remarkable confession of faith.[2]

"Because I would be glad to leave behind me some such testimony of my particular opinion in point of faith and doctrine, as might confute all those who, judging others by themselves, are apt to censure all men to be of little or no religion, which by their calling are employed in matters of State and government, under great kings and princes, as if there was no Christian policy free from irreligion or impiety, I have resolved to express myself and my opinion in manner following. First, concerning the infinite and ineffable Trinity in Unity and Unity in Trinity, and the mystery of reconciliation in Christ Jesus, as it concerns the Church, the saints, their sins, their souls and bodies, and lastly, their retribution in heaven;—in all these points, and every of them, I do assuredly believe in my heart, as I have always made profession with my mouth, whatever is contained in the Apostles' Creed."

After touching on the Sacraments, he continues:

"Therefore I do here in the sight of God make profession of that faith in which I have always lived, and hope to die

[1] Chamberlain to Carleton, May 27th, 1612 (*Court and Times of James I.*, I. 169). See also Winwood, III. 367, 368.

[2] Brewer, p. 154.

P 2

in, and fear not to be judged at that great account of all flesh, and purpose to leave it behind me, as full of life and necessary fruit as I can, for the direction of my children, as their best patrimony, and for the satisfaction of the world as the truest account I can give for myself and my actions."

His debts at the time of his death amounted to nearly £38,000, in spite of the fact that he had recently sold Canterbury Park for £12,000. On the other hand, he had lent to various friends sums amounting to some £16,500, and he gave directions in his will that lands and woods should be sold to clear off his encumbrances. He also desired that a "fair monument" should be erected to his memory, and his son, the second Earl, carried out his wish. In 1618 he built the Salisbury Chapel on the north side of the chancel in Hatfield Church, and here, in the middle of the floor, is the monument to his father, in black and white marble. The Earl is lying in his robes on a flat slab, supported by figures of the four Cardinal Virtues, while below is a skeleton lying at full length.[1]

"Ease and pleasure quake to hear of death," said Salisbury to Sir Walter Cope in his last illness, "but my life, full of cares and miseries, desireth to be dissolved." It is impossible to doubt his sincerity in this pathetic utterance. He felt that

[1] Brewer gives a curious estimate, by Simon Basil, the surveyor, of what the work ought to cost, and of the material required. The cost of "sawing and carving" the six figures in white marble is estimated at £60 apiece, while the two slabs of touchstone are to cost £60, and the carriage of the tomb to Hatfield and erecting it £40.

his power was passing from him. "As the case stands," wrote the observer whose letters throw so much light on the doings of the Court,[1] "it was best that he gave over the world, for they say his friends fell from him apace, and some near about him, and howsoever he had fared with his health, it is verily thought, he would never have been himself again in power and credit. I never knew," he adds, "so great a man so soon and so generally censured, for men's tongues walk very liberally and freely, but how truly I know not." His death certainly let loose a flood of ill-natured gossip, which increased as time went on. "When great men die," wrote the Earl of Dorset to Sir T. Edmondes,[2] "such is either their desert, or the malice of people, or both together, as commonly they are ill spoken of. And so is one that died but lately, more I think than ever any one was, and in more several kinds." And Chamberlain, writing again in July[3] says:—

"The memory of the late Lord Treasurer grows daily worse and worse, and more libels come as it were continually, whether it be that practice and juggling come more and more to light, or that men love to follow the sway of the multitude. But it is certain that they who may best maintain it, have not forborne to say that he juggled with religion, with the King, Queen, their children, with nobility, parliament, with friends, foes, and generally with all. Some of his chaplains have been heard to oppose

[1] Chamberlain to Carleton, May 27th, 1612 (*Court and Times of James I.*, I. 169).

[2] June 22nd, 1612 (*ibid.*, I. 179).

[3] July 2nd (*ibid.*, I. 180).

themselves what they could in the pulpit against these scandalous speeches, but with little fruit."

Even Bacon was not above publishing a new edition of his essays, "where," says Chamberlain, "in a chapter of 'Deformity' the world takes note that he paints his little cousin to the life."[1] It will be remembered that this very spiteful essay begins as follows:—

"Deformed persons are commonly even with nature; for as nature hath done ill by them, so do they by nature; being for the most part, as the Scripture saith, 'void of natural affection'; and so they have their revenge of nature. Certainly there is a consent between the body and the mind, and where nature erreth in the one, she ventureth in the other."

When James asked Bacon for his opinion of Salisbury, he replied:—

"Your Majesty hath lost a great subject and a good servant. But if I should praise him in propriety, I should say that he was a fit man to keep things from growing worse, but no very fit man to reduce things to be much better. For he loved to have the eyes of all Israel a little too much upon himself, and to have all business still under the hammer and like clay in the hands of the potter, to mould it as he thought good, so that he was more *in operatione* than *in opere*; and though he had fine passages of action, yet the real conclusion came slowly on."[2]

At another time Bacon described him as "doing little with much formality and protestation," and (expressing the same idea in other

[1] To Carleton, December 17th, 1612 (*Court and Times of James I.*, I. 214).

[2] Spedding, IV. 279.

words) accused him of "an artificial animating of the negative."[1] He realised, of course, that James would welcome some disparagement of his late minister, being tired of his restraining influence.

Salisbury's unpopularity at Court is, indeed, easily accounted for. Amid the general corruption and venality, when all men were bent on their own advancement and profit, he alone went on his way with a single eye to the good of his King and country. The main source of patronage, he naturally incurred the hatred of all disappointed placemen. Moreover, his power and position earned him the envy of those who felt that they were entitled to share them. He was incapable of inspiring the almost universal reverence paid to his father, and he had not the strength or force of character to overcome the backbiting malevolence of his enemies. Courteous and affable as he was to all, he concealed his real feelings, so that even those who knew him well were often doubtful whether they understood him, and were suspicious in consequence.

Though not in the front rank of statesmen, he was eminently the right man in the right place, and he succeeded where a more brilliant man would probably have failed. He lacked creative imagination, and initiated no great policy; he left behind him no followers, being out of sympathy with the rising generation. But his skill as an administrator, his power of mastering details, his

[1] Spedding, IV. 371, 381.

sound common sense, and his unwearied industry, made him invaluable to the King, at least during the first few years of his reign.

Even Sir Anthony Welldon, who retails all the scurrilous gossip of the day, is bound to admit his fine qualities :—

> "The little great Secretary," he says, "died of a most loathsome disease, and remarkable, without house, without pity, without favour of that master that had raised him to so high an estate; and yet must he have that right done him . . . he had great parts, was very wise, full of honour and bounty, a great lover and rewarder of virtue and able parts in others, so they did not appear too high in place, or look too narrowly into his actions." [1]

"He was plentiful in alms, charity, and good works," says Sir Walter Cope; "full of honour and honest to his friends and no malicious persecutor of his enemies. He loved justice as his life, and the laws as his inheritance."

One instance of his "good works" may be given. In December, 1608, he made an agreement with one Morrall of Enfield, who engaged, in consideration of a salary of £100 a year and a house rent free, to teach fifty poor persons "to be chosen by the Earl within the parish of Hatfield, in the art of clothing, weaving, spinning, carding, or any other suchlike commendable trade."

Ben Jonson told Drummond of Hawthornden that Salisbury "never cared for any man longer

[1] "Court and Character of King James," in *Secret History of the Court of James I.*, I. 324. The contemporary stories of the nature of his disease are refuted by the reports of his doctor.

than he could make use of him." But this was not the general opinion. "The world saith you a passing good gentleman," writes Fulke Greville, "and one that will, after the old manner, do common courtesies to men who are never like to requite you." [1]

It is remarkable to notice how after the Essex rebellion all the chief persons concerned turned to Cecil for help—especially the Countess of Essex, Lady Southampton, Lady Sandys, the Earl of Rutland, and Sir Henry Neville; and the tone of their letters and the gratitude they express bear very strong testimony to his generosity and kindness of heart. His nieces—the Marchioness of Winchester, Lady Bridget Vere, Lady Hatton, Lady Tufton—write to him in the most affectionate terms; his nephew, Edward, afterwards Viscount Wimbledon, acknowledges his constant support and favour; and his "desolate, unfortunate aunt," as she is fond of calling herself, Lady Russell, pours forth all her complaints in endless letters, which, though amusing enough to read, must have sorely tried the patience of the hard-worked Secretary.

But perhaps the best tribute to his character is to be found in the affection and trust which he inspired in his friends and colleagues. Making all allowance for the exuberance of language common at the time, it is impossible to believe that the man to whom such expressions as the following were addressed can have been the cold,

[1] October 17th, 1601 (*Hatfield MSS.*, XI. 433)

heartless and designing individual that some writers have imagined. Sir Edward Wotton writes on the occasion of Cecil's embassy to France, "My Lord Ambassador, only three words, I love, I honour you unfeignedly." "I will no longer live," says Lord Sheffield, "than I will deserve your love." And Sir Thomas Bodley writes, "Give me leave to protest, as I do very truly and sincerely, that I hold it for one of the greatest parts of the sweetness and comfort of my life, in my later years, that I know I may rely, when my need shall so require, upon your favour, which I beseech you, be not weary to continue still unto me."

The best testimony of all is contained in the will of the Earl of Dorset, who left some jewels to Salisbury,

"of whose excelling virtues and sweet conditions, so well known to me, in respect of our long communication by so many years in most true love and friendship together, I am desirous to leave some faithful remembrance in this my last will and testament, that since the living speech of my tongue when I am gone from hence must then cease and speak no more, that yet the living speech of my pen, which never dieth, may herein thus for ever testify and declare the same."

CHAPTER XI

THE SALISBURY LINE

On the death of Salisbury the political talent of the family fell into abeyance, not to be revived for two hundred and fifty years. His only son, William, inherited his title, but little of his intelligence, and none of his practical capacity for affairs. He was born in 1591, Queen Elizabeth acting as his godmother, and was educated at Sherborne School, and St. John's College, Cambridge. A weakly youth, of "lean, spare body," his studies were interrupted by his ill-health, and still more by his too indulgent father, who kept him at home on the slightest pretext. He was created a Knight of the Bath in January, 1605, and in the following August, on the occasion of the King's visit to Cambridge, both Lord Cranborne, as he was now styled, and his father, were granted the degree of M.A. On December 1st, 1608, he was married very privately to Catherine, youngest daughter of Thomas Howard, Earl of Suffolk, and sister of the notorious Countess of Essex, and immediately after the wedding, went for a tour in France.[1] He was again travelling in France and Italy two

[1] He was between Montreuil and Abbéville on December 15th. Chamberlain to Carleton, December 23rd, 1608 (*Court and Times of James I.*, I. 83).

years later, attended by a great retinue, and in the course of his travels he visited the Court of Turin, where he was treated with great magnificence by the Duke of Savoy. At Padua he fell ill of a violent fever, from which he made a very tedious recovery, and when the Duke of Florence offered to facilitate his journey by Bologna, he refused his aid, since Lord Salisbury was unwilling to incur foreign obligations.[1]

On his return to England, Cranborne attached himself to the Prince of Wales, bearing him attendance in tilting and other sports in which the Prince delighted, and "growing daily in his favour."[2] At the same time he contracted a warm friendship with his cousin, Sir Edward Cecil, who was also in favour with the Prince.

In 1612, Cranborne succeeded to his father's title and estates, and was also appointed Lord Lieutenant of Hertfordshire. In the following year the birth of a daughter afforded an opportunity for the extravagant display in which he delighted. "About this day sevennight," wrote Chamberlain, "the Countess of Salisbury was brought to bed of a daughter and lies in very richly, for the hangings of her chamber being white satin, embroidered with gold (or silver) and pearl, is valued at £14,000";[3] and the same gossip informs us that the "great christening" of the

[1] See *Cal. S. P. Dom.;* also Sir H. Wotton's and Sir D. Carleton's letters.

[2] Chamberlain to Carleton, January 29th, 1612 (*Cal. S. P. Dom.*).

[3] Chamberlain to Mrs. Alice Carleton, February 14th, 1613 (*Court and Times of James I.*, I. 222).

Vandyck

WILLIAM, SECOND EARL OF SALISBURY, K.G.

child took place in the chapel at Court, "whence the Queen, Prince Palatine, Lady Elizabeth's highness, and all the company conveyed it home, and went by water to the banquet." [1]

We hear little of Lord Salisbury for the next few years, and may conclude that he was immersed in the affairs of his estate and of his rapidly growing family. His first son, James, was born in May, 1616, but though "the King was his godfather in person and held him at the font all the while he was christening, and gave him the reversion of all his father's places and offices, yet all these favours could not prolong life," [2] and the child died in the following October. Another son, Charles (born, 1619), lived to have a large family in his turn, though, dying before his father, he did not come into the title.

Salisbury continued to enjoy the Royal favour, and was created a K.G. by James, in 1624. Two years later he was admitted by Charles to the Privy Council, and he also received a promise of the reversion of the office of Master of the Court of Wards, held so long by his father and grandfather, and now administered by Sir R. Naunton.[3] But when the latter resigned in 1635, he was passed over and Lord Cottington was selected for the post. "Salisbury," says Gardiner, "was notoriously incompetent to fulfil the duties of

[1] *Court and Times of James I.*, I. 229.

[2] Chamberlain to Carleton, November 9th, 1616 (*ibid.*, I. 436).

[3] Jul[illegible] th, 1630 (*Cal. S. P. Dom.*). The promise is qualified by the rese[illegible]vation: "unless, in the meantime, the King shall take some other occasion to express his esteem for him."

any office calling for the exercise of the most ordinary ability, and a letter drawn up by Cottington himself informed him that, though his Majesty would not forget him, he would not make him Master of the Wards." [1]

This severe judgment appears to be exaggerated. As a matter of fact, it had been arranged several years before that Cottington should receive the Mastership of the Wards, while Naunton was to be "satisfied with a sum of money," and Salisbury was to succeed to the posts held by his father-in-law, Lord Suffolk, whose death was shortly expected. As, however, the latter expectation was not fulfilled, the plan fell through.[2] Salisbury now received the post of Captain of the Gentleman Pensioners, which he filled for eight years.

On the outbreak of war with the Scots, in 1639, Salisbury joined the King's forces, and was one of the commissioners appointed to carry on the negotiations with the Covenanters, which resulted in the Treaty of Berwick. After this unsatisfactory peace had been signed, the Scots published a paper containing "sundry strange glosses and interpretations upon the Articles of Pacification," and at the same time it was reported that several of the English commissioners, including Lord Salisbury, had seen and approved of this paper and had distributed

[1] *History*, VIII. 70; *Cal. S. P. Dom.; Charles I.*, VII. 529.

[2] W. Murray to Sir Henry Vane, December 18th, 1631 (*Cal. S. P. Dom.*).

it in England. The accusation stung the Earl to the quick. "The report is so false," he writes to Windebank, "as there can be no man either of honour or honesty that dare avow any such thing. . . . I am infinitely sensible of this aspersion so falsely laid upon me, and did not my conscience tell me how clear I am, I should not have a quiet hour, especially if any such report should come to his Majesty, who I know is so just as he will not easily believe that I am guilty of so much want of duty, either to know or to publish anything to his disservice: my actions, past and to come, have and shall ever justify the contrary." The matter coming to the knowledge of the King, the accused lords were able, without difficulty, to clear themselves of the "scandalous charge," and the "false and seditious paper" was damned by proclamation and publicly burnt by the hangman.[1]

The value of Salisbury's protestations of loyalty was soon to be proved. In September, 1640, he was one of the fifteen noblemen, "all popular men," chosen by the King as commissioners to treat with the Scots at Ripon.[2] After this he sat on the fence, afraid to throw in his lot completely with either party. His sympathies seem always to have been with the Parliament, and that his abilities were not so negligible as Gardiner supposes is proved by the fact that the Lords, in December, 1641, resolved

[1] *Cal. S. P. Dom.; Charles I.*, XIV. 294, 402, 432, etc.

[2] Clarendon, *History of the Rebellion*, ed. 1826, I. 274, 279.

to recommend him as Lord Treasurer. Shortly afterwards he incurred their displeasure by joining the King at York, and "at that distance," says Clarendon, "seemed to have recovered some courage, and concurred in all councils which were taken to undeceive the people and to make the proceedings of the Parliament odious to all the world."

He was one of those who signed the declaration that the King had no intention of making war on Parliament, in June, 1642; but having done so, he suddenly became frightened and fled back to London, "and never after denied to do anything that was required of him." He became an obedient servant of Parliament, and was prominent in its councils. He was one of the commissioners sent to treat with the King at Oxford in 1643, at Uxbridge in 1645, and at Newport in 1648; he was a member of the Assembly of Divines, and in 1645 he was voted a marquessate. From July to October, 1646, he was a Commissioner of the Great Seal, and in 1649, after the King's death, a member of the Council of State.

Clarendon's character of Lord Salisbury has often been quoted, but it must be remembered that the fact that the Earl adopted the popular side was enough to prejudice the Royalist historian against him.

"The Earl of Salisbury," he says, "had been born and bred in Court and had the advantage of a descent from a father and grandfather who had been very wise men, and

great ministers of State in the eyes of Christendom: whose wisdom and virtues died with them, and their children only inherited their titles. He had been admitted of the Council to King James; from which time he continued so obsequious to the Court, that he never failed in over-acting all that he was required to do. No act of power was ever proposed, which he did not advance, and execute his part with the utmost rigour. No man so great a tyrant in his country, or was less swayed by any motives of justice or honour. He was a man of no words, except in hunting and hawking, in which he only knew how to behave himself. In matters of State and council he always concurred in what was proposed by the King and cancelled and repaired all those transgressions, by concurring in all that was proposed against him, as soon as any such propositions were made."

After describing how he joined the King at York and returned in haste to London, he proceeds:—

"And when the war was ended, and Cromwell had put down the House of Peers, he got himself to be chosen a member of the House of Commons; and sat with them, as of their own body; and was esteemed accordingly. In a word, he became so despicable to all men, that he will hardly enjoy the ease which Seneca bequeathed him: *His egregiis majoribus ortus est, qualiscunque est, sub umbra suorum lateat; ut loca sordida repercussa sole illustrantur, ita inertes majorum suorum luce resplendeant.*" [1]

"My simple Lord Salisbury," as Pepys calls him, lived to see the birth of his great-grandson, afterwards the fourth Earl, and died in 1668 at the ripe age of seventy-seven. He had a large family, eight sons and five daughters in all. Of

[1] *History of the Rebellion*, ed. 1826, III. 559.

his sons, Charles, Viscount Cranborne (1619—1660) was made a Knight of the Bath at the Coronation of Charles I., and married Diana Maxwell, daughter and co-heir of James Maxwell, Earl of Dirletoun, and younger sister of the Duchess of Hamilton. She received from her father a portion of £18,000, £4,000 in jewels, £800 a year in land in England, and half his Scottish land. "A great portion!" exclaims a contemporary, "But I hate marriages made for money, and they have lost their reputation, both son and father, for this high avariciousness."[1] Lord Cranborne sat in the Long Parliament, as did two of his brothers, Robert and Algernon. Another brother, William, of Tewin, Hertfordshire, was Governor of the garrisons of Kilmore and Londonderry, and Colonel of the Battleaxe Guard in the City of Dublin. Of their sisters, Anne, the eldest, married Algernon Percy, Earl of Northumberland.[2] "Fortune," says Osborne, "did allot Lord Percy a wife out of the family of Salisbury, whose blood the father said would not mingle in a basin, so averse was he from it." Anne does not appear to have been very amiable, if we may judge from the wish expressed by Lord Conway, "that her child may have a face like hers, but all parts like his father's."[3] Conway was, however, a devoted admirer of the second sister,

[1] George Garrard to Lord Conway, March 28th, 1639 (*Cal. S. P. Dom.*).

[2] Writing to Dorchester to announce the birth of their first child Salisbury remarks that "his daughter is a mother of a female animal and himself a grandfather," August 16th, 1630 (*ibid.*).

[3] Garrard to Conway, September 18th, 1635 (*ibid.*).

Elizabeth, of whom he wrote that he "hopes he may find his faith and zeal in her service rewarded with the gracious look that makes the devils forget Hell, and the angels Heaven." [1] Elizabeth married William Cavendish, Earl of Devonshire, and dying in 1689, was buried in Henry VII.'s Chapel in Westminster Abbey. Their daughter, Anne, married the fifth Earl of Exeter (see p. 133), and their son was the first Duke of Devonshire. A third sister, Catherine, married Philip Sidney, afterwards third Earl of Leicester.

The second Earl of Salisbury was succeeded by his grandson, James,[2] son of Charles, Lord Cranborne. Born in 1648, he travelled in France with his brother, Robert; finished his education at St. John's College, Cambridge; served on board the *Royal Charles* against the Dutch at the age of eighteen; and, in 1668, was member of Parliament for Hertfordshire. In the same year he succeeded to the peerage. A contemporary at Cambridge recorded his conviction that "he was for loyalty, generosity and affability, most likely to advance the ancient and noble name of Cecil to the utmost period of glory," [3] but this sanguine expectation was disappointed, for the third Earl did little to distinguish himself. A staunch supporter of Buckingham and Shaftesbury, he was sent to

[1] Conway to Garrard, May 20th, 1640 (*Cal. S. P. Dom.*).

[2] From this time onwards the eldest son has always borne the name of James.

[3] Barnes, *Hist. of Edward III.*, p. 75, quoted by Collins.

the Tower with those lords in February, 1677, for maintaining that the Parliament, which had been prorogued for nearly fifteen months, was in fact dissolved, and demanding that a new Parliament should be called. In June he was allowed to go to Hatfield, "his health being much impaired, and his wife being near her confinement," and at the end of July, being loth to return to the Tower, he made his submission and was discharged.[1] In January, 1679, he was sworn of the Privy Council, and in August, 1680, received the Garter.

In spite of these marks of Royal favour, he continued his opposition to the King. He was a zealous opponent of the Duke of York's succession, and carried his hostility to that Prince so far as to treat him on one occasion with gross incivility. On October 27th, 1679, the Duke and Duchess, with the Princess Anne, their daughter, set out from London for Scotland, intending to sleep the first night at Hatfield. Arrived there, however, they found no preparations made for their reception, and Lord Salisbury, instead of being at home to welcome his guests, sent a message from Quickswood, "to excuse his not coming to wait upon his Royal Highness, for that he had been let blood five days before." There was no food or drink in the house, except "two does upon the table, and one barrel of small beer"; no fires were lighted, though a pile of faggots had been considerately left behind.

[1] *Cal. S. P. Dom.*

Even the candlesticks had been taken away, and the Duke's servants were obliged to borrow some in the town, and to buy candles and all else that was necessary. Some of the neighbouring gentry came to the rescue and entertained members of the suite, but the Duke and Duchess had to put up with the greatest discomfort. By way of showing his contempt for such behaviour, the Duke gave orders that all that was consumed of what was in the house should be paid for, and the depth of degradation was reached when Salisbury's steward accepted payment for the pile of faggots, and eight shillings for the barrel of beer.[1]

In January, 1681, when the King dissolved Parliament, as a result of the action of the Commons after the Exclusion Bill had been thrown out by the Lords, Salisbury, at a meeting of the Privy Council, spoke strongly against the dissolution, and, "not prevailing, desired his Majesty's leave to be excused his attendance in Council, which his Majesty granted accordingly."[2] After this act of independence we hear no more of his public life. In August, 1682, he went to France with his wife, who had been ordered to "take the waters" for the recovery of her health; but "at Paris she was taken ill and died, to the great grief of his lordship."[3] The Earl survived her a few months only, and died in May, 1683, aged thirty-five.

[1] *Letters of Algernon Sidney to Henry Savile*, 1742, pp. 155, 156.
[2] *Luttrell's Diary*, I. 64.
[3] *Ibid.*, I. 211, 215.

By his wife, Margaret, daughter of the eighth Earl of Rutland, Salisbury had five sons and five daughters. His eldest son, James, succeeded as fourth Earl, at the age of eighteen. One of his first acts was to wait on his Majesty and "beg his pardon for his father's being concerned in any parts against his Majesty's interest." [1]

In the same year, 1683, he married Frances Bennet, daughter and co-heir of Simon Bennet, of Bechampton; but as she was not of age, being indeed, as we are told, "about thirteen years old," she forfeited most of her fortune. He afterwards travelled in France and Italy, and on his return was appointed High Steward of Hertford, colonel of a regiment of horse, and Gentleman of the Bedchamber to James II. In 1688 he was one of those who, judging from the King's favour to the Catholics that the moment was favourable, turned Papist. "Of the renegades," says Macaulay, "the Earls of Peterborough and Salisbury were the highest in rank, but were also the lowest in intellect; for Salisbury had always been an idiot, and Peterborough had long been a dotard." Alas! the nemesis which waits on opportunism overtook him before he had enjoyed the exercise of his new religion for more than a few months. The rumour of the coming of the Prince of Orange threw him into a deplorable state of anxiety and trepidation. About every hour he would send his men to Whitehall to hear the news. "Then, when he

[1] *Luttrell*, I. 269.

heard that the Prince was coming and landed, and how he was received, he lamented sadly, and curst and damned all about him, crying, 'O God! O God! O God! I turn'd too soon, I turn'd too soon.'"[1]

In December the grand jury of Middlesex found a bill of high treason against him for turning Papist, "and presented his troop for a nuisance in riding the streets armed, contrary to law." He endeavoured to escape with Lord Peterborough, but they were seized in Kent, and committed to the Tower. In the following October, the two Earls were impeached by the Commons and sent back to the Tower, where they remained until October, 1690, when, having petitioned the House of Lords, they were brought before the bar of that House and admitted to bail, each in two sureties of £5,000 apiece.[2]

Meanwhile, Salisbury had sent two of his younger brothers, William and Charles, to "a popish seminary" in Paris, and a writ *de homine replegiando* had been brought against him in June, 1689, to compel him to fetch them home. This order he seems to have evaded, for soon after his release from the Tower, news came that the two youths "fell out in their bed and got up in their shirts and fought desperately before they could be parted, both of them much wounded."[3] The result of this quarrel was more serious than at first appeared, for William died of his

[1] *De la Pryme's Diary* (Surtees Society), p. 94.
[2] *Luttrell*, I. 483, 487, II. 113.
[3] *Ibid.*, II. 185.

injuries.[1] Charles also met with a sad end, being set upon in the streets of Rome and murdered, in 1702.

The Earl's misfortunes were not yet at an end, for in 1692 he became involved, through no fault of his own, in a charge of conspiracy to restore James II., and was again committed to the Tower. It was, however, soon discovered that the document to which his signature and those of Marlborough, Cornbury, Sancroft and Sprat were appended was a forgery drawn up by Robert Young, of whose enterprising career Macaulay has given an interesting account, and the incriminated persons were released.

Lord Salisbury died in October, 1694, at the age of twenty-nine, leaving a son about three years old to succeed him in his title and estates. Macaulay sums him up in these words: "Salisbury was foolish to a proverb. His figure was so bloated by sensual indulgence as to be almost incapable of moving, and this sluggish body was the abode of an equally sluggish mind." To which repulsive portrait we may append the following verses, fixed to his door in 1686, which serve to show what the populace thought of him.

"If Cecil the wise
From his grave should arise
And see this fat beast in his place,
He would take him from Mass
And turn him to grass,
And swear he was none of his race." [2]

[1] *Cal. S. P. Dom.*, March 17th, 1691.

[2] *De la Pryme's Diary*, p. 94. Slightly different versions are given in *Poems on Affairs of State*, Part II. 1697 and 1716.

James Cecil, the fifth Earl (1691—1728), was a good-natured nonentity, addicted to low pleasures. He was ruled by his capable wife, Anne Tufton, daughter and co-heir of the Earl of Thanet, and herself a descendant of Lord Burghley.[1] Their son, the sixth Earl (1713—1780), inherited his father's evil proclivities, and though he is said to have been unmercifully beaten by his mother in his youth,[2] this discipline proved ineffectual, and he brought ridicule and contempt, if not disgrace, on the name of Cecil. Deserting Hatfield, he took up his residence at Quickswood, near Baldock, where he was able to indulge in the congenial society of his inferiors.

One of his exploits was to drive the Hatfield coach, a proceeding which excited considerable scandal. Pope alludes to him in the *Dunciad:*[3]

> From stage to stage the licensed Earl may run,
> Paired with his fellow-charioteer the Sun.

And Hogarth, in his picture of "Night," commemorates the upset of the "Salisbury Flying Coach"—said to have been a not unusual incident when his lordship was driving. In 1744 he further shocked society by marrying Elizabeth Keet, a lady of inferior rank, whose brother became Rector of Hatfield. Mrs. Delany makes

[1] Her great grandmother was Frances Cecil, daughter of the first Earl of Exeter. Through this marriage the dormant Barony of Ogle came into the family.

[2] J. J. Antrobus, *Hatfield: Some Memories of its Past*, p. 86.

[3] Book IV., lines 588, 589; and see note thereon in Elwin and Courthope's edition.

the following caustic comment on the occasion :—

" My Lord Salisbury's match did not surprise me ; his steward, perhaps, may be a gentleman of as good a family as himself, and a woman of rank and knowledge of the world would not have accepted of a *coachman*, although he *was a peer of the realm !* " [1]

But though Elizabeth may not have been the social equal of her husband, she was a sensible, virtuous woman, and a good mother. For two years after their marriage they lived at Hatfield ; then the Earl returned to his haunts at Quickswood, while his wife lived, for the most part, quietly in London, attending to the education of her children.[2]

During this time Hatfield had fallen into great disrepair, and the Earl was so devoid of family feeling that he even disposed of all the family plate.[3] This was a loss which could not be repaired ; but it fell to the lot of his son and successor, not only to restore Hatfield to its former splendour, but also to retrieve the honour and the fortunes of the family.

" As the ashes of the Cecils are rekindling, perhaps a Phœnix may arise," wrote Horace Walpole,[4] " I remember Lord Hervey saying that everything degenerated and dwindled, and instancing the last Lord Salisbury, who, he said, was the cucumber of Burleigh [*read* Hatfield]. Well, then, as matters, when they can go no lower, may mount again, who knows what may happen, Madam ? "

[1] Mrs. Delany to Mrs. Dewes, March 2nd, 1745.
[2] Antrobus, *Hatfield*, pp. 92, 93.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 92.
[4] *Letters*, Cunningham's edition, IX. 30, November 16th, 1785.

Born in 1748, James Cecil, the seventh Earl, was constituted Lord Lieutenant of Hertfordshire at the age of twenty-three, while still Lord Cranborne, and continued to hold that position until his death. For forty years he was colonel of the Herts Militia, and he sat in Parliament as member for Great Bedwyn from 1774 to 1780, when he was returned for Launceston. In the same year he was appointed Treasurer of the Household, and on succeeding to the title, he was sworn of the Privy Council. Three years later he was made Lord Chamberlain, and being a great favourite with George III. he retained this office for upwards of twenty years (1783—1804). In this capacity he earned the ill-will of managers of the Opera, by giving free passes wholesale to "servants, it is supposed, Hertfordshire voters eke," to the value of £400 in one season; and even went so far as to claim a similar right of distributing passes for his heirs and assigns for ever.[1]

In 1773 Lord Salisbury married Lady Mary Amelia Hill, daughter of the Marquess of Downshire, a woman of remarkable character and abilities. They were both staunch supporters of Pitt, and in the famous Westminster election of 1784, when the Duchess of Devonshire, on behalf of the Whigs, was working strenuously to secure the return of Fox, the Court party put forward the Countess of Salisbury to counteract her influence.

[1] *Walpole's Letters*, Cunningham's edition, 1891, IX. 299, March 27th, 1791.

"In grace of person and demeanour," says Wraxall in his Diary, "no less than in mental attainments, Lady Salisbury yielded to few females of the Court of George III. But she wanted, nevertheless, two qualities eminently contributing to success in such a struggle, both of which met in her political rival. The first of these was youth, the Duchess numbering scarcely twenty-six years, while the Countess had nearly completed thirty-four. The Duchess of Devonshire never seemed to be conscious of her rank: Lady Salisbury ceased not for an instant to remember and to compel others to recollect it. Nor did the effects fail to correspond with the moral causes thus put into action. Every day augmenting Fox's majority, it appeared that on the 16th of May, to which period the contest was protracted, he stood 235 votes above Sir Cecil [Wray] on the books of the poll."

In 1789 the Earl was advanced to the rank of Marquess,[1] and four years later was invested with the Order of the Garter. It is characteristic of the Marchioness that she looked upon this honour as hers, and immediately had herself painted by Cosway, decked with the insignia of the Order.

Lord Salisbury filled no more offices except a minor one, that of Joint Postmaster-General in the Ministry of 1816, but he played his part with dignity and distinction, and George Ticknor, who saw him in 1819, describes him as "seventy years old and well preserved, and a specimen of the gentleman of the last generation, with easy elegant manners, and a proud, graceful courtesy."[2]

[1] On this occasion the King is reported to have said "Now, my Lord, I trust you will be an English Marquess, and not a French Marquis." Sir M. Grant Duff, *Notes from a Diary*, June 21st, 1898.

[2] *Life of George Ticknor*, I. 268.

He died in 1823, at the age of seventy-five, his wife surviving him by twelve years.

"Old Sarum," as she was irreverently called, remained to the last one of the chief leaders of society. Her "assemblies" were said to be the best of their class in London, and the hostess, a typical "great lady" of the old school, with her fine figure and courtly manners, could not fail to be the centre of attraction. For nearly half a century her Sunday parties and suppers in Arlington Street were frequented by all the most distinguished society in London. To these parties no cards of invitation were sent out. "It was always 'Come to me on Sunday,' to those whom she met in the preceding week, and all the young aspirants were anxious to attract her notice." [1]

At one of her parties at Hatfield she had the misfortune to be knocked down by some of the dancers, whereupon a wit, said to have been Lord Lytton, celebrated the occasion in the following verses:—

> "Conservatives at Hatfield House
> Have grown quite harum-scarum;
> For Radicals could do no more
> Than overturn Old Sarum."

To the last she adhered to the state of her early days, going to Court in a sedan chair with magnificent liveries, and driving in the park in a phaeton with four black ponies. Here is a

[1] *Raikes' Diary*, December 2nd, 1835.

picture of her drawn by Creevey on the occasion of a visit of the Dowager to Stoke in 1828 :—

"Old Salisbury arrived yesterday . . . in her accustomed manner, in a phaeton drawn by four long-tail black Flanders mares. She driving the wheel horses and a postilion on the leaders with two outriders on corresponding longtail blacks. Her man and maid were in her chaise behind, her groom and saddle horses arrived some time after her. It is impossible to do justice to the antiquity of her face. If as alleged she is only 74 years old [she was 77], it is the most cracked or rather furrowed piece of mosaic you ever saw ; but her dress, in the colours of it at least, is absolutely infantine. . . . I wish you just saw her as I do now. She thinks she is alone, and I am writing at the end of the adjoining room, the folding doors being open. She is reclining on a sofa, reading the *Edinburgh Review*, without spectacles or glass of any kind. Her dress is white muslin, properly loaded with garniture, and she has just put off a very large bonnet, profusely gifted with bright lilac ribbons, leaving on her head a very nice lace cap, not less adorned with the brightest yellow ribbons."

But it was not only as a society leader that Lady Salisbury was famous. She achieved perhaps even greater renown in the hunting field. In early life she hunted with the Quorn hounds, which belonged to the celebrated Hugh Meynell, of Quorndon Hall. In those days foxhunting was in its infancy, and she was one of the first English ladies to devote herself to the sport. In 1793 she became Mistress of the Hertfordshire Hounds—called the Hatfield Hounds during her reign—and hunted with them regularly until her

seventy-eighth year, clad in sky-blue habit with black velvet collar and cuffs and a jockey cap, the uniform of the hunt. Many tales are told of her exploits in the field. Thus, in the *Sporting Magazine* for March, 1795, there is an account of her triumphs in a great run of two hours and a half. "Out of a field of four score," says her enthusiastic chronicler, "her ladyship soon gave honest Daniel the go-by; pressed Mr. Hale neck and neck, soon blowed the whipper-in; and continued, indeed, throughout the whole of the chase, to be nearest the brush." [1]

In her last years she is said to have been tied into the saddle, and when she became too blind to see the fences, a groom would lead her horse, and at the critical moment would shout, "Damn you, my lady, jump!" [2] Even when she was obliged to give up following foxhounds, she said she thought she was good enough to hunt with the harriers.[3]

She was game to the end. In 1833, two years before her death, she is reported as "more youthful than ever," and as about to go to the Berkhamsted Ball, "which she attends annually." [4] An amusing story is told of her in the following year by the Duchesse de Dino [5]:—

"Last Sunday she was at church, a rare thing with her, and the preacher, speaking of the Fall, observed that

[1] Quoted by the Duke of Beaufort, in *Hunting*, p. 15.
[2] Antrobus, *Hatfield*, p. 96.
[3] See *Victoria County History, Hertfordshire*, I. 349.
[4] Lady Louisa Molyneux to Creevey, October 30th, 1833.
[5] *Memoirs*, May 1st, 1834.

Adam excusing himself had cried out, 'Lord, the woman tempted me.' At this quotation Lady Salisbury, who appeared not to have heard of the incident before, jumped up in her seat, saying, 'Shabby fellow indeed!' "

Her fate was a tragic one. On Thursday, November 26th, 1835, she travelled to Hatfield to spend Christmas with her son, as was her custom. On the following evening she retired to her dressing-room at five o'clock, and a few minutes later her maid left her writing letters by the light of three candles. She was never seen again. Soon afterwards the household was attracted by the smell of fire and endeavoured to enter the room, but already the flames had attained such a hold that entrance was impossible, and before they were finally extinguished at eleven o'clock at night, the whole of the west wing was burnt out, while of the Dowager Marchioness nothing remained but a few charred bones.

She left one son, the second Marquess, and two daughters, of whom the elder, Lady Georgiana, married Sir Henry Wellesley, afterwards Lord Cowley, a brother of the Duke of Wellington, while the younger, Lady Emily, made a less fortunate marriage with the Marquess of Westmeath, from whom she was afterwards separated.

The second Marquess of Salisbury had a long and honourable career. On leaving Oxford, he proceeded to stand for Hertford at the General Election of 1812, much to the indignation of Mr. Calvert, who had represented the borough

Reynolds

MARY AMELIA, WIFE OF JAMES, FIRST MARQUESS OF SALISBURY

for many years. "I feel very anxious," wrote Mrs. Calvert,[1] "and we all abominate that miserable little animal, Lord Cranborne, for giving all this trouble and expense." However, he came out at the bottom of the poll, and took refuge at Weymouth, which he represented from 1813 to 1817. He then succeeded in winning Hertford, and sat for that borough as a supporter of Lord Liverpool until the death of his father in 1823.

In 1821 Lord Cranborne married Frances Mary, daughter and heir of Bamber Gascoyne, of Childwell Hall, near Liverpool, and assumed, by Royal licence, the name of Gascoyne, calling himself Gascoyne-Cecil. For ten years (1818—1827) he acted as Commissioner for Indian affairs, and in 1826 he was admitted to the Privy Council. For many years after his accession to the title he devoted himself to the management of his estates and to local affairs. With greater wisdom than was shown by his kinsman of Exeter, when he saw that the railway was coming, in 1850, he contrived that it should pass his very gates, and at the same time he succeeded in having the Great North Road diverted to its present situation, thus easing the traffic, much to the benefit of Hatfield.[2] He was a keen agriculturist, and an active magistrate, and succeeded his father as Colonel of the Herts Militia, and High Steward of Hertford.

[1] September 27th, 1812. *An Irish Beauty of the Regency*, edited by Mrs. Warrene Blake.

[2] Antrobus, *Hatfield*, p. 100.

Later in life he was Lieut.-Colonel of the South Herts Yeomanry.

At the Coronation of William IV., in 1831, Lord Salisbury was one of the trainbearers, and he afterwards told an amusing story in connection with the ceremony. The great weight of the robes made each of the trainbearers perspire profusely, and someone who had been near the King in the Abbey remarked, in the course of conversation on the subject, that his Majesty appeared to suffer equally. "Ah," said Lord Salisbury, "the King had an hour's rest and freedom from his robes; for after the Coronation he retired for a time before he left the Abbey, and Lord——, going into the room which had been fitted up as a dressing room, found the King walking up and down in a state of nudity, but with the crown on his head."[1]

After the tragic death of his mother, Lord Salisbury not only rebuilt the burnt west wing of Hatfield, but also effected great alterations at Salisbury House. To commemorate the latter, he gave a most brilliant party, at which the Duke of Wellington, Peel, and others were present. "Such a revolution!" says Disraeli, who made his first acquaintance with Lady Salisbury on this occasion.[2] "There is not a vestige of ancient interior; even the staircase is entirely new and newly placed;" and Lord Ellesmere, who was also among the guests, states that the walls were

[1] *Diary of Richard Redgrave*, January 18th, 1868.
[2] *Letters to his Family*, February, 1838.

still damp, and records his belief that Lady Salisbury "caught the illness off them of which she died."[1]

Whether this is true or not, Lady Salisbury died eighteen months later (October, 1839). She was a woman of great charm and more than ordinary ability, and left behind her a large circle of friends among the most distinguished people of the day. Of them the chief was the Duke of Wellington, who placed the utmost confidence in her, and had looked to her for many years for help and advice in all his difficulties.[2] After her death he cultivated a great affection for her daughter, Lady Blanche, to whose eldest son, Mr. Arthur Balfour, he acted as godfather.[3]

After his wife's death, the Marquess brought up his daughters with stern discipline. "It is told of him that he would return from the House of Lords in the middle of the night, and at his summons, 'Get up, girls; we're going to Hatfield,' his daughters had to be out of bed and ready for the journey with the least possible delay." Both as regards their education and their physical development they were brought up like boys, and they became skilled and fearless horsewomen. Indeed, Lady Mildred was, in later

[1] *Personal Reminiscences of the Duke of Wellington*, pp. 95, 96.

[2] Many extracts from her Journals and Correspondence (preserved at Hatfield) are given in Sir Herbert Maxwell's *Life of Wellington*. It is to be hoped that they may one day be published in full.

[3] See *Lady Blanche Balfour: A Reminiscence*, by the Rev. James Robertson. She married James Maitland Balfour of Whittinghame.

years, declared by Rarey, the American horse-tamer, to be the best lady whip in England.[1]

In 1847 Lord Salisbury married Lady Mary Catherine, second daughter of Earl de la Warr, he being then fifty-six and she twenty-three. Disraeli, who was present at a Ball at Hatfield, "a splendid place in the highest state of renovation," four years later, speaks of Lady Salisbury as "an admirable hostess and a very pleasing woman; great simplicity, quite a Sackville, with four most beautiful young children—a boy just like a young Cantelupe." [2]

Another visitor, Richard Redgrave, gives a pleasant picture of these children, and of family life at Hatfield a few years later. Among the guests was Lord Chelmsford, who had just been made Lord Chancellor.

"There is a grand baronial style of living kept up at Hatfield. Prayers are said in the chapel every morning by the Chaplain. Dinner takes place in the old Elizabethan hall. The band of the militia, of which the Marquis is Colonel, plays during the meal in an outer apartment. Each lady, as she passes into the dining hall, is presented with a handsome bouquet, in a neat little wicker holder. At breakfast, one morning, the youngest child, three years old, came in to see the Marchioness. She said to the baby, 'This is the Lord Chancellor; won't you speak to him? won't you say "How do you do, Lord Chancellor"?' 'No,' answered the child, 'I shall call him "Chance."' 'Very good,' said Lord

[1] *Lady Blanche Balfour: A Reminiscence.* Lady Mildred married Alexander Beresford-Hope, M.P. for Cambridge University.

[2] *Disraeli's Correspondence,* December 10th, 1851.

Chelmsford; 'a very good name—it was indeed a chance.'

"I thought it a very nice allusion to his long expectation and almost unhoped for attainment of that honour. I was much pleased on the second evening with an elder boy of ten. He was not in the room when the other and younger children bade their mother good-night; but as the company were about to proceed to the dining room, as we crossed the hall to enter it, the boy rushed from a side door, knelt, took up the skirt of her ladyship's robe, pressed it to his lips, and passed rapidly upstairs." [1]

Lord Salisbury was appointed Lord Lieutenant of Middlesex in 1842, and in the same year he received the Garter. He joined Lord Derby's first ministry in 1852 as Lord Privy Seal, and his second ministry in 1858—9 as Lord President of the Council, but on each occasion the Government was so short-lived that his experience of Cabinet rank was but slight. He died in 1868, leaving two sons and two daughters by his first wife, and three sons and two daughters by his second. With the latter we are not concerned here. The two daughters of the first marriage, Lady Mildred Beresford-Hope, and Lady Blanche Balfour, have already been mentioned. The sons were Lord Robert, the third Marquess, and Lieut.-Colonel Lord Eustace Cecil, formerly Surveyor-General of the Ordnance (1874—1880), now Director of the Great Eastern Railway. An elder son, James, Lord Cranborne, lost his sight in early life and died unmarried in 1865. He

[1] *Diary of Richard Redgrave*, August 6th, 1858.

wrote a volume of *Biographies of Great Monarchs* for young people, and published two series of historical essays.

Two years after her husband's death, Lady Salisbury married the Earl of Derby. She died in 1900, at the age of seventy-six.

CHAPTER XII

THE THIRD MARQUESS OF SALISBURY

ROBERT ARTHUR TALBOT GASCOYNE - CECIL, second son of the second Marquess of Salisbury and his first wife, was born at Hatfield on February 3rd, 1830. He was educated at Eton and Christ Church, Oxford, and took his B.A. degree in 1850, obtaining an " Honorary Fourth " in mathematics. After a visit to Australia, which kept him out of England for two years, he was elected a Fellow of All Souls' in 1853, and the same year he was returned for Parliament as member for Stamford in the Conservative interest. Having acted as Secretary and Treasurer of the Oxford Union, he had already had some practice in public speaking, and on April 7th, 1854, he made his maiden speech on the second reading of the Oxford University Bill, receiving a well-deserved compliment from Gladstone, who spoke of the young member whose " first efforts, rich with future promise, indicate that there still issue forth from the maternal bosom of the University men who, in the first days of their career, give earnest of what they may afterwards accomplish for their country." He made his mark by further speeches on educational matters and on foreign politics, and in July, 1855, when

Roebuck moved his famous vote of censure, based on the report of the Sebastopol Committee, Lord Robert Cecil was chosen to second the "previous question," moved by General Peel. The Aberdeen Ministry, which was responsible for the mismanagement of the war, had been turned out of office six months before, and it was thought by a large section of the Opposition to be inopportune to press the vote of censure, since they were not prepared to take the responsibility of taking Palmerston's place and carrying on the war. The attitude adopted by Cecil was patriotic in the highest degree, and his action in opposing his own leaders displayed his characteristic independence of thought. General Peel's amendment was carried by a large majority, and thus the Aberdeen ministry, of whom Gladstone was one, escaped the "severe reprehension" of the House of Commons.

At the General Election in 1857, Cecil was again returned for Stamford unopposed, and in the first session of the new Parliament he made his first attempt at constructive legislation by bringing in a measure to institute a system of voting at elections by means of voting papers distributed among the electors. This sensible proposal (adopted in 1861 for University voting) was withdrawn owing to Liberal opposition after a short debate.

In the same year he married Georgina Caroline, daughter of Sir E. H. Alderson, Baron of the Exchequer, and afterwards a celebrated judge.

The marriage was not approved of by Lord Salisbury, who, indeed, seems to have cared little about his first family, concentrating all his affection on the children of his second wife. But it is not true that he marked his displeasure by cutting off supplies. Persistent stories to this effect were due, no doubt, to the fact that for many years Lord Robert Cecil increased his income by journalism, in which he was assisted by his clever wife. From 1857 to 1865 he contributed to the *Saturday Review*, founded by his brother-in-law, Beresford-Hope, but his most important essays were written for the *Quarterly Review*, of which, for several years, from April, 1860, scarcely a number appeared without an article from his pen. These essays deal mainly with contemporary politics, both home and foreign, but include a few biographical articles, such as those on Castlereagh and Pitt, and one of a scientific nature, on photography. "Written with all the freedom which the traditional anonymity of the *Quarterly Review* guarantees," says the writer, who first made known to the public the extent of Lord Salisbury's contributions to that periodical,[1] "these essays more truly portray the man than anything he said or did within the cramping limitations of parliamentary procedure, or under the restraining influence of party and ministerial responsibility. We have here not

[1] *Quarterly Review*, January, 1904. A full list of these articles, thirty-three in all, is given in the *Dict. Nat. Biog.*, 2nd Supp. I. 343. Several have been reprinted, in two volumes (*Essays : Biographical*, and *Essays : Foreign Politics*, Murray, 1905).

only elaborate discussions of the political questions of the day, which have an abiding historical value, but also weighty statements of political theory, and many an instructive glimpse of ethical motive and of the origin, growth, and modification of opinion. In finish of style, in controversial resource and subtlety, in the wide range of their scholarship and worldly wisdom, in the loftiness of their ideals and the strange combination of polemical bitterness with the most generous sympathies, these articles present us with an absolutely new picture of Lord Salisbury."

In 1858 appeared a volume of "Oxford Essays," which contained a paper by Lord Robert Cecil on "The Theories of Parliamentary Reform," a subject upon which his opinions are of special interest in view of his action nine years later. The upshot of his argument is that there is no objection to the extension of the franchise, so long as mere numbers are not allowed to predominate over every other power in the State. Our whole constitution is "anomalous and irregular," but the anomalies and irregularities, the growth of ages, tend to counteract one another; and "to remove one evil without removing that which is its counterpoise, to withdraw one poison from the prescription without withdrawing the other which is its antidote, is the maddest course of all. Better far to reconstruct the whole; better still to let that which has worked well, work on." And he concludes

with a sentence which sums up his opinion on the subject: "Whichever course is taken, the condition in the representative system which it is our duty to maintain, even at the cost of any restriction or any anomaly, is that the intellectual *status* of the legislature shall not be lowered, and that sufficient weight, direct or indirect, shall be given to property to secure it from the possibility of harm."

His first article in the *Quarterly Review* (April, 1860) dealt with the same subject, and was a severe and trenchant criticism of Lord John Russell's Reform Bill. The article caused a considerable stir in political circles, and Lord John Russell felt it necessary to defend himself in a speech in the House. The Bill was soon afterwards dropped.

During the uneventful years of Palmerston's last administration (1859—1865), Lord Robert Cecil continued to increase his reputation as a ready debater and a brilliant speaker. "Beware of that young man," said Palmerston to one of his colleagues; "he is master of one great secret of success in debate. Instead of defending himself, he attacks you." He was strongly interested in all educational questions and in all matters affecting the well-being of the poor, and his staunch churchmanship won him the confidence of the High Anglican party, whose recognised spokesman in Parliament he became. These years are memorable for his contests with Gladstone, which began over the Bill for the Repeal of the

Paper Duties. The general opposition to this measure was based on the contention that the state of the national finance did not permit of so large a loss of revenue, and, moreover, it was regarded as a sop offered to the extreme Radicals to secure their support for other proposals of the Government. Lord Robert Cecil was courageous enough to oppose it on its own merits. "Can it be maintained," he said, "that a person of any education can learn anything worth knowing from a penny paper? It may be said that people may learn what has been said in Parliament. Well, will that contribute to their education?" Such unbending Conservatism reads strangely at the present day; yet had the speaker lived to witness the development of the half-penny press in this country, it is probable that he would have congratulated himself on the wisdom of his attitude.

Palmerston himself was opposed to the Bill, and even wrote to the Queen to the effect that if the House of Lords threw it out, they would "perform a good public service." Gladstone, however, when the Lords did their duty, became all the more determined to have his way, and in the following year he again proposed the repeal of the Paper Duties. Hitherto it had been the invariable custom to make the different taxes which composed the Budget into separate Bills, each of which was passed through the Commons and sent up to the Lords. The Upper House could thus reject—though they could not amend

—any one Bill without upsetting the whole of the financial arrangement of the year. Gladstone now embodied all his financial proposals, including the repeal of the Paper Duties, in one Bill, thus compelling the Lords either to accept it as it stood, or to go to the extreme length of rejecting the whole. Whatever may be said as to the merits of the Bill, it cannot be denied that this action was a piece of trickery deserving the strongest censure of all who valued straightforwardness in public life. Throughout the debates Lord Robert Cecil distinguished himself by the unsparing vigour of his attacks, both on the principle of the measure, and on the methods by which it was being pushed through the House.

On one occasion he denounced the action of the Chancellor of the Exchequer as "more worthy of an attorney than a statesman," and on being invited to "reconsider his vocabulary," he solemnly rose to apologise for having done a great injustice—to the attorneys.

It was in the course of one of these debates, when complaints had been made from the Government benches of the violence of Lord Robert Cecil's remarks, that Disraeli took the opportunity to say that he had "listened with satisfaction to the noble Lord, as it appeared to him that he had never heard more constitutional opinions expressed in more effective language."

During these years he perfected himself as a parliamentary debater. He lost no opportunity of attacking Gladstone's methods and principles,

so that in reading these debates one seems to be listening to a later Cecil pointing out the iniquities of a later Chancellor of the Exchequer. But Gladstone, in spite of his doctrines, inspired respect and admiration in his opponent, of whose character and abilities, as will be seen later, he conceived a high opinion.

Lord Robert Cecil was now, as ever, a close student of foreign politics, upon which he spoke with increasing authority. His speeches on the Brazilian difficulty in 1863, when he accused Earl Russell of adopting "a sort of tariff of insolence in his correspondence with foreign powers," and on the Government's policy toward Denmark in 1864, were marked by wide intellectual grasp and considerable oratorical power.

On the death of his elder brother (June 14th, 1865), Lord Robert succeeded to his title as Viscount Cranborne, and became heir to the Marquessate.

The death of Palmerston, in October, finally closed the period of compromise between the aristocratic and democratic tendencies in British politics, and the new era was ushered in with Gladstone as leader of the House of Commons, pledged to Reform. Of the ill-fated Reform Bill of 1866, Lord Cranborne was one of the most vigorous opponents.

Liberal opposition to the Bill was so strong that it had little chance of passing, but there is no doubt that Lord Cranborne's eloquent and

incisive speeches, and his article in the *Quarterly Review* (March, 1866), which provoked an outburst of irritation from Gladstone, played their part in procuring the defeat of the Government.

He was now marked for promotion, and in spite of the fact that he had held no office previously, no surprise was felt when Lord Derby invited him to join his Cabinet as Secretary of State for India. At the same time he was sworn of the Privy Council (July 12th, 1866). Within a week of this date, he was called upon to introduce the Indian Budget, and astonished the House by his mastery of the intricate details of Indian finance. But his first tenure of office was of short duration. The question of Reform had now become urgent owing to the Hyde Park riots and the action of the Reform League; and in February, 1867, Disraeli made an attempt to settle it by consent of the whole House. This proving unsuccessful, as might have been expected under the circumstances, a Bill was introduced, and three members of the Cabinet, Lord Cranborne, General Peel and Lord Carnarvon, resigned. The history of the events which led to this defection has often been told. It appears that two alternative measures, one of which granted household suffrage under certain conditions, while the other was based on a £6 franchise, were considered by the Cabinet, and on Saturday, February 23rd, the former was agreed upon. On the Monday morning, the three doubtful ministers, having carefully examined the statistics

and safeguards on the strength of which they had agreed to the Bill, informed Lord Derby that they found them insufficient, and threatened to resign. The Cabinet was hurriedly summoned half an hour before Derby was to address a meeting of the party, and in ten minutes the second measure was adopted instead of the first. The details of this proposal were explained by Lord Derby at the meeting in the afternoon, and by Disraeli in the House of Commons in the evening, but met with so cold a reception from their friends and such indignation from their opponents, that the Bill was withdrawn on the following day. Thereupon the three ministers resigned, and Disraeli brought in his original Bill.

Lord Cranborne explained his action in a speech in the House, and it is interesting to note the impression created at the time upon one who afterwards became a devoted friend and colleague of Lord Salisbury: "Lord Cranborne's speech," writes Robert Lytton,[1] "though uttered with much dignity and apparent sincerity of conviction, was certainly not generous, and certainly was suicidal to his reputation as a statesman, for his views are impossible." And he adds a doubt whether the speaker, though obviously very clever, would ever be a great man: "he wants heart, and seems never to rise above the level of a Saturday Reviewer."

The progress of the Bill through the House of

[1] *Personal and Literary Letters of Robert, Earl of Lytton*, I. 218.

HATFIELD HOUSE—THE LONG GALLERY
From a drawing by Joseph Nash, 1841

Commons justified all Lord Cranborne's fears. One by one all the "checks and safeguards" disappeared, until, in its final form, he described the measure as "the result of the adoption of the principles of Bright at the dictation of Gladstone," and denounced it as "a political betrayal which has no parallel in our annals, which strikes at the root of all that mutual confidence which is the very soul of our party government, and on which only the strength and freedom of our representative institutions can be sustained." In his famous article, entitled, "The Conservative Surrender," which appeared in the *Quarterly Review* in October, he enlarged on this theme, combining a merciless exposure of the tactics of his leaders with a lofty appeal for adherence to principle in public life.

He was, in fact, almost in despair at this time, feeling, as he said, that "the monarchical principle was dead, the aristocratical principle was doomed, and the democratical principle triumphant." But worse than his fears for the future were his wrath and scorn for his leaders who had betrayed the party and the nation, by passing, when in office, a measure practically identical with the one they had succeeded in throwing out the year before. "My opinions belong to the past," he wrote to Lord Coleridge in 1868,[1] "and it is better that new principles in politics should be worked by those who sympathise with them heartily."

This depression, however, soon passed away,

[1] *Life of Lord Coleridge*, II. 156.

and he set himself to put into practice the principle he had himself laid down. "It is the duty of every Englishman, and of every English party," he had written, "to accept a political defeat cordially, and to lend their best endeavours to secure the success or to neutralise the evil of the principles to which they have been forced to submit." Now, as throughout his career, he was able before long to accept the accomplished fact; and his fears of the results of Reform not being realised, he succeeded, while zealously upholding the old Tory doctrines of his great exemplars, Pitt and Castlereagh, in giving them a wider interpretation and in adapting them to the changed conditions of modern politics.

So far from being a hide-bound Tory, as he is sometimes painted, he understood, far better than do the doctrinaire Radicals of his or of our time, that change is inevitable in political doctrine. "The axioms of the last age," he wrote in 1861, "are the fallacies of the present; the principles which save one generation may be the ruin of the next. There is nothing abiding in political science but the necessity of truth, purity and justice." Like Pitt, he was "far too practical a politician to be given to abstract theories, universal doctrines, watchwords or shibboleths of any kind. He knew of no political gospel that was to be preached in season and out of season."[1] And it is this "untheoretic mind"

[1] Essay on *Stanhope's Life of Pitt.* Reprinted in *Essays: Biographical.*

which puzzled Gladstone, as will be seen later on, and has puzzled other students of Lord Salisbury.

Lord Cranborne's last speech in the House of Commons was delivered in March, 1868, in the debate on Gladstone's resolution with regard to the Irish Church, which gave him an opportunity of defending in powerful and eloquent language the principle of an established Church. On April 12th, his father died and he succeeded to the title, and took his seat in the House of Lords.

He soon gained the ear of this assembly, and took a leading part in the debates. His most important intervention in the session of 1868 was on the second reading of the Irish Church Suspensory Bill, which had passed through the Lower House by large majorities. Besides pulverising the measure itself, and showing the futility of attempting to conciliate the Fenians by destroying the Church, he laid down in admirable terms the principle which should guide the House of Lords when it found itself in opposition to the Commons. This principle he consistently upheld, and his words are worth quoting at the present time, when there are still people who think that the House of Commons invariably represents the judgment of the nation, and that the duty of the Lords is merely to register its decrees :—

"When the opinion of your countrymen has declared itself," he said, "and you see that their convictions—their firm, deliberate, sustained convictions—are in favour of

any course, I do not for a moment deny that it is your duty to yield. It may not be a pleasant process; it may even make some of you wish that some other arrangement were existing; but it is quite clear that whereas a member of a Government, when asked to do that which is contrary to his convictions, may resign, and a member of the Commons when asked to support any measure contrary to his convictions, may abandon his seat, no such course as this is open to your Lordships; and therefore on these rare and great occasions on which the national mind has fully declared itself, I do not doubt your Lordships would yield to the opinion of the country; otherwise the machinery of government could not be carried on. But there is an enormous step between that and being the mere echo of the House of Commons."

That the Lords did right in rejecting the Suspensory Bill cannot be questioned, and that Lord Salisbury was willing to act up to the principles he had so ably laid down, was proved in the following year. At the election of 1868, the Liberals were returned by a large majority, and Gladstone immediately set about his mission of "pacifying Ireland," by introducing the Bill for Disestablishing and Disendowing the Irish Church. When this measure reached the Upper House, Lord Salisbury, arguing that the general election had been fought on this question, used all his influence to secure its passage; and, acting in co-operation with Archbishop Tait, was able to compose the difference which arose between the Houses on the subject of the Lords' amendments, and thus to avert a serious constitutional crisis. At the same time, the result of his moderating

influence was to obtain better terms for the disestablished Church.

Always willing to promote rational reforms, Lord Salisbury was connected this session with two measures, one of which is still urgently wanted, while the other appears to many people to be eminently reasonable. The first was the Parliamentary Proceedings Bill, which he introduced himself. The object of this measure was to do away with the hard and fast rule that all Bills must be passed through both Houses of Parliament in the same session, and to provide that, subject to the assent of the Crown and of the two Houses, any Bill which had passed through one House might be considered by the other House in the following session. This Bill was read a second time in the Lords, and referred to a joint committee of the two Houses, but the Government were not interested in the subject and it was allowed to drop.

The other measure, to which Lord Salisbury gave strong support, was Lord Russell's Bill for the Creation of Life Peerages. He believed that such a reform would strengthen the House of Lords in the opinion of the public, who, then as now, are easily caught by the absurd cry that the Peers are "not representative." "We must try," he said, "to impress on the country the fact that because we are not an elective House, we are not a bit the less a representative House; and not until the constitution of the House plainly reveals the fact, shall we be able to retain

permanently, in face of the advances of the House of Commons, the ancient privileges and constitution of this House." The Bill was thrown out on the third reading. Twenty years later Lord Salisbury made a second attempt to introduce this reform, but with no greater success. His Life Peerage Bill of 1888, after passing its second reading, was withdrawn, and has never since been heard of.

At this time (1868—1872), Lord Salisbury was chairman of the Great Eastern Railway, and he was associated with Lord Cairns as arbitrator in connection with the affairs of the London, Chatham and Dover Railway in 1871—72. In November, 1869, he was elected by a unanimous vote to the office of Chancellor of the University of Oxford, rendered vacant by the death of the old Lord Derby. A scholar and a student by nature, it was a post for which he was in many ways exceptionally well qualified; but though he held it for the rest of his life, he refrained from active participation in University matters. His interest in University Reform is shown by his appointment of the Universities Commission in 1877.

The remaining years of the Gladstone Government may be passed over with little comment. While applying himself to the amendment and improvement of several of the chief measures introduced by the Government, such as the Irish Land Bill, the Education Bill, and the University Tests Bill, and supporting others, such as the Peace Preservation Bill of 1870 and the

Bank Holidays Bill of the following year, Lord Salisbury was unsparing in his attacks on Liberal abuses of power, as shown, for example, in the Abolition of Purchase in the Army by Royal Warrant, after the rejection of the Bill in the House of Lords; in the attempt to force the Ballot Bill through the Upper House without allowing opportunity for discussion; and in the disgraceful jobbery in the matter of appointments, of which the case of Sir Robert Collier and the "Ewelme Scandal" were particularly gross.

The election of 1874 proved that, as he anticipated, the people were tired of "heroic legislation," and were determined to impose a truce on "these perpetual attacks on classes and institutions and interests, which are fatal to the union, the peace, and the prosperity of the country." For the first time for thirty years the Conservatives were returned to power with a commanding majority, and Gladstone at once resigned.

In Disraeli's new Cabinet, Lord Salisbury again occupied the position of Secretary for India. He was at once called upon to deal with a critical situation created by the famine in Bengal, and by upholding the action of the Viceroy, Lord Northbrook—his political opponent—against that of Sir. G. Campbell, the Lieut.-Governor of Bengal, he showed that he was not only capable of taking large views of a serious question, uninfluenced by personal or party considerations, but was also courageous enough to maintain his opinion in the face of popular

clamour. The policy adopted—of importing rice into Bengal without interfering with the export trade—was completely justified by its success.

The Public Worship Regulation Bill, of 1874, gave Lord Salisbury another opportunity to expound his views on the Church of England and the relation between the Church and the State. With much eloquence he defended his position, that the existence of the establishment depends on its frank and loyal tolerance of three schools in the Church—the "Sacramental," the "Emotional" and the "Philosophical"—which arise, "not from any difference in the truth itself, but because the truth must necessarily assume different tints, as it is refracted through the different *media* of different minds." "The problem you have to solve," he said, "is how to repress personal and individual eccentricities, if you will, how to repress all exhibitions of wilfulness, of lawlessness, of caprice: but, at the same time that you do that, you must carefully guard any measures which you introduce from injuring the consciences or suppressing the rights of either of the three schools of which the Church consists. On this condition alone can your legislation be safe." In this attitude, he showed himself far more moderate and statesmanlike than the majority of the Lords, who passed the Bill in sympathy with the popular cry against Ritualism.

This Bill, which was officially supported by Disraeli, was again the occasion of a difference of opinion between the Premier and the Secretary

for India. The debates further led to an incident which has become historical. In urging the Lords to stand firm in rejecting an amendment inserted by the Commons in deference to the wishes of the extremists, Lord Salisbury referred to the argument that the Peers ought to pass the clause because of the majority in the Commons, and of the danger to the Bill if the clause were rejected; and he further remarked that there was "a good deal of that kind of bluster when any particular course has been taken in the other House of Parliament," adding that it was the duty of the Lords to take the course which they deemed right. The clause was accordingly rejected, and the Commons accepted the alteration rather than lose the Bill. But Disraeli, misunderstanding Lord Salisbury's words, took the opportunity to refer to "my noble friend" as "not a man who measures his phrases; one who is a great master of gibes and flouts and jeers," but, he added, "I do not suppose there is anyone who is prejudiced against a member of Parliament on account of such qualifications. My noble friend knows the House of Commons well, and he is not perhaps superior to the consideration that by making a speech of that kind, and taunting respectable men like ourselves with being 'a blustering majority,' he probably might stimulate the *amour propre* of some individuals to take the course which he wants and to defeat the Bill." Lord Salisbury took the first opportunity of protesting against this interpretation of his

remarks, which, of course, referred to the arguments of a previous speaker in the Lords, and not to anything said in the other House.

Some surprise had already been expressed at his acceptance of office under the leader with whom he had quarrelled so violently seven years before, and this episode gave rise to a great deal of malevolent gossip about the relations between the two men. There were even rumours of the impending resignation of Lord Salisbury, but they were silenced by Disraeli's speech at the Lord Mayor's banquet, in which he paid a well-deserved tribute to his colleague in regard to his Indian administration. It is, in fact, very greatly to the credit of both that, in spite of their difference of temperament, they were able to act in harmony for the remainder of Disraeli's life. As Dr. Traill pointed out, in his monograph on Lord Salisbury, "both enjoyed the inestimable advantage of being opposed by a politician whose influence in undesignedly healing feuds among his political adversaries has so often earned him the benediction pronounced upon the peacemakers." Their common hostility to Gladstone no doubt helped to unite them, but it is hardly enough to account for the subsequent cordiality between the two colleagues, which enabled Lord Salisbury to say, on the death of his chief, that there was "never a cloud between them through all their arduous labour." [1]

[1] *Life of Lord Cranbrook*, II. 136. In saying this, Lord Salisbury must surely have forgotten the incident just related.

In 1876, the crisis in the Near East turned all thoughts away from home affairs, and the course of events provided Lord Salisbury with his first experience as a diplomatist. Servia and Montenegro declared war on Turkey in July, and in the autumn Gladstone's agitation over the Bulgarian atrocities stirred up passions and created an atmosphere in which sane diplomacy found its difficulties enormously increased. In November, Turkey granted an armistice at the instance of Russia, and Britain at once suggested a conference of the Powers, which sat at Constantinople from December 11th, 1876, to January 20th, 1877. To this conference Lord Salisbury was sent as the English plenipotentiary, and the selection was warmly approved by Gladstone.

"I think it right," he wrote to a correspondent, "at once to give you my opinion of Lord Salisbury, whom I know pretty well in private. He has little foreign or Eastern knowledge, and little craft; he is rough of tongue in public debate, but a great gentleman in private society; he is very remarkably clever, of unsure judgment, but is above anything mean; has no Disraelite prejudices; keeps a conscience, and has plenty of manhood and character. In a word the appointment of Lord Salisbury to Constantinople is the best thing the Government have yet done in the Eastern question." [1]

Accompanied by Lady Salisbury, Lord Cranborne, and Lady Maud Cecil, the British representative left London on November 20th, and after visiting Paris, Berlin, Vienna and Rome,

[1] Morley, *Gladstone, Life of*, ed. 1905, II. 168.

and exchanging views with the foreign ministers in those capitals, he arrived at Constantinople early in December. The object of the Conference, as he afterwards pointed out, was " first of all to restore peace between Turkey and Servia and Montenegro, and then to obtain good government for the Turkish provinces ; but," he added, " undoubtedly we also went into the Conference to stop a great and menacing danger, namely, the prospect of war between Russia and Turkey." The British proposals, which formed the basis of discussion, included the conclusion of peace, and the restoration of the *status quo* in Servia and Montenegro ; the concession of local self-government to Bosnia and Herzegovina ; and a guarantee for the good government of Bulgaria. These proposals the Porte rejected, and the Conference broke up, with the inevitable sequel that Russia declared war.

For the first nine months of the war, England maintained a strict neutrality, keeping, however, a watchful eye upon any action which might affect her interests. But after the fall of Plevna, the Russian advance began to threaten Constantinople, and the British Government decided, in January, 1878, to send the fleet through the Dardanelles—a course of action for which Lord Salisbury, " worn out by Russian duplicity," was more eager than anyone else.[1] Then came the Treaty of San Stefano, and the consequent proposal for a Congress of the Powers, to which

[1] *Life of Lord Cranbrook*, II. 46.

Russia agreed, while arrogantly reserving to herself the liberty of accepting for discussion only such points as she thought fit. Negotiations were consequently broken off, the reserves called out, and to the relief of the Government, Lord Derby, who had for some time been in disagreement with his colleagues, finally resigned (March 28th).

In explaining the reasons for his resignation in the House of Lords, some months later, Lord Derby said that the Cabinet had decided to send a "secret naval expedition" to seize the island of Cyprus, together with a point on the Syrian coast. Thereupon Lord Salisbury "very pointedly contradicted him, on the authority, not only of his own memory, but of the memories of several of his colleagues"; [1] and he further proceeded to compare his revelations with those of Titus Oates. This regrettable misunderstanding arose, according to Sir Stafford Northcote, from the failure of Lord Derby "to distinguish between a *conversation* about certain undecided points, and a *decision* about another point, the Reserves." [2] The difference of opinion was accentuated by the personal antagonism which always existed between the two men, in spite of their close connection by marriage. Lord Derby afterwards joined Gladstone's ministry as Colonial Secretary, and Lord Salisbury remarked of him that he "never strayed far from the frontier lines of either party, where he expended

[1] Andrew Lang, *Life of Sir S. Northcote*, II. 107.
[2] *Ibid.*, II. 108.

his great powers in being disagreeable to his former friends."

A few days later (April 1st), the appointment of Lord Salisbury as Foreign Secretary was announced, and next day there appeared in the Press the famous "Salisbury Circular," a note addressed to the British representatives abroad, which summed up in masterly fashion the objections to the Treaty of San Stefano, chief among which was the proposed creation of a "big Bulgaria," and at the same time set forth, in courteous but clear and resolute language, the aims of British policy. The effect of this memorable document—the "Happy Despatch" as it was called—was to prove to Europe in general, and Russia in particular, that England was prepared to take the necessary steps to defend her interests. She was seen to be in earnest, and her declaration of policy was welcomed both at home and abroad. Negotiations were consequently resumed on a sounder basis, and on June 3rd the Government were able to announce that the Congress would meet in Berlin in ten days' time, and that all the provisions of the Treaty would come under discussion. Great Britain was to be represented by the Prime Minister and the Foreign Secretary.

Meanwhile, meetings had taken place between Lord Salisbury and Count Shuvalov, the Russian Ambassador, and as a result a private agreement had been arrived at as to the basis of the proposed compromise. An outline of this agreement was

surreptitiously divulged to the *Globe* newspaper by a Foreign Office copyist, and Lord Salisbury was asked in the House of Lords whether there was any truth in the statement. His reply that the "statement was wholly unauthentic and not deserving of the confidence of your Lordship's House," has been the subject of much criticism, and has been described as "the most debatable incident in a singularly honourable career." [1] But it is surely not open to doubt that there are occasions when a statesman, whose duty is to uphold the interests of his country, must act in obedience to higher principles even than verbal accuracy. In the present case silence would have been equivalent to acquiescence, and an affirmation of the authenticity of the agreement would have rendered it useless as a basis of discussion, and, in all probability, have stultified the Congress altogether. "For my own part," says Dr. Traill with much wisdom,[2] "I do not hesitate to avow that a statesman who, so situated, should deliberately prefer to sacrifice what he conceived to be the highest interests of the State to his private scruples, would deserve that his head should be first crowned for his fidelity to his own conscience, and then struck off for treason to his country."

The Congress sat for a month, and the resulting

[1] *Dict. Nat. Biog.*, 2nd Supp., I. 334.

[2] *Life of Lord Salisbury*, p. 176. Mr. (now Sir Henry) Lucy wittily fathered on Lord Derby the proposal that "a familiar proverb shall henceforth be quoted *cum grano Salis-bury*" (*Diary of Two Parliaments*, I. 445).

treaty followed closely the lines of the Salisbury-Shuvalov agreement. The most dangerous provision of the Treaty of San Stefano, by which a greater Bulgaria, extending southwards to the Aegean, was formed into an autonomous principality, was abrogated, and instead two autonomous provinces were formed — Bulgaria with an elected prince, and Eastern Roumelia, south of the Balkans, with a Christian governor nominated by the Porte. Russia obtained Bessarabia as well as Kars and Batoum, the latter to be made into a free commercial port. Montenegro, Servia and Roumania were confirmed in their independence, and Bosnia and Herzegovina were handed over to be administered by Austria. The latter arrangement was Lord Salisbury's own proposal, and was in accordance with his strongly held opinion, that "in the strength and independence of Austria lie the best hopes of European stability and peace." [1]

By a convention with Turkey, concluded before the Conference met, the protectorate of Cyprus was transferred to England, who, in return, undertook to guarantee the integrity of the Sultan's Asiatic possessions.

Though the provisions of this treaty have not proved lasting, great credit is due to the British plenipotentiaries for their share in it; and of this credit, Lord Salisbury, in spite of Bismarck's unkind description of him as "a lath painted to look like iron," deserves almost, if not quite, as

[1] Speech at Manchester, October, 1879.

G. Richmond

ROBERT, THIRD MARQUESS OF SALISBURY, K.G.

much as his colleague. On their return to London, they were received with popular ovations, and the Queen expressed her appreciation of their services by investing them with the Order of the Garter—the only honour Lord Salisbury accepted from the Crown until the end of his long career.[1]

Beaconsfield's "peace with honour" was no inapt description of an agreement which averted war while curbing the ambitions of Russia. "Give Russia an inch," said a wit, "and she will take the Dardanelles"; and English policy was largely governed by that fear. Thus, although the treaty did not satisfy those enthusiasts who wanted the Turk swept "bag and baggage" out of Europe, reasonable people perceived that at any rate Turkish opportunities of oppressing the Christian population of the Balkans had been considerably curtailed.

As to the wisdom of British policy as a whole in regard to Russia, that is too large a subject to touch upon here. But there is no doubt that Lord Salisbury himself had misgivings on the subject. Many years later, when he spoke of our having "put all our money upon the wrong horse," he was referring to the rejection of the Emperor Nicholas's overtures in 1853, which committed this country to an anti-Russian policy; and on the same occasion [2] he defended the Treaty of Berlin on the ground that "when

[1] He was created G.C.V.O. on his retirement in 1902

[2] Speech in the House of Lords, January 19th, 1897.

a step of this kind has once been taken, you are practically obliged to go on," and "all that Lord Beaconsfield did was to carry out the policy which his predecessors had laid down." He added that Beaconsfield was not free from misgiving, but "still entertained hopes, which I did not entertain. Those hopes have not been realised."

During the next two years, the popularity of the Government declined, and in 1880 the Liberals were again returned to power, with Gladstone as Prime Minister. A year later, on April 19th, 1881, Lord Beaconsfield died, at the height of his reputation, and Lord Salisbury succeeded him as Conservative leader in the House of Lords. Sir Stafford Northcote still led the Opposition in the Commons, and this system of "dual control" continued for the next four years.

At this time Lord Salisbury was by no means universally recognised as the future Prime Minister. Great as was his ability, he was thought to be wanting in tact and moderation, and his personal reserve prevented him from being in any sense a popular figure. "He has many of the most necessary qualities of a leader," wrote Lord Lytton at this time; "great powers of work, and a charm of manner very attractive to those who are immediately about him. But he makes bitter personal enemies, and the country at large mistrusts him, I think." [1]

[1] *Letters of Robert, Earl of Lytton*, II. 233.

He did little while in opposition to increase his reputation. To Gladstone's reckless and demoralising Irish legislation he offered no effective resistance. The Irish Land Bill of 1881 was allowed to pass, after Gladstone had accepted the Lords' amendments, and the same course was adopted with the infamous Arrears Bill of the following year; though in the latter case it is only fair to Lord Salisbury to remember that he wished to insist on the Lords' amendments, and so defeat the Bill, which he described as an act of simple robbery, but he was overruled by his followers.

In the last two articles which he contributed to the *Quarterly Review*,[1] he subjected Liberal policy at home and abroad to the most scathing and damaging analysis. The writer's enunciation of sound Conservative principles, and his searching insight into the psychology of Radical legislation, render these articles not only eminently readable, but applicable for page after page to the events of the present day. Whether he deals with the increasing influence of that school of political thought, whose "distinguishing mark is that in any issues which may arise between England and any other population, foreign or dependent, they usually find reason for thinking that England is in the wrong"; or dilates on the dangers of hasty and ill-considered legislation, or of the uncontrolled powers of the House of Commons;

[1] October, 1881, "Ministerial Embarrassments" and October, 1883, "Disintegration."

or gives expression to the anxiety caused by attacks on landed property and appeals to class hatred: it is difficult to believe that he is writing of the current politics of thirty years ago.

In the article entitled "Disintegration," he sums up admirably what should be the aim of the Conservative party: "The object of our party is not, and ought not to be, simply to keep things as they are. In the first place, the enterprise is impossible. In the next place, there is much in our present mode of thought and action which it is highly undesirable to conserve. What we require in the administration of public affairs, whether in the executive or the legislative department, is that spirit of the old constitution which held the nation together as a whole, and levelled its united force at objects of national import, instead of splitting it up into a bundle of unfriendly and distrustful fragments."

Another passage in the same article, written, be it remembered, before any prominent politician had advocated Home Rule, contains so wise and so prophetic a pronouncement on the subject that it deserves to be quoted:—

"The highest interests of the Empire, as well as the most sacred obligations of honour, forbid us to solve this question by conceding any species of independence to Ireland; or, in other words, any licence to the majority in that country, to govern the rest of Irishmen as they please. To the minority, to those who have trusted us, and on the faith of our protection have done our work, it would be a sentence of exile or of ruin. All that is Protestant, nay, all that is loyal, all who have land or money to

lose, all by whose enterprise and capital industry and commerce are still sustained, would be at the mercy of the adventurers who have led the Land League, if not of the darker counsellors by whom the Invincibles have been inspired. If we have failed after centuries of effort to make Ireland peaceable and civilised, we have no moral right to abandon our post and leave all the penalty of our failure to those whom we have persuaded to trust in our power. It would be an act of political bankruptcy, an avowal that we were unable to satisfy even the most sacred obligations, and that all claims to protect or govern anyone beyond our own narrow island were at an end."

The disastrous policy of the Government in Ireland, their "blunders, shortcomings and misadventures" abroad—in South Africa, in Egypt and the Sudan, in Afghanistan and elsewhere—and the violent dissensions in the Cabinet and the party, afforded incomparable opportunities to the Opposition of which, however, they did not take sufficiently active advantage. In 1884, Gladstone introduced a Franchise Bill, by which he proposed to add 2,000,000 voters to the register. It was resisted mainly on the ground that it was not accompanied by a redistribution scheme, and on the second reading in the Lords, an amendment on these lines was carried by a majority of fifty-nine. The Bill was consequently withdrawn, to be reintroduced in an autumn session, when negotiations between the Conservative and Liberal leaders resulted in an agreement that a Redistribution Bill should be brought in and the Franchise Bill be allowed to pass. These meetings between Lord Salisbury, Sir Stafford

Northcote and Gladstone are interesting, as marking the first time on record when a measure has been discussed before its introduction by the leaders of both sides. Gladstone was good enough to say that he was much struck with the quickness of Lord Salisbury, and found it a pleasure to deal with so acute a man. At the same time he declared that Lord Salisbury was entirely devoid of respect for tradition, and that he himself was a strong Conservative in comparison.[1] The fact was, no doubt, that here, as always, Lord Salisbury showed that he cared nothing for abstract theories, and was prepared to consider any proposal on its merits without reference to party catchwords, a state of mind naturally unintelligible to his opponent.

[1] Morley's *Life of Gladstone*, II. 378.

CHAPTER XIII

THE THIRD MARQUESS OF SALISBURY (*continued*)

THE abandonment of Gordon and the fall of Khartoum, in February, 1885, aroused, in Lord Salisbury's words, "not only sympathy and regret, but bitter and burning indignation." Gordon, he declared, had been "sacrificed to the squabbles of a Cabinet, and the necessities of Parliamentary tactics," and this shameful betrayal, combined with the universal feeling that the honour and reputation of England were not safe in the hands of the Government, finally decided their fate. They hung on till June, when they were defeated on a Budget vote of no importance, and at once resigned. The Queen sent for Lord Salisbury, who consented to take office, although the Conservatives were in a minority of nearly 100 in the House of Commons, and owing to the new Redistribution Bill, a general election was not possible until November.

Difficulties arose, first owing to Gladstone's unwillingness to pledge himself to give the necessary support to the Government in the conduct of public business, and secondly, because Lord Randolph Churchill refused to serve if Sir Stafford Northcote still led the House of Commons. The first difficulty was settled by

the intervention of the Queen, and the second by the promotion of Northcote to the Peerage, as Earl of Iddesleigh, with the post of First Lord of the Treasury The Prime Minister himself went to the Foreign Office, and Sir M. Hicks-Beach became Chancellor of the Exchequer and leader of the House of Commons. The difficulty of the dual leadership of the party was thus finally overcome. These negotiations rendered the formation of a ministry more than usually troublesome, and Lord Cranbrook, who was Lord President of the Council, records in his Diary that "Salisbury, weary of the self-seekers, the beggars, the impracticables, and above all, of one who played such pranks, would gladly have thrown up his task, and gone almost into private life; but his feeling for the Queen, who cannot retire or resign, was such as to overbear all other considerations."[1] Lord Salisbury, as the same observer notes, "abhorred patronage and its littleness," and though he loved the Foreign Office, and would not willingly have given that up, he would probably have gladly resigned the Premiership at any time.[2]

In this ministry, Mr. A. J. Balfour, Lord Salisbury's nephew, took office for the first time, as President of the Local Government Board.

At home the Government had little to do beyond the necessary winding-up of business in preparation for the election in the autumn. But Lord

[1] *Life of Lord Cranbrook*, II. 220.
[2] *Ibid.*, II. 286.

Salisbury managed to pass a useful Bill for the Housing of the Working Classes, based on the report of a Commission for which he had moved in the previous year.

Abroad the situation was full of embarrassments. Isolated in Europe, the country was embroiled in quarrels all over the world, and was on the brink of war with Russia on the Afghan frontier. In this matter, which arose out of what is known as the Penjdeh incident, the Liberal Foreign Minister, Lord Granville, had made concession after concession, justifying Lord Salisbury's taunt that "the Government go into every danger with a light head, and then they make up by escaping from it with a light foot." He took a more firm attitude, and the Russians, seeing that he was in earnest, agreed to the appointment of a boundary commission. War, which a few months earlier had appeared to be inevitable, was thus avoided. In Egypt and elsewhere, Lord Salisbury's handling of the problems left him by his predecessors had good results, and even won the approbation of Gladstone, who said "he could not object to one item of his foreign policy"; on hearing which, Lord Salisbury remarked, "I fear I must have done wrong."[1] But before his work could be perfected, the general election (December, 1885) again put the Liberals in office, a result due to the gratitude of the newly enfranchised agricultural labourers.

[1] *Life of Lord Cranbrook*, II. 239.

Hostile critics have made much capital out of Lord Salisbury's supposed philanderings with Home Rule. In a speech at Newport (October 7th, 1885), which Lord Morley describes as "one of the tallest and most striking landmarks in the shifting sands of this controversy," he used words which have been taken as an indication that he considered the creation of an Irish Parliament as more satisfactory than a mere extension of Local Government. Yet, later in the same speech, the following words occur: "With respect to the larger organic questions connected with Ireland, I cannot say much, though I can speak emphatically. I have nothing to say but that the traditions of the party to which we belong are on this point clear and distinct, and you may rely upon it our party will not depart from them." Surely this explicit statement is at least sufficient to show that in his previous remarks he had not the "larger organic questions" in mind. In fact, no construction of this kind would ever have been put on the speech had not an event come to light which seemed to point in a similar direction. It appeared that, in the preceding June, the Irish Viceroy, Lord Carnarvon, with the approval of the Prime Minister, had an interview with Parnell, at which, according to the subsequent report of the Irish leader, Lord Carnarvon outlined a scheme of Home Rule with which Parnell found himself "in complete accord." In spite of the Viceroy's denial of the accuracy of this report, the incident was, of course, eagerly

seized upon by partisans on the look-out for any stick with which to belabour their opponents. It is one of the commonest and cheapest forms of political controversy to accuse your adversary of secret attachment to the particular line of policy which he spends his life in opposing. Had Lord Salisbury shown any leanings towards Home Rule, indications of his state of mind would certainly have appeared in his private correspondence. This has not yet been published, but we are told by a writer who has had access to it that it contains "nothing to show that he even contemplated anything more than the measure of Irish Local Government, which, in fact, he afterwards granted." [1]

Gladstone's first Home Rule Bill was introduced in April, and while the debate was at its height, Lord Salisbury committed one of his "blazing indiscretions," of which his opponents were quick to take advantage. In a speech in St. James's Hall (May 15th, 1886) he propounded his recipe for the pacification of Ireland—"twenty years' resolute government." And he went on to say that Ireland was not one nation, but two nations. "There were races like the Hottentots, and even the Hindus, incapable of self-government. He would not place confidence in people who had acquired the habit of using knives and slugs."

With regard to these and similar "calculated brutalities" of speech, the opinion of Lord Robert

[1] Mr. Algernon Cecil in the *Dict. Nat. Biog.*, 2nd Supp. I. 336.

Cecil may be quoted.[1] After speaking of his father's hatred of all hypocrisy and cant, and his contempt for all trivial and unnecessary conventionalities, he says :—

"It is to this side of his character that belong his so-called 'blazing indiscretions.' These I take to have been not the mere efflorescence of a reckless wit, still less the outcome of a cynical disbelief in lofty ideals, but the result of his anxious desire that those whom he was leading should know, as far as possible, the real opinions of their leader. When he described 'twenty years' resolute government' as the alternative policy to Home Rule, when he said villagers would find a parish circus more amusing than a parish council, he was not only speaking the literal truth, as subsequent events have proved, but he was deliberately putting before the electors in a striking form an aspect of the question under consideration which he thought important, and which the party managers were anxious to keep in the background. Other mental or moral characteristics—for in Lord Salisbury the two were often indistinguishable—were no doubt partly responsible for the 'indiscretions.' Himself incapable of self-deception, he thought it the most dangerous of all mental defects. Any phrase or opinion arising from this cause or even from want of clearness of thought he regarded as noxious. And he did not shrink from attacking intellectual insincerity, even though he might wound feelings otherwise entitled to respect."

To which it may be added that he cared less than nothing about public opinion, and, therefore, spoke exactly what he thought, checked by no fear of "what people would say."

[1] *Monthly Review*, October, 1903. The article appeared anonymously, but has since been acknowledged by Lord R. Cecil

The Home Rule Bill was defeated by a majority of thirty (June 8th), and a dissolution followed. The resulting election gave the combined Unionists a majority of 118 over the Gladstonians and Nationalists.

After a magnanimous attempt to induce Lord Hartington, the leader of the Liberal Unionists, to form a Government, Lord Salisbury again took office on July 26th, 1886. He himself became First Lord of the Treasury, Lord Iddesleigh going to the Foreign Office, while Lord Randolph Churchill was Chancellor of the Exchequer and leader of the House of Commons. Mr. Balfour was made Secretary for Scotland, and was admitted to a seat in the Cabinet a few months later. Friction soon arose between Churchill and his chief; and at Christmas, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, as a protest against Lord Iddesleigh's foreign policy, and the growth of expenditure on armaments, tendered his resignation, which, to his great surprise, was accepted.

At this crisis the Prime Minister again approached Lord Hartington, with the proposal that he should either form a coalition government or enter the ministry as leader of the House of Commons.[1] In spite of the strong desire expressed by the Queen that he should accept this offer, Hartington felt unable to comply. It was, however, by his advice that Goschen joined the ministry as Chancellor of the Exchequer. W. H. Smith became First Lord of the Treasury

[1] Bernard Holland, *Life of the Duke of Devonshire*, II. 179.

and leader of the House of Commons, and Lord Salisbury himself returned to the Foreign Office in place of Lord Iddesleigh, whose enforced resignation coincided with his tragic death.

Another important change in the Cabinet occurred in March, when Mr. Balfour took the place of Sir M. Hicks-Beach as Irish Secretary, and began the five years' tenure of that office which formed so epoch-making a period in the government of Ireland. It also proved the making of his career. At the time of appointment he was hardly taken seriously as a politician, being looked upon as a clever but rather indolent trifler, though Lord Salisbury, whose private secretary he had been at the time of the Berlin Congress, was no doubt aware of his ability. Yet within a remarkably short space of time he was not only recognised as one of the best debaters in the House, but had shown himself possessed of the highest qualities of statesmanship. Mastering the facts of the situation, and making up his mind that law must be maintained in Ireland at all costs, he refused to be turned from his purpose either by threats or sophistries, and the final result of his régime was that crime in Ireland practically ceased. Moreover, he became one of the most popular figures in Parliament, and won the respect even of the Irish members, who had received the announcement of his appointment with scornful laughter. And on the death of W. H. Smith, in October, 1891, Mr. Balfour was recognised as his natural successor,

and became First Lord of the Treasury and leader of the House of Commons.

Apart from the actual Irish legislation of these years, the Crimes Act and the Land Act of 1887, and the Land Purchase Act of 1891, Irish affairs played a very large part in Lord Salisbury's second administration. The articles in the *Times* on "Parnellism and Crime," the Pigott forgeries, the Parnell Commission, the revelations in the divorce court and the consequent Parnellite split—all these events were crowded into the six years from 1886—1892. Yet, in spite of the Irish incubus, the Government was able to pass such important measures as the Local Government Acts (1888 and 1889), the Imperial Defence Act (1889), the Free Education Act (1891), the Factory Act (1891), and the Small Holdings Act (1892).

Lord Salisbury's interests and labours lay, of course, mainly in the sphere of foreign affairs. The early part of his administration was a period full of danger, which needed a strong man at the helm. It saw the formation of the Triple Alliance—unreservedly welcomed by Lord Salisbury—the Boulanger movement in France, and the death of the Emperor William and of the Emperor Frederick in Germany. But the most important and critical work of the Foreign Secretary was contained in the negotiations with Germany, Portugal and France, which led to the delimitation of the respective spheres of influence of these powers in Africa.

Since 1884 Germany had been active in seizing African territory, and Lord Granville had adopted a most complaisant attitude towards their schemes. Nor was Lord Iddesleigh more alive to British interests. During his short term of office, he actually completed an arrangement with Germany by which England might have been cut off altogether from the upper Nile. Lord Salisbury, however, was able to counteract the effects of this arrangement by granting a Royal Charter to the British East Africa Company, founded by Sir William Mackinnon. Gradually, under Lord Salisbury's influence, the rivalry between England and Germany entered on a less threatening phase, and in 1889, Bismarck, who a few years before had adopted an aggressive and bullying attitude to this country, declared, in a speech on colonial matters, that "we have proceeded, and always shall proceed, in harmony with the greatest colonial power in the world—England." But it was not till after Bismarck's fall that the protracted negotiations culminated in the Anglo-German Agreement of 1890, by which the spheres of influence of the two countries in East and West Africa were determined. Germany relinquished all claim to Uganda and the Upper Nile, and recognised England's protectorate of Zanzibar, receiving in exchange the island of Heligoland. This agreement is one of Lord Salisbury's greatest achievements as a diplomatist; and though the cession of Heligoland met with strong opposition at the time and in the light of

recent developments appears even more regrettable, yet the solid benefits received in exchange should more than counterbalance the loss.

In the same year, by an agreement with France, our protectorate of Zanzibar, and our sphere of influence in the Hausa States and Bornu, were recognised by that country, while we in return recognised the French protectorate of Madagascar and her claims to the Sahara. Meanwhile, British differences with Portugal had also been settled, though not so amicably. Portugal had put forward claims to all the territories lying between Angola on the west and Mozambique on the east, and these claims were recognised by France and Germany in 1886. Such pretensions it was impossible to admit, and Lord Salisbury at once protested against "any claims not founded upon occupation." He also informed the Portuguese Government that the Zambesi must be regarded as the natural northern limit of British South Africa. In 1889, the charter granted to the British South Africa Company for the development of what is now Rhodesia occasioned fresh disputes with the Portuguese, who made further efforts to assert their claims in the Zambesi region. Finally, the news that an expedition had been despatched to the Shiré highlands compelled Lord Salisbury to send an ultimatum to Lisbon, and the expedition was disavowed and withdrawn. Prolonged negotiations followed, resulting in a convention by which, while consideration was given to the just

claims of Portugal, the frontiers of Rhodesia were defined and Nyasaland secured for Great Britain.

"The best justification of Lord Salisbury's policy between 1885 and 1892," says a writer in the *Quarterly Review*,[1] "is that he found Great Britain confronted by a hostile European coalition, a prey to innumerable humiliations and perplexities and on the brink of war, and that he left her at peace, enjoying the friendship of all the great Powers, and pursuing her Imperial course with unfettered hands and undiminished lustre."

The Conservative Government came to a natural end at the close of the session of 1892, and at the general election the Opposition were returned with a majority of forty. Lord Salisbury accordingly gave place to Gladstone, whose second Home Rule Bill was passed by the House of Commons in 1893 and rejected by a majority of 419 against 41 in the House of Lords. Gladstone did not venture to appeal to the country, which heartily approved of the action of the Peers, and the Liberal Government remained in office until 1895, when it was defeated on a snap division on the Cordite Vote (June 21st). Lord Rosebery, who had succeeded Gladstone as Prime Minister in the previous year, at once resigned, and Lord Salisbury was summoned to form an administration for the third time.

He was now able to secure the co-operation of

[1] October 1902, p. 665.

the Liberal Unionist leaders, who had drawn closer to the Conservatives during the past three years, and with their aid he formed the strongest and most successful Government of modern times. He again went to the Foreign Office, while Mr. Balfour led the House of Commons, Sir Michael Hicks-Beach was Chancellor of the Exchequer, the Duke of Devonshire, President of the Council, Mr. Goschen, First Lord of the Admiralty, and Mr. Chamberlain, Colonial Secretary. Mr. Balfour's brother, Gerald, was Secretary for Ireland, and the Government continued their Irish policy by two excellent measures, the Irish Local Government Bill (1898), and the Bill which established the new Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction in Ireland (1899). They also passed a number of other useful Bills, the most important being the Workmen's Compensation Bill of 1897.

Lord Salisbury's share in initiating and carrying through domestic legislation cannot at present be determined. It is certain that the Foreign Office occupied the greater part of his time. Indeed, the experience of these years is enough to prove that no Prime Minister should, in the future, be his own Foreign Secretary. The duties of that office are too arduous and too engrossing to be combined with the adequate supervision of the work of the Cabinet as a whole. It was at this point that Lord Salisbury failed. Instead of being personally responsible for every department of State, he allowed his colleagues to go their

own way, without attempting to guide them. "He himself," says Lord Robert Cecil,[1] "was very averse to collaboration, and it was natural for him to think that his colleagues would equally dislike it. He did his own work best when left entirely to himself. He had no fear of responsibility, and it only hindered him to have to explain to others the reasons of his actions. The plan which suited him best he assumed to be the best for others also." But although the result of this defect in administration was a certain lack of cohesion in the policy of the Government, its success as a whole was remarkable.

In the domain of foreign policy, Lord Salisbury set the seal to his previous achievements, and for many years before his death he was recognised as the first statesman in Europe. Through these eventful years he threw the whole of his immense influence into the scale on the side of peace and in favour of arbitration, and his record is one of which he might well be proud.

He took office at a critical moment. The massacres in Armenia had roused public opinion to such a pitch of horror that, in view of the obstructive attitude of Russia, and the indifference of the other Powers to anything but their own interests, it seems to be clear that Lord Kimberley had decided to apply coercion to the Sultan unaided, and that war was, in fact, imminent. But although Lord Salisbury was a "sincere

[1] *Monthly Review*, October, 1903.

sympathiser with the Christians of Turkey, and regarded the Government of that country as inimical to civilisation,"[1] he was not prepared to undertake a crusade on their behalf in the face of Europe. At the Guildhall banquet (November 9th), however, he denounced the Sultan in very strong terms, and used threatening language, which drew an angry protest from Abdul Hamid. Lord Salisbury never made threats which he did not intend to carry out, but on the present occasion no action followed, and it is understood that another Power had promised to co-operate with Great Britain, but afterwards withdrew. It was certainly not his fault that the tedious negotiations of the next eighteen months resulted only in a scheme of paper reform which was never put into force.

In the settlement of the Cretan question he achieved more success, and the result of his unwearied patience and skilful leading of the Concert of Europe was that an autonomous régime, with Prince George of Greece as Governor, was set up in Crete at the end of 1898, and the island entered on a period of unwonted peace and prosperity. It was Lord Salisbury who reorganised the Concert as a great engine of peace —" the embryo of the only possible structure of Europe which can save civilisation from the effects of a disastrous war." At the same time he recognised its cumbrous methods, and quoted, with approbation, the remark that " the Cretans

[1] The late Canon MacColl in *The Spectator*, August 29th, 1903.

may be evil beasts, but the Powers are certainly slow bellies." [1]

Meanwhile, England had been on the brink of war both with Germany and with the United States. The German Emperor's telegram to Kruger after the Jameson Raid excited extraordinary indignation in England, but the prompt mobilisation of a flying squadron, and other military and naval precautions, were sufficient to show that German intervention in South Africa would not be permitted, and the incident closed. It is probable that the mobilisation may have been ordered with a view to impressing the United States as well as Germany. A fortnight before the Jameson Raid (December 17th, 1895), President Cleveland had sent to Congress a preposterous message concerning the Venezuelan boundary question, in which he practically threatened England with war. The first shock of surprise was followed by such an exacerbation of feeling on both sides of the Atlantic, that for some days it seemed as though hostilities could not be avoided. Lord Salisbury, however, preserved an imperturbable attitude, the excitement died down, and eventually an international commission was appointed which decided the matter almost entirely in favour of Great Britain. Following upon this award, Lord Salisbury proposed a general treaty of arbitration with the United States, and this was actually

[1] Sir Mountstuart Grant-Duff's *Notes from a Diary*, February 23rd, 1897.

negotiated by Sir Julian Pauncefote and signed on January 11th, 1897. The Senate, however, refused to ratify it, and the main result of the negotiations was to revive anti-British feeling in the States. In spite of this rebuff, Lord Salisbury exerted himself unremittingly to establish more cordial relations between the two countries. On the outbreak of the Spanish-American war, in 1898, it was his firm attitude which prevented European intervention; and he gave further practical proof of friendship by resigning to the United States, in the Samoa Convention of 1899, certain Samoan islands, thus, in effect, making them a "free gift of the finest harbour in the Pacific."[1] Finally, the Hay-Pauncefote Treaty, signed in 1900, enabled the United States to build the Panama Canal, with the results which we all know. The outcome of his endeavours was undoubtedly to improve the official relations between London and Washington, and if he did not achieve all that he hoped, his efforts "will always rank brightly among the lofty strivings by which the whole of his long and fruitful career has been inspired."[2]

Turning to events in the Far East, one cannot help feeling that Lord Salisbury felt less at home in this sphere, and that he probably took little interest in it. When Germany seized Kiao Chau, and Russia, in defiance of treaty rights and specific assurances, took possession of Port Arthur, he

[1] H. Whates, *The Third Salisbury Administration*, p. 101.

[2] *Quarterly Review*, October, 1902, p. 675.

protested mildly and then tamely acquiesced; while his withdrawal of British ships from Port Arthur, where they had every right to be, at the bidding of Russia, is very difficult to defend. Nor were these diplomatic reverses counterbalanced by the acquisition of Wei-Hai-Wei. On the other hand, he obtained the extension of the limits of Hong Kong; the opening up of the inland waters of China to foreign trade and the assurance that the Yangtse basin should not be alienated; and many very valuable railway concessions. He fought consistently for "the open door," and successfully opposed any granting of exclusive or differential rights. Lord Salisbury, indeed, "redressed the partial failure of his efforts in international diplomacy by the triumphs won, in spite of the influence of powerful rivals, in the field of commercial concessions and additional trade advantages."[1] Moreover, the signature of the Anglo-Russian agreement (April 28th, 1899) marked the beginning of a better understanding with Russia, which bore fruit later.

Of the success of the Government's Egyptian policy, which resulted in the reconquest of the Sudan and the extension of peaceful civilisation to that unfortunate province, its strongest opponents can now entertain no doubt. While strongly approving of this policy, Lord Salisbury told Lord Cranbrook that he could "claim no share in it"—a strange admission for a Prime

[1] Whates, p. 164.

Minister to make. He added, however, that it was he who "insisted upon the employment of Kitchener, much against the grain of the great men in London."[1] The battle of Omdurman (September 2nd, 1898) was followed by the Fashoda incident, which brought France and England to the verge of war. In the firm attitude which he took up in this matter, Lord Salisbury received the support of the whole nation, and the tact with which he handled the delicate situation provided France with as easy a way of retreat as the circumstances allowed. Finally, an agreement was arrived at by which France withdrew all claims to the Nile Valley; and at the same time by the Niger Convention, signed in June, 1898, but not ratified during the Fashoda dispute, the boundaries of British and French territories in West Africa were satisfactorily settled. The way was thus paved for the more comprehensive agreement with France, which was concluded by Lord Lansdowne in 1904.

Lord Salisbury had thus placed to his credit another fine diplomatic achievement. War was a thing hateful to him, and he had worked unceasingly and with success to prevent a breach of the peace. Thus, when the Boer war broke out in October, 1899, though he realised that it was unavoidable and never for a moment doubted the justice of our cause, it came to him, nevertheless, as a grievous blow. In the actual conduct of the dispute with Kruger, he was not directly

[1] *Life of Lord Cranbrook*, II. 368.

concerned, but he cannot avoid some share of responsibility for the early disasters of the war. Had he exercised a stricter supervision over his colleagues, he would have been able to insist that the information supplied to the War Office by the Intelligence Department and from other sources was not ignored and that adequate preparations were made. But when once hostilities broke out he did signal service to the nation by making it clear to other Powers that no intervention would be allowed.

To this public anxiety was added an overwhelming private sorrow—the death of his wife (November 20th, 1899). To Lady Salisbury he was united in the closest bonds of affection and comradeship. He gave her his unreserved confidence, and looked to her for encouragement and help in political and other matters, relying on her alert intelligence, her keen sense of humour, her sound common sense and her ability to see the bright side of things. Though little known outside a select circle, she was the object of deepest affection to her friends and her family, and her influence on all who were admitted to her intimacy is known to have been extraordinary. How much Lord Salisbury himself owed to her, politically, was shown at the time of his election as leader of the party in the House of Lords, when the Duke of Richmond said to him: "If Lady Salisbury were the Duchess of Richmond, you would never have been leader." [1]

[1] *Life of Lord Cranbrook*, II. 163.

In the summer of 1900 the Boxer outbreak and the siege of the legations in Pekin necessitated a revival of the Concert of Europe in a new sphere, and still further increased the work and anxieties of the Foreign Secretary. In September the Government dissolved Parliament, and at the "khaki election," which followed, Lord Salisbury secured a majority of 134. Had he consulted his own wishes, he would now have retired from public life. "He was borne down with domestic grief and physical weakness; and yet he felt himself unable to lay down his burden lest the enemies of his country should take courage from the ministerial and electoral difficulties that might, and indeed did, follow his resignation. He remained at his post, and his countrymen honoured his determination. But very few of them knew what the effort was costing him, and how much sorer was the self-sacrifice involved in holding office in 1900 than in resigning it thirty-three years before." [1]

He did, however, hand over the direction of the Foreign Office to Lord Lansdowne, taking himself the post of Lord Privy Seal. But he

[1] Lord R. Cecil in the *Monthly Review*, October, 1903. After the election of 1900, the Government contained so many members and connections of the Cecil family that it was nicknamed "The Hotel Cecil, Unlimited"—thus recalling the "Regnum Caecilianum" of 300 years before. In addition to Viscount Cranborne (Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs), Mr. A. J. Balfour (First Lord of the Treasury), and Mr. Gerald Balfour (President of the Board of Trade), one of Lord Salisbury's daughters was married to Lord Selborne (First Lord of the Admiralty), and one of his nieces, Mary Beresford-Hope, was the wife of Mr. J. W. Lowther, then Chairman of Ways and Means, and now Speaker.

maintained a special interest in foreign affairs, and the policy which resulted in the Japanese Alliance of 1902 was approved of, and controlled by him.

The death of Queen Victoria, in January, 1901, was another break with the past, and to few of her subjects can the sense of personal loss have been greater than to Lord Salisbury. Following the example of his illustrious ancestor, this "greater Cecil of a greater Queen" served his Sovereign with a devotion and loyalty which won her utmost confidence and esteem. Bishop Boyd-Carpenter records that she "spoke with admiration of Lord Salisbury, as of one in whom she had great confidence. The impression left on my mind was that she gave him, if not the highest, an equal place with the highest among her ministers." He adds that "the two Prime Ministers who held high place in her mind, were Sir Robert Peel and Lord Salisbury," and she thought the latter "greater than Lord Beaconsfield." [1]

On the conclusion of peace with the Boers (May 31st, 1902), there was no longer any valid reason to defer his retirement, though, if it had not been for King Edward's unfortunate illness, he would have remained Prime Minister until after the Coronation. On July 11th he placed his resignation in the hands of the King, who was then convalescent, and thus ended his long

[1] *Some Pages of My Life*, by the Rt. Rev. W. Boyd-Carpenter, late Bishop of Ripon.

premiership of nearly fourteen years. He was succeeded as Prime Minister by Mr. Balfour.

For many years his health had been gradually failing, and on several occasions he had been obliged to go abroad—to Château Cecil at Puys, near Dieppe, to his villa at Beaulieu, to Royat or elsewhere—to recoup, leaving the conduct of the Foreign Office to Mr. Balfour. At Whitsuntide, 1903, he had an acute attack of nephritis, accompanied by heart weakness, from which he never really recovered, and on August 22nd his death occurred at Hatfield. There, in the church which contains the ashes of so many of his ancestors, he lies buried by the side of his wife.

"Never was a life more complete," said Lord Rosebery,[1] summing up the sentiments of the nation with his usual felicity. "We can speak of him without a feeling of regret. Happy those who have so long mixed in public life of whom that may be said."

No one can read the story of Lord Salisbury's life, or study his character, without being constantly reminded of his great ancestor, Lord Burghley. Intense devotion to their Queen, single-hearted patriotism, freedom from personal ambition, Olympian serenity and aloofness, genuine piety, strong family affection, these and many other characteristics are common to the Elizabethan and to the Victorian statesman.

Lord Salisbury's personal reserve and hatred

[1] Speech at the Oxford Union, November 14th, 1904.

of publicity removed the details of his private life from the region of public comment, and, until the able pen of his daughter and secretary gives the long promised biography to the world, no truly adequate account of the man is possible. Yet the main features of his character are known. He was, above all, a profoundly religious man, and his chaplain has testified, "without any reservation whatever, that his life was a consecrated life. Each day, whatever the pressure of work might be, he was to be seen taking part in the devotions in the little private chapel, where it was my privilege to administer."[1] Of the depth of his loyalty to the Queen we have already spoken, and to these two qualities, forming together the very springs of his nature, must be added his affection for his home and family.

Like Lord Burghley, he made few intimate friends. His pleasure lay in the home circle, and he was never happier than when surrounded by his family. It was his greatest delight to gather round him on Sunday evenings as many members of the family as possible, and it is said that he was never seen to such advantage as on those occasions.[2] It was, in fact, the universal testimony of his guests that he was seen at his best in his own home. In early days, soon after his accession to the title, Bishop Wilberforce met Gladstone at Hatfield, and they agreed

[1] Report of Sermon by the Rev. E. A. Smith, *Times*, August 24, 1903.
[2] Speech of Lord Rosebery, November 14th, 1904.

that they "never saw a more perfect host." The Bishop also gives a glimpse of the house and its inmates: "I particularly enjoyed my Hatfield visit," he writes.[1] "The house is perfect, and the park very striking of its kind. But the great pleasure was the inmates, as hearty and kind as possible, and he full of high patriotic views." He was much impressed by his host's lofty ideals—"so fair, so kind, so simple and high-minded." [2]

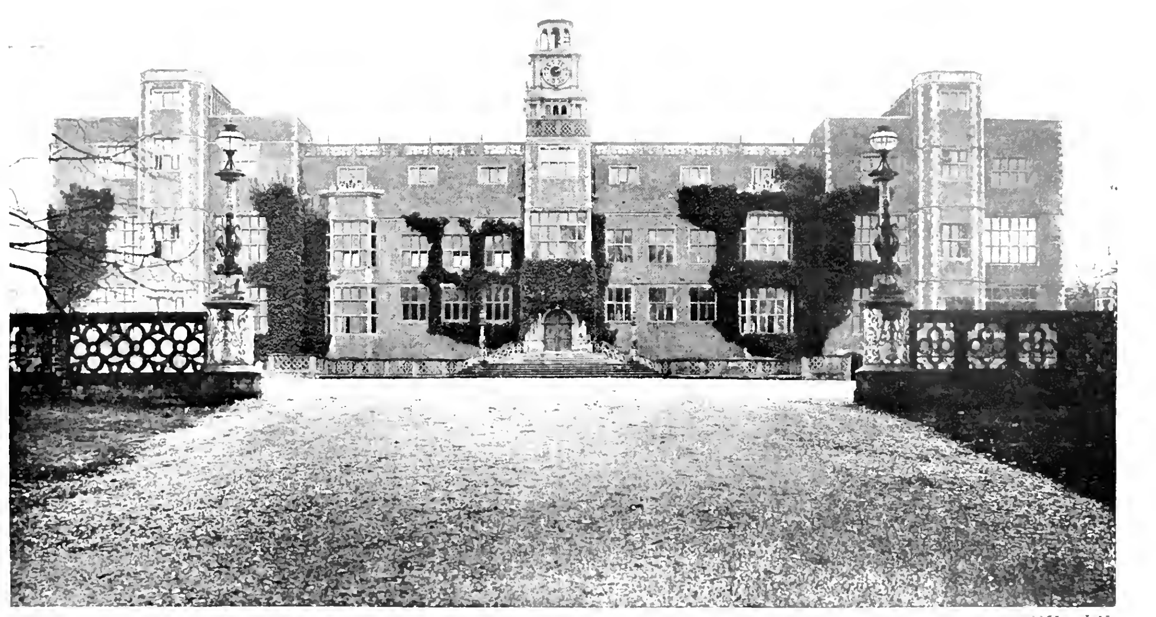
An extremely shy man, Lord Salisbury went little into society, and though he and his wife did their duty nobly, and successfully, at all the great gatherings and entertainments necessitated by his position, they both hated functions of all kinds. Both of them, too, despised appearances, and cared nothing for such things as fine clothes or smart carriages, though they could assume pomp when necessary, and on occasions Lady Salisbury might be seen driving about the county in a chariot with four horses and outriders. Lord Salisbury's reserve and silence made him, at times, a most embarrassing neighbour at a public dinner or other function, for he had no small-talk, and made no effort to maintain any general conversation. Yet, when he was at ease among friends, his conversational powers were considerable. "His qualities as a talker are not familiarly known," wrote Mr. G. W. E. Russell.[3] "He is

[1] To Sir C. Anderson, November 26th, 1868.
[2] *Life of Wilberforce*, July 16th, 1872.
[3] *Collections and Recollections*, 1st Series.

painfully shy, and at a club or in a large party undergoes the torments of the lost, yet no one can listen, even casually, to his conversation, without appreciating the fine manner, full both of dignity and of courtesy: the utter freedom from pomposity, formality, or self-assertion, and the agreeable dash of genuine cynicism which modifies, though it does not mask, the flavour of his fun."

As a public speaker, he was impressive and weighty, and was capable of fine flights of eloquence. But, in spite of the literary perfection of his style, he did not rise to the first rank as an orator, despising the tricks of rhetoric, and refusing to practise the arts which win popular applause.

He had an immense power of sustained work, and is said to have sat at his desk for thirteen hours out of twenty-four. All his vast correspondence was written by his own hand, and as he was extremely neat and methodical in his ways, his papers—the bulk of which is enormous—were kept in immaculate order. He was a most considerate landlord, but he left the management of his estates chiefly to his wife. Unlike his father, he confessed that he was "entirely ignorant of practical agriculture, and was hardly able to distinguish a turnip from a cow." His only form of sport was rabbit shooting with ferrets, at which he was proficient. His great hobby, however, was science, and much of his leisure was spent in his laboratory at Hatfield.



30365. J.V.

HATFIELD HOUSE—NORTH VIEW

From his early days chemistry fascinated him; later on he took up electricity, and when electric light was installed at Hatfield he planned and superintended the work, of which he was immensely proud. Of his article on photography, which appeared in the *Quarterly Review* (October, 1864), it has been said: "There is no more lucid account of the chemistry of photography extant. Even at this distance of time, it may be read in preference to many a modern manual. Full of valuable suggestion, it anticipates not a few of the recent artistic and scientific achievements of photography."[1] In 1894 the British Association acknowledged his scientific attainments by electing him President, and he delivered a thoughtful and characteristic address on "Evolution."

As a statesman he will live in history as one of the greatest of the foreign ministers of Great Britain. In domestic legislation he left little mark. For he did not share the strange belief, which grew up in the nineteenth century and persists, in spite of all experience, to this day, that social evils can be remedied by revolutionary Acts of Parliament. Such reforms as "commend themselves to sober and patriotic opinion, and leave no resentment behind," he was always willing and anxious to further, but he held that "the proper legislative work of Parliament was to deal with matters on which parties do not contend," and that "it is detained from its normal labours by the perpetual intrusion of

[1] *Quarterly Review*, January, 1904, p. 299.

revolutionary projects." He laid it down as the central doctrine of Conservatism "that it is better to endure almost any political evil than to risk a breach of the historic continuity of government." Inspired by such principles, it was natural that he should oppose Home Rule with relentless energy, and the nation owes him a great debt of gratitude for the skill and tact with which he succeeded in welding the Conservatives and the Liberal Unionists into a homogeneous party, "the most formidable combination for the defence of constitutional principles and social justice known to modern history." [1]

In other respects the domestic record of his administrations is one of which no Prime Minister need be ashamed, but the supreme value of his tenure of power lies in the fact that he gave to the country a long period of internal peace and prosperity in which to recover from (and to prepare for) the disturbance and unrest inseparable from the advent of a Radical Government.

It is generally recognised that he regarded Pitt and Castlereagh as models upon whom he formed his own principles. That he learnt much from his study of those great men cannot be doubted, and it is true that very much of what he wrote of them may be applied to himself. Yet it is a striking fact that the very qualities which he praises in them—the cautious, patient, unemotional diplomacy, the "calm, cold self-contained temperament" of Castlereagh, the

[1] *Quarterly Review*, October, 1902, p. 654.

"pure and self-denying patriotism," and the lofty morality of Pitt—were also the distinguishing characteristics of Lord Burghley. Hereditary tendency may, therefore, have had more to do with the development of his character than conscious discipleship. Moreover, the task which he successfully accomplished was not unlike that which had confronted his ancestor. For it was his to guide the nation safely through a period of extreme danger, at the same time enormously increasing her prestige and extending her possessions. And just as Burghley was compelled to throw cold water on the hot-heads, whose love of adventure, noble in itself, could not fail to bring about the war which it was his life-long labour to avoid; so when the Jingoes clamoured for reckless action, Lord Salisbury remained cool and imperturbable, hearing, no doubt, amid the tumult, ancestral voices prophesying war. As he wrote of Castlereagh, "no tinge of that enthusiastic temper which leads men to overhunt a beaten enemy, to drive a good cause to excess, to swear allegiance to a formula, or to pursue an impracticable ideal, ever threw its shadow upon his serene, impassive intelligence." Like Castlereagh, too—and again like Lord Burghley—"he had not the talents that captivate the imagination, or the warmth of sympathy that kindles love. Men felt to him as to the pilot who had weathered an appalling storm, the physician who had mastered a terrible malady. They recognised his ability, and were glad in a moment of danger

to have such a counsellor at hand; but they do not appear to have been drawn to him by the bonds of that intense personal devotion which has united so many great statesmen with their political supporters."

But if he did not evoke the enthusiasm or the love of the public—and he made no effort to do so—he inspired complete confidence. The nation felt that in his hands the honour and interests of the Empire were safe. And among his colleagues he aroused unwavering loyalty and esteem. "My relations with Salisbury are delightful," wrote Lord Lytton,[1] when he was Viceroy of India. "He is so generous, so loyal, so considerate and sympathising, that it is a real privilege to work with him." His own loyalty and patriotism were so intense, his aims so pure, his disinterestedness so unassailable, that he set a noble example to all his followers, and we may truly say of him, as he said of Pitt: "the lapse of years only brings out in brighter lustre the grandeur of his intellect and the loftiness of his character."

Lord Salisbury was succeeded by his eldest son, James, Viscount Cranborne. The fourth Marquess was born in 1861, and was educated at Eton and University College, Oxford. He sat in Parliament, first for the Darwen division (1885—1892), and afterwards for Rochester (1893—1903). In the South African War he

[1] *Letters of Robert, Earl of Lytton*, II. 32.

served as Lieut.-Colonel of the 4th Battalion, Bedfordshire Regiment, and was mentioned in despatches and made C.B. On his return to England he was appointed Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs in the ministry of 1900, and three years later, on succeeding to the title, he was sworn of the Privy Council and appointed Lord Privy Seal. In 1905 he acted for a short time as President of the Board of Trade, and in 1909 was created G.C.V.O. He married, in 1887, Lady Cicely Alice Gore, daughter of the Earl of Arran, and has two sons and two daughters, the elder of whom has married the Hon. W. Ormsby-Gore, M.P.

The third Marquess left four more sons and two daughters, of whom the elder, Lady Beatrix Maud Cecil, is now the Countess of Selborne, while Lady Gwendolen, who was her father's secretary and is writing his life, remains unmarried. The sons are: the Rev. Lord William Cecil (born 1863), Rector of Hatfield and Rural Dean of Hertford; he married Lady Florence Bootle-Wilbraham, daughter of the Earl of Lathom, and has seven children: Lord Robert Cecil (born 1864), K.C., M.P. for Hitchin, who married Lady Eleanor Lambton, daughter of the Earl of Durham: Colonel Lord Edward Cecil (born 1867), D.S.O., who has had a brilliant career in the Army, and has held various posts in the Egyptian Government; he married a daughter of Admiral Maxse, and has two children: and Lord Hugh Cecil (born 1869), LL.D., M.P. for Oxford University, unmarried.

Such is the record of the Cecils, and it is one of which any family may be proud. For though neither branch of the family did much to distinguish itself during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, yet to have produced three such statesmen as Lord Burghley, Robert, Earl of Salisbury, and the third Marquess of Salisbury, is to have deserved well of the nation. And surely never were such men and the ideals they represent more needed than at the present day. Our English tradition, which impels the heir to a great name to devote his life to the service of his country, and sets ever before him the highest standard of conduct both in public and private life, is an asset to the nation of incalculable value. It is the growth of centuries; it may be destroyed in a generation. And democracy is essentially destructive. All special rights and privileges are an abomination to it, and the accompanying duties and responsibilities it ignores and decries. Nor does it stop to enquire whether such privileges are, on the whole, good or bad for the nation. It is enough that they exist; and better that the whole population should grovel together in the ditch than that any of its members should occupy a "privileged" position on the bank, however much they may thereby be enabled to help their less fortunate fellows. Against these forces of destruction families such as the Cecils present a powerful bulwark. Staunch upholders of the Church and the Constitution; keenly interested, as landlords, in the cultivation and

maintenance of their estates and the welfare of their tenants; patriots whose disinterestedness is above suspicion; above all, men of the highest personal integrity—can the nation afford to throw away their willing service at the bidding of those to whom tradition means nothing and the "hereditary principle" is a mere anachronism?

As far as the Cecil family is concerned, its energies are far from exhausted. There is certainly plenty of talent left, and with the fine traditions of public service to inspire them, it is not unreasonable to hope that Cecils may yet arise whose achievements will equal, if they do not eclipse, those of their great ancestors.

APPENDIX

THE MANUSCRIPTS AT HATFIELD

THE following account of the origin and contents of the famous *Hatfield MSS.*, which have provided so much material for the foregoing pages, is condensed in the main from the Introduction to the first volume of the *Calendar of the Manuscripts of the Most Hon. the Marquis of Salisbury, K.G., etc., etc., etc., preserved at Hatfield House, Hertfordshire*, published for the Historical MSS. Commission (1883).

In early times, before the State Paper Office was established in 1578, each of the principal Secretaries of State, of whom there were always two, and sometimes three, had the custody of the documents and correspondence which passed through his hands, and their future destination depended in great measure "upon accident, upon the care or negligence of the individual or of his clerks, and above all, upon the good or evil fate which awaited the Secretary when he resigned his Seals." It was thus a mere chance whether the documents were preserved intact, or whether, as frequently happened, they were dispersed or destroyed.

Robert Cecil, the first Earl of Salisbury, made an effort to collect all his father's papers and others in his care, and place them together in an official library at Whitehall. On his death in 1612 a warrant was issued directing all his papers to be delivered to the Keepers of the Records, who had been appointed two years before to take charge of "Papers and Records concerning matters of State and Council." One of these Keepers, Thomas Wilson,

in a memorial made about the year 1613, stated that there were then two sorts of papers in the State Paper Office, " those that have been long kept at Whitehall, and those brought from Salisbury House by himself since the Lord Treasurer's decease, *which were far the greater in number.*" In spite of this transfer, however, a large quantity of papers must have been retained by the secretaries of the late Lord Treasurer ; and of these one portion is preserved at Hatfield, while the other forms the most important part of the *Lansdowne MSS.* at the British Museum.

The collection at Hatfield, which was pronounced by Mr. Brewer to be " perhaps the largest, certainly the most valuable, of any private collection in this kingdom," consists of upwards of 30,000 documents, the great majority of which are bound up in 210 large volumes. Many of these papers have been discovered in recent times through researches instituted by the second Marquess of Salisbury, and also by the late Marquess. The documents may be divided into two classes, the first of which comprises grants from the Crown, Privy Seals, and other Records of a strictly legal character, together with various illuminated manuscripts, theological treatises, rolls of genealogy, common-place books, plans, charts, etc. The second consists of manuscripts of a more directly historical nature, as State Papers, treaties, despatches, correspondence of public personages, and political memoranda. The Commissioners on Historical Manuscripts have expressed an opinion that the value and extent of the correspondence, " to which every person of any note at the time contributed, may be judged from the fact, that scarcely a day passes in any year from the accession of Edward VI. to the close of the century [and for many years beyond], which does not produce one or more letters connected with passing events, and generally from those whose rank and position

enabled them to furnish the most correct and authentic intelligence. In these papers the history of the times writes itself off from day to day, and almost from hour to hour, with the minuteness of a daily journal, but with a precision to which no ordinary journal could make any pretence."

Lord Burghley's papers illustrate the times from the beginning of his ministry, on the accession of Queen Elizabeth, to his death in 1598. Those of his son, Sir Robert Cecil, first Earl of Salisbury, which are even more voluminous than his father's, continue the record to the date of his death in 1612. The papers of Sir Walter Raleigh and of the Earl of Essex are also among the manuscripts at Hatfield.

Two large volumes of selections from these documents were published in the eighteenth century: the first (1542—1570) edited by the Rev. Samuel Haynes and published in 1740; and the second (1571—1596) edited by the Rev. W. Murdin and published in 1759. In these volumes the documents given are printed *in extenso*, but they have been superseded for most purposes by the *Calendars* issued by the Historical Manuscripts Commission. Of these twelve have now been published, containing *résumés* of papers up to the year 1602. Many historians have had access to the later papers, the most important for the purpose of the present volume being Professor Gardiner, Mr. Edwards for his *Life of Raleigh*, Professor Brewer for his article on "Hatfield House," so often quoted, and Mr. Dalton for his *Life of Viscount Wimbledon*.

The papers of the late Marquess of Salisbury at Hatfield are said to rival in interest and importance those of Lord Burghley and his son, but at present they are not accessible to the public.

INDEX

ALDERSON, Georgina Caroline, Marchioness of Salisbury, 248, 298
Alençon, Duke of, 91
Alington, Sir Giles, 101 *note*
Allington, Hugh, 7, 14
Allt yr Ynys, the Cecils of, 2, 4—6
Armada, the, defeated, 68
Armenian massacres, 292
Ascham, Roger, 16, 20
Anjou, Duke of, 60

BACON, Anthony, 70, 154, 156, 157, 158, 161
Bacon, Francis, 16, 20, 70, 153, 154, 155, 156, 158, 191, 214, 215
Bacon, Sir Nicholas, 16, 20
Bacon, Lady (Anne Cooke), 20, 30
Balfour, Arthur James, 243, 280, 285, 286, 291, 299 *note*, 301
Balfour, Lady Blanche, 243, 245
Balfour, Gerald, 291, 299 *note*
Bismarck, Prince, 272, 288
Beaconsfield, Lord. *See* Disraeli.
Beresford-Hope, Alexander, 244 *note*, 249
Beresford-Hope, Lady Mildred, 243, 244, 245
Beresford-Hope, Mary (Mrs. Lowther), 299
Bennet, Annabella, Countess of Exeter, 137
Bennet, Frances, Countess of Salisbury, 230
Berkshire, Thomas Howard, Earl of, 123
Berlin, Congress and Treaty of, 270—274
Berwick, Treaty of, 222
Bodleian Library, 161
Bodley, Sir Thomas, 160, 218
Boer War, 297, 298
Bootle-Wilbraham, Lady Florence (Lady William Cecil), 309
Borough, Sir John, 150
Boxer outbreak, 299
British East Africa Company, 288
British South Africa Company, 289
Brooke, Elizabeth, wife of Sir Robert Cecil, 166
Brown, "Capability," 55
Browne, Edmund, 10 *note*
Brownists, the, 10 *note*, 70
Brownlow, Elizabeth, Countess of Exeter, 137
Brydges, Frances, Countess of Exeter, 100, 102 *note*, 124 *note*, 128, 129
Buckingham, Duke of, 101, 108, 112—115, 118, 119, 123, 227

Burghley, Lord. *See* Cecil, William.
Burghley, manor of, 10
Burghley House, 33—35, 40, 53—55, 93, 131—133, 135, 136, 138, 143
Bye Plot, the, 179

Cadiz Expedition (1596), 161
Cadiz Expedition (1625), 112—119
Carleton, Sir Dudley, 107, 109, 110
Carnarvon, Lord, 255, 282
Castlereagh, Lord, 306, 307
Cavendish, Anne, Lady Rich, Countess of Exeter, 133
Cecil family, pedigrees and early history, 1 *sqq.*; arms, 4, 5; crests, 10 and *note*
Cecil, Algernon (son of the second Earl of Salisbury), 226
Cecil, Ann, Countess of Oxford, 43, 57—59, 69
Cecil, Anne, Countess of Stamford, 123
Cecil, Anne, Countess of Northumberland, 226
Cecil, Lady Beatrix Maud, Countess of Selborne, 267, 299 *note*, 309
Cecil, Lady Blanche (Balfour), 243
Cecil, Brownlow, eighth Earl of Exeter, 137, 138
Cecil, Brownlow, ninth Earl of Exeter, 138
Cecil, Brownlow, second Marquess of Exeter, 141—143
Cecil, Brownlow, fourth Marquess of Exeter, 144
Cecil, Catherine, Countess of Leicester, 227
Cecil, Charles, Viscount Cranborne (son of the second Earl of Salisbury), 221, 226, 227
Cecil, Charles (son of the third Earl of Salisbury), 231, 232
Cecil, David, of Stamford, 1, 2, 5, 7—12
Cecil, David, third Earl of Exeter, 103 *note*, 131
Cecil, Diana, Countess of Oxford, 110 *note*, 123
Cecil, Dorothy, Lady Alington, 101 *note*
Cecil, General Sir Edward, Viscount Wimbledon, 93, 94, 210, 217, 220; serves in the Low Countries, 103—105, 107, 110, 119, 120; his first marriage, 105; at the siege of Juliers, 106; his second marriage, 107; quarrels with Baron Dohna, 108, 109; commands the expedition to Cadiz, 112—119; created Viscount Wimbledon, 115, 119; appointed Governor of Portsmouth, 119; his death, 120
Cecil, Lord Edward, 309
Cecil, Elizabeth, (daughter of Lord Burghley), 56, 63
Cecil, Elizabeth, Lady Hatton, afterwards Lady Coke, 101, 217
Cecil, Elizabeth, Countess of Berkshire, 123
Cecil, Elizabeth, Countess of Devonshire, 133, 226
Cecil, Elizabeth, Countess of Orrery, 137
Cecil, Lady Emily, Marchioness of Westmeath, 240
Cecil, Lieut.-Colonel Lord Eustace, 245
Cecil, Frances, Countess of Shaftesbury, 131
Cecil, Frances, Countess of Cumberland, 166
Cecil, Frances, Lady Scudamore, 133, 134
Cecil, Lady Georgiana, Lady Cowley, 141 *note*, 240
Cecil, Lady Gwendolen, 309

Cecil, Henry, tenth Earl and first Marquess of Exeter, 138—141
Cecil, Lord Hugh, 309
Cecil, James, third Earl of Salisbury, 227—230
Cecil, James, fourth Earl of Salisbury, 230—232
Cecil, James, fifth Earl of Salisbury, 233
Cecil, James, sixth Earl of Salisbury, 233, 234
Cecil, James, seventh Earl and first Marquess of Salisbury, 235—237
Cecil, James Gascoyne-, second Marquess of Salisbury, 240—245, 249, 259
Cecil, James, Viscount Cranborne, 245, 246, 254
Cecil, James, fourth Marquess of Salisbury, 267, 299 *note*, 308, 309
Cecil, Jane (mother of Lord Burghley), 10 *note*, 13, 33, 34, 53, 54, 69
Cecil, John, fourth Earl of Exeter, 131
Cecil, John, fifth Earl of Exeter, 54, 135—137
Cecil, John, sixth Earl of Exeter, 137
Cecil, John, seventh Earl of Exeter, 137
Cecil, Lord John Joicey-, 144, 145
Cecil, Lucy, Marchioness of Winchester, 93, 105, 217
Cecil, Lady Mildred (Beresford-Hope), 243, 244, 245
Cecil, Richard (father of Lord Burghley), 10—13, 69 *note*
Cecil, Sir Richard, of Wakerley, 93, 103
Cecil, Sir Robert, first Earl of Salisbury, 6, 11 *note*, 43, 70, 78, 92, 122, 125; Burghley's last letters to him, 71—73; relations with his brother, 94, 95; helps his nephew Edward, 103—105; his birth and early life, 147, 148; his position at Court, 148, 149; Bacon's opinion of him, 153, 154, 191, 214, 215, relations with the Bacons, 154—158; made Secretary, 157, 169; relations with Essex, 158—166, 171; his marriage, 166; goes on a mission to France, 169; correspondence with James, 171—176; created Earl of Salisbury, 177; relations with Raleigh, 179—184; his religious policy, 184—188; his work as Lord Treasurer, 189—192; his foreign policy, 193; accepts a pension from Spain, 193, 194; his incorruptibility, 194—196; presents received by him, 196—201: his personal tastes, 198—202; lampoons on him, 202, 203; entertains the King at Theobalds, 203—205; exchanges Theobalds for Hatfield, 204—206; rebuilds Hatfield, 207, 208; his last illness and death, 209, 210; his confession of faith, 211, 212; slandered after his death, 213, 214; his character, 215—218
Cecil, Robert (son of the second Earl of Salisbury), 226
Cecil, Lord Robert, 283, 284, 292
Cecil, Robert Arthur Talbot Gascoyne-, third Marquess of Salisbury; his birth and education, 247; early years in Parliament, 247 *sqq.*; his marriage, 248, 249; his contributions to the *Quarterly Review*, 249, 250, 251, 255, 257, 275, 305; his views on Reform, 250, 251, 254, 255; his contests with Gladstone, 251—255; appointed Secretary for India, 255, resigns, 255, 256; succeeds to the title, 259; his action towards the Irish Church Disestablishment Bill, 260, 261; Chancellor of Oxford University, 262; again Secretary for

India, 263, 264; his views on the Church, 264; his relations with Disraeli, 264—266; at the Conference of Constantinople 267, 268; Gladstone's opinion of him, 267, 278, 281; his relations with Lord Derby, 269, 270; Foreign Secretary, 270; at the Berlin Congress, 270—273; succeeds Beaconsfield as leader in the Lords, 274; on Home Rule, 276, 277, 282, 283; Prime Minister, 279; his "blazing indiscretions," 283, 284; his second administration, 285—290; his third administration, 290—299; defects of his ministry, 291, 292; death of his wife, 298; his fourth administration, 299, 300; resigns, 300; his death, 301; compared with Lord Burghley, 301, 302, 307; personal characteristics, 301—305; his place as a statesman, 305—308

Cecil, Sophia, wife of Henry Pierrepont, 141 *note*

Cecil, Sir Thomas, first Earl of Exeter, 7, 20, 43, 44, 78, 121; his birth, 79; his adventures on the Continent, 80—88; his marriage, 89; appointed Governor of the Brill, 92; relations with his brother, 94, 95; succeeds as Lord Burghley, 96; appointed President of the North, 97; created Earl of Exeter, 100; his last years and death, 100—102

Cecil, Thomas Chambers, 138

Cecil, Lady Victoria, 143

Cecil, William, second Earl of Exeter, 93, 107, 121—123

Cecil, William, Lord Roos, 100, 101, 122, 124—130

Cecil, William, second Earl of Salisbury, 166, 180, 210, 212, 219—225

Cecil, William, of Tewin (son of the second Earl of Salisbury), 226

Cecil, William (son of the third Earl of Salisbury), 231

Cecil, Colonel Lord William, 144

Cecil, Rev. Lord William, 309

Cecil, William Alleyne, third Marquess of Exeter, 143, 144

Cecil, William Thomas Brownlow, fifth Marquess of Exeter, 54, 55 and *note*, 145

Cecil, William, Lord Burghley, 4—7, 9, 11, 13, 14, 122, 146, 152, 160, 169, 172; his interest in genealogy and heraldry, 1, 18; birth and education, 15, 16; his first marriage, 17; advancement at Court, 19, 21; second marriage, 20; in favour with Somerset, 21—23; appointed Secretary of State, 24; his behaviour to Somerset, 24—26; evades responsibility for Northumberland's plot, 29; his bad health, 28, 55; his position during Mary's reign, 30—32; his attitude to religious questions, 31, 70, 71; his relations with Elizabeth, 32, 33; receives grants of land, 33; enlarges Burghley House, 33—35, 40, 53—55; Secretary of State under Elizabeth, 36; his share in the religious settlement of 1559, 37; negotiates the Treaty of Edinburgh, 38; made Master of the Court of Wards, 38, 39; enlarges Cecil House, 40; builds Theobalds, 40—43; his children, 43; plots against him, 44, 45, 49, 50, 64; authorised use of torture, 47, 48; his magnanimity to opponents, 48; created Lord Burghley, 51; made Lord Treasurer, 52; his expenses, 52, 53; meets Mary Queen of Scots at Buxton, 55, 56; marriage of his daughter to the Earl of Oxford, 57—59; his encouragement

of trade, 61 ; his treatment of Drake, 61—63 ; his disgrace after the death of Mary, 66, 67 ; death of his wife, 69 ; last letters to his son, 71—73 ; his death, 73 ; Elizabeth's affection for him, 74 ; his policy and its results, 75, 76 ; personal characteristics, 76, 77 ; his property and will, 78 ; relations with his son Thomas, 79—89, 97 ; compared with the late Lord Salisbury, 301, 302, 307
Cecil House, 40, 120 *note*
Ceciles, the, of Burgundy, 4
Chamberlain, Joseph, 291
Charles I., 112, 222, 223, 224, 225
Charles II., 228, 229
Cheke, Sir John, 16, 17, 21, 24, 31
Cheke, Mary, wife of William Cecil, 17, 20
Chelmsford, Lord, 244, 245
Christian IV., King of Denmark, 203, 204
Churchill, Lord Randolph, 279, 285
Cleveland, President, 294
Cobham, Lord, 166, 179, 180
Coke, Sir Edward, 101, 155, 181
Coningsby, Thomas, Lord, 134, 135
Constantinople, Conference of, 267, 268
Conway, Lord, 226
Cooke, Sir Anthony, 20, 21, 31, 43
Cooke, Mildred, wife of William Cecil, 20, 21, 43, 69
Cope, Sir Walter, 183, 194, 212, 216
Cottington, Lord, 221, 222
Cranborne, manor of, 177 *note*
Cranborne, Viscounts. *See* Cecil.
Cranbrook, Lord (Gathorne Hardy), 280, 296
Crete, 293
Cromwell, Oliver, 131—133
Cumberland, Henry Clifford, Earl of, 166
Cyssell. *See* Cecil.

DAVISON, William, 66, 160, 172
De la Hay, Paul, 5, 6
Delany, Mrs., 233, 234
Derby, fourteenth Earl of, 245, 255, 256, 262
Derby, fifteenth Earl of, 246, 269
Derby, Elizabeth, Countess of, 150
De Ros, Lord. *See* Roos.
De Spes, Guerau, 49, 50
Devonshire, William, third Earl of, 227
Devonshire, Duke of, 285, 291
Devonshire, Georgiana, Duchess of, 235, 236
Dicons, Alice, 9
Disraeli, Benjamin (Lord Beaconsfield), 143, 242, 244, 253, 255, 256, 263, 264, 266, 273, 274, 300
Dohna, Baron, 108, 109
Dolci, Carlo, 135
Dorset, Earl of, 189, 213, 218
Doughty, Thomas, 63

Drake, Sir Francis, 61—63
Drury, Diana, second wife of Sir Edward Cecil, 107
Drury, Elizabeth, Countess of Exeter, 123, 124, 133
Dryden, John, 123 *note*
Dudley, Lord Guilford, 27
Dudley, Lord Robert. *See* Leicester, Earl of.

Edinburgh, Treaty of, 38
Edward VII., 300
Egerton, Elizabeth, Countess of Exeter, 124 *note*, 131
Egerton, Sir Thomas, 162
Elector Palatine, the, 107—109
Elgin, Thomas Bruce, Earl of, 123
Elizabeth, Queen, 32, 33, 36, 40, 41, 47, 52, 60, 66, 67, 74, 91, 97, 147—150, 152, 155, 156, 172—176, 178, 206, 207
Elizabeth, Princess, daughter of James I., 107
Essex, Robert Devereux, second Earl of, 56 *note*, 70, 98, 114, 119, 154, 155, 158—165, 169, 171
Essex, Walter Devereux, first Earl of, 56 *note*
Essex, Countess of (Frances Walsingham), 162, 217
Essex, Countess of (Frances Howard), 219
Evelyn, John, 208
Exeter, Earls and Marquesses of. *See* Cecil.

Fakenham, Sir William, 2
Fane, Mary, Countess of Exeter, 133
Fashoda incident, the, 297
Felton, John, 47
Fox, Charles James, 235, 236
France, agreement with (1890), 289; the Fashoda incident, 297; agreement with (1904), 297
Franchise Bill (1884), 277

Gascoyne, Frances Mary, Marchioness of Salisbury, 241—243
Gascoyne-Cecil. *See* Cecil.
George III., 235
Germany, agreement with (1890), 288; and the Jameson Raid, 294; in China, 295
Gibbons, Grinling, 135
Giordano, Luca, 135
Gladstone, W. E., 247, 248, 251—255, 259, 263, 266, 267, 274, 275, 277—279, 281, 290, 302
Gondomar, Count, 128
Gordon, General, 279
Gore, Lady Cicely Alice, Marchioness of Salisbury, 309
Goschen, G. J. (afterwards Lord), 285, 291
Grand Almonership, the, 54, 90 *note*
Granville, Lord, 281, 288
Gray, Master of, 172, 173
Gresham, Sir Thomas, 87
Grey, Lady Jane, 20, 27
Gunpowder Plot, the, 185

HAMILTON, Elizabeth, Duchess of, Marchioness of Exeter, 141
Hampton Court Conference, 187
Harington, Sir John, 178, 203, 204
Hartington, Lord. *See* Devonshire, Duke of.
Hatfield House, 204, 206—209, 234, 242, 302, 303, 305
Hatton, Sir Christopher, 34, 67
Hatton, Frances, Lady Purbeck, 101
Hatton, Sir William, 101
Hay-Pauncefote Treaty, 295
Heckington, Jane. *See* Cecil, Jane.
Heligoland, 288, 289
Heneage, Sir Thomas, 95
Henry, Prince of Wales, 100, 106, 107, 220
Hertford, Earl of. *See* Somerset.
Hicks-Beach, Sir Michael (Lord St. Aldwyn), 280, 286, 291
Hill, Mary Amelia, Marchioness of Salisbury, 235—240
Hobart, Sir John, 99
Hoby, Sir Thomas, 20
Hoby, Lady (Elizabeth Cooke), 20, 48
Hoggins, Sarah, Countess of Exeter, 140, 141
Home Rule, 276, 277, 282, 283 ; Bills, 283, 285, 290
Hong-Kong, 296
Housing of the Working Classes Bill, 281
Howard, Catherine, Countess of Salisbury, 218, 220
Howard of Effingham, Lord, 167

INDIA, 255, 263, 264
Irish Church Suspensory Bill, 259, 260 ; Disestablishment Bill, 260, 261 ; Land Acts, 275, 287 ; Local Government Act, 291

JAMES I., 99, 102, 108—110, 112, 115, 128—130, 171—179, 184—193, 195, 196, 203—206, 214, 215, 221, 222
James II. (Duke of York), 228, 229, 232
Jameson Raid, 294
Japan, alliance with, 300
Joicey-Cecil. *See* Cecil.
Jonson, Ben, 205, 216
Juliers, siege of, 106

KEET, Elizabeth, Countess of Salisbury, 233, 234
Kiao Chau, 295
Kimberley, Lord, 292
Kitchener, Lord, 297
Kneller, Sir Godfrey, 136
Knollys, Sir William, 165

LAGUERRE, Louis, 135
Lake, Elizabeth (Lady Roos), 127—130
Lake, Sir Thomas and Lady, 127—130
Lambton, Lady Eleanor (Lady Robert Cecil), 309
Lansdowne, Lord, 297, 299
Latimer, John Neville, Lord, 89

Leicester, Philip Sidney, third Earl of, 227
Leicester, Robert Dudley, Earl of, 38, 45, 56, 57, 60, 62, 63, 68, 92, 172
Lely, Sir Peter, 136
Life Peerage Bills, 261, 262
Lorkin, Rev. Thomas, 126
Lowther, J. W., 299
Lyminge, Robert, 207
Lytton, Robert, Lord, 256, 274, 308

Manners, Elizabeth, Lady Roos, Countess of Exeter, 121, 122
Manners, Frances, Countess of Exeter, 124 *note*, 133
Manners, Margaret, Countess of Salisbury, 230
Mary, Queen, 30—32, 36
Mary Stuart, 37, 44—47, 49, 55, 66, 80, 172
Mather, Edmund, 50
Maurice, Prince, 105, 106
Maxse, Violet (Lady Edward Cecil), 309
Maxwell, Diana (Lady Cranborne), 226
Medici, Duke Ferdinand de', 103
Molle, John, 125
Morley, Lord, 282

Nassau, Count Ernest of, 107
Naunton, Sir Robert, 109, 147, 148, 221, 222
Neville, Dorothy, Countess of Exeter, 89, 100
Neville, Sir Henry, 189, 217
Nieuport, battle of, 104
Noel, Theodosia, wife of Sir Edward Cecil, 105, 107
Norden, John, 77
Norfolk, Duke of, 45, 46, 48, 49, 51
Northbrook, Lord, 263
Northcote, Sir Stafford (Earl of Iddesleigh), 269, 274, 277, 279, 280, 285, 286, 288
Northumberland, John Dudley, Earl of Warwick, Duke of, 23, 24, 27, 29, 30
Northumberland, Sir Henry Percy, eighth Earl of, 89
Northumberland, Henry, ninth Earl of, 197
Northumberland, Algernon, tenth Earl of, 226

O'Neill, Conn, 19, 20
Orde-Powlett, Myra Rowena Sibell, Marchioness of Exeter, 145
Orrery, Charles Boyle, fourth Earl of, 137
Orrery, John Boyle, fifth Earl of, 137
Oxford, Edward Vere, seventeenth Earl of, 57—59
Oxford, Henry Vere, eighteenth Earl of, 110, 123

Pakenham, Georgina Sophia, Marchioness of Exeter, 144
Palmerston, Lord, 251, 252, 254
Panama Canal, 295
Paper Duties, repeal of, 251—253
Parker, Archbishop, 16
Parliamentary Proceedings Bill, 261

Parnell, C. S., 282
Pauncefote, Sir Julian (afterwards Lord), 295
Peel, General, 248, 255
Penjdeh incident, the, 281
Pepys, Samuel, 208, 209, 225
Percy, Sir Henry. *See* Northumberland, Earl of.
Perrot, Sir John, 111, 112
Peterborough, Earl of, 230, 231
Philip III. of Spain, 126, 127
Philipp, Sir David, 7, 9
Philopatris, 11
Pitt, William, 306, 307
Port Arthur, 295, 296
Portugal, Convention with (1890), 289, 290
Poyntz, Isabella, Marchioness of Exeter, 142
Prior, Matthew, 136
Puckering, Sir Thomas, 126
Purbeck, Viscount, 101

Quarterly Review, the, 249—251, 255, 257, 275, 305

Raleigh, Sir Walter, 150—152, 166, 167, 179—184
Raleigh, Lady, 181, 182
Redgrave, Richard, 244, 245
Reform and Reform Bills, 250, 251, 254—257, 261
Rich, Anne, Lady, Countess of Exeter, 133, 136
Richmond, Duke of, 298
Ridolfi Plot, the, 49
Robsart, Amy, 38
Rochester, Robert Carr, Viscount, 189
Roos, Lord. *See* Cecil.
Roos, Elizabeth Manners, Lady, Countess of Exeter, 121, 122
Roos, Joan, 9
Rosebery, Lord, 290, 301
Ross, Bishop of, 51
Russell, Lord John (afterwards Earl), 251, 254, 261
Russell, John, Lord, 20
Russell, Lady (Elizabeth Cooke), 20, 156, 157, 168, 217
Russia, war with Turkey, 268; in the Far East, 295, 296; agreement with (1899), 296
Rutland, Edward, third Earl of, 121
Rutland, John, fourth Earl of, 125 *note*

Salisbury, Earls and Marquesses of. *See* Cecil.
Salisbury Circular, the, 270
Salisbury House, 242
Samoa Convention, 295
San Stefano, Treaty of, 268, 270, 272
Saturday Review, the, 249
Scudamore, Viscount, 134
Seycelds, the, of Allt yr Ynys, 4—6
Shaftesbury, Anthony Ashley Cooper, Earl of, 131
Sheffield, Lord, 199, 218

Shrewsbury, Earl of, 150, 202
Shuvalov, Count, 270—272
Sidney, Sir Philip, 57, 59 *note*
Sitsilt, Sir James, 2, 3
Sitsilt, Sir John, 2, 3
Smith, Sir Thomas, 100
Smith, W. H., 285, 286
Sneyd, Rev. William, 139, 140
Somerset, Edward Seymour, Earl of Hertford, Duke of, 21—25
Southampton, Earl of, 165, 207
Southampton, Countess of, 217
Spanish-American War, 295
Spenser, Edmund, 77
Stafford, Sir Edward, 67
Stamford, Earl of, 123, 124
Stuart, Arabella, 181
Sudan, reconquest of the, 296, 297
Suffolk, Thomas Howard, first Earl of, 207, 222
Suffolk, Duchess of, 31, 39
Sussex, Earl of, 63

Tait, Archbishop, 260
Theobalds, 40—43, 202—206
Throckmorton, Sir Nicholas, 45, 80, 84, 85
Tradescant, John, 209
Triple Alliance, the, 287
Tufton, Anne, Countess of Salisbury, 233
Tufton, Lady (Frances Cecil), 217, 233 *note*
Turkey, war with Russia, 268 ; Armenian massacres, 292, 293

United States of America, 294, 295

Venezuela, 294
Vere, Lady Bridget, 217
Vere, Sir Edward, 114 *note*
Vere, Sir Francis, 103—105
Vere, Sir Horace, 109, 110, 113
Vernon, Emma, wife of Henry Cecil, 138—140
Verrio, Antonio, 135, 136
Victoria, Queen, 142, 300, 302
Villiers, Sir John, Viscount Purbeck, 101

Walsingham, Sir Francis, 59, 62, 63, 68, 75, 121, 159, 172
Warwick, Earl of. *See* Northumberland, Duke of.
Wei-Hai-Wei, 296
Wellesley, Lord Charles, 141 *note*
Wellington, Duke of, 141 *note*, 242, 243
Wentworth, William, 63
West, Lady Mary Catherine, Marchioness of Salisbury and afterwards Countess of Derby, 244—246
Westmeath, Marquess of, 240
Whichcote, Isabella, Marchioness of Exeter, 145
Whitgift, Archbishop, 70, 71

Wilberforce, Bishop, 302, 303
William II., the Emperor, 294
William IV., 242
Wilson, Thomas, 207
Wimbledon Hall, 94, 97
Winchester, William, fourth Marquess of, 93, 101
Windebank, Thomas, 80—88
Wingfield, Anthony, 202
Winwood, Sir Ralph, 106
Wissing, William, 136
Worcester, Earl of, 207
Workmen's Compensation Act, 291
Wothorpe House, 98
Wotton, Sir Edward, 218
Wotton, Sir Henry, 174, 186

Young, Robert, 232

Zouch, Sophie (Viscountess Wimbledon), 120

BRADBURY, AGNEW, & CO. LD., PRINTERS, LONDON AND TONBRIDGE.

THIS BOOK IS DUE ON THE LAST DATE
STAMPED BELOW

AN INITIAL FINE OF 25 CENTS

WILL BE ASSESSED FOR FAILURE TO RETURN THIS BOOK ON THE DATE DUE. THE PENALTY WILL INCREASE TO 50 CENTS ON THE FOURTH DAY AND TO $1.00 ON THE SEVENTH DAY OVERDUE.

FEB 28 1940
FEB 16 1948
13Apr'54GR
18Mar'62MJ
REC'D LD
MAR 4 1962
REC'D LD
NOV 23'63-5 PM
JAN 8 1976
DAVIS
INTERLIBRARY LOAN
REC. ILL JAN 22 '76
REC. CIR. JAN 30 '76

LD 21-100m-7,'39 (402s)

U. C. BERKELEY LIBRARIES
C047913587

295712

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA LIBRARY