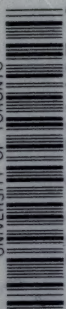


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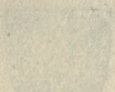


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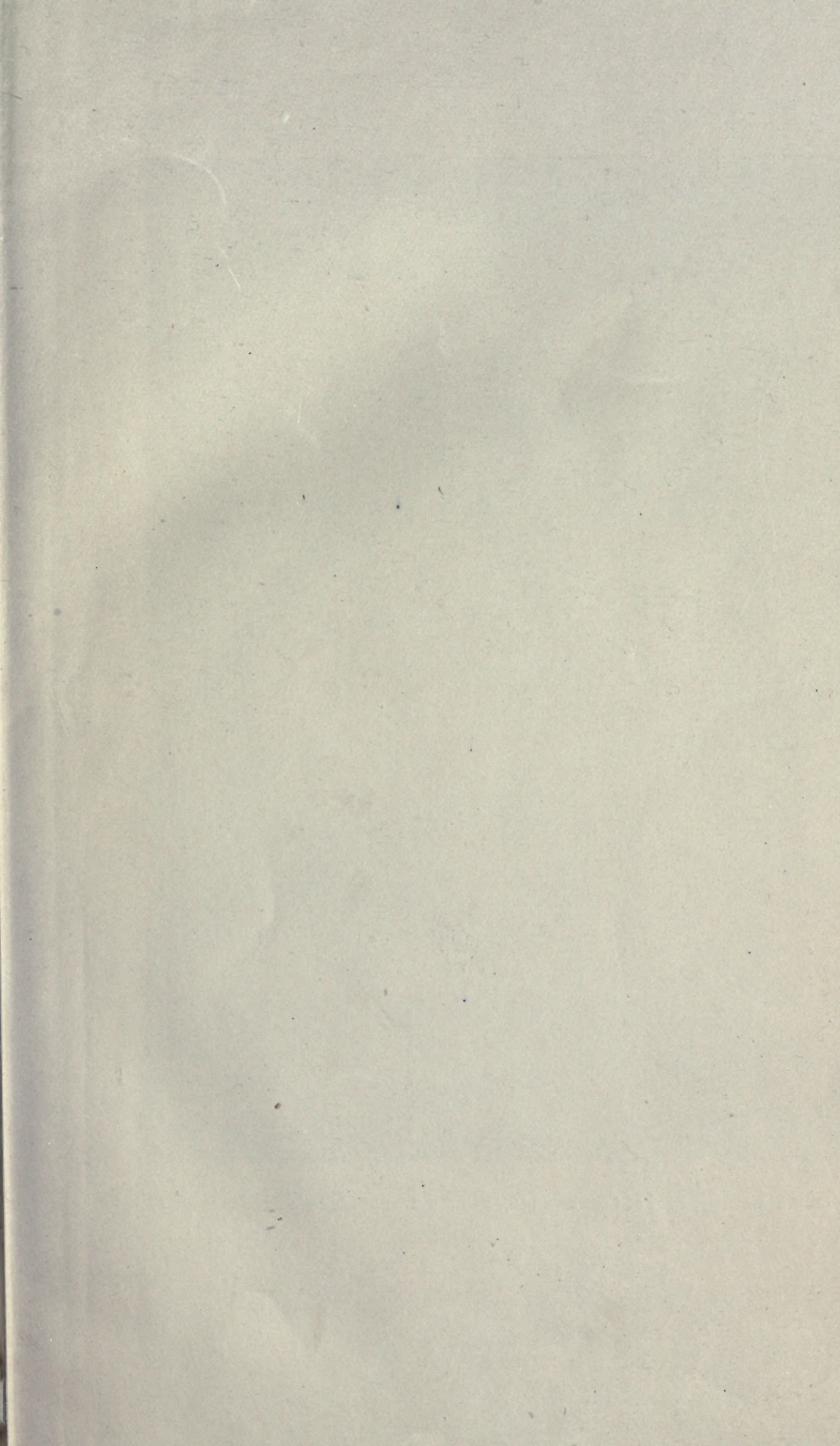
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Portrait of George, Earl of Cumberland. From a miniature by Nicholas Hilliard

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George, Third Earl of Cumberland
(1558-1605)

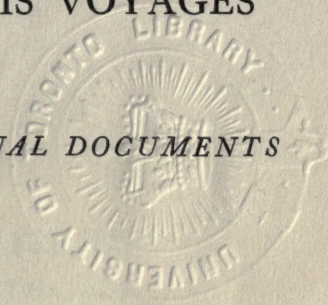
HIS LIFE AND HIS VOYAGES

A STUDY FROM ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS

BY

DR G. C. WILLIAMSON

Author of *The Life of Lady Anne Clifford, Ozias Humphry, R.A.*
The Keats Letters and Papers at Hampstead, etc.



1636/4
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TO
HENRY JAMES,
FIRST BARON HOTHFIELD
AND A BARONET,
LORD LIEUTENANT AND CUSTOS ROTULORUM
FOR WESTMORELAND,
VICE-ADMIRAL OF THE COASTS
OF CUMBERLAND AND WESTMORELAND;
THIS BOOK IS RESPECTFULLY DEDICATED,
BY HIS FRIEND, THE AUTHOR,
AS AN EXPRESSION OF HIS THANKS
FOR THE KINDLY ASSISTANCE, WITHOUT WHICH
IT COULD NOT HAVE BEEN WRITTEN.

CAMDEN'S ANAGRAM ON CUMBERLAND'S NAME AND ARMS

Georgius Clifordius Cumberlandius
Doridis regno clarus cum vi fulgebis.
"In Doridis regno clarus fulgebis, et undis
Cum vi victor erit flammeus ille Draco."

CAMDEN'S Remains.

SPENSER'S DEDICATION TO LORD CUMBERLAND

Redoubted lord ! in whose courageous mind
The flower of chivalry now blooming fair
Doth promise fruit, worthy the noble kind
Which of their praises have left you the heir;
 To you, this humble present I prepare
 For love of virtue and of martial power,
 To which, though nobly you inclined are
 As goodly well you showed in late essays,
Yet brave examples of long passed days
In which true honour you may fashioned see,
To like desire of honour you may raise
And fill your mind with magnanimity.
 Receive it, therefore, lord as it was meant
 For honour of your name and high descent.

Faerie Queene.

That I should outstrip always, all mankind
In worth and valour, nor the house disgrace
Of my forefathers, heroes without peer.

COWPER'S *Homer II.* VI.

Like leaves on trees, the race of man is found
Now green in youth, now withering on the ground
Another shoot the following spring supplies
They fall successive and successive rise,
So generations in their course decay
So flourish these, when these have passed away.

To stand the first in worth as in command
To add new honours to my native land,
Before mine eyes, my mighty sires to place
And emulate the glories of our race.

POPE.

PREFACE

THE existence of this book is due to the fact that its author was fortunate enough to discover, in the muniment rooms at Skipton Castle and Appleby Castle, certain documents relating to the Earl of Cumberland and quite a considerable bundle of his letters and of those from his wife, none of which had hitherto been published.

In this connection the author would wish to mention his able and learned helper, Miss D. O. Shilton, who is well known at the Public Record Office, as without her assistance he could scarcely have recognised the importance of some of the documents and certainly would not have been able to decipher much of the strange, cramped and irregular handwriting of the letters from the Countess.

There are many allusions to the Earl of Cumberland in books dealing with Elizabethan voyages; and in some cases, as, for example, in Sir Julian Corbett's work on the *Successors of Drake*, considerable space has been allotted to an account of his many expeditions and to a consideration of his character. All the writers, so far as can be ascertained however, have gone for their information to Hakluyt, Purchas, and Wright, and to Monson's *Tracts*, supplementing their statements from an anonymous manuscript in the Sloane collection¹.

So far, no student has been privileged to have before him the actual letters of the "bold privateer," nor the account of his voyages prepared for his daughter Lady Anne, Countess of Dorset, Pembroke and Montgomery, nor the three stately manuscript volumes of the Clifford

¹ B.M. Sloane 3289.

papers, nor the newly discovered statements about the voyages written down from the very lips of those who took part in them.

All these things, hidden away in private possession, have been placed at the service of the author, and he cannot express in too grateful terms his thanks to his good friend, Lord Hothfield, for the unbounded confidence he has reposed in him and for his generosity—not merely in permitting the fullest use of the new material, but also in allowing him to have it in his own hands for examination and study.

To this acknowledgement must be added an expression of grateful thanks to Mrs Leveson-Gower of Bill Hill, and to her daughter, Mrs Hodgson—the direct descendants of Lord Cumberland through Mary, Countess Gower, daughter of the sixth Lord Thanet—for permission to examine and use the documents in their possession, which include the original manuscript of her father's voyages prepared for Lady Anne; and to their cousin, Mr Arthur F. G. Leveson-Gower, who with great generosity has lent, for detailed use, the perfect copy of this fine manuscript which he had specially prepared.

Other expressions of thanks are due to Sir Henry Maxwell-Lyte, who has generously lent many Calendars and other works of reference, and so enabled the copying to be done in the writer's own rooms instead of in the Public Record Office; to Mr R. G. Gunton, Lord Salisbury's archivist; to Mr Michael Oppenheim who placed his unrivalled store of information on Elizabethan naval affairs at his disposal and permitted him to quote in copious fashion from his writings, some of which he also presented to him; to Sir Julian Corbett; to Mr R. T. Gilson of the MS. Department of the British Museum, and to many others who have afforded kindly aid and assistance.

A word of special gratitude is due to the Duke of

Devonshire, who most kindly sent up the Bolton Abbey papers to the Record Office, that they might be examined; to Earl Spencer for the loan of an invaluable MS. concerning Lady Cumberland, and to the Earl of Lonsdale, the Earl of Pembroke and Lord Sackville for similar kindly assistance.

The author desires further to express his thanks to his son, Mr Cuthbert A. Williamson and to his friend Dr Laing for having kindly read his proofs, and to the proof reader of the University Press for having saved him from committing some unfortunate errors in respect to the dates etc. of some of the letters quoted in these pages.

Sir Edward Cook, in a recent work¹, has described "the difficulties which confront a biographer," and has enumerated some of the qualifications required in a successful practitioner "of the art."

As he wisely remarks "the lists" (of such difficulties and qualifications) "are so formidable that if they were believed, the wonder would be that any biographies would ever be written."

The author of this work has been rebuked, at different times, by friendly reviewers, on many counts.

Of one book it was complained that it gave far too little information concerning the person who was its subject, of another that far too much was said. Of one that a little more industry would have revealed more facts; of another that the author, with what was termed "most praiseworthy industry," had searched all available sources and discovered so much new information that one was overwhelmed by its bulk and wondered whether the subject was worthy of so much being written about him. In a recent work he was rebuked for not giving letters in full; while in a previous one he was told that they should have been abridged.

In this present work he would fain believe that in

¹ *Literary Recreations*, London, 1918.

the case of a person who lived in "the spacious times of good Queen Bess" it is desirable to chronicle every ascertained fact, and this he has decided to do.

He has, furthermore, printed *in extenso* all the letters recently discovered, even though some are of minor interest, and notwithstanding the fact that many contain allusions which it is not possible now to explain. These have been rendered, as nearly as may be, into modern spelling, in accordance with the excellent example set in the Calendars of State Papers.

Indeed, if this had not been done with Lady Cumberland's letters, they would have presented such serious puzzles to the reader as would have detracted from their interest, inasmuch as her Ladyship spelled as she liked, in various phonetic or partially phonetic, forms, and thought nothing of varying the spelling of a word three or four times, in the same letter.

Into the detailed accounts of the various voyages as given by Hakluyt and Purchas, with all their deeply interesting comments on flora and fauna, on the inhabitants of the various places and their habits, and on anthropological matters, the author has not entered.

They can be read *in extenso* in the works just alluded to, and do not fall within the scope of this book, the aim of which has been rather to tell the story of the life and doings of George Clifford, third Earl of Cumberland, as far as they are made known in the documents which still exist, referring to all available sources of information and narrating, with as little attention to side issues as seemed desirable, the actual facts so far as they are now known.

Much of course remains unwritten. Of much of his life nothing is known at all, the main interest having been centred upon his voyages. We would gladly know more of his life at Court, of the time he spent on his northern estate and of what he did when there, also of his school

and college days and of the fair ladies who so often trifled with his lawful affections.

Of these no account survives, however, and there is little chance now of their discovery.

His only daughter not only had great pride in his career and in his success, but cherished great personal affection for him and to these filial virtues are due the care with which, in the Clifford papers, she chronicled his doings, and the diligence with which she preserved some of his papers so lately found in her own stately castle. She gives us there her personal opinion of him, and it is worthy of record.

She does not overlook his failings, although she conceals the names of the ladies who were responsible for them, and she has preserved, with special care, that last pathetic, penitent and even noble letter in which he begged the forgiveness of his wife before he died.

She and her mother saw him die.

Though only a child, she knew him intimately, and it is her loving devotion which has shielded his good name, preserved his papers, and recorded his personal fascination, bravery and skill.

It is worth noting that so carefully have all these papers been protected that we are able to obtain information from them as to Lord Cumberland's doings in almost every year of his life, a record of a man who was never a great Officer of State that could probably be obtained in no other country than England.

The whole life appeared to offer an interesting episode in Elizabethan days that had never before been fully treated, or received quite the attention it deserved, and it is in the hope of being able to set forth the character of one who was, at the same time, a wise and clear-sighted courtier, an able military and naval commander, a clever strategist and a brave soldier, that his life, doings and career, are here described as far as possible in the words of those who were his contemporaries or in his own.

It was thought also that the moment for publication was opportune, as the papers deal with several questions even now being considered in the light of the recent Great War and afford instructive parallels between our own times and those of Elizabeth¹.

G. C. W.

BURGH HOUSE,
HAMPSTEAD,
LONDON.

May 1920.

¹ See especially pages 72, 100, 104, 105, 140, 155, 156 and 214.

CONTENTS

	PAGE
DEDICATION	v
CAMDEN'S ANAGRAM ON LORD CUMBERLAND'S NAME AND ARMS. SPENSER'S DEDICATION TO LORD CUMBERLAND	vii
PREFACE	ix
CHAPTER	
I. GEORGE, THIRD EARL OF CUMBERLAND	1
II. THE VOYAGES OF LORD CUMBERLAND	21
III. 1586. THE FIRST VOYAGE	27
IV. 1588. THE SECOND VOYAGE	36
V. 1589. THE THIRD VOYAGE	41
VI. THE YEAR 1590	65
VII. 1591. THE FOURTH VOYAGE	70
VIII. 1592. THE FIFTH VOYAGE	83
IX. 1593. THE SIXTH VOYAGE	113
X. 1593. THE SEVENTH VOYAGE	118
XI. 1594. THE EIGHTH VOYAGE	126
XII. 1595. THE NINTH VOYAGE	140
XIII. THE YEARS 1595 AND 1596 AND CADIZ	153
XIV. 1597. THE TENTH VOYAGE	168
XV. 1597. THE ELEVENTH VOYAGE	171
XVI. 1598. THE TWELFTH VOYAGE	174

XVII. THE YEAR 1599 AND THE CITY OF LONDON	219
XVIII. THE FINAL YEARS OF THE REIGN OF ELIZABETH	233
XIX. LORD CUMBERLAND IN THE REIGN OF KING JAMES	259
XX. LORD CUMBERLAND HIMSELF	276
XXI. THE COUNTESS OF CUMBERLAND	284
APPENDIX I	305
APPENDIX II	311
BIBLIOGRAPHY	314
INDEX	319

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

PLATE

I. Portrait of George, Earl of Cumberland, painted as a miniature by Nicholas Hilliard. In the collection of the Duke of Buccleuch.	FRONTISPIECE
	TO FACE PAGE
II. The Cover of the "Lady Anne" narrative with Lord Cumberland's crest upon it	22
III. Lord Cumberland's armorial bearings as emblazoned in colours in the "Lady Anne" narrative	22
IV. The Crest of Lord Cumberland as emblazoned in colours in the "Lady Anne" narrative	24
V. Drawing of Lord Cumberland's arms prepared for "Lady Anne" by "Thomas Webster" "butt a little before his Dethe"	24
VI. Frontispiece to the "Lady Anne" narrative of Lord Cumberland's voyages, written for her in 1618-19 as emblazoned in colours in the Manuscript	26
VII. Portrait of Lord Cumberland from an engraving by Rogers; probable date <i>circa</i> 1589 as he was K.G. in 1592	40
VIII. Portrait of Lord Cumberland in a series of portraits in Purchas, <i>circa</i> 1589	40
IX. A portion of the "Lady Anne" narrative describing the death of Francis, Lord Clifford, and the birth of Lady Anne, afterwards Countess of Dorset, Pembroke and Montgomery, with an interpolation in Lady Anne's own handwriting giving the correct age of her baby brother and shewing that the narrative was the one which she had prepared for herself in 1618-19	60

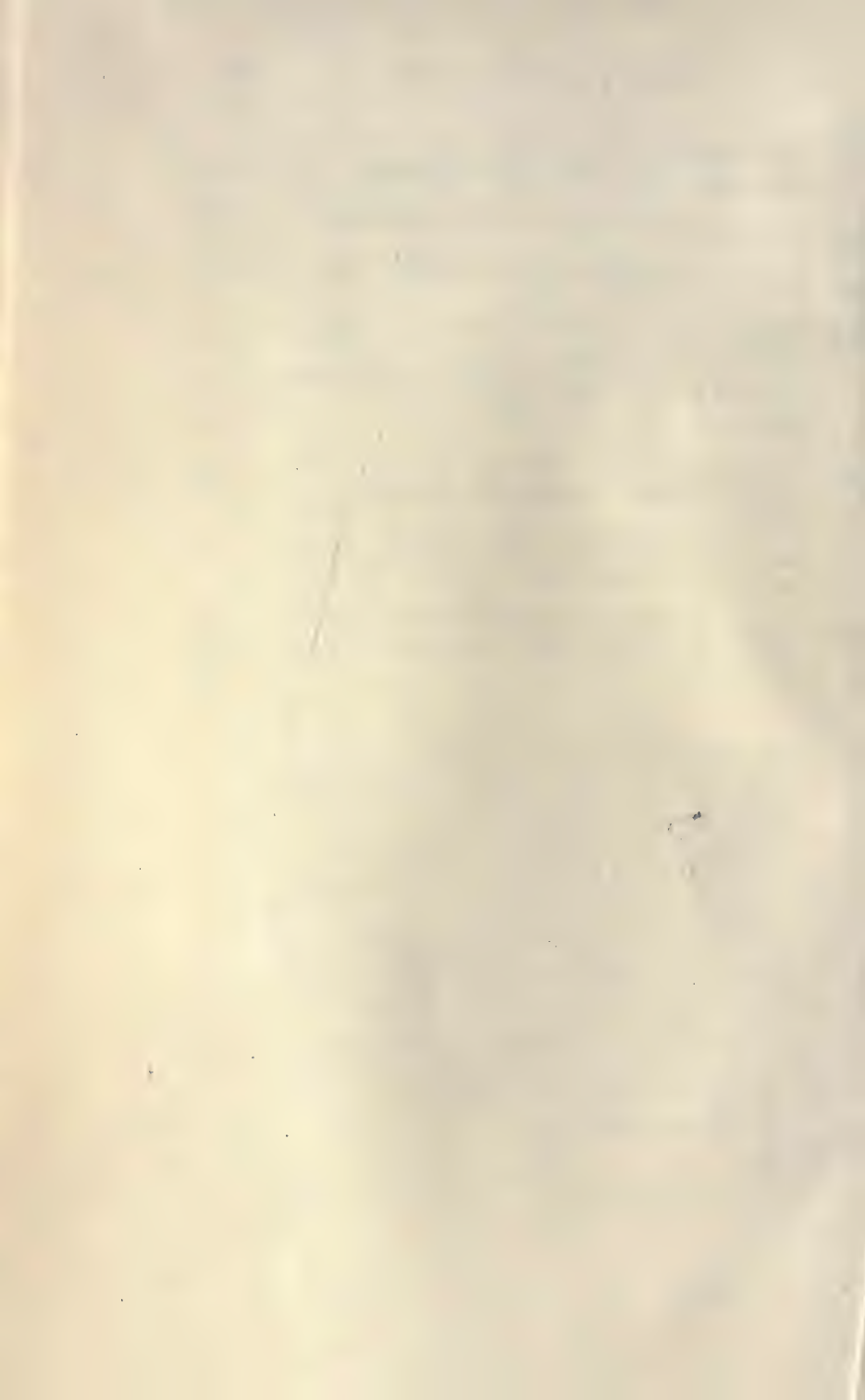
PLATE	TO FACE PAGE
X. The first page of the letter written to Lord Cumberland by Queen Elizabeth on 9 September, 1591, and signed by the Queen. The remaining words which occur on the other page are: "we have spent some Part of this sommer in viewing our Fortifications at Portsmouth and other our principall Townes along the Sea cost. This 9th day of September 1591"	76
XI. Portrait of Lord Cumberland painted in 1588 by an unknown artist From the collection in the National Portrait Gallery	106
XII. Portrait of William, Lord Burghley, in Garter robes with wand From a painting by Marcus Gheeraerts in the Collection of the Marquess of Salisbury at Hatfield.	160
XIII. The Map of the Porto Rico Fight as drawn in colours in the "Lady Anne" narrative The references are as follows:	192
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> A. the place Wheare his Lordship first landed. B. the Cawsey Wheare his Lordship made the first Assalte. C. the Flemyshe Shipp Which Rune on Shoore For their Second Landinge. D. the Spanish Shipp Which Played uppon the Flanke of the Cawsey. E. the Red Forte Cauled Mattadiabolo. F. the Forte Cauled Mora. G. the Battaries Agaynst the Forte Mora. H. the Fortelezza. I. the Frierye. K. the River Toa. L. the River Baimond. M. the River Pedras. N. the River Luisa. O. the Governors ilande. 	
XIV. Portrait of Lord Cumberland from an engraving by De Passe in Herologia	262
XV. Portrait of Lord Cumberland from an engraving by Robert Vaughan	262

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

xix

PLATE	TO FACE PAGE
XVI. Lord Cumberland's last pathetic letter to his wife, written shortly before his death, in facsimile	270
XVII. The Tomb of Lord Cumberland in Skipton Church	272
XVIII. The Tomb of Lady Cumberland in Appleby Church	272
XIX. Portrait of Lord Cumberland painted in miniature, probably by Isaac Oliver and representing him in the actual armour now preserved at Appleby Castle From the collection of Mrs Sotheby at Ecton.	276
XX. The Armour of Lord Cumberland in the possession of Lord Hothfield and preserved at Appleby Castle It was bequeathed by his daughter, Lady Anne, to her two daughters and eventually the whole of it came into the possession of Lord Thanet as heir to the elder sister.	278
XXI. Portrait of Lady Cumberland by an unknown artist, in the possession of Lord Hothfield at Hoth- field Place	284

N.B. The representations of the cover of the Lady Anne Book, Plate II, and of the contents of the volume, Plates III, IV, VI, IX and XIII are reproduced from the original by kind permission of Mrs Leveson Gower of Bill Hill, Wokingham. The reproductions of the two letters, Plates X and XVI, of the drawing of the Arms, Plate V, and of the Portrait of Lady Cumberland, Plate XXI, and the Armour, Plate XX, are by kind permission of Lord Hothfield who owns the originals. The four engravings were specially photographed by Mr Howard C. Levis, F.S.A., from fine examples in his own collection and are reproduced by his permission. The Duke of Buccleuch, the Keeper of the National Portrait Gallery, the Marquess of Salisbury and Mrs Sotheby are thanked for affording gracious permission for the use of Plates I, XI, XII and XIX.



CHAPTER I

GEORGE, THIRD EARL OF CUMBERLAND

IT may be well before dealing with the story of Lord Cumberland, the traveller, to explain in brief fashion who he was.

He came of the great family of Clifford, and descended from the marriage of a Clifford with a Veteripont.

The earliest known Veteripont about whom we have references is William, who in the 12th century married a Cumberland lady, Maud, the daughter of Hugh de Morsville of Kirkoswald.

Their son Robert married Idonea, an heiress, the daughter of John de Busley (or Builli) and he it was, who first assumed the six golden annulets on a red ground which thereafter formed the Veteripont arms.

Robert's eldest daughter Isabella married Roger de Clifford, and died in 1291. The Veteripont estates, which were of great extent, fell in to Isabella and her sister Idonea and as Idonea died without issue, came eventually into the hands of the Clifford family.

Of the Cliffords it is said that their original ancestor was Richard Fitz Payne (or De Pons), a grandson of Richard, Duke of Normandy, who is stated to have married the heiress in possession of the Castle of Clifford and to have assumed her name in lieu of his own.

The direct male line from the Roger who married Isabella Veteripont is now represented by Lord Clifford of Chudleigh, and the Cliffords of Tixall, but the present Lord de Clifford holds the ancient barony conferred upon his ancestor by Edward I, and the Duke of Devonshire's family represents the direct male line of the last Earl of Cumberland.

It was Roger de Clifford's son Robert, who in 1299 became the first Lord de Clifford; and he, dying at the Battle of Bannockburn, was succeeded by two of his sons, Roger and Robert, as second and third Lords.

The third Lord in his turn was succeeded by his two sons, Robert and Roger, who became fourth and fifth¹ Lords de Clifford, and then the dignity descended from father to son, generation after generation, until Henry, the eleventh Lord, was created Earl of Cumberland by Henry VIII in 1525.

His son, another Henry, was the second Earl, and it is with his son George, the third Earl, that we are here concerned.

The Earldom, as we shall see, passed on for two more generations, eventually becoming extinct in the person of Henry, fifth and last Earl, who died in 1644, but the Barony continued in the person of Anne, the only child of the third Earl, and from her, through various families and strange vicissitudes, has come down to its present holder Edward Southwell Russell, twenty-sixth Baron de Clifford.

A considerable part however of the ancient Clifford estates, estimated in 1873 at about 32,000 acres in Yorkshire and Westmoreland, has come through the Earls of Thanet, one of whom married Lady Anne's daughter, to their present possessor Henry, first Baron Hothfield.

George Clifford, third Earl of Cumberland, was born in his father's house, Brougham Castle, so his daughter Lady Anne tells us, on August 8th, 1558, and she adds that in the very same room, his father, Henry, second Earl of Cumberland², died on January 8th, 1569/70, when the boy was but eleven years and five months old.

¹ This fifth Lord was one of the chief witnesses in 1386 in the famous Scrope and Grosvenor, Bend Or controversy.

² Neither the first nor the second Earl appears to have been at a University. The third Earl is the first of his name to appear on University rolls.

She appears to be quite certain about the date of her grandfather's decease and alludes to it several times in the course of her narrative, but an important Peerage Obituary roll preserved in the College of Arms and referred to by Mr G. E. Cockayne gives the date as January 2nd, and so convinced was G. E. C. of the accuracy of this document that he gave that, as the date of the second Earl's decease in his *Complete Peerage*.

His granddaughter is, however, likely to have known and remembered the date of her grandfather's death, and she is so scrupulous concerning the accuracy of dates in her great books of record, that it seems improbable that in this one she made an error, and as also the Obituary roll is a compilation—a very careful one and exceedingly well prepared it must be confessed—and not a contemporary document, we are indisposed to accept its evidence and prefer to take Lady Anne's record and to believe that for once G. E. C. made an error in his invaluable work.

When his father died, the youthful Earl was not in Westmoreland. He was on a visit to Battle to his uncle and aunt, Viscount and Viscountess Montague, Magdalen Dacre, Lady Cumberland's sister having married Sir Anthony Brown who in 1554 had been created Viscount Montague. His father, Lady Anne tells us, had sent him "thither a little before... that he might be bred up there for a while so that he might see the renowned Queen Elizabeth and her court and the City of London and the Southern parts of England."

By his father's wish he had been appointed a Ward of the Crown and in this status he continued for over ten years, not attaining his majority till August 1580. Whilst he was at Battle, news reached the Earl of Bedford, who was a near connection, of the serious illness of the second Earl.

Lord Cumberland had already entered into negocia-

tion, as the habit of the day was, with his kinsman Lord Bedford, with a view to the betrothal of his elder son, George, to one of Lord Bedford's daughters and in consequence when the news arrived of grave illness at Brougham Castle, Lord Bedford wrote as follows to Queen Elizabeth concerning the youthful heir, who would shortly in all probability be in the Queen's care:

It may please your most Excellent Majestie to be advertised that heretofore (as is well knowne to many) there hath been communication between my Lord of Cumberland and mee for the marriage of his sonne, to one of my daughters: and being now informed that he is in some danger I doe presume to be a sutor to your Highnesse that I may have the wardship of his sonne if it shall soe stand with youre Majestie's pleasure and herein I shall think myself most bounden (as I have every way good cause) to your Highnesse. And thus I beseech God to send unto your Majesty a most prosperous and healthfull reigne to God's glory and your heart's desire.

From Russell Place this 3. of January 1570.

Meantime the second Earl died at Brougham.

He had been twice married. His first wife, known to the chroniclers as "Lady Eleanor Brandon" and "Her Grace," was the daughter of Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk by Mary, Queen Dowager of France, daughter of Henry VII.

This marriage was one of extreme magnificence and was honoured by the presence of Henry VIII. Indeed it was to pay for the expenses connected with it, and to build on a great gallery at Skipton Castle, for the reception of his royal bride, that Lord Cumberland had sold the Manor of Tenbury (or Temedbury as then styled) in Herefordshire, the last bit of the old Clifford possession in the west, granted to them by Henry III.

Lady Eleanor only lived in married life for ten years, dying in 1547¹ and then in 1552 (or 3) Lord Cumberland

¹ Lady Eleanor, "Her Grace," left but one child, Margaret, who married Henry, fourth Earl of Derby, on February 12th, 1554/5, and died on September 29th, 1596. She is buried in Westminster Abbey.

had married as his second wife, Anne, the daughter of Wm, Lord Dacre of Gillesland, and to whose sister reference has just been made.

After the death of his first wife Lord Cumberland devoted himself to his northern estates and to study. He only came up three times to Court, to the Coronation of Queen Mary; to be present at the marriage of Margaret, his only daughter by his first wife, to Lord Strange afterwards Earl of Derby; and to see Queen Elizabeth "and present his duty to her a little after she became Queen."

He gave up considerable time to the study of alchemy, especially to the attempt to discover the philosopher's stone. Lady Anne, his granddaughter, tells us that he was "a great distiller of waters and maker of chemical extracts, very studious in all manner of learning," and adds that he had "an excellent library of books both hand written books and printed, to which he was addicted exceedingly especially towards his latter end¹."

As we have already seen he died on January 8th, 1570, and the news of his decease and of the accession of his son to the title and estates, had reached London by January 12th², having been sent, at once, by special messenger on horseback with urgent instructions to keep steadily and quickly on his journey till he reached the Court.

Immediately thereafter Lord Burghley on the Queen's behalf and as Master of the Court of Wards, sent off the following letter to the boy's uncle, Lord Montague:

It may please your Honourable good Lordshipp The Queens Majestie hath shew'd me her pleasure that the younge Earl of Cumberland now her Majesty's Ward by the death of his father shall be in the custody of my Lord the Earl of Bedford and that I shall for her Majestie's chuse take order according to my office

¹ There are at least three of his manuscripts, books on alchemy, still preserved at Appleby Castle.

² If he had really died on January 2nd it would thus have taken the special courier ten days to reach London.

being Master of her Wards to see the said Earl her Ward comitted to my Lord of Bedford. Whereupon understanding the said Earl to be with your Lordshipp I have thought good to notify thus much of her Maj.^{ties} pleasure to your Lordship and to beseech you that the said Earl may be sent to my Lord of Bedford by such as he shall appoint for that purpose bringing this my letter or else as your Lordship shall think good to send him by some of your owne, in company of such as my Lord of Bedford¹ shall send to your Lordshipp. And the charges therein to be susteined by your Lordshipp I will as reason is see on her Majestie's fully satisfy'd. And so humbly I take leave of your good Lordship.

ffrom Windsor the 12 of Jan. 1569.

Your Lordship at Command

WILLĪM CECILL.

To the Right Honble my very good Lord the Lord Viscount Montague.

In consequence of this letter the lad was transferred to the care of Lord Bedford, and spent his time with the family either at Chenies in Buckinghamshire, at Woburn in Bedfordshire, or at Lord Bedford's houses in Exeter or in London.

In due course he went to the University (very early as the custom was) and was entered at Trinity College, Cambridge.

He matriculated as "a nobleman" in May 1571, and went into residence in the College on May 9th continuing there till July 1574, taking his M.A. degree on November 15th, 1576. His Tutors were John Whitgift (1533-1603/4) and William Whitaker (1548-1595). Whitgift had been Master of Pembroke Hall and regius professor of divinity, prebendary of Ely and royal chaplain, and he was his "Tutor by the Queen's appointment."

In 1567 he became Master of Trinity College, later

¹ It is of some interest to remember that this Lord Bedford was godfather to Sir Francis Drake.

on Vice-Chancellor, then Dean of Lincoln, Bishop of Worcester, and eventually Archbishop of Canterbury, being held "in peculiar high excellent by the Queene," and in "enjoyment of her favour."

He was actually Vice-Chancellor of the University as well as Dean of Lincoln and Prebendary of the same Cathedral when acting for Lord Cumberland so that the youth could hardly have had, as Tutor, a man who occupied a higher position in the University¹.

His other Tutor, Whitaker, was the great opponent of Cardinal Bellarmine and later on became Master of St John's College.

His Tutors' accounts are still in existence and the items of expenditure in them are of some interest.

They are to be found in the Master's Book at Trinity College containing the expenditure for Whitgift's private pupils and are headed thus:

Dominus georgius comes cūbreland.
Mai 9. 1571.

The chief items are of course for buttry charges, for payment of tutors' fees, for breakfasts, candles, wood, coal and the attendances of the barber, but even amongst these there are some that are worth quoting, and many items of the special expenditure are curious and instructive.

Of payments made for general expenses we find that the carrier who brought his things to Cambridge had four shillings and the man who conveyed "hys stuffe" to the College 4*d.*, that there are constant charges for his laundry work coming as a rule to from 2/- to 5/-, and for that of his man servant costing about 2/6, and for repairing clothes, as for example, mending a doublet 6*d.*, mending breeches 1/-, footing hose 4*d.*, and

¹ Simon Harward (*fl.* 1572-1614, Divine and Author) addressed some verses in Latin in his *Solace for the Souldier and Saylour* (1592) to Whitgift and Lord Cumberland jointly.

mending shoes and boots. Purchases needful for his work include but four books:

Orations of Tully thirteen pence,
Colloquies of Erasmus twenty pence,
Dialogues of Sebastian Castalio sixteen pence,
and Justinian sixteen pence.

Beyond these we note an entry for paper 4*d.*, a paper book 6*d.*, a penknife 4*d.*, an hour glass 6*d.*, and a pen and ink horn, fourteen pence.

The fittings of his rooms included a payment for a "cupboard, a desk and certain painted cloths in the study" eighteen shillings and ten pence, a door for his chamber four shillings and the hinges and lock for it thirty pence more and a place "to lay wood and coles in" seven shillings and ten pence.

For gloves he paid sixteen pence, for two pairs of linen stockings three shillings and six pence, for a pair of "bouts" seven shillings, for "lace" three pence, for taffeta for a jerkin nine shillings and two pence and for silk to line it and for buttons and for making it up another eight shillings and ten pence.

A Taffeta hat cost eight shillings and six pence, and a velvet girdle, sixteen pence.

Coals accounted for thirty shillings, the cost of two loads, and as the lad had at least one horse to ride and sometimes two, we find charges for shoeing 1/-, for grass for two horses thirty shillings and for horse hire "for Thomas" 2/-.

While in residence Lord Cumberland had a severe illness and his Tutor called in the aid of the two leading medical men of the place.

Dr Philip Barrow who published in 1590 *The Method of Physicke*¹ received a fee of ten shillings and Dr John Caius (*Kayus*) (1510-1573) who refounded Gonville Hall one of five shillings. In this connection there are

¹ This work is dedicated to Lord Burghley. The copy in the British Museum is interleaved with many manuscript notes.

two bills to the "apotigary," one of five shillings and eight pence and the other of two shillings and six pence, on "my lord beeng syke"; and also a bill to Goodwife Greene for meat during "my lords sykness" amounting to four shillings and a penny, while another payment "in his syckness" to some unknown person of thirty pence is also carefully set down.

For his amusement we find an entry of the cost of a "gittern lute" which cost ten shillings, "to one teaching his lordship to dance" six shillings and to a bowe sixteen pence, and later on a bowe and arrows were purchased while there is also an allusion to two visits which he paid, on each of which occasions his Tutor actually provided him with some pocket money:

Gyven to hym at Lord Northes five shillings
and Gyvnne hym in his purse beeng at Mr Hyndes ten shillings.

His mother sent him a hawk, and thirty pence were given to the messenger, while upon another occasion when a servant brought a doe from the Countess as a present to his son and his Tutor, thirty two pence were given as a gratuity.

A comb is charged in the accounts at a penny, and a somewhat odd item is the cost of a shilling charged for a key to a privy door.

The accounts continue down to July 1574, and the total expenditure, including fees, seems to have amounted to nearly two hundred pounds which in those days was a very considerable sum. It must be remembered that the lad was only about thirteen years of age, when an undergraduate.

His friend at College or at least his fellow pupil seems to have been Richard Musgrave, no doubt one of the notable Westmoreland family, and over and over again in making up the figures Whitgift appears to have entered in Lord Cumberland's accounts items that belonged to Musgrave which he had later on to cross out and to explain the error, then transferring

the charges to Musgrave's expenses which occupy the succeeding pages in the Tutor's account book.

The Matriculation fee is entered at two shillings¹.

Lady Anne tells us that

"altho'" her father "never attain'd to any great perfection in the Latin tongue yet he had a general knowledge and insight into all the arts specially the Mathematicks wherein he took great delight and was so well vers'd in the same that it was thought to be one principall cause of his applying himself afterwards to the sea and to

¹ See original papers in Cambridge and also *Brit. Mag.* xxxiii. 17. S. R. Maitland's papers.

It will be borne in mind that Trinity was practically a new college at that time, as in its altered form it had only been founded by Henry VIII in 1546. It was governed by statutes which had been granted to it in 1560, only eleven years before Lord Cumberland became one of its scholars. By these statutes, there were only to be 61 of such scholars, and every student was required to have a tutor, who stood to his pupil *in loco parentis*. This regulation is still in force, the present statutes (1882) directing that no member of the College *in statu pupillari* should be without a tutor. Thirty-nine of Whitgift's pupils are referred to in the account book from which we quote. It covers part of the years 1570-1571. It is of some interest to surmise concerning the four schoolbooks which Archbishop Whitgift obtained for his pupil. Three of them, it is fairly easy to identify. The *Orations of Tully* were no doubt the orations of Cicero *Orationes Philippicae*, and the edition was probably the 8vo one, which had been published by Pynson in 1521.

The *Colloquies of Erasmus* was probably the edition printed by Henry Bynneman in 8vo issued in that very year, 1571, and the *Dialogues of Sebastian Castalio* would probably be the edition in 8vo issued in Antwerp in 1552, because the more popular edition in the same size, which was prepared in Leyden, did not appear till 1581.

Respecting the fourth volume, it is not so easy to identify it. Whitgift's accounts merely use the word "Justinian," and it does not seem very likely that for a schoolboy of fourteen, the Institutes or Pandects of the Emperor Justinian, or even digests of his writings would be required. Moreover, so far as we have been able to find out, there was no edition of Justinian in 8vo or 12mo in existence in 1571, the only available book being in folio, and it is hardly conceivable that a folio work should have been bought for sixteen pence. We are inclined to suggest that the reference may be to the works of Giovanni Giustiniani de Candia, and that the book is the one entitled *Epistolae Familiares Scholasticae Sive Morales Declamatoriae*, issued in 12mo in 1554. It is of course just possible that the allusion may be to a Psalter which was issued by another Justinian, one Agostino, but as the Psalter issued in 1516 was a folio work, and was in Hebrew, Greek, Arabic and Chaldee, it does not seem a very likely work to have been required by a schoolboy. The other volume *The Familiar Epistles* was certainly in use in schools at that time.

Navigation especially towards the West Indies and those new found lands wherein he became the most knowing and eminent man, of a Lord, in his time."

His knowledge of geography however, in which he was very expert and "took great delight" was, it is stated, not obtained at Cambridge as after taking his degree there he migrated to Oxford¹ in order to give some special attention to that study and to work at some "antient maps and divers papers" preserved in one of the colleges; it is not stated which.

In 1577 being then 19, he married, as their respective parents had arranged years before he should do, one of the daughters of his guardian, Lady Margaret Russell, the seventh and youngest child and the third daughter. She was nearly seventeen years of age and was his wife for twenty-eight years and four months and his widow for ten years and seven months so that, as Lady Anne states, "she liv'd as Countesse of Cumberland in all 38 years and 11 moneths."

Lady Anne speaks of her mother as being "cozen germain, twice removed" to her husband.

This distant relationship to her husband arose from the fact that her mother, Margaret, Countess of Bedford, was the daughter of Sir John St John of Bletso, and that Henry, the 10th Lord Clifford, Lord Cumberland's great-grandfather had married a member of the same family.

The wedding took place at St Mary Overy's Church in Southwark "with great honour and glory" and at the same time and place Lord Cumberland's sister, Lady Frances Clifford², married Philip, Lord Wharton.

¹ In 1592, when again at Oxford, he was given the degree of M.A. in the same year as he was created by the Queen Knight of the Garter (see p. 110).

² Lady Frances had her portion set out in interesting fashion in her father's will.

If she married an Earl or an Earl's son she was to have 2000 pounds, if a Baron or a Baron's son 2000 marks, but if a Knight or a Knight's eldest son she was only to receive 800 marks from the Estate.

“And so great was those marriages,” says the chronicler, “that Queen Elizabeth¹ honoured them with her presence there [as her father Henry VIII had honoured Lord Cumberland’s father on his marriage] and within a little while after the solemnization of those marriages they went down into the North unto Skipton Castle in Craven to live there with his mother and kindred for a good while.”

Anne Dacre, Countess Dowager of Cumberland, who was a quiet woman of a domestic taste, and one who interested herself solely in home affairs,—never once coming to London or near it in the whole of her life;—had been implicitly trusted by her student husband.

To her he had transferred, by a deed which still exists and which was executed under great Seal; the whole of his vast estate in Westmoreland including the Castles of Appleby, Brougham, and Pendragon, as her jointure, and she managed all with great discretion and was beloved and respected by her tenantry and dependents.

To her, also, by his will he had bequeathed a life tenancy of part of Skipton Castle, certain rooms only being reserved for the sole use of his son, although the revenues of the Yorkshire Estate, which were also very large, passed to the young Earl when he attained his majority and came out of his wardship.

His guardian, Lord Bedford², appears by the family papers to have had a substantial allowance during the minority and this was supplemented by a further gift from his mother the Countess Dowager who declared that she had more money than she needed, and that young men “did need many things.”

The Countess Dowager commanded the deep affec-

¹ On New Year’s Day 1577/8 the gift of the new Lady Cumberland to the Queen was “a forepart of lawnde cut worke” “wrought with black and white, unmade,” and in return the Queen gave to Lord and Lady Cumberland “a cup of silver and guilte with a cover.”

² Lord Cumberland appeared as chief mourner at Lord Bedford’s funeral, which took place with great state and elaborate ceremonial on September 14th, 1585. The records tell us that he was attended by an usher and train-bearer.

tion of her son and he appears to have spent most of his early married life with her, preferring to be in Skipton, rather than in his house in town.

She survived his father some eleven years and died towards the end of July 1581. Her son and his wife were both present at her death, he being then about 23 years old. She was buried in Skipton Church on July 31st, and they were the chief mourners at her simple but stately funeral. It is stated that "many hundreds" of the tenantry were present, "far more than could goe into the Church," a proof of the esteem in which she was held.

By her death all the estate in Westmoreland came into Lord Cumberland's own possession and soon after her funeral, he and his wife left Skipton for Brougham Castle and in that place and in Wharton Hall, his sister's home, they spent some time, thereafter returning to Skipton and making that Castle and "the Southern parts" their usual residence for the remainder of their lives.

The earliest event¹ to which the State Papers allude, so far as we can ascertain, after the death of his mother, proves that Lord Cumberland was regarded in virtue of his large estates as a notable personage in the North, because a commission issued by the Queen from Hertford Castle on November 23rd, 1582, and addressed to the Earl of Huntingdon, Lord President of the Council of the North, was equally addressed to the Archbishop of York, the Earls of Shrewsbury and Cumberland, the Bishops of Durham and Carlisle and various other noblemen and gentlemen forming the Council of the North, commanding them to "enquire into congregations, conventicles, riots, retainers, debts and debtors and assemblies. . . and to imprison fine and punish," offenders.

¹ S.P. Eliz. Addenda volume, LXXX.

Lord Cumberland's name occurs fourth in rank on this formidable document which is a deed of some thirty pages in length. He was at that time only 24 years old and had but a few months before succeeded to his northern estates¹.

We have a letter from him to his wife written it would appear in that very year and alluding to Lord Huntingdon's appointment.

In it he writes thus:

Good Meg,

How glad I am to pick the smallest quarrel, and apt for the least occasion to make manifest by these few lines what by deeds without any trial may give trust I will make none, I hope is not doubled. It is told for certainty my Lord of Huntington [*sic*] is made Lieutenant of the North parts, and is said in secret for truth that when he is to receive his commission, he shall receive great sums of money, to what end as yet unknown. In the absence from myself, tell none. I never knew how much against my will it is, if I could remedy it, and if, contrary to my settled disposition and granted nature I would you know. Thus protesting to perform to the full whatsoever I have vowed. Thine never to be removed. From Newark this xiii of January.

Yours never his own hereafter

GEORGE CUMBERLAND.

To my very loving wife the Countess of Cumberland.

Two years later, in May 1584, we meet with Lord Cumberland's name again, when the Privy Council by a levy addressed to Lord Huntingdon and the Earls of Rutland and Cumberland, Lord Scrope and Lord Eure, called upon the Lord President of the North to provide 10,000 able foot soldiers, and 400 light horse within the ridings of Yorkshire and to have them

¹ There is a family manorial grant concerning him which belongs to this period, being dated June 4th, 1584, in the British Museum, but it has no special historic importance. It more concerns his brother Francis and his cousin Sir Ingram Clifford. See Add. MS. 6668 [853], 449.

under their charge "for defence of the realm towards Scotland."

Of this levy Lord Cumberland was charged to provide 300 "out of the West and North Ridings nearest his castle of Skipton" and the various noblemen were instructed to inform the Privy Council how quickly they could provide and furnish the soldiers, with what they could arm them and also with full information concerning the border forts and their condition and needs; and of how speedily the frontiers could be put into a condition of sound fortification and protection.

By the following July, replies had been sent to the Council¹ pointing out that the requirements were in excess of what could be provided and that in lieu of 10,000 foot only 6000 could be raised, while instead of 400 horse soldiers a total of 356 represented all that the district could muster.

Lord Huntingdon was informed in reply that as 10,000 men could not be obtained, the Queen would consent to accepting 6000 who must be supplied with armour and weapons, but that the figure first stated with reference to horse soldiers must be adhered to and the three Lords must provide the 400 men with horses, armour and equipment, "supplying the number wanting [to make up 356 to 400] with their own tenants and servants²."

This it would appear by later papers was done.

Two delightful letters from Lady Cumberland come into the narrative here. Fortunately for us, they are both dated, an unusual circumstance with this lady's correspondence, but we are disposed to add to them a third, which has no date upon it, but which it seems probable was written at about the same time as the others.

¹ These documents are now in the custody of the Dean and Chapter of Carlisle Cathedral where we have inspected some of them.

² S.P. Eliz. Addenda Volume, pp. 119 and 126.

In the first Lady Cumberland says:

My own dear Lord, my cousin Constable hath sent his footman with these letters from London what haste they require I know not, but I could wish they would hasten your coming hither so no further to see how kindly my son Francis lies in my chamber I could be content with the change of him for my only bedfellow and whole comfort, whose miss is my mislike, though it be but one day and so I leave my lines having so many letters to write and send after my cousin Stendall to-night, desiring your blessing to your son Francis, praying you to commend him to God in your prayers which suit my lord forget not continually, 18 day of May 1584.

Your lordships or not my own

MARGARETT CUMBERLANDE¹.

In the second:

My own dear lord, I find your care in absence to answer your present promises in sending these things at so good a time. I am sorry you have lost your journey in vain but it fears me it will prolong your stay till my lady of Huntingdon comes. I am in hast to despatch this messenger who says my brother Francis charge was that he should not tarry, to whom I beseech your lordship commend me desiring your lordships blessing to your son Francis whose well-doing is such as I would wish I pray God to make me thankful to his Majesty and send his holy spirit into your heart to get you evermore to his glory and your good 8 July 1584.

Your lordship fastened by faith

MARGARETT CUMBERLANDE².

While in the undated one which certainly belongs to a period before 1590 and was probably written in 1586, she says:

My own dear lord, I have been most at court since your lordship went and was with Master Secretary about Knaresborough Castle which was passed two terms ago to my cousin Slingsby but Mr

¹ Endorsed: To my only dear lord
the Earl of Cumberland
give this.

² Endorsement:
To my only dear Lord
The Earl of Cumberlande
give this.

Secretary promises me your lordship shall have the lease made to you if I be left alone I hope to do good but seldom do I anything that one or other crosses me, not that wearies me so much as I have mind of nothing, he tells me he has moved her Majesty for your going to sea which is willing you shall, but prince's minds alter as there is occasion for it. Master Secretary speaks very certainly and promised to write himself but [it will be] good to prepare so for going, as if you tarry it be not lost for by all likelihood it will alter again. The prince of Parma's Camp is gone into France over to Admiral and his fleet is but new gone if it be out England he [take or talked] fitly which was his stay there is a lieutenant of the South my lord of Leicester and my lord of Essex is general of horse and Sir John Nores¹ of the footmen all the whole discourse of this news Harry will now write and some other of your friends. Master Cavendish is coming to Ireland and sent one of his own Company to the court. How he is come it is not certain but no more ships than his one, his sister told me this and desired to be commended. With this news he will be here shortly himself so I leave your lordship to God's mercy and pray you for your blessing to your sons.

Yours MAR CUMBERLANDE².

Beyond general allusions to his being constantly at Court and to his love of sport in all its various phases, we know little of Lord Cumberland's life at this time.

Lady Anne tells us that he had "an extream love for Horse races, Tiltings, Bowling matches and shooting and that such and Hunting and all such expensive sports did contribute the more to the wasting of his estate."

Again she adds in a further reference to the same subject that "in the exercises of Tilting, Turning and course of the ffield, he did excell all the Nobility of his time."

Philip Gawdy³ in his letters to his father, reprinted

¹ Sir John Norris (1547-1597), second son of Lord Norris, Military Commander in Ireland, and in the Low Countries, who was in command (1585-6).

² Endorsed:

To my most beloved
to the Earl of
Cumberland.

³ Philip Gawdy (1562-1617) was second son of Bassingbourne Gawdy (I), who was Sheriff of Norfolk in 1573, by Ann daughter of

from the Egerton MSS.¹ in the British Museum by Lord Amherst in the book he presented to the Roxburgh Club, makes several allusions to Lord Cumberland's prowess in tilting.

Gawdy was specially interested in any allusion to Lord Cumberland as he was at that time a resident in Clifford's Inn.

In his letter of April 6th, 1587, he says "My Lord of Cumberland, Sir Henry Lee and Sir Thomas Gorge² did run at the Court as yesterday the course of the field" and again on November 24th, "Running at the Tilt, my Lord of Essex and my Lord of Cumberland were the chiefe that ranne," while in alluding to a display upon Coronation Day, he says that Lord Essex and Lord Cumberland made challenge that upon February 26th next "they will runne all comers to maintain that the Queen is most worthiest and most fairest Amadis de Gaule³."

This skill, however, provoked the usual result in the way of jealousy amongst those who were his competitors and this was inflamed no doubt by the evident admiration which the young man attracted from his sovereign.

His success was bitterly resented and described in plain words by those about the Court. In a letter from one of the Stanhopes to the Earl of Rutland of September 12th, 1585, he was spoken of in very

John Wotton, who had been twice a widow, before Bassingbourne Gawdy married her.

He was probably nephew to Sir Francis Gawdy who was one of Sir Walter Raleigh's judges in 1603 and who died in 1606.

Gawdy was with Sir Richard Grenville (see p. 75) on board the *Revenge* and was wounded in the encounter, taken prisoner and conveyed to Lisbon but eventually released.

¹ Egerton MSS. 2804/60, 13, 25 and 67; and also see Preface to Gawdy's *Letters*, R. Ac. 8104-127.

² Knighted in 1586.

³ The legendary hero of the famous mediaeval romance of chivalry written in French in 1540, and the most popular book of the day.

unfavourable terms and his early desire to go to sea was hailed with delight by those who in their own heart, it is clear, hoped never to see him return¹.

In one capacity at Court Lord Cumberland specially excelled. He was a master of fair speech and of dainty conceit and compliment, as we shall see later on when we have before us his speeches to the Queen and notably his flattering addresses to Her Majesty, when he appeared in masques or as her champion.

All these are in prose although in very poetic and flowery prose; but of his accomplishments in verse we have a notable example.

Robert Dowland, the musician, son of the better known John Dowland the celebrated lutenist who held that office at the Court of the King of Denmark and later on at the Court of Charles I, in a volume issued in 1610 called *A Musicall Banquet, furnished with variety of delicious airs collected out of the best authors in English, French, Spanish and Italian*, and dedicated to his godfather Sir Robert Sidney, includes a poem which was, he states, composed by Lord Cumberland.

It was, he adds, set to music by Anthony Holborne, who is believed to have been a member of Queen Elizabeth's Chapel Royal, and who was the author of a work on *Pavans, Galliards, Almains, and other short Airs, both grave and light, for Violins or other Musical Wind Instruments*.

Dowland² and Holborne appear to have been on friendly terms, as, to the composer "the most famous Anthony Holborne," Dowland dedicated his first song "I saw my Ladye weepe," and in the music-book published by Dowland he gives Lord Cumberland's words with Holborne's lute accompaniment.

¹ Belvoir MSS. I. 178-180.

² To John Dowland the verses in *The Passionate Pilgrim* were addressed.

The song reads thus:

My heavy sprite, opprest with sorrow's might,
Of wearied limbs, the burthen sore sustains,
With silent groans and heart's tears still complains,
Yet I breathe still and live in life's despight.

Have I lost thee? all fortune I accurse
Bids thee farewell, with thee all joys farewell;
And for thy sake this world becomes my hell.

When the verses were composed we are not told but prior to 1599, it is clear.

CHAPTER II

THE VOYAGES OF LORD CUMBERLAND

IT may be well, before we deal in detail with the several voyages undertaken by Lord Cumberland, to refer to our authorities for them.

The chief is the fine manuscript called *A Brief Relation of the Severall Voyages undertaken and performed by the Right Honourable George, Earle of Cumberland in his owne person or at his owne charge... faithfully collected out of the Relations Observations and Journals of Severall Credible and Worthie Persons Actors and Commanders under the said Noble Earle in his Severall Voyages and Expeditions*, which was specially prepared for his daughter Lady Anne, when Countess of Dorset, and received by her at Knole.

In her Day by Day Book under date December 28th, 1617, she speaks of its preparation, "Now I had a great desire to have all my Father's Sea voyages written so I did set Jones to enquire about these matters." Further on she alludes to the book being in progress and by the 24th of November, 1619, it was in her hands and Sir Francis Slingsby, she says, was reading it to her. He had a special interest in doing so as he himself took part in some of the voyages.

This admirable document¹, in its original morocco binding and adorned with a map, views of the ships and representations of Lord Cumberland's armorial bearings, is preserved in the strong room at Bill Hill near Wokingham, having descended to its present owner, Mrs Leveson-Gower, from Mary, Countess Gower, the fourth of the five surviving daughters of

¹ It was exhibited with some portraits of Lord Cumberland at the Tudor Exhibition in London in 1890.

John, sixth Earl of Thanet and eighteenth Lord Clifford, who was the grandson of the lady for whom it was prepared.

This volume has been placed at our disposal (as well as the beautiful copy of it prepared by Miss Ibbs for Mr Arthur F. G. Leveson-Gower) with permission to make full use of it and to photograph certain of its contents (see Plate I).

An almost similar volume rests at Appleby Castle and is the property of Lord Hothfield, who inherited the estates, as we have said, from Henry, the eleventh and last Earl of Thanet, who was only in the sixth generation from Lady Anne.

This volume, which is also in its original brown leather binding, appears to have been a copy made for Lady Anne for use in one of her Northern Castles when the original was at another of her residences. It has been compared with the Bill Hill manuscript and has been found not to be absolutely identical with it.

From internal evidence in the shape of notes in Lady Anne's own handwriting we know that it was executed at about the same time as the Bill Hill manuscript.

There is another book at Bill Hill containing an abridgement of this narrative, along with abridgements of many of the records contained in the Great Books of Record to be presently alluded to. This was prepared by a certain Timothy Banks, expressly for Lady Harold, and is thus dedicated:

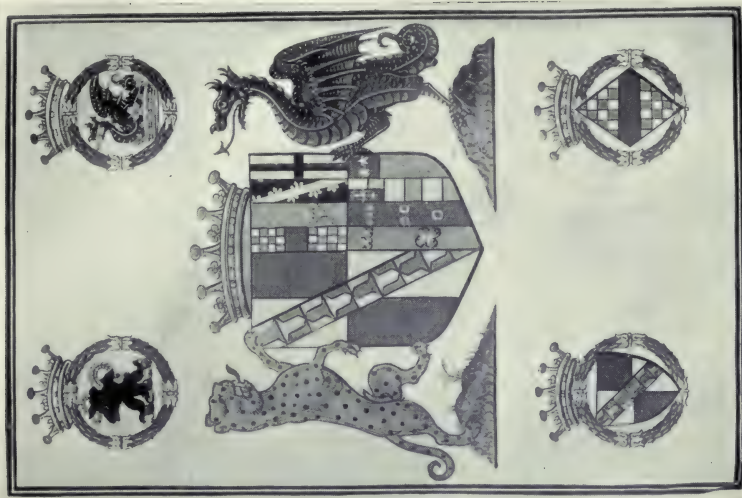
To the Right Hon:^{ble} Mary Countesse
of Harold
These Abridgements of the Lives of her most
Illustrious Ancestors are most humbly
Dedicated by
Tim: Banks
Sometime an unworthy servant to her most
Noble ffather the right hon^{ble} Thomas Earl of
Thanet &c.

PLATE II



The Cover of the "Lady Anne" Narrative with Lord Cumberland's crest upon it

PLATE III



Lord Cumberland's Armorial Bearings in the "Lady Anne" Narrative



It is important in that it contains two letters relative to Lord Cumberland's wardship that do not appear *in extenso* in other manuscripts, and also it has some interesting pedigrees.

It, also, has been placed at our disposal and we have extracted such information as we required, from its pages.

Then we come to the Great Books of Records, a set of three stately volumes in elephant folio size, the papers for which were prepared for Lady Anne in prosecution of her claim to the Northern estates. These were compiled under her direction and were in part her own composition. These Great Books were written in triplicate, and each set was annotated and corrected by Lady Anne herself.

They were written by various amanuenses in about 1653 when Lady Anne was some 63 years old and were gradually brought up to date so as to include an account of her death and funeral. The three sets are not identical, certain divergencies occurring owing to the fact that many hands were engaged in their compilation. They deal *in extenso* with the whole history of the Clifford family and contain full and elaborate pedigrees, copies of or summaries of a vast number of original deeds and every scrap of information from the time of the early Plantagenet Kings that could by any possibility bear upon the litigation in which Lady Anne was engaged, with the Crown and her relatives and with the Crown and her own tenantry, respecting her rightful possession of the estates.

Probably no other family in England possesses such a continuous record as is contained in these books.

They contain of course a narrative concerning George, Earl of Cumberland, and two copies of it have been collated with each other. The third copy, which is in the set of books at Bill Hill, it has not been thought desirable to collate with the Appleby Castle and

Skipton Castle set, as so few divergencies were discovered between them and none of these were of material importance.

We then come to the later discoveries.

At Appleby Castle and Skipton Castle were found various manuscripts by one Richard Robinson, relative to the voyages, differing somewhat from those in the records already mentioned and in one instance giving a far greater wealth of detail than they do. They appear to have been the source from which the other narratives were compiled and also the original, from which somewhat similar narratives, notably those in the collections of Lord Bath, the Duke of Devonshire and Lady Desborough, were written. They were, however, found to contain some information that was not in either of the transcripts just named and the greater part of one of them had only been abridged in these transcripts.

In addition to these, certain other manuscripts containing information wholly unpublished but compiled and transcribed by the same diligent chronicler were discovered¹.

The title of the chief of these manuscripts reads thus:

The Nyne Memorable Voyages made by the right honourable George Earle of Cumberland to and from ye Kinge of Spaines territories: whereof the first seaven are here onelie breifly comprehended, the other two vizt. The Eighth and Nynth only at large collected and written out of the credible advertizements.

To the same Right Honourable Earle and famous Noble Patriota or Defendor of his Countrey George Earle of Cumberland, Baron Clifford, Lorde of Westmerland, of Skipton, of Vipont, of Bromflett, and of Vesey, Knight of the most noble order of the Garter, Grace Mercy peace, and plenitude of temporall and aeternall beatitude in Christ Jesus our Lorde and Saviour.

¹ All these have now been put into excellent order, have been sumptuously bound by Riviere and were placed at our entire disposal by Lord Hothfield.

PLATE V



Drawing of the Arms of Lord Cumberland, prepared for "Lady Anne" by "Thomas Webster", "butt a little before his Deth".

PLATE IV



The Crest of Lord Cumberland as emblazoned in colours in the "Lady Anne" Narrative

London this 20 of Aprill Anno XI 1599 in Christ Church Parish.

Your Honourable good Lordships most humble and dutiful orator Richard Robinson Cittizen of London. A Relation of your Honors first Seaven Voiages as I gathered them breifly Anno 1594.

It maie please yor Honor to understand that in the yeare of our Lord God 1594 after the coming home of that manly and learned curteous Captaine William Midleton (whom I presented with one of my translacons upon certaine Psalmes) he not onelie gratified me therefore but also voluntarilie offered me (if I would or could procure the printing thereof) as well the breife collection of this Seaven Voiages from the years 1585 untill the yeare 1594 aforesaid as also a declaracon of the Eight Voiage (then newly accomplished) at large: I graunted him to pforme what I could therein, but givinge yor Honor at that time the first Copie thereof I could not be resolved of yor good pleasure therein, wherefore now I crave yor Honors leave to print all yo^r IX Voyages, if it be yo^r honors good pleasure soe to doe I will have a care that they shall come forth with all possible honor to yo^r Lordshipp, and creditt to the travells severally set downe.

Richard Robinson, who transcribes these records was an author who flourished about 1576 and is believed to have died in 1600. He was a freeman of the Leather-sellers Company in the City of London and the freeholder of a small estate in Harp Alley which, however, eventually he had to sell.

He collaborated on more than one occasion with the poet, Thomas Churchyard (1520?-1604), and in a poem attached to their translation of *Meteranus Historiæ Belgicæ* (1602) Churchyard, in no measured terms, praised the industry and skill of his colleague.

Robinson was the author of some twenty books on his own account, one of which he dedicated to Queen Elizabeth and in presenting a copy of it to the Queen, had hopes, which were not gratified, of some pecuniary recompense. Later on, he was a suitor, and it is to be feared an unsuccessful one, to the Queen for a position in some almshouses in Westminster.

In addition to the narratives used in this work there are at least four others by Robinson in existence.

One, in the possession of Lady Desborough¹, belongs to the Cowper MSS. and is the account of Lord Cumberland's voyages especially that of 1594 taken down by Robinson from information given him by Captain Wm Middleton, Secretary to Wm Earl of Pembroke and Ensign bearer to Sir Philip Sidney and Mr Thomas Greenwell.

This is very similar to the narrative here printed although not identical nor quite so complete as it.

Another in the possession of Sir Spencer C. Maryon Maryon-Wilson², Bart., of Eastborne, is entitled *An English Quid for a Spanish Quo*, and is an account of the Expedition to Cadiz of 1596 written out by Robinson in 1598.

An almost identical MS. is in the Royal collection³.

This was printed (not quite correctly) in November 1873 in *Long Ago*, and Admiral Howard's letter which forms a part of it in Birch's *Memoirs of Elizabeth*, II. 52⁴.

A fourth MS. is amongst those at Lambeth Palace Library, and is dated April 20th, 1599. It is more or less identical with Lady Desborough's document, and contains no information new to either of the other sources⁵.

¹ *Vide* Hist. MSS. Com. 12, Report, part I, p. 16.

² *Vide ibid.* 5, Report, p. 304.

³ *Vide* Royal MSS. 18.

⁴ *Vide* D.N.B., art. Richard Robinson.

⁵ *Vide* Lambeth MSS. 250. 17.



Frontispiece to the "Lady Anne" Narrative emblazoned in colours



CHAPTER III

1586. THE FIRST VOYAGE

THE first voyage Lord Cumberland made, was intended, Purchas tells us, for the South Seas. It was actually to the coast of Brazil and was short and not of special importance, but we are fortunate in having two separate accounts of it, as well as a reference to it, by Monson.

Purchas's narrative is a short one, but in a later volume of his *Voyages* he prints a more detailed story, as written by Mr John Sarracoll, a merchant who took part in it, and from that we obtain some further interesting information.

All the narratives unite in giving the same list of the vessels.

They were the *Red Dragon* as Admiral¹, a vessel of 260 tons with 130 men commanded by Captain Robert Widrington, and the bark the *Clifford*, as Vice-Admiral, a vessel of 130 tons with seventy men commanded by Captain Christopher Lister of whom we hear more in the 1589 voyage, but who, Purchas tells us, had been taken prisoner in Barbary, at the battle of Alcassar, in which King Sebastian was slain. These two vessels were both "furnished out at the costs and charges of the Earl of Cumberland" and they had for masters two brothers, West countrymen from Devon or Cornwall, John and William Anthony.

In addition to these two ships there joined them at Plymouth two more, the *Roe*, as Rear-Admiral commanded by Captain Hawes and a "fine" small pinnace

¹ The phrase is that of the MS. The word Admiral is used both of the Commander and of the ship in which he sailed.

the *Dorothy*, which belonged to Sir Walter Raleigh. Robinson says the *Samson* was also present but in that he was certainly in error.

The fleet sailed from Gravesend on June 26th, 1586¹, reached Plymouth July 24th, and did not sail from thence "being constrained by westerly winds" till August 17th.

On the 20th the ships met with "16 sailes of hulkes in the Sleeve," vessels of Hamburg lately come from Lisbon. These they hailed "with courteous words" desiring only, so the narrative tells us, "to know some newes of the countrie" but the hulks refused to give information or to stop and in consequence a quarrel and fight ensued. "Our admiral," says Sarracoll, "lent him a piece of Ordnance which they repayed double so that we grew to some quarel," and eventually Captain Hawes boarded one of the hulks and "took out of her, some provision, that they best liked."

From the commanders, the English fleet learned "that there were 7 hulks laden in Lisbone with Spaniards goods and because their lading was very rich" it was determined to go after them and the hulks were let go again "like a goose with a broken wing."

Yet others were met with, shortly afterwards, but they were not attacked, and then, because of contrary winds, the English vessels had to put back into Dartmouth and there they were detained for seven days.

On the 29th they went out to sea again, making for the coast of "Barbary" and came to one of the Canaries, called Forteventura. Here they landed and learned of the taking of Lancerota by the Turks and of the spoiling of the place and then they went on towards Barbary to the River Rio and thence to Sierra Leone.

¹ Thomas Morgan in a letter to Mary Queen of Scots quoted by Murdin (Rector of Merrow and Vicar of Shalford, Surrey, from the Burghley papers at Hatfield), and dated 9th July, 1586, refers to the Earl of Cumberland setting out on a voyage to help Sir Francis Drake. *Vide* Murdin's State Papers, 529.

Here they came to anchor, obtained water, wood and fish, and captured in the sea what they described as

a great foule monster whose head and backe were so harde that no sword could enter it, but being thrust in under the belly in divers places and much wounded he bowed a sword in his mouth as a man would do a girdle of leather about his hande and likewise the yron of a boare speare. He was in length about nine foote and had nothing in his belly but a certaine quantitie of small stones.

According to one narrative this was thought to be an "allagata."

A little later on, in search of food, the mariners landed near Sierra Leone in a negro town which they eventually took and burned and which is described as being "finely built after their fashion and the streetes of it so intricate that it was difficult for us to finde the way out that we came in at."

Here and near by, they obtained some fourteen or fifteen tons of rice and also took possession of some eggs and meal, that had been laid out in offerings to the idols worshipped by the negroes.

Then the squadron made for the Straits of Magellan and it was this part of the enterprise that interested Monson who describes the voyage as being one of the early attempts to pass the Straits. He says that the vessels arrived "in 44 degrees upon the coast of Brazil to the southwards of the line intending to prosecute their design for the South Seas but proceeded no further."

A small Portuguese vessel of 50 tons was captured off the River Plate on January 10th, having on board an English Pilot, one Abraham Cocke, or Cook, of Lee, whom the Admiral sent home to London. It had on board some 45 negro slaves who were worth in Peru 400 ducats each and also two Portuguese women and a child as passengers. From Cocke information was gathered respecting Buenos Ayres and other places and a store of marmalade, sugar and other commodities was obtained.

Shortly afterwards another ship was captured with a similar cargo but this time, in addition to 35 negro women slaves, they found some friars aboard, one of whom was an Irishman, who were on their way to take possession of a new monastery then in building and Sarracoll declares that the value of the books, beads, and pictures which the friars were conveying exceeded 1000 ducats.

Then ensued, according to the invariable custom of the Elizabethan adventurers, a serious and stately conference concerning intentions and destination, and Sarracoll sets down with considerable amplitude the speeches that were made by the Masters and Commanders and chronicles for our information the names of all who were present. The list includes of course the two Captains, the various Masters and Pilots, the Master Gunner and his mate and John Sarracoll himself, eighteen persons in all. After long and deliberate consideration it was determined in order to carry out the conditions laid down by Lord Cumberland, to make for the Town of Baya and here some success attended their efforts for they compelled the Portuguese, after a sharp fight, to abandon four ships in the harbour and then one important hulk they took into their possession, but this ship suddenly "took fire and perished Ship Men and Goods," and so, says the chronicler, "the residue reached the Coast of England on September 29 after an unprofitable and unfortunate voyage."

The connection of Raleigh with this expedition gives it perhaps its chief interest.

It was an early attempt at an adventure to which he appears to have been glad to contribute, by the loan of his pinnace.

Some of the information also given by Sarracoll in his narrative is of value, especially that relative to Brazil and the district of the River Plate.

One of the narratives tells us that accompanying Lord Cumberland on this voyage were

divers gentlemen voluntaries, his Lordship's servantes and followers, vizt.

Mr William Widrington	}	brothers to the Admiral
Mr Bernard Widrington		
Mr John Norton		
Mr John Wasnesse		
Mr Thomas Wilkes.		

After his return from this voyage it was expected that Lord Cumberland would go out to help Drake, and in a letter¹ addressed by one J. Wolley to Thos. Wilkes, one of the Council in the Low Countries, on June 14th, 1587, the following passage occurs:

Upon the great success of Sir Francis Drake whereof you have heard we are busy here [i.e. at the Court] getting 12 or 13 ships ready to go and relieve him of which my Lord Cumberland is named General. We hope to meet with some of the Indian Treasure to help to feed the Low Country Wolves.

It is clear, however, that this project came to nothing so far as Cumberland was concerned.

These early years of his life had, however, one very important result, for so high an opinion of his judgement did Queen Elizabeth hold that she appointed him one of the Commissioners for the trial of Mary, Queen of Scots, and he was one of the four Earls instructed to sign the deeds connected with the trial and to attend and see the execution carried out².

Perhaps the most interesting letter of those recently discovered belongs to this very period. It was written, it is clear, in 1586, from the allusion it contains to the victory of Sir Francis Drake in San Domingo and also from another to Henry Constable who was knighted in that year. The "little ones" were of course his two little boys Francis and Robert, who were both living

¹ State Papers Eliz. Add. Vol. p. 211.

² Cecil MSS. XIII. 421, and III. 224.

at that date. There is, it seems, an error of a word in it as the allusion to "your *son* Francis" is clearly intended for Lady Margaret's *brother*, Francis, Earl of Bedford. The letter is charming in its phraseology and runs thus:

My sweet Meg,

I pray thee let me hear as soon as thou canst of the meeting betwixt your son¹ Francis and you how he doeth, and how poor Moses got home. Since your going, I have almost despatched all my business. My ships be upon the point of going luckilier now to speed well than ever, for it is certain Sir Francis Drake hath taken one of the chiefest towns in all the Indies called Santo Domingo, and in it three hundred thousand ducats and infinite other wealth. All the people of the country follow him, and he is very strong. There is come hither an ambassador from the King of Denmark, he had open audience before the Queen in the Presence Chamber. The effect of his message was to wish peace betwixt us and Spain, which is thought will lack no effect now this news is come from Sir Francis. All things in Flanders go very well. Since your going down there hath 5 or 6 hundred Spaniards been slain. Harry Constable is knighted. My suit goeth well forward, and I hope soon to be with my sweet dearie.

Thus, desiring thee to commend me to my brother and sister Wharton, to my own brother, a thousand to thyself with God's blessing and mine to all the little ones, I end

Thine ever,

GEORGE CUMBERLAND.

To my very loving wife the Countess of Cumberland.

Probably also the following letters which refer to the two children and must therefore have been written before 1589 belong to the period with which we are now concerned. The first from Lord Cumberland to his wife reads:

Sweet Meg,

I pray thee, if thou canst without thy harm, so [go?] here to-morrow, for there is some special cause, I thought to have seen thee myself to-night, but I could not find Mr Cavendish with his

¹ N.B. This is evidently in error for the word brother.

coach wherefore I send this here in such haste as I cannot write any more but blessing to our two little ones. Thus, hoping to see thee to-morrow, I end.

Yours now and ever,

GEORGE CUMBERLAND.

To my very loving wife the Countess of Cumberland.

The second was probably sent to Skipton or to Brougham or perhaps to some house nearer London and runs thus:

Sweet Meg,

I was sorry to see thy suddenness departure, which hindered me (as it happened unlooked for) of two days tarrying with thee. I have sent this bearer for my commission, which I forgot, with thee, and for the names of those that you wish to be feofees of the Bishopric lands, in which, and other my causes, good Meg, bestow thy thoughts, and hurt not thyself (to my perpetual grief) with thinking of him whose now absence shall settle a quiet home summer to both our contentments. Till which, wishing to thee all quiet, as heart's content, and to our little ones' health and prosperity, to God's glory and thy comfort, I end.

From Channel Row this xii of May,

Yours only in all fortunes,

GEORGE CUMBERLAND.

To my loving wife the Countess of Cumberland.

On September 23rd of this same year Lord Cumberland wrote to Lord Burghley with reference to some gift which had been made him by the Queen and which it does not seem possible now to identify. From it he had not derived that benefit which he had expected, and which the Queen had evidently intended he should have had, and he therefore desired Lord Burghley to plead with the Queen that she should be pleased to lend him £10,000 which he would repay to her, at the rate of £1000 a year, and in return he would not only resign the right and privilege she had granted him but would in addition thereto give bonds over his lands as security.

The money was needed to fit out his next expedition, but the Queen was not willing to grant his petition and the money had to be raised in some other way.

The actual letter was in existence in 1872, and had been found by Whitaker amongst the Bolton Abbey papers, and reprinted (although not with perfect accuracy), in his *History of Craven*. It cannot, however, now be found. It is of considerable interest, as it shows the terms upon which Lord Cumberland stood with his Sovereign, and also the efforts he had made in other directions to obtain the money. Part of the letter is quoted in the second Report of the Historical MSS. Commission. It reads thus:

My very good Lord,

I have bene, as your Lordship well knowethe, long tyme a suter to her Majesty to bestowe sume suche benefit upon me as myght manyfest to the world her good opinion, and macke me the better able to dooe her such servis as at any tyme she should have cause to com'and me, wch not long sense she did, as I then thought, but beinge of late in the cuntri, where I should have received the benefyt of hir gifte, I founde not any, but were ether unable or unwillinge to disburse presente muny soe that I am assured not to be relived by that meanes, wch I then hoped, & her Majestie mente; wherfore I noue most earnestly desier that it would please hir Majestie to lend me tenne thousande pound. I will pay it agayne by a thousand pounce a yeare, and for the assurance ether paune suche land as your Lordship shall lycke, or putt soe many jentellmen in bonde as shall be thought sufficient, and also resine up agayne her late gifte, wch wilbe more benefit to her then the lone of the mony canbe, and more profit to me than tooe suche sutes, my dayes of payement beinge soe neare, and the forfeitures greate, wch I shall faule into, if I be not relived by your Lordship's good meanes in this, as I thyncke, my resonable sute, which I will not move, till I knoue your good lykyng, by whom in this, as in everi other thyng, I will be dered. Thus hopeinge for your Lordship beste advice and furtherance, I proteste never to be forgetfull of any favor you shall bestoue upon me.

From the Courte, this XXIII of September.

Your Lordship's most assured Frynd,

GEORGE CUMBERLAND.

Directed:

To the ryght honorable my
very good Lord the Lord Burghley,
hey tresorer of Inglande.

Indorsed, seemingly in Lord Burghley's hand:

23 Sept. 1586.

E. of Cumberland

To borrow Xm li. of her Mai'ty.

CHAPTER IV

1588. THE SECOND VOYAGE

OF the second voyage Purchas tells us that in 1587 when the town of Sluys was being besieged by the Duke of Parma and held by the Governor Sir Roger Williams, Lord Cumberland went over to his support but on his arrival found that the town had been surrendered "unto the Duke the said Sir Roger being not able to hold out longer."

Robert Carey, afterwards Earl of Monmouth¹, in his *Journal* reprinted from the Manuscript then in the possession of the Earl of Cork and Orrery, thus refers to the procedure at Sluys.

He says:

I left my Lord of Cumberland there who had provided a small barke and we made all the haste we could towards Sluce. When wee came right over Ostend the water was so shallow we could not get in with our barke, we took our ships boats and rowed towards Ostend: wee were no sooner come near the shore but wee were told that Sluce was yielded to the enemy that day, notwithstanding we went ashore to Ostend where I found my brother Edmund a captain of the towne.

Wee were no sooner come to our lodging but it was told us for certain that the enemy was fully resolved to besiege Ostend with the greatest expedition that they could. The next morning my Lord of Cumberland seeing our hopes frustrate by the townes yielding resolved to go to his barke again and from Flushing to go to Bergen of Soame to see my Lord of Leicester and then to return home again. . . . We took leave, he to his barke and I to stay with my brother.

This adventure having come to nought and news of the approaching Armada having been brought to England, Cumberland went on board the *Bonaventure* commanded by Captain George Raymond and so it

¹ Son of Henry first Lord Hunsdon, born c. 1560, elevated to the Peerage 1626, died 1639. His son was 2nd and last Earl.

happened that it was he who brought the news of the defeat to Gravelines and by so doing took a chief part to "wanne that honour" which Purchas finely says "no sea can drowne, no age can weare out."

Carey gives us the narrative. He says:

My Lord of Cumberland and myselfe took post horse and rode straight to Portsmouth where we found a frigate that carried us to sea. . . . On Saturday, my Lord of Cumberland and myselfe came on shore and took post horse and found the Queene in her army at Tilbury Campe where I fell sicke of a burning fever and was carried in a litter to London¹.

There is also an allusion to Lord Cumberland being at Sluys, in a letter which Lord Essex wrote to Lord Leicester on July 30th, 1587, but in it he merely refers to his presence in the town². The Bolton Abbey MSS. include Lord Cumberland's despatch to Secretary Walsingham, a letter of some special interest, inasmuch as it refers to Mr Carey, from whose *Journal* we have just quoted.

To the ryght honorable Francis Walsy'gham, knyght, hir
maiestyes secretary.

XXIX October, 1588.

Sir,

Being at Plymouthe to water, I harde of a hulcke beten in by foule wether, by Hope, a toune XXIII myle from hence. She was one of the Spanyshe flyte, and it was reported the Ducke was in hir, and great store of treasure; wherfore I ridde thither, with Mr Cary and Mr Harris, whoe then were w'th me, to knowe the truthe of it, where we founde no such thynge as was reported of the Ducke; but a shippe suche and soe furnished as by an examination taken by hus and sent herew'th you may perseve. Mr Cary stayeth at the place, to kepe hir from spoylynge of the cuntry-men till here youre further derection. Thus muche the have intreted me to macke knowne to you, and thus in hast I co'mitte you to God,

From Malborowe, this XXIX of October.

Your lovyng frynde,

GEORGE CUMBERLAND.

¹ Carey's *Memoires*, edit. 1759, 8-10 and 15-19.

² Wright's *Original Letters*, II. 344.

By the "Ducke" mentioned in this letter, is meant no doubt the Spanish Admiral, the Duke of Medina Sidonia, who, in one of those rumours which at such times are flying in every direction, was said to have been driven on shore near Plymouth.

Sir Francis Walsingham's despatches to Lord Burghley and his reports concerning the Armada also allude to Lord Cumberland and to the part he took in the defeat and in bringing in the news, but they give us no further details. The chief one is dated 8th August, 1588¹.

In the pay list of the expedition against the Spanish Armada the name of but one privately owned vessel appears and that is the *Sampson* (or *Samson*) belonging to the Earl of Cumberland. There were many vessels sent out from different ports and belonging either to the port itself or to its Mayor and Corporation, or perchance to a group of owners in the place as for example those which came from Aldborough, Bristol, Chichester, Dover, Dartmouth, the Isle of Wight, Lynn, Plymouth or Yarmouth; but no other private owner's name appears and all these ships were sent out as part of the Queen's fleet, and were paid in that capacity².

Lord Cumberland's courage and his success on this occasion so gratified the Queen that she then placed at his disposal one of the Royal ships on which he was to be admiral, the *Golden Lion*, and gave him a commission to go out against Spain.

He victualled, furnished and equipped the ship "at his owne charge and adventure" and set sail on October 4th, 1588, but had small success, capturing only one ship from Dunkirk called the *Hare* "laden with merchandise for Spaine" and that he took and sent home.

¹ See Wright's *Original Letters*, II. 385 and 387.

² See Cecil MSS. III. 341.

Then, finding the winds contrary, he put into Fresh-water Bay and there rested for a while but

soe much did the storme encrease and to that extremity that it was resolved there was noe other safety of the Shipp and Company than by casting of the mayne mast overboard. The which no sayler durst attempt until his Lordshipp had himself stricken the first stroke; and that done, the Shipp (by God's good providence) ridd in safety. The Storme in tyme ceased but the voyadge was utterly defeated by that accident.

So he returned home.

Robinson, in his MS., only tells us that "he ventured his noble person to the further Southward and that with noe smalle peril to his Honor's person."

A Mr Hungerford¹, writing to Lord Essex a secret letter, written in sympathetic ink, and dated June 7th, 1588, refers to Lord Cumberland as "The English Lord that doth great harm to the Spanish at sea." It is clear, therefore, that his fame had already gone about, and he was beginning to be dreaded by the enemies of his country².

To his wife Lord Cumberland conveyed the intelligence of his success in the following letter written on board the *Lion* and sent home in the prize. In it he says:

Sweet Meg,

God, I most humbly thank him, hath so mightily blessed me, that already I have taken a Dunkirk [ship] bound for Saint Lucar in Spain. I have sent Lister to see her unladen in Portsmouth, and to send all that is mine to you, which I would have you use according to your discretion, and let it be opened with secrecy. If there be anything fit to give to my Lord Chamberlain, I would have you do it, it will make him the readier to do for me, if there be cause. This man I have taken tells me there are four ships now ready in Dunkirk, going for Spain. I hope within these three days to meet them, if I do, I shall make a good voyage, for all the ordnance of the galleys and rich lading. Commend me to my Lord of Warwick

¹ Perhaps Mr Hungerford is the Sir Walter Hungerford (1532-1596) called the Knight of Farley.

² Cecil MSS. VIII. 198.

and my Lady. Excuse my not writing to them, for I have scanty leisure to write to you.

Thus with God's blessing to our little ones, and hearty prayers for thy well-being, I commit you all to God.

From the Lion, this xxiii of October.

Yours only now and ever,

GEORGE CUMBERLAND.

I would have you present my Lord Admiral with something.
To my very loving wife the Countess of Cumberland.

The only other allusions to him at this time that we have been able to discover are contained in two letters to Elizabeth, Countess of Rutland.

One is in a letter from a certain Lancelot Turner dated May 5th, 1588, in which he incidentally writes "My Lord Cumberland enquired most kindly for you lately¹." The other is a letter dated October 27th from Lord Cumberland himself which appears to belong to the same year. In it he writes thus: "I make bold to trouble you with these lines, desiring if my services may do you pleasure in anything, that you will command it²."

We do learn however from the State Papers³ that on New Year's Day he presented the Queen with what they call "a jewel of gold like a sacrifice," while Lady Cumberland presented "a pair of braseletts conteyninge eight peeces of gold sett with sparks of diamonds and rubyes and knotts or rundells of small pearles betweene them threded."

In return the Queen gave them "above forty ounces of gilt silver plate."

¹ Belvoir MSS. I. 247.

² *Ibid.* 262.

³ Nichols's *Progresses of Queen Elizabeth*, III. 3.



Photo Lewis

Portrait of George, Earl of Cumberland, from an engraving by Rogers, circa 1589

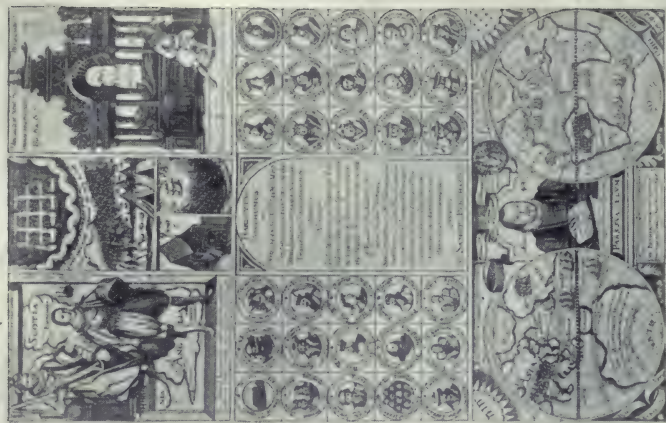


Photo Lewis

Portrait of George, Earl of Cumberland, in a series of portraits in Purchas, circa 1589



CHAPTER V

1589. THE THIRD VOYAGE

OF the third voyage¹, Purchas tells us that Lord Cumberland's spirit "remaining nevertheless higher than the windes and more resolutely by stormes compact and united in itselfe" he decided to make a third expedition.

The ship lent him by the Queen was the *Victory*, whose name, Mr Oppenheim² tells us, first appears in the victualling accounts of the quarter ending September 1562.

On March 14th, 1560, he says a ship called the *Great Christopher* was bought for the Navy from two London merchants. Its tonnage "corresponds with that assigned to the *Victory* in early papers and the year corresponds with that assigned to the *Victory*" in a State Paper describing the vessels in the Navy at that time. "The name *Great Christopher*" he continues "is only found down to 1562 when it is immediately succeeded by that of the *Victory*; in fact the *Christopher* is named in October and then ceases, to be replaced by the *Victory* in November."

He assumes therefore, and with reason, that the entries represent the same ship as it is not conceivable that a new 800 ton ship "one of the two largest in the Navy" should disappear "without a trace of the cause."

¹ The British Museum contains two narratives of the voyage of 1589, one in the Sloane collection (43) and the other in the Harleian collection (280, p. 178). Both of these have been examined but they do not differ in material matters from the narratives supplied in this chapter.

² *The Administration of the Royal Navy*, 1896.

Mr Oppenheim discovered in the Pipe Office Accounts a statement that, under Hawkins (during whose time considerable rebuilding and repairs were carried out, in the Royal shipyard); the *Victory* was "altered into the forme of a galleon" at a cost of £,500: and other State Papers revealed details concerning her armament proving that in 1585 she had on board 6 demi-cannon¹, 4 cannon periers, 14 culverins², 8 demi-culverins³, 2 sakers⁴, 4 fawcons⁵, 6 portpieces, 10 fowlers, and 12 bases.

At the time of Elizabeth's death, in 1603, the *Victory* was not upon the effective list and the list of the ships of the Royal Navy at that time mentions that she had only 7 brass fowlers upon her.

Mr Oppenheim points out that the *Victory* was the sixth largest ship of Elizabeth's Navy, exceeded only by the *Elizabeth*, the *Triumph*, the *White Bear*, the *Merhonour* and the *Ark Royal*; of these, two were ships measuring 110 feet in length of keel and three measuring 100 feet, whereas the *Victory* only measured 95 feet.

It was, however, exceeded in length by five others, the *Repulse*, *Lion*, *Vanguard*, *Bonaventure* and *Rainbow*, but these were lighter ships and much more shallow in the hold.

	The bore	The weight	The weight of the shot	The weight of the powder	Shoot point blank	Shoot at random
	inches	lbs.	lbs.	lbs.	score paces	paces
Cannon	8	6000	60	27	17	2000
¹ Demi-cannon	6 $\frac{3}{4}$	4000	30 $\frac{1}{2}$	18	17	1700
² Culverin	5 $\frac{1}{2}$	4500	17 $\frac{1}{2}$	12	20	1700
³ Demi-culverin	4 $\frac{1}{2}$	3400	9 $\frac{1}{2}$	8	20	2500
⁴ Saker	3 $\frac{1}{2}$	1400	5 $\frac{1}{2}$	5 $\frac{1}{2}$	17	1700
Minion	3 $\frac{1}{4}$	1000	4	4	16	1600
⁵ Fawcon	2 $\frac{1}{4}$	660	2 $\frac{1}{4}$	2 $\frac{1}{4}$	15	1500

In modern phraseology, the "sakers" may be regarded as five-pounders, the "minions" as four-pounders, and the "fawcons" as two-pounders, while the "demi-cannons" were nearly the same bore (said Elgar) as the 32-pounders of Nelson's time. The minions and sakers were mounted on skids, or blocks of wood, hollowed out to receive them, the fawcons on swivels, which were usually fixed to the gunwale.

The burden of the five big ships was 760, 732, 684, 691 and 555 but in tonnage they were 955, 915, 855, 865 and 692 respectively.

The *Victory* was 95 feet long, 35 feet in beam, 17 feet deep, of 555 tons burden and 694 tons tonnage. She carried 7 anchors and 7 cables, had on board 50 tons of ordnance and required a crew of 400, while the *Elizabeth*, *Triumph* and *White Bear* each needed 500 men to navigate them. Her cost per month when at sea for wages and victualling was the same as that of the *Merhonour* and *Ark Royal*, £606. 13s. 4d.

The chief account of this voyage was written by Edward Wright¹, who as engineer, master, and mathematician accompanied Lord Cumberland and published his narrative in his work issued in 1599 entitled *Certaine Errors in Navigation*. This work is now a very rare one.

Wright does not mention his own presence in the fleet but in the list of "captaines and gentlemen" which he gives, reference is made to "captaine" Edward Carelesse, alias Wright, who in Sir Francis "Drake's West Indian voyage to S. Domingo and Carthagenas was captaine of the *Hope*."

It has been suggested therefore that the writer was identical with this Captain Carelesse but against this surmise it must be stated that in his work above alluded to and issued in 1599 he definitely states that his "first employment at sea" was some ten years before the date of his book, i.e. 1589, and that although it has been said that he obtained leave from his College (Gonville and Caius) to absent himself and go to sea several years before, there is no certain evidence of this but on the contrary he is mentioned as a Fellow

¹ Wright was the first Englishman to place navigation on a mathematical basis, and laid down principles which are upheld even at the present time. The so-called Mercator charts in use at the present time are drawn on the projection laid down by Wright.

of his College and presumably in residence, at the very time, 1585-6, when he would have been with Drake's expedition on the *Hope*.

It seems more probable therefore, that the person to whom Wright alludes was some connection of his own and possibly it was through the influence of this relative that he obtained the appointment on the fleet and the opportunity of thus recording his experiences.

Wright's narrative was illustrated by a map of the expedition, an important plan of Fayal (September 11th, 1589) and a portrait of Lord Cumberland, all of which can be seen in the fine copy of this rare work in the Grenville Library in the British Museum.

The narrative was copied by Richard Hakluyt and appears in his *Voyages* (II. 43), and in vol. VII of the important reprint issued in 1904 by Maclehose.

The fleet, Wright tells us, comprised four sail only, the *Victory*, one of the Queen's ships, the *Margaret*, a vessel which soon had to be sent home again as she was "not able to endure the sea," the *Meg*, and a small carvell. The officers were Captain Christopher Lister, Captain Carelesse (already alluded to), Captain Ralph Boswell, Sir William Monson (then Captain Monson) who was Vice-Admiral, Mr Pigeon who commanded the carvell, and Messrs Mervin, Henry Long, Partridge and Norton. To these we can add from another narrative, "Mr John, Mr Carvyn, Mr Thomas Percy, Mr William Saxey and divers others of good quallitie."

Captain Christopher Lister appears to have been the son of William Lister of Midhope and Thornton, Yorks, by his first wife Ann Midhope of Skipton¹. To Sir William Monson we refer later on.

¹ Midhope still stands. It is a place near to Gisburne, the Lister home, see *Archaeologia*, XXXIV. 304.

The fleet set sail from Plymouth on June 18th, 1589, and three days afterwards met with three French ships¹ of which it took possession.

Their loading consisted for the most part of fish from Newfoundland which was distributed amongst the vessels as food for the mariners and stowed away so far as was possible, the remainder being sent to England in two of the ships, while in the third were placed the crews from the ships. It was then sent back to France.

On July 13th another capture was made near to the coast of Spain but not without some fighting and in all eleven ships were taken as prizes.

These were carrying pepper and cinnamon, the properties of a certain Jew in Lisbon, and the contents of the ships valued at £4500 (reckoned at 2s. a lb.) were divided between the four vessels of the fleet in proper proportion, and then the ships were dismissed.

Seven of the crew agreed to join the English expedition, however, and were taken on board. These men reported that nearly £20,000 worth of other goods had been on board the ships and were missed in the search, but by the time this information was given it was too late to search the ships again!

Under cover of a Spanish flag the fleet then approached the island of St Michael, in the Azores group, and there captured three small vessels laden with wine and olive oil while a little later, another was captured, having on board her 30 tuns of Madeira wine, besides woollen cloth, silk and taffeta.

The fleet then put in, on August 14th, at the island of Flores for water and food, but while there had intelligence of certain Spanish carracks, that were at anchor at Terceira, whither at once the English expedition repaired.

¹ This particular capture, which took place off Ushant, is alluded to in a letter written to Lord Burghley by some unknown correspondent, and dated June 25th, 1589. The letter appears in Wright's *Original Letters*, II. 401.

There, more prizes were taken, laden with hides, ivory, cocoanuts, sugar, and ginger and the capture of these was assisted by certain other English ships which happened to be in those parts, notably the *Barke of Lyme* which was one of Sir Walter Raleigh's vessels commanded by Captain Marksburie.

Some eight Englishmen who had escaped from Tercera were rescued from their small sailing boat and taken on board the *Victory* and a captured ship was sent home on August 30th in charge of Captain Saxey.

Then followed the attack upon Fayal. Its surrender was first demanded, but the Governors of the place intimated that by their "oath and allegiance to King Philip of Spain" they could not entertain such a proposal and accordingly an attack was made which was speedily over, and, says Wright, "we saw the Red Crosse of England flourishing upon the Forefront of the town."

There follows, in Wright's narrative, an interesting description of the place, telling of its houses, each with its cistern or well, and of the vines with ripe clusters of grapes and of "tabacco, nowe commonly knowen and used in England wherewith their women there dye their faces reddish to make them seeme fresh and young," and also mentioning the growth of "pepper Indian and common, figge trees bearing both white and red figges: Peach trees not growing very tall; Oranges, Limons, Quinces and Potato roots."

Lord Cumberland appears to have behaved with great restraint towards the captured town. He gave orders that there was to be no looting "no mariner or souldier should enter into any house to make any spoyle thereof," that the churches and "houses of religion" should be kept inviolate and that keepers were to be appointed for them, but unfortunately in many districts his orders were not carried out and the soldiers and mariners left hardly any house unsearched

helping themselves to "chestes of sweete wood, chaires, cloth, coverlets, hangings, bedding and apparel."

A demand for 2000 ducats in ransom was made upon the town and this sum was paid "most part whereof," says Wright, "was church plate."

Fifty-eight pieces of iron ordnance were also captured and taken away and the platform on which they had stood was demolished, but the Governor, Diego Gomez, was given a safe conduct.

After this Lord Cumberland invited the inhabitants to dinner on the *Victory*, but only four accepted his invitation. These he entertained handsomely and solemnly dismissed them with "sounde of drumme and trumpets and peale of Ordnance," delivering to them all a letter requesting all other Englishmen to abstain from molesting them, save only for the purpose of obtaining needful water or food.

A little later, when the fleet came again into Fayal the inhabitants prepared to flee, but they were assured that the visit was only for fresh water, whereupon, as Wright says, we bought such things as we desired for our money "as if we had bene in England."

An attack was then made upon Graciosa, the islanders refusing to believe that all the English fleet wanted at that time was water and food; but it is naively stated that as no good landing place could be found, and it was feared that if many men should be killed they might not have a sufficient crew to man the *Victory*, Lord Cumberland decided to send a letter to the Governor to intimate that he was ready to receive submission. The letter produced a flag of truce and some sixty tuns of wine, and fresh food was brought out to the fleet, which then set sail from the island.

The next prize was taken off St Mary's Isle, a ship from Brazil laden with sugar, but this was not secured without a severe struggle, in which the English expedition lost two men and had sixteen others wounded,

and with the captured vessel, which was sent back to England, the Admiral sent the *Margaret* "because she leaked much," with many of the hurt and wounded on board. In this attack which was made upon the fortifications of the island and undertaken at Captain Lister's advice, Lord Cumberland was himself wounded in the side, head, and legs, and Captain Lister was shot in the shoulder.

The remaining vessels now made for the coast of Spain and there quickly captured another Portuguese vessel bringing from Brazil 410 chests of sugar and a large quantity of Brazil wood, and then acting on information obtained on board her, set off in pursuit of the companion vessel which also was taken.

This was loaded with hides, cochineal and some chests of sugar, also with china dishes, plate and silver. The Captain was an Italian, "a grave, wise and civil man" who had adventured 25,000 ducats in the expedition.

The fleet now started for home, in expectation of being back before Christmas with their rich prizes, but says Wright, "they kept a colde Christmas with the Bishop and his clearkes (rocks that lye to the West wards from Syilly)."

A heavy storm came on, so that no progress could be made, and, although an effort to reach the coast of Ireland at first promised success, the winds were contrary and there was a great scarcity of water on board.

At first, Wright tells us, each man had but half a pint at a meal, then only a quarter of a pint and later on as water could not be got, three or four spoonsfull of vinegar were given each man to drink, at a meal, and such wine lees as remained on board. This went on for a fortnight and meantime there was hardly any rain, while when it did come

"the hailestones wee gathered up," says the chronicler, "and wee did eate them more pleasantly than if they had been the sweetest comfits in the world. The raine drops were so carefully saved that so neere as we could not one was lost in all our shippe."

Wright proceeds to describe the efforts made to catch the rain, and the way in which "napkins and cloutes" when "thorow wet" were sucked to obtain the water from them and he tells how he himself "with strife and contention" would watch at a scupper hole with "dishes, pots, cannes, and jarres," ready to drink the water, foul as it was, mud and all, to allay thirst.

All sorts of contrivances were devised to catch the precious water. Not only did the officers and mariners suffer but the poor Spaniards, their prisoners, were in even worse case, and he adds, "they would crave of us, for the love of God but so much water as they could holde in the hollow of their hand." "They had it," says he, "notwithstanding our great extremitie," adding with characteristic English pride and self satisfaction "to teach them some humanitie instead of their accustomed barbaritie, both to us and other nations heretofore."

The men, he adds, put bullets in their mouths to "slake their thirst," and he tells us of the constant cries for water, of the deaths by thirst, "every day some were cast overboard," and more men, says he, were lost from this cause than had died in the whole expedition.

He refers also to that longing for the sound of a stream, the dreams of conduits, pumps, and springs in England, and all the images of running water that rise before the minds of men sorely distressed by thirst.

At last on December 2nd, there came a great storm of rain and so their thirst was satisfied, but so foul and bitter was the water they caught and so muddy by reason of the dirt of the ship and of the vessels in which it was received that they were compelled to add sugar to it "to sweeten it withall."

Then followed a mighty wind and a raging storm. The sails were rent and torn, the deck raked by the waves which came like mountains, one after the other,

and the ship was so tossed and shaken, and leaked so seriously, that Wright declares he thought it would have "shaken in sunder."

At last a new mainsail was made and rigged up, the other having been torn to ribbons, but no sooner was this done than the storm increased again and the sail was all but lost when as Wright describes:

Master William Antony the Master of the ship himself (when none else would or durst) ventured with danger of drowning by creeping along upon the maine yarde (which was let downe close to the railles) to gather it up out of the sea to fasten it thereto being in the meane while oft-times ducked over head and eares into the sea.

One English ship with which they had spoken in the Channel had given them a little wine, two or three tuns, but had refused more because of the needs of its own crew.

When, eventually, they met the crew of this ship in Ireland they found out that it had an ample supply and could have spared them, with ease, much more and this only added to the horror with which they looked back upon that terrible time.

They did get a little beer from another ship and then at last on December 1st they put into a port in Ireland, *Ventre Haven* [now *Bantry Bay*].

Lord Cumberland at once went on shore and procured fresh water, pigs, hens, mutton and other food and Wright expressly states that "notwithstanding himself had lately bene very weake he had tasted of the same extremitie that his Company did." Even a little water that had at first been put aside for the Admiral was lost as the pot got broken and the water dried up.

There is a long and curious account in the *Journal*, of the town of *Dingenacush* [or *Dingle*], the chief town of the part of Ireland where they were, with allusion to its mines of alum, tin, brass and iron.

The officers were entertained, it states, by the Ruler (or *Soveraigne*) of the place, "one of those four which

withstood the Erle of Desmond in his rebellion," and Wright tells us that he had Sergeants to attend upon him and a mace carried before him "as our Maiors."

There the Earl found Sir Edward Dennie¹ (*sic*) "his Lady and two yong sonnes" and these were taken on board the *Victory*.

A good supply of fresh water was laid in and the squadron on December 20th started once more for home, but alas the "faire winde" "scanted" and so they kept "a colde Christmas with the Bishop and his clearkes."

Presently news from an English ship reached the little fleet to the effect that its richest prize had been shipwrecked off the coast of Cornwall, that Captain Lister and all the crew save six had been drowned, but that part of the goods had been saved and kept for them by Sir Francis Godolphin and the "worshipful gentlemen of the country there."

Other vessels brought news of later captures and of the loss of another Spanish ship captured by Sir Martin Frobisher at Tercera, and presently Lord Cumberland was put ashore at Falmouth while the vessels struggled in the teeth of a heavy storm towards Plymouth. They had at last to give up the idea of landing at the place from which they had set sail, and returned to Falmouth where "with gladnesse wee set foote againe upon the English ground (long desired) and refreshed ourselves with keeping part of Christmas upon our native soile."

There is a curious allusion in Wright's narrative to what he calls "a huge fish" which he says pursued a boat-load of men for some two miles, keeping about

¹ This Sir Edward Denny was a step cousin of Sir Walter Raleigh and a friend of Sir Philip Sidney. He was a Captain in the forces against the Irish, and was the messenger to Queen Elizabeth who announced the fall of the Fort del Ore in Kerry.

He was knighted in 1588 and settled down upon an estate in Tralee. Lady Denny was an Edgcumbe and had been a Maid of Honour to Queen Elizabeth.

a spear's distance off as a rule, but at times coming so close that the boat struck it. He says its jaws were "gaping a yard and a half wide," "which put us in fear of the overturning of the pinnace but God be thanked! rowing as hard as we could we escaped."

The whole account is written in picturesque and even thrilling form, and it was wisely selected by Edward Arber to be reprinted in his *English Garner*, as illustrative of the literature of the period.

Sir Wm Monson, who in his *Naval Tracts* gives a further account of this same voyage, and who was under Lord Cumberland in charge of the expedition has the honour, as has been well said, "so far as is known of having been the first English seaman to write any historical and critical account of the warfare in which he took part."

He was the third son of Sir John Monson, who died in 1593, by Jane Dighton his wife.

He was a student at Balliol College when in his fourteenth year, and appears to have run away from home and gone to sea soon after his sixteenth birthday.

His first experiences were probably connected with privateering, but he must have speedily shown an aptitude for seamanship, because, in a couple of years, we hear of him as a Captain and as having captured a Spanish prize.

During the Armada campaign he served as a volunteer on board the Queen's pinnace *Charles* and from "that date confined himself to the royal service or to the semi-royal expeditions set out by the Earl of Cumberland."

Monson's abilities must have been of a marked order, for Lord Cumberland, in a position to make a choice for himself amongst "private captains eager to serve under him," appears to have selected Monson and to have become much attached to him. On his part Monson speaks of the "love," "affection," "friendship" and

“faithfulness” he had felt for and shown to Cumberland, but these did not prevent him, a very proud, querulous and self-satisfied man, from having at times sharp quarrels with his noble patron.

As we shall see a little later Monson was taken prisoner in 1591 by the Spaniards, who recaptured a prize that Lord Cumberland had wrested from them, and sent to Spain whence he was taken to Lisbon.

The “Lady Anne narrative,” after mentioning that Lord Cumberland was within hearing of the gun-fire but unable to rescue his friend by reason of the calm, goes on to state that

suche was his love and care of his people as he wrott immediately to the Archduke Alberto (then viceroy of Portugale) that he should well entreate the prisoners otherwise that suche as fell into his hands (whereof he presumed of good store) should receive the same measure and usage for feare whereof the Spaniards within a fewe dayes after newe clothed the comon sorte of them and soe released them, deteynnige onelie Capt. Monson with sixe others of the better sorte all which (Monson excepted) within a shorte tyme after were like wise sett at libertie and he kepte as a pledge until dewe performance of a promise made for the discharge of some Spanishe prisoners in England, whereof one Dom Aries de Silva was principall.

Monson seems to have been home in 1594, for in that year he took his Master’s degree at Oxford. In 1595 he married Dorothy Wallop, the widow of one Richard Smith, of Shelford, who may have brought him some estate.

In consequence of one of his quarrels at that time with Lord Cumberland, in which he complains of his “inconstant friendship,” Monson did not take part in an expedition which he had intended to accompany in 1596, but was appointed to be Commander of the *Rainbow*, one of the Queen’s ships. Soon after that he was knighted, and his only other connection with Cumberland lies in his having challenged him—so we learn from a letter written by Rowland Whyte to Sir Robert Sidney on 9th February, 1597/8—on account

of certain comments the Earl had made on Monson's conduct in the matter of the Indian fleet, when the treasure ships escaped into Angra.

The letter which Mr Oppenheim quotes from the Sidney Papers (II. p. 93) says:

“My Lord of Cumberland by reason of the contrary winds is not yet gone; and upon some occasion, being now in London, Sir William Monson sent him a challenge for having used some disgraceful words of him and his doings upon the coast of Terceras [i.e. the Azores] when the treasure entered in. I do not hear,” the letter concludes, “what answer is made.”

Mr Oppenheim believes that, in the absence of any record of a duel, the quarrel was composed in amicable fashion and Cumberland sailed in that very March for Porto Rico.

Into the long story of Monson's disgrace we need not enter. Suffice it to state that he, like others of the leading men of the day, fell a victim to his own cupidity and became an agent between the Spanish Government, the notorious Lady Somerset and others, by means of which his financial position was greatly improved, but his patriotism stained by serious and indeed treasonable conduct. Kindly as one is disposed to view a fault which prevailed so widely amongst the courtiers of Elizabeth's time, it is only right to mention it; as has been well said:

he himself made his case blacker by the sanctimonious claim to purity of life and heart, that he persistently put forward, and that the world accepted unhesitatingly for more than two centuries.

He was superseded in his command of the Channel fleet in January 1616, and was committed to the Tower on various charges.

In July of the same year he was liberated but not, it is clear, adjudged to be innocent.

Later, he was consulted by the Privy Council concerning a proposed attack upon Algiers and notwithstanding the enmity he had incurred and the bad

feeling he had created, his sound judgement in sea matters was fully recognised, and the position he held, even in his retirement, was that of an authority upon war and seamanship, whose advice and counsel were not to be lightly set aside.

He was, in fact, an important member of a commission dealing with the defence of the realm which was appointed in 1637.

During these last few years of his life, though sadly discredited by his connection with a sordid court intrigue, Monson was preparing his invaluable series of *Naval Tracts*, but he died in February 1642/3 without having seen them in print, as the times were not propitious for authorship, and they were not issued in their entirety until 1704.

In Mr Oppenheim's General Introduction to these *Tracts*, written for the edition prepared for the Navy Records Society in 1902, will be found a full and detailed account of Monson's career and exact bibliographical information concerning the *Tracts* and the various manuscripts which have survived. To this, all persons interested in Monson and his work must necessarily be referred.

In his first book he gives accounts of six of Lord Cumberland's expeditions—those of 1589, 1591, 1592, 1593, 1594 and 1595—and devotes considerable space to them.

Of the expedition to which we have just referred he only writes briefly, hardly considering it worth attention, although he was interested in it from having himself taken part in it.

His narrative is by no means so picturesque nor so elaborate in its details as that of Wright, but it adds certain important information to it.

The burden of the trouble that befell the expedition is laid by Monson upon the shoulders of Captain Lister, in whom the Earl of Cumberland had, he

declares, reposed a misplaced confidence, and who Monson states had no previous experience of such warfare. "He also," says Monson, "was the man that advised the sending the ships of wine for England otherwise we had not tasted," he adds, "the want of drink."

In Monson's opinion, it was Lister who advised "our landing in the face of the fortifications of St Mary where at first an attempt was made (soon to be relinquished) against all reason and sense."

He does give poor Lister credit for being valiant, but laments his rashness and adds that he was hurt cruelly in that brief encounter, and was then drowned in the rich ship cast away at Mounts Bay.

Lord Cumberland, according to Wright, grievously lamented Lister's death and still retained his belief in his skill and judgement.

Monson, by some curious error or miscalculation, speaks of the Expedition as undertaken "with one Ship Royal of her Majesty's and six of his own and other adventurers."

Purchas and Wright mention only four ships in all. Perchance Monson included some lighter vessels, pinnaces, which Wright deemed unworthy of specific mention, or more probably he alludes to those which joined the expedition in the Azores, including Sir Amias Paulet's ship, and one commanded by Captain Davis.

Monson again makes no allusion to the attempt upon Graciosa but, as we shall see later, Wright's statement concerning it is corroborated by Jan Huyghen van Linschoten, a Dutch traveller who was a passenger on one of the carracks, and this last adds certain missing information respecting that part of the cruise.

Monson particularly states that the voyage was "amply and largely writ by that famous mathematician

Mr Wright who was an actor in it himself," and that his own narrative was but a "brief collection."

Wright says the value of the spices captured in the eleven ships was about £4500. Monson puts it in his narrative at from £7000 to £8000.

Monson expressly states that the ordnance captured at Fayal amounted to 45 pieces great and small and he adds "we sacked and spoiled the town." It appears that the churches and religious houses were the only parts that escaped despoiling and even they were mulct in their silver plate which formed so important a proportion of the value of the ransom paid.

For all the troubles of the return voyage, especially its grievous calamity of thirst, Monson blamed Captain Lister.

The other important narrative of this same expedition is that of Linschoten, given by Hakluyt in his seventh volume. Linschoten was a passenger on board one of the Dutch carracks which Lord Cumberland's fleet pursued and missed and he appears to have settled down in the island of Tercera, where the carracks had to drop anchor, and to have remained in that place for some considerable time. His narrative is therefore based in many respects upon information he obtained from others, because, being all the time (as it would appear) in the one island it was only by rumour that he heard of what took place in other islands of the group. It is not easy to fit in his narrative with those of Wright and Monson and his dates are extraordinary and in many instances impossible; but generally speaking, his story, both of what he saw himself at Tercera and of what he heard from others, falls into its proper place, and tallies with the record in the other narratives.

He alone tells us that at Fayal, Lord Cumberland razed the Castle to the ground, and adds that he sunk

the ordnance in the sea, but Monson, Wright and Purchas all lead us to believe that this was not the case but that the Englishmen took on board some at least of the guns and probably made use of them, Purchas particularly mentioning 58 pieces.

Linschoten also records the fact that one Spanish ship which the English, failing to capture, sunk, and from which they saved the captain and about thirty men, had on board about 200,000 ducats worth of gold, silver and pearls and that not one pennyworth of it all was secured.

He also is responsible for the somewhat unlikely story that upon the same ship were women "which the English men would not save." True he couples with the women, many friars, and the violence of the feeling of the English against Spanish and Portuguese friars at that time, may have accounted for the report; but he specifically includes women in his count, and it is not to be believed that Englishmen at any time would have refused to have saved women.

Furthermore, it is Linschoten who says that the ships commanded by Juan Aribe (whom he called Juan Dorives), and which were treasure ships with four million ducats on board, were just missed by Lord Cumberland, and while he congratulates the Spaniards on their good luck mentions the incident with an odd sympathy for the privateers, as "hard fortune for the Englishmen."

He pictures in vivid language the arrival shortly afterwards in Tercera of the two chief ships of that treasure fleet which by storm had been separated from the rest, and tells how the crew had been

"in great torment and distresse and readie to sink for they were forced to use all their Pumps so that," he adds, "they wished a thousand times to have met with the Englishmen to whom they would willingly have given their silver and all that ever they brought with them onely to save their lives."

His picture of the unloading of these two ships is an amazing one:

They unladed and discharged above five millions of silver all in pieces of 8 or 10 pound great so that the whole Kay lay covered with plates and chests of silver, full of Ryales of eight, most wonderful to behold (each million being ten hundred thousand duckaets) besides pearles gold and other stones which were not registered.

The Admiral himself, one Alvaro Flores de Quiniones, who was seriously ill, had of his own "above 50,000 Duckats in pearles which," says Linschoten, "he shewed unto us and sought to sell them or barter them for spices or bills of exchange."

His escape later on to Lisbon is also chronicled by Linschoten. He got away with all his treasure, and was only missed by the English fleet by reason of his putting into Lisbon instead of S. Lucar, where he had originally intended to land.

The main interest in Linschoten's account appears to lie in the credit he gives to the Englishmen for courtesy and bravery.

He condemns the Spaniards for their cruelty, speaks of them as "bloody cruel and dishonest," but he was a great admirer both of the courtesy and humanity exhibited by Lord Cumberland and his captains, and describes the English as "courageous and victorious, stout and valiant."

Of Lord Cumberland himself in this voyage we learn further details from Purchas.

He alone records the fact that when Captain Lister was wounded off St Mary, Cumberland "received three shot upon his target and a fourth on the side not deepe, his head also broken with stones that the bloud covered his face both it and his legs likewise burned with fire balls."

Purchas also tells us that at the time of the terrible thirst on the return voyage when "some in the extremitie of thirst dranke themselves to death with their

Cannes of salt water in their hands," Cumberland's "noble charitie caused equall distribution to the small store they had as well to all his prisoners as to his owne people," and Purchas speaks in no measured terms of his "minde yet undaunted and present, his bodily presence and preventions readie."

He it is, also, who records the fact that on his arrival in England Cumberland was informed of the death of his eldest son Francis, Lord Clifford, who had died on the 16th of December passing on the title to his little brother, Robert, who was himself to die two years later.

Lord Cumberland was, however, comforted by receiving at the same time the intimation of the birth of his only daughter Anne, afterwards to become the renowned Lady Anne, Countess of Dorset and then of Pembroke and Montgomery, who had been born on the 30th of January, 1589/90 at Skipton Castle, where also her brother had died.

Monson, in one of his Occasional Papers—that on the office of a Pilot—specially alludes to this voyage and says that

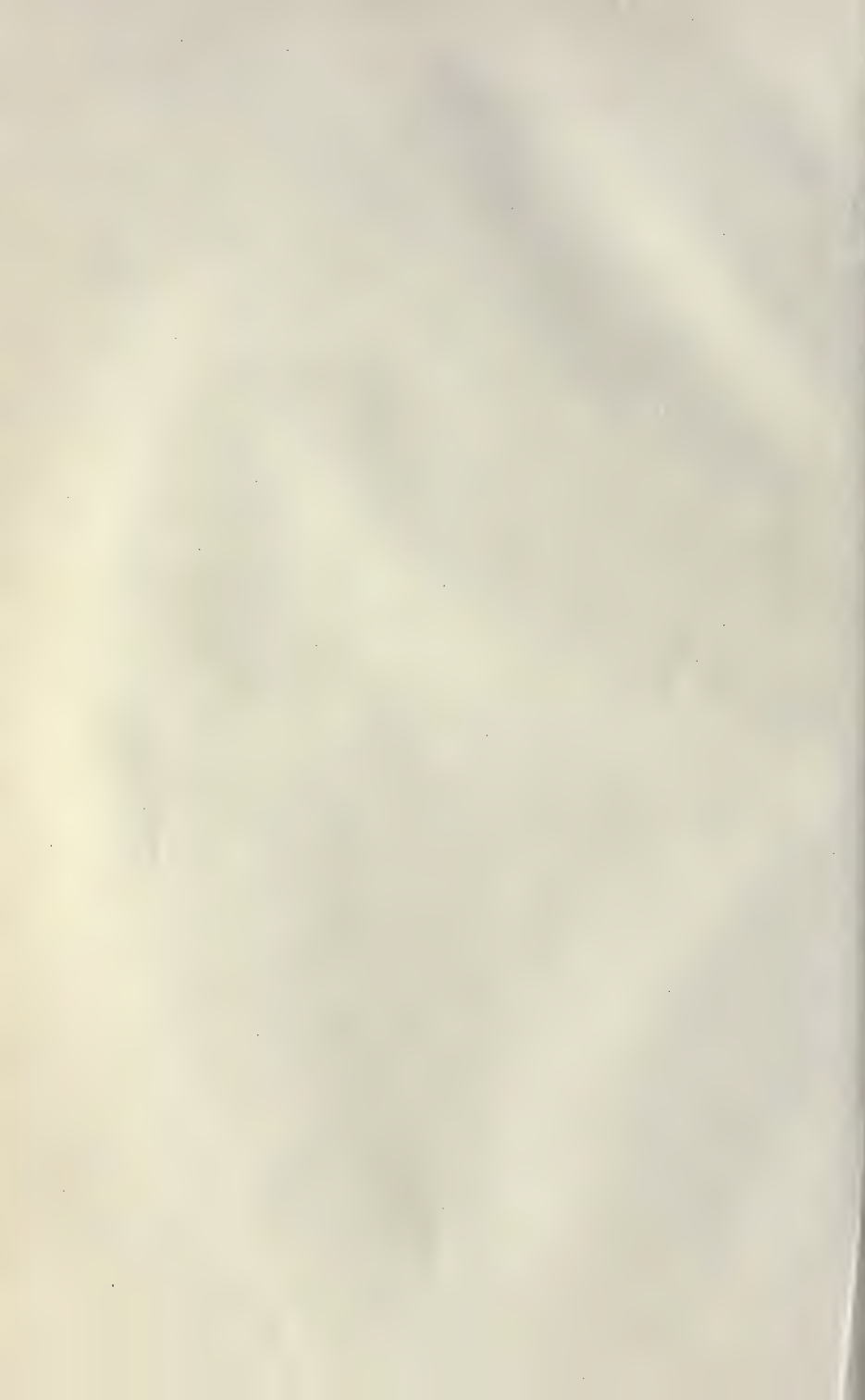
for want of a man that knew the coast of Ireland and its harbours they were forced to keep the sea till they were put from shore . . . so that before we could recover it again we endured such great misery and want of drink that the like has not been known.

In another Paper, dealing with Lights, he again illustrates his argument by an allusion to this voyage. He refers to the Spanish prize value £100,000 which was sent home, and in distress thought it was close to Plymouth although really "a little short of the Lizard and forced into Mounts Bay," where two days later it was wrecked.

"A light from the Lizard," says he, "at that time had saved a hundred men's lives and £100,000 worth of wealth for if she had known herself to be so nigh the Lizard the wind was so large as she might have gotten about the land with the foresail and I daresay there was as good mariners on board her as that time could accord."

Att his Lordships arrayall at London.
 he mett with the vnfurmativ Monard of
 the butynthe death of his eldste sonne
 Francis Lo: Clifford, who died the 11th
 of the month of December 1589 of the age of
 5: yeares and 8 ^{monthes olde} ~~yeares~~, with comforte agayne
 in this, with the Birth of his daughter
 the Ladye Anne Clifforde wher
 was borne the 2th of the
 of January following.
 in Skipton Castle in Craven.

A portion of the "Lady Anne" Narrative describing the death of Francis, Lord Clifford and the birth of Lady Anne with an interpolation in Lady Anne's own handwriting giving the correct age of her baby brother and shewing that the narrative was the one which she had prepared for herself in 1618-19



For the conduct of this voyage Elizabeth granted the first of six Patents and Mandates which were given to Lord Cumberland, and all of which we found carefully copied in the Clifford MSS. Portions of each are also still in existence in the Muniment Rooms at Appleby Castle and Skipton Castle, and the latest of the six is perfect and in superb condition with Great Seal attached¹.

The one for this voyage was sealed on the 4th of October 1589 in the 30th year of the Queen's reign, and simply alludes to "a voyage at sea purposed" by Lord Cumberland.

There are two² allusions to this voyage in the correspondence of the day. In one of these, Lord Cumberland is spoken of in a letter of June 1589 as having gone out "to pilfer," showing the popular estimate of his object. In another written by Thomas Barnes to an anonymous correspondent on December 14th, we read that "Lord Cumberland, Frobisher, and others have brought in many rich Indian prizes."

There is also among the Admiralty Papers quoted by Sir Julius Caesar, a report concerning the voyage and its results³.

On his return from this voyage Lord Cumberland sent his wife a letter about the birth of their daughter which, for a great wonder, is dated, February 6th, 1589 [that is to say 1589/90], and this charming letter of congratulation was carefully preserved by Lady Anne and specially endorsed by her. It seems likely that two other letters from the recently discovered correspondence also belong to the same period although one cannot be positive in so dating them.

¹ For a transcript of one of them, see Lansdowne MSS. B.M. 155 [422], 425.

² S.P. Eliz. Addenda Vol. pp. 275 and 293.

³ Add. MSS. B.M. 5664 [177], 181; see also [234], 238.

The first letter reads thus :

My sweet Meg¹,

The happy news of thy safe delivery more gladdened me than anything I heard or saw since I saw thee, and, sweet Meg, as it hath pleased God thus to bless thee with thy long desired wish (which is more welcome to me than anything else in the world could have been) so with merry heart and thoughts comfort thyself, as thou mayest the sooner recover thy former strength, to His praise and my chiefest comfort. I stayed this bearer some days, in hope myself should have delivered this, but the not coming of the ship, which is yet stayed by contrary winds, will not suffer me, as this bearer can let you know, who has a little son. The humour of the men I have to deal with, All I know. It is troublesome now for thee to write, wherefore with hearty prayers to God for thy well-doing, His blessing and mine to our little ones, and lovingest commendations to thyself, I commit thee to God's holy tuition this 6th day of February 1589.

Thine only, as most bound,

GEORGE CUMBERLAND.

Then comes an undated allusion to the baby which may of course belong to a somewhat later period but which we are inclined to put here. In it he says :

I am heartily sorry I was not with thee as thou wished but glad of my being here to let thee know there is no cause yet to fear thy Brother's danger, for those Spaniards landed are but few, and in the furthest part of Ireland from him. My occasions will keep me here yet these three or four days, then will I come to thee and bring the true news here of all things. Till then, with all best wishes to thyself, and God's blessing and mine to Nan, I end,

Your loving husband,

GEORGE CUMBERLAND.

To my very loving wife the Countess of Cumberland.

To whatever period the above letter belongs it is evident that the following one, with its allusion to

¹ This letter is endorsed by Lady Anne,

"The letter my father writ to my mother presently after my birth, when he then lay at Bedford House at London."

Lady Cumberland's brother, must be assigned to the same time. In it Lord Cumberland writes:

My good Meg,

Thy absence hath bred such store of courses in my discontented heart as while I wait thy coming may no way be cured, although somewhat lessened by thy long lines, which as due debt, I claim when any opportunity serveth. Your Brother's going down of certainty I know not, till this night, to be so sudden, wherefore, blame me not, though I be short, I were, as I would be, if I had his place when he is with thee, so the desire cannot drive me, I must live where I love not, and remain where I rest not. Well, since care must content my evil side, upon constancy.

Wishing I were where thou would have me, if it were with thyself I should be pleased if dead, contented thus much, I am at thy devotion, else God I pray may presently condemn me.

Thine, not anybody's,

GEORGE CUMBERLAND.

To my loving wife, the Countess of Cumberland.

In the British Museum, amongst the Additional MSS. belonging to Sir Julius Caesar, is an interesting letter from Lady Cumberland, dated the 18th June, 1589, written, it is evident, while her husband was on the seas, to Sir Julius Caesar, the eminent judge, who was then Judge of the Admiralty Court, a position to which he had succeeded in 1583. He had evidently been rendering assistance to Lady Cumberland, and she sent him from North-hall, where at that time she was residing for her confinement, some venison, and promised to send him a further supply later.

The letter¹ reads as follows:

Mr. Doctor Cesar. being not m^r^{is} of any game of myn owne hear nighe abought[about] London I must accept of suche curteousie, that way, to pleasure my frendes with all, as those, unto whom I most become, a begger thearof, will vouchsaffe to afford me which I wright to this end, that intendinge you a good bucke at this tym,

¹ Add. MSS. B.M. 12506-231.

I understand by my man, yt it is but a very mean one: but allowe of it, Mr. Cesar, accordinge as I mean it, and to recompens the matter, bethinke you, in what plac and at what tyme you wold faynest have an other, and yn [then] shall see if my credytt will serve to satisfyse your desier, and soe with many thanks for your great paynes, and singular favors towardes my lord in his late affaires: (desieringe you yt [that] yf at any tyme you shall hear of his Lordship) you wold by some meanes, or other acquaynt me with your newes). with my hartie commendacons I take my leave. from North hall this xvijth of June 1589

MARGARETT CUMBERLANDE.

To my very Frend M^r Doctor Caesar judge of the Admiraltie dd there

CHAPTER VI

THE YEAR 1590

OF the year 1590 we have very little information. Lord Cumberland had just returned from his third voyage, and was detained in London on account of the business arrangements for paying off the mariners. He was staying with his brother-in-law, at Warwick House, and the two letters which are all we have respecting this time in London, are dated. Some of the allusions in the second letter are not easy to explain, but it is clear that the writer was at that time in high favour with the Queen, and was proud to narrate the fact. Lady Cumberland was coming up from Skipton, where she had been confined, to join her husband and he was tenderly anxious for her health. He writes thus:

My sweet Meg¹,

I thank God I am with my ship and company lately arrived and, though we have tasted some extremities, yet myself was never better, nor I think never any lost fewer men. Willingly myself would have delivered thee this news, for I only long to see thee, but I have so many men now lying upon my charge that I can no wise stir till these be despatched, which shall no sooner be done but I will be with thee. What the nature of those things I have brought home, I yet know not, but I look they should discharge all my debts, though I desire not to have it thought so, and thus I bid my sweet Meg farewell.

From Warwick House, this v of January,

Your loving husband

GEORGE CUMBERLAND.

To my very loving wife the Countess of Cumberland.

¹ To this letter Lady Anne has added after the word "January" the following sentence:

"1590, as the year begins on New Year's Day."

In the second letter he alludes to the preparations for his next voyage, the fourth, which he was to undertake in the following year. Thus he writes:

Sweet Meg,

Our journey to sea certainly holdeth¹, and now, since my Lord Admiral's amendment, which, God be thanked, is much in so short [undecipherable] the preparation goeth apace forward. He dealt most honourably with me in my absence, for there hath been great mean for the Vice-Admiral's place in this journey, but he hath stood most firm to me, and kept me in it. The Queen most kindly welcomed me, and is very glad of your coming hither. She willed me again to come to her, having much to discuss with me of, but none by hearing of. Her minions me choose and bound. She is extreme melancholy, and out of quiet, and he forswearth the matter. How it will fall out, I know not, neither will I write my thoughts, but leave to your conjecture, who I would as well find all my thoughts as this then should desire to be better beloved than ever.

Your sister of Warwick and Brother is very well and most glad to see you, but fearful of your journey, of which, sweet Meg, be careful and go at ease. Thus wishing you all health and best haps, blessing our two little ones, I commit you to God.

From London this 1st of April 1590,

Yours only and ever,

GEORGE CUMBERLAND.

To my very loving wife the Countess of Cumberland.

In this year however there took place at Court a famous contest of chivalry at the tilt yard to which there are many allusions in contemporary literature.

Segar in his work on *Military Honour* describes the scene, and Horace Walpole in his *Miscellaneous Antiquities* (I. 42) reprinted part of Segar's narrative and added to it from another source, setting the whole scene of the masque and pageant in connection with

¹ John Stanhope, in a letter to Lord Shrewsbury in 1590, alludes to Lord Cumberland and says that "he was going to the Indies in consorte with Sir Walter Rawley." In the same letter he refers to a promise made by the Queen to give Lord Cumberland the "Justice in Ayere." See Lodge's *Illustrations*, CCLII. 24.

the Championship clearly before us, just as it took place in November 1590.

George Peele¹, in his *Polyhymnia*², alludes at some length to this tilting display in which Sir Henry Lee³ and the Earl of Cumberland were the first couple to meet, Sir Henry being then the accredited Queen's Champion and Lord Cumberland the Queen's peculiar Champion, later on to succeed Lee in the permanent position. Thus Peele sings:

Worthy Cumberland
Thrice noble Earl accoutred as became
So great a warrior and so good a knight
Encountered first, y-clad in coat of steel
And plumes and pendants all as white as swan
And spear in rest right ready to perform
What 'longed unto the honour of the place².

The first also in date of a series of letters which Lord Cumberland himself addressed to Sir Julius Caesar when Judge of the Admiralty Court, and still preserved amongst the Caesar MSS. in the British Museum, falls into place in this year, in which he writes thus:

Forsomuche as I am enformed by this Bearer Mr Morris (beinge a man whom I wishe well) of your good and favorable dealinge towardes him in a matter of his wherein he hathe alredie had yo^r opinyon, and for that I perceive his well doinge and the well endinge of this cause upon which the poore man his whole welth consisteth doeth chiefly depend upon your good helpe herein, whereof I make no doubt he shalbe the more assured at your handes by this my favorable and earneste Lre of request unto you in his behalf I have thought good hereby verie hertely to entreate and sollicyte you therein so farr forthe as the same may stand with equity and justice. And as herein for what good you shall do the poore man my self

¹ George Peele (1558?-1597) was a dramatist and a player as well as being a poet. He was educated at Christ's Hospital, in the precincts of which he was born, and he went on to Christchurch, Oxford, where he took his degree. *Polyhymnia* is his principal book of miscellaneous verses.

² George Peele's *Polyhymnia*, 1590, 288.

³ Sir Henry was the son of Sir Anthony Lee by Dame Margaret daughter of Sir Henry Wyatt. He was termed the "fairest man at arms and most complete courtier" of his time. He died in 1611 aged 80. See Nichols's *Progresses*, III. 44.

will not onely account me beholding and so rest redie wherein I may to requite it so derr I assure you that to his ability he shall in every condicon shewe himselfe moste thankfull unto you The matter I would request and which I am enformed by some of good judgment by Lawe you may do and which the rather for my sake I hope you will do is but that he may have the possession of these goodes nowe delivered him and order withall for the same thereof so as his adversary may be the plaintiff in the Accon and so presuming verie farr of your favor herein, do with my hartie comendacons with like thanks for all your curtesies towards my own causes do bydd you farewell.

Bath house this XIXth of June 1590.

Yo^r verie Lovinge frend

GEORGE CUMBRELAND.

Pt. Scr. for that I have speciaall cause to employ the bearer in my occasions in the West Country which require some haste I shall therefore hartely entreate you to dispatche him the sooner with all expedicon.

Address—To my verie Lovinge frend
 Doctor Ceesur Judge of the
 highe Co^rt of the Admiralty¹.

We have cited in the previous chapter a letter to Sir Julius Caesar from Lady Cumberland, and we shall cite others, from her husband, in succeeding pages. It is of interest to notice that Sir Julius Caesar's brother, Sir Thomas Caesar, was member for Appleby in 1601, and as Appleby at that time was practically a pocket borough in the hands of Lord Cumberland, there is little doubt that the position was obtained by reason of the strong friendship which existed between Lord Cumberland and various members of the Caesar family. Sir Julius, to whom the letters are addressed, is perhaps best remembered by reason of his delightful travelling book library, still preserved in the British Museum, in which, in a portable book-case with doors, that could easily be carried in his coach, he had arranged the books he most loved, which were of small form,

¹ Brit. Mus. Add. MSS. 12507, fol. 247.

easy to be held in the hand for perusal while he journeyed from place to place, and bound in different coloured bindings according to their subject. On the doors of this interesting little book-case are carefully prepared lists of the volumes it contains.

There are quantities of Sir Julius Caesar's papers in the British Museum in the Lansdowne and Additional MS. Collections, purchased at the sale of the family's effects in 1744. Caesar lived long after Lord Cumberland had passed away, and died in 1636 at the age of seventy-nine. He was buried in Great St Helen's Church, Bishopsgate, in the City of London, where a remarkable monument was erected to his memory.

The only other document concerning the events of this year that we have been able to discover is a draft for a warrant from Queen Elizabeth to the Earl of Cumberland giving permission for the transport of iron ordnance from London to the ports of Holland and Zeeland to a weight of about 100 tons.

This would perhaps allude to some iron ordnance captured by him in 1589 and perchance sold to the Dutch.

The draft is not dated but refers to the 33rd year of Elizabeth's reign (1590-1). It was not however executed at that time, nor exactly in that form, as it bears erasures and corrections upon it. It is to be found amongst the Burghley Papers¹.

¹ See Lansdowne MSS. in B.M. 67 (50).

CHAPTER VII

1591. THE FOURTH VOYAGE

IN the following year came the fourth voyage, Lord Cumberland's "sparke of adventure," as Purchas quaintly says, having been "further kindled and enflamed by former disasters."

The Lady Anne narrative puts the matter in more definite language:

"Though the myseries by sickness, death, famyne and many other mysadventures happened in the preceding voyadge," it says, "were sufficient to have moved his Lordshipp to have abiured for ever those maryne adventures especiallie beinge neither his profession nor yett urged by neecessitie thereunto yett suche was his Lordshipp's naturall inclynacōn to pursue those courses in hope of honour and proffitt in the end, As (notwithstanding the earnest entreaty of many his noble and worthie frendes to the contrary) he coule not be diverted from attemptinge another Sea Voyadge."

This time the Queen's ship, which was to be the "Admiral" of the cruise and which Cumberland himself was to command, was the *Garland* of about 600 tons.

Of this vessel Mr Oppenheim in his invaluable *Tables* again gives us full details.

She was the same length in keel as the *Victory*, 95 feet, two feet narrower in beam, 33 instead of 35; the same in depth of hold, 17; slightly less in burden, 532 tons against 555, and similarly less in tonnage, 666 tons instead of 694. Her tackle weighed 14,600 lbs., that of the *Victory* 16,200. She had 7 anchors which weighed 12,700 lbs. and 7 cables. Her ordnance weighed 47 tons and her crew when at sea was but 300 against the *Victory* which required 400, while finally her

cost per month at sea for wages and victualling was £455 against a similar outlay for the *Victory* of £606. 13s. 4d.

The *Garland*, built by Richard Chapman, one of the master shipwrights, had cost £3200 to build, but big ship though she was she was not a two-decker in the modern sense of the term, although she had a gun-deck and an upper deck, and it seems doubtful, Mr Oppenheim concludes, whether there were any actual two-deckers in use in Elizabeth's time.

As regards ordnance, she carried 16 brass culverins, 14 demi-culverins (12 of which were brass and 2 iron), 4 sakers (2 of brass and 2 of iron), 2 brass fowlers and 2 brass portpieces¹. From a State Paper dated January 27th, 1591, we learn that the cost to the Navy of fitting out the ship for this expedition was £259.

With the *Garland* Purchas tells us there went the *Samson*, "a ship of his Lordship's" (already alluded to), a ship of 260 tons, the *Golden Noble* as Rear-Admiral, the *Allagarta* and a pinnace called the *Discovery*. Of this pinnace we hear later on.

Monson, in his account of the voyage, says that in addition to the *Garland* the expedition had seven "other ships of Lord Cumberland's and his friends." Robinson's account only states "other good ships" without specifying their number.

The Lady Anne narrative, only alludes to the ships named by Purchas but tells us that the *Samson* was commanded by Captain John Morton, the *Golden Noble* of 260 tons by Captain Edward Partridge, the *Allagarta*, a "French Shipp taken by his Lordship in the *Victorie* voyage," of 80 tons commanded by Captain "Baylie" and the *Discovery*, "a small Pynnace of his Lordship's owne of the burthen," of 12 tons, commanded by Captain Nicholas Lynche.

The full account of the cost of victualling the ships

¹ S.P. Eliz. vol. CCXXXVIII.

is to be found in the State Papers of March 1st, 1591¹, and there is a further document to similar effect dated July 5th.

The expedition set sail in May 1591, the exact date not being stated in either record.

At first it was successful and captured, off St Thomas, a vessel laden with sugar, but this could not be sent to England but had to be cast off by reason of an "irrecoverable leake," and Monson tells us that the crew "with much difficulty recovered the shore and saved their lives," while the ship was sunk.

Then came a second ship laden in similar fashion, but this also was lost although from another cause. It was actually sent to England, but "so tossed with contrary winds, was, for want of victuals forced into Coruña and surrendered to Spain."

The fleet did capture a ship laden with wine, however, and this was unladen² and divided amongst the various ships, but it proved to be, practically, the only success of the voyage.

What was likely to be a success was the capture of "divers ships of Holland which came from Lisbon wherein he found a great quantity of spices," and here, in his narrative, Monson digresses in order to point out that these spices belonged to the Portuguese and that

herein appears the great abuse offered us by the people of Holland, who, though they were the first that engaged us in the war with Spain and we bore the brunt of it eighteen years together yet did they cunningly maintain their trade into those parts and supplied the Spaniards with ammunitions, victuals, shipping and intelligence against us.

This is a curiously modern complaint.

It was determined that the captured spices should be sent to England, and Monson, who had accompanied

¹ S. P. Eliz. vol. ccxxxviii. 15, 67.

² See p. 56 in allusion to Monson's complaint that this course was not adopted in the 1589 voyage.

Lord Cumberland, and to whom we have made many allusions in the account of the third voyage (1589), was sent home with the prize.

The *Golden Noble* was appointed to accompany and guard the ships, but the sailing instructions were not carried out and the "night falling calm" the guardship was not able to reach the convoy which was set upon by six galleons and recaptured.

Lord Cumberland (see p. 53) was actually within hearing of the action, but was unable, by reason of the calm, to reach the ships and in the fight one of the English captains, Bayly, was killed, and Monson and the rest carried off prisoners to Lisbon, as has been already mentioned.

Purchas also adds the information that Lord Cumberland wrote to "the Archduke Albert, then Viceroy, for the good usage (of the prisoners) otherwise threatening requitall to theirs of whom he presumed he should take store." As a matter of fact he did not "take store" of prisoners and possibly the letter had little effect although Purchas says that "for fear whereof the common sort (of prisoners) were returned a few dayes after new clothed. Captayne Monson with sixe others only detained."

Monson was confined in Lisbon Castle until July 1592. We do not know exactly what were his hardships, and he does not state in so many words that he was put to the oar.

He complains of the customary "cruel usage" of the Spaniards, but for the other side of the story, one of the accounts of his captivity, that contained in the Churchill edition of his *Tracts*, speaks of him as only being detained as a hostage and says that the other captives were "treated with more courtesy than they had been from the beginning of the war."

Early in July 1592, Monson was liberated and there is a letter of his in existence written to Frobisher and

dated the 12th of that month which Mr Oppenheim considers was written at the moment of his release.

About the manner of his release there are various opinions. Mr Oppenheim, who has gone into the matter closely, and knows more of the character of Monson than any other man, says that he is convinced that Monson did *not* escape. He is equally sure that he did *not* pay ransom, as if he had done so "he would have been certain to have cried loudly to the Heavens about it as one of his misfortunes and," he adds, "seeing how fully he dilates upon his captivity we should expect that if exchanged he would have said so."

Again in this long and carefully written letter "he dismisses the subject of his captivity in a single line," and it is therefore pretty clear that he was not able to avow the manner of his release and probably gave some promise or undertaking which he may or may not, have carried out when free. A certain suspicion attaches to all his transactions where Spanish gold, or Spanish warfare, is concerned.

The disappointments attending this voyage were, as we have seen, considerable, although of the chief one, the capture of Monson, Cumberland could not have been certain till long after his return home.

It appears, however, as we have pointed out, that he was sufficiently near to the action to have known something of what had taken place and at the same time to have been unable to prevent it.

The *Garland* was also making her first long expedition and she was, Monson says, in his narrative, "but evil of sail," and therefore Lord Cumberland, afraid to remain longer near Spanish shores, "thought it more discretion to return for England," and so to end an unpropitious voyage.

Before he left, however, he sent off the pinnace, the *Discovery*, says one record, or the *Moonshine* under

Captain Middleton says another; to convey information to Lord Thomas Howard¹ who was commanding the *Defiance* and with whom was Sir Richard Grenville in command of the *Revenge*, and to warn them that the Spanish ships were putting out to sea and were close to the Azores.

Purchas says that the Spanish ships intended to surprise Lord Thomas Howard and the West Indian fleet and that if the warning had not been given

Lord Howard had runne the fortune of Sir Richard Greenville who lost his ship and life or rather exchanged the one for honour and for the other made the Spaniards the greatest losers in so dear a purchase.

Lord Thomas, who, Monson says, was "a wary and discreet general," weighed anchor and drew his fleet aside "to get the 'wind of' the Spaniards" and in doing so he was secured from "them whatever they were."

Sir Richard², on the other hand, "a stubborn man," imagining that the fleet he saw was not part of the vaunted Armada but only a less well equipped part of the West Indian fleet, would not follow his Admiral, or perchance could not, and single handed he engaged the Spaniards in the gallant fashion that has been so often related as the "Last Fight of the *Revenge*."

It was a dramatic exploit, marked by great bravery and skill, and has been the subject of well known accounts both in poetry and prose, but was contrary to all the spirit of discipline in the fleet, and whether the result of insubordination on Grenville's part, disobedience to the orders of his admiral, or of unskilful seamanship which led him into such a parlous position, is perhaps equally to be regretted on that account. Monson declares that Grenville was "so headstrong,

¹ Afterwards Lord Howard de Walden, K.G. in 1597 and Earl of Suffolk in 1603. He was the second son of Thomas, the fourth Duke of Norfolk, and died in 1626.

² Sir Richard Grenville (1541?-1591) was M.P. for Cornwall (1571 and 1584) and was a cousin of Sir Walter Raleigh.

rash and unadvised" that he "offered violence to all that counilled him to the contrary."

He also states that when he saw the greatness of the Spanish ships Grenville repented him of "his error and folly," but it was then too late and he had to engage in this single-handed contest.

The capture of the *Revenge* was a great triumph for the Spaniards and they made the most of it, but it was a short-lived glory, for five days later the vessel foundered with many Spaniards on board, off the group of the Azores.

If, however, Lord Cumberland in this fourth voyage did little else, he was able, by his timely warning to Lord Thomas Howard, to save a far larger fleet from destruction, and to enable Lord Thomas to get the *Defiance*, the *Bonaventure*, the *Nonpareil*, the *Crane*, the *Charles*, the *Golden Lion* and the *Foresight* away into a place of safety ready to do valiant service on a later day.

If the news was sent by the *Moonshine*, that may have been a detached privateer which joined the squadron, or it may have been an extra ship which Purchas omitted to mention. The former is more probably the case, as another account of this same voyage written by Robert Flicke refers to another vessel "The *Red Rox*, sometimes called the *Golden Dragon*, separated from my Lord of Cumberland in a storm," and this also is not alluded to by Purchas.

The end of the voyage is thus narrated:

Soe as his Lordshippe beinge muche weakened by the losse of twoo of his shippes taken by the Gallies the third sent awaye and his owne Shipp the Garland a slugge of Sale and not well conditioned was forced without better profit or success to retorne for England.

Of this voyage Robinson only states that

his honour againe adventured personally the third tyme in her Majestie's Royall Shipp, the Garland, attended upon with his own shipp the Sampson aforesaid and other good shippes of London.

bold hereafter in favoring them at some, whom we would
 not have him suffer to pass uncorrected for divers their
 Misdemeanors. And so do we for this Tyme w^{ch} this a-
 foresayde Cawtion make an End, assuring you of our most
 Princely Care for yo^r Safety and dayly wishes of your
~~best~~ safe Returne, wherof we shalbe right glad as any
 friend you have. Dated at our Court at Bishops
 walton whither we are returned from our Progress where

The first page of the letter written to Lord Cumberland by Queen Elizabeth on September 9, 1591, and signed by the Queen. The remaining words which occur on the other page are "we have spent some Part of this summer in viewing our Fortifications at Portsmouth and other our principall Townes along the Sea coast. This 9th day of September 1591."

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We know that the expedition was a costly one to Lord Cumberland as in a letter from Thomas Phelippes to Thomas Barnes(?), March 22nd, 1591, after alluding to the departure of Lord Thomas Howard the writer adds "The Earl of Cumberland is expected daily to depart but want of money detains him as a great part of the preparation is at his own charges. Their design is upon the King (of Spain's) treasure¹."

We also learn from the State Papers of the anxiety at home concerning the safety of the ships. Phelippes², writing to Barnes on August 31st, refers to it and to the ships that had been sent out to guard the fleet on the return journey, and he then adds that "he wishes my Lord Cumberland and the rest of the venturers were safe home again."

Other allusions³ merely testify to the fact that the purport of the expedition was well understood. Thus one unknown correspondent writes: "The Earl of Cumberland is to have six ships and the charge of the army . . . against Spain," another writing in cipher, "many mariners are going with the Earl of Cumberland against Spain," and a third, "the Earl of Cumberland is ready to depart with 16 ships for the places where the King of Spain's treasure is, the Indies or the Islands."

The most important letter in all the Cumberland correspondence was written in connection with this voyage. Whither it was sent or where it reached Lord Cumberland we are unable to say, but it was a high compliment to him that his sovereign herself should write concerning his absence and express her hope of his safe return. The letter (which appears here in facsimile) is not a holograph one, the signature only—a splendidly bold one—being written by the Queen, but doubtless every word was dictated or at least seen

¹ S.P. Eliz. vol. CCXXXVIII. 21.

² *Ibid.* vol. CCXXXIX. 97.

³ *Ibid.* Addenda Vol. pp. 300, 318, 320.

by Elizabeth, and the epistle is thoroughly characteristic in every line.

Notable and of special interest is the injunction laid on Lord Cumberland that he should not tell Lord Leicester that the Queen was corresponding with him. The manner in which Elizabeth, with great craft and subtlety, played off one favourite against another adds particular interest to this sentence in the letter.

From the *Garland* itself Lord Cumberland was able to address a letter to his wife on July 16th, and perchance an undated letter which we have put next to it, came also from the ship. Soon after landing Lord Cumberland must have gone to Skipton Castle, as his next letter is dated thence and still relates to the *Garland*, but he may have been on his way to greet his wife at Brougham or even possibly in London, and the fourth letter, which we assign also to this time, announces his early arrival.

The Queen writes thus:

Your very Lovinge Sovereaine.
Elizabeth R.¹

Right trusty and welbelouyed Cosyn we greet you well. It may seeme strange to you y^t we shold once vouchsafe to troble our thoughts wth any care, for any Person of Rogish Condition, being alwaies disposed, rather to comawnd others, to chasten men of y^t Profession. But such is our Pleasure at this Tyme (by the opportunity of this Messinger now repaying towards yow, to let you know y^t we remember yow) As we ar well content, to take Occasion by our lres, to express our great desire to heare of your well doing, whereof we were right gladd by y^e last Reports to understand as then we did, hoping well of good Success in the Action now yow have in hand, If God do bless yo^r self with good and Perfit helth w^{ch} we principally desire. Provided alwaies, yow do not requite this our good Meaning

¹ This letter is twice endorsed thus:

A Letter from Q. Elizabeth to
Geo. Earle of Cumberland dated
y^e 9th Sept. 1591.

To our right trusty and right
Welbelouid Cousin the Erle of
Cumberlande.

wth bewraing our Extraordinary Care of yow, to our knight Marshall here, who may by this our Partiality to yow abroad, grow bold here after in faouoring them at home, whom we wold not have him suffer to pass uncorrected for divers their Misdemeanours. And so do we for this Tyme (wth this aforesayde Cawtion) make an End, assuring yow of our most Princely Care for yo^r Safety and dayly wishes of your safe Retourne, wherof we shalbe right gladd as any frend yow have. Dated at our Cowrt at Bysshops Waltam whither we ar returned from our Progress where we have spent some Part of this sommer in viewing our Fortifications at Portsmowth and other our principall Townes along the Sea cost.

This 9th day of September 1591.

The *Garland* letter reads:

Sweet Meg,

It hath pleased, it hath pleased God, since I discharged Daniel Gerratt [or Garratt] I have met with three Hulks going into Lisbon, with great store of copper, bacon, ropes, corn, and merchant's goods, belonging to the enemy, which the wind being fair, I would not tarry to search, but have sent them home, and Norton with them, for that he should tell thee my whole mind, which the want to bring them home would not suffer me to write. I fear not but they will (if the matter be well handled) make me a favour for the charge to this voyage in any wise. Let my cousin Bowes, by some means as he thinketh best, procure the friendship of my Lord his old Master. It must be well done, or it will do me harm, but if with good care, no doubt it will make all clear. Good Meg, as thou lovest me, use this bearer well, he hath carried himself both carefully and honestly ever since my coming out, so that, while I live I will the better like him. If in anything he may have displeased thee before, I dare assure thee, his care in this will repair it, and let all such directions as he desireth by word from me be despatched. As thou lovest me, refer them to no other direction than thine own, lest they will be delayed and for my purpose overthrown. So, wishing thee and thine and mine God's most gracious blessing, I commit thee to God.

From aboard the *Garland* this XVI day of July.

Yours every one

GEORGE CUMBERLAND.

To my loving wife the Countess of Cumberland.

The other, which we conclude was also written from the *Garland*, reads:

My sweet Meg,

The bad winds which long have kept me from thee are now changed, so that every hour I expect to hear of her coming, when, without any delay, I will despatch, that I may come to see what only shall content me, and, sweet Meg, so comfort thyself with pleasing thoughts that may find thee in such health and strength as I wish, and shall breed me more joy than anything in this world. Bless thy two little ones from me, to whom, and thyself, to wish all best happiness now and for ever.

Yours only and ever,

GEORGE CUMBERLAND.

To my loving wife the Countess of Cumberland.

Then comes the letter from Skipton Castle:

My sweet Meg,

I perceive by thy letters how much thou desirest my return, who is no more of thy desired than of myself wished, but I have so many occasions of my own to do, and so many poor men's suits to hear, as by no means I can return till the middle of this next week. The poor men which wrought in the *Garland* and in other places I can by no means pay till Robert Lee come over, whom I would have sent about Tuesday. If you have any word of my Lord President coming to you, send me word, that I may send over some men, and thus, for this time, I cease.

From Skipton, this present Saturday.

Thine ever, as I have professed,

GEORGE CUMBERLAND.

To my very loving wife the Countess of Cumberland.

Finally the one announcing his arrival:

Sweet Meg,

I am sorry I have broken so many appointments with thee, but the number of my occasions altered me beyond my expectations. I hope well to be with thee on Monday. In the meantime, I pray

thee, bear with those unreasonable wants which hitherto I could not help, but which no more shall be so. I will none write any of the causes that stay me here, they being so many and so great as I know not where to begin. When I come, thou shalt know them all. In the meantime, God bless thee and Sweet Nan.

Thine only and ever,

GEORGE CUMBERLAND.

One of Lord Cumberland's letters to Sir Julius Caesar is dated 1591, and relates to the events of this fourth voyage. It, like the letter to his wife, was written on board the *Garland*, and reads thus:

Such hath bene my fortune sythens my Comynge to Sea to mete with a hulke beinge bownde for Lysbone which presumed in manner of defyance to carry forthe her Flagge in the sight of her Maties Ship, as also to fight with her and other Shippes consorted with me, untill such tyme as the Mr of the said hulke and other of her company lost their lives: Which said hulk as well for that I founde in her both corne and other things, whereby the Enemy is daylie by them Releved to his great incuragment, and the contynewance of his unjust Quarrell against us, as also considerynge their owne dysobedyence used towardes her highnes herin I have sent home into Englande, and in the same have appointed as Cheyf Comannder your Brother whoe can at lardge informe you of the Circumstance of the whole, and whom I Right willingly made Choice of, as well consideringe the honest and good behaviour which he hath duringe his abode with me Used towardes all men, as also for that he hopeth very shortly to be employed into the Straytes, yf any occasion shalbe Wherin (savage that I assure myself the brotherly Love and affectyon which you beare him will sufficiently move you for his preferment) my self would be an earnest Sutor unto you for the same. But havinge the care therof to the Brotherly affectyon which I knowe you beare him, and yet therewithall hartely desiringe you the rather at my request and for my sake to further him therin, I earnestly crave your favorable aide, That if any challenge or questyon shall in my absence be made concerninge the said hulk you will deale so indyfferently on my behalfe in the same, as the equity of the Cause considered you may which were there not toe many favorers in these accons of contrary part, and the manner of the usuall proceedinges in the same over strucke and precyse, neded neyther cowntenance nor favor at all, Thus presuminge of your lawfull favor herin, and Restinge Ready to Requite whatsoever

your favorable Curtesies as tyme and occasion shall permyt, with my harty comendacons I comyt you to the tuicon of the Almighty From aboard the Guarlande this xiiijth of July 1591¹.

Yo^r loving Frende

GEORGE CUMBRELAND.

Address—To my very lovinge Frende
Mr Caesar one of her Ma^{ties}
Mrs of Requests and Judge
of the Admyralty

dd.

¹ Brit. Mus. Add. MSS. 12506, fol. 233.

CHAPTER VIII

1592. THE FIFTH VOYAGE

IN Lord Cumberland's fifth voyage, in which the great carrack, the *Madre de Dios*, was captured, no ship of the Royal Navy was engaged. Purchas tells us that

his Lordship considering the inconvenience of Her Majesties command, not to lay any Spanish ship aboard with her ships, lest both might together be destroyed by fire, rather chose to seeke out amongst the Merchants than to make further use of the ships Royall.

That being so he hired the *Tiger* from St Malo, a ship of 600 tons, for £300 a month as his Admiral's vessel and associated with it "his owne ship the *Samson* [or *Sampson*]," (300 tons), and the *Golden Noble* (160 tons), commanded by Captain George Cave, and two other ships of 50 tons apiece and his pinnace.

Of the "twoe small shippes" we learn that one "by negligence and ignorance of the master was caste awaie at their going forthe at Weymouth," and the other was called the *Discovery* and commanded by Captain Christopher "Colthurste."

Robinson simply says that "his honor furnished and sent out the *Great Teigre* [*Tiger*], a French Shipp and the *Sampson* with 3 other good shippes."

They set sail, so Purchas tells us, on an unknown date in 1592, but it was three months before they could leave Plymouth as the winds were contrary, and so it was impossible, by reason of the time of the year, either to try to take any carracks outward bound, or to go to the West Indies.

Lord Cumberland was so disheartened by this

prolonged delay, that he changed his mind about going himself, transferred the chief command to Captain Norton, and returned to London, ordering the expedition to make for the Azores.

It was a fatal mistake, as the result proved, and he regretted his decision ever afterwards.

Captain Norton engaged two Spanish galleons near Cape Finisterre and in the fight which ensued the *Golden Noble* was so much injured "by a shot in her foremast" that there were grave doubts "of her further sufficiency," but the damage having been repaired her Captain caught sight of "an Argosie bound for Lisbon" and having captured and boarded her he returned with his prize to England.

Norton, with the rest of the fleet, made his way to the Azores and dropped anchor at Flores for food and water.

There he espied the *Santa Croce* making for Tercera. While hastening after her they fell in with part of Raleigh's fleet commanded by Sir John Burroughs¹ in the *Roebuck* (200 tons), and consulted with the Commander concerning a course of action.

For this fleet, whose original object had been an attack on Panama, the Queen had provided the *Garland* and the *Foresight*, Sir Walter Raleigh the *Roebuck*, his brother Carew Raleigh the *Galleon Raleigh*, and the City of London two other vessels.

The Queen had adventured £1800 in the voyage, the City of London some £6000, and Raleigh, having already borrowed from the Crown £11,000, and being in debt for that amount, had assigned to the Queen

¹ Sir John Burroughs or Burgh (1562-1594) was a younger son of William, fourth Lord Burgh, and brother of Thomas, the fifth Lord, who was Lord Deputy in Ireland. He commanded one of the regiments that helped Henry IV of France, and was knighted on the battlefield of Ivry, 1590. He was killed in a duel with John Gilbert (probably a connection of Sir Walter Raleigh), the quarrel having arisen out of a dispute concerning the plunder captured in this ship. He was buried in Westminster Abbey.

the vessel the *Ark Raleigh* at a value of £5000 so as to be interested to that extent in the risk. The fleet had sailed from London on May 6th, 1592, but on the 7th Raleigh had been commanded to return. He actually went as far as Cape Finisterre, risking his Royal Mistress's displeasure by so doing; but then, putting Frobisher and Burgh (or Burroughs) in charge, he returned home, and was promptly lodged in the Tower by the imperious Queen into whose black books he had got by reason of his intrigue with one of her maids of honour, Bess Throckmorton, whom he afterwards married.

The various delays in sailing had made it impossible that year to attack Panama, but some prizes had already been captured ere the fleet fell in with Lord Cumberland's ships.

It was decided at the council to attack next morning, but meantime a storm had sprung up and by the time they had regained their anchorage they discovered that the carrack, the *Santa Croce*, had been driven on shore, had there put on land such of the lading as was possible and had then caught fire "with all her sayles and flags up and Ordnance laden which went off on every side when the fire came to them."

The men of the English fleet endeavoured to secure as much spoil as possible from the burning wreck, but the storm hardly permitted them to approach the land with their boats and when they did so "the Islanders tumbled downe great stones on them" to prevent their landing.

The place was steep and difficult, but "by resolution and hope," says Purchas, they achieved their purpose and made themselves "Masters" "of the wracked goods" while the inhabitants of the place fled, and left it forsaken.

Meantime, while this was going on, there came up further ships of Raleigh's fleet, the *Foresight*, the

Dainty and the *Golden Dragon*, and they all took part in the plunder.

We have an interesting account of what quickly ensued, the taking of the *Madre de Dios* in Hakluyt's "Report of the honourable service at Sea performed by Sir John Burrough," the commander of the fleet prepared by Sir Walter Raleigh.

It was of course this fleet that was largely responsible for this marked success but, at the same time, the capture could not have been accomplished without the aid of Lord Cumberland's vessels, which were there at the right moment to save the situation.

Hakluyt describes the council on the Island of Flores where met Captains Norton, Downton and Abraham Cocke¹, who were in charge of the Cumberland fleet and also Captain Tomson who commanded the *Dainty* in Sir John Hawkins' fleet; Captain Christopher Newport of the *Golden Dragon*, and Sir Robert Crosse of "her Majesties good ship the *Foresight*."

All these, after agreeing upon a plan of action, spread themselves so as to capture the great carrack that was known to be in the neighbourhood.

The *Dainty* began the conflict and fought "verie stoutlie," Sir John Burroughs in the *Roebuck* seconding her "with shot of great ordnance," and he was assisted by Tomson, Newport and Sir R. Crosse.

She was then soon engaged by the *Roebuck* and the *Foresight* but they being ready to sink had to set themselves free again and it was "with much adoe" "they cleared themselves."

Then Sir R. Crosse's crew were at last able to board the carrack and prevent her from reaching the land, but after fighting almost without assistance from the other ships, Crosse was supported by the Cumberland fleet which had by that time come up and the capture was completed.

¹ See p. 29 concerning this man.

Hakluyt describes in vivid language the condition of the ship's decks:

No man could almost steppe but upon a dead carkase or a bloody floore but specially about the helme where very many of them fell suddenly from stirring to dying.

He describes the humanity shown by the English commander who sent his own surgeon on board "denying them no possible helpe or reliefe that he or any of his company could afford them," and then explains how Sir John Burroughs

"intending not to adde too much affliction to the afflicted, mooved with pity and compassion of humane misery in the end resolved freely to dismisse the captaine" [Don Fernando de Mendoça, "a gentleman well stricken in yeares, well spoken, of comely personage, of good stature but of hard fortune"] and "the most part of his followers to their owne cuntry and for the same purpose bestowed them in certaine vessels furnished with all kindes of necessary provisions."

Then he goes on to speak of the cargo of the captured vessel saying that

the principall wares after the jewels [which were no doubt of great value, though they never came to light] consisted of spices, drugges, silks, calicos, quilts, carpets and colours &c. The spices were pepper, cloves, maces, nutmegs, cinamon, greene ginger: the drugs were benjamin, frankincense, galingale, mirabolans, zocotrine, and camphire: the silks; damasks, taffetas, sarcanets, altobassos that is counterfeit cloth of gold, unwrought China silke, sleaved silks, white twisted silke, curled cypresse. The calicoes were book calicoes, calico launes, broad white calicos, fine starched calicos, course white calicos, brown broad calicos, brown course calicos. There were also canopies and course diaper towels, quilts of course sarcanet and of calico, carpets like those of Turky wherunto are to be added the pearle, muske, civet and amber griece.

He also alludes to

elephants teeth, porcellan, vessels of China, coco-nuts, hides, eben wood as black as jet, bedsteds of the same; cloth of the rindes of trees very strange for the matter and artificial in workmanship.

There follows a report concerning the capacity and dimensions of the ship made by Robert Adams, and

a note to the effect that this great vessel, the largest that had yet been seen, was sent home to London.

In Purchas's account he explains how the Cumberland fleet, being "worse of sayle," were not, at first, going to board the *Madre de Dios*, considering that the fleet already had her well in hand, but the Captain of the *Foresight* called to them to save the Queen's ship—"and you be men save the Queene's Shippe," and so the *Tiger* came up on one side and the *Samson* on the other, freed the *Foresight* and enabled her crew to board the carrick.

At one time, even after capture, it seemed as though the treasure might be lost, for the English sailors—searching for booty, each with a candle in his hand—succeeded in setting fire to a cabin which contained "600 Cartrages of Powder." The fire was quenched however and all was well.

It was decided that Sir John Burroughes (*sic* in the narrative) should take the great ship back in "the Queene's name" and so some 800 negroes who were on board were put on to another ship, the Gentlemen of the ship (one of whom carried concealed with him some 900 diamonds "besides other odde ends") were put on one of Lord Cumberland's vessels and away went the captured carrack.

Of this capture Sir John Burroughs, who stated that the pepper on board was worth £102,000 and the pearls, amber and musk 400,000 crusadoes, wrote, "I hope for all the spoil that has been made Her Majesty shall receive more profit by her than by any ship that ever came into England."

His journey was attended however with all kinds of difficulty and trouble, for the prize crew put into various ports on the islands on their way back to England and at each place disposed for their own benefit of part of the treasure, so that a considerable portion of it never even reached English waters!

Then there were terrible storms about "Silly," "peril almost beyonde the hope of man," which threatened the entire loss of the fleet, but eventually the vessel, "huge and unweildy," put into Dartmouth "late at night," so we learn from Lord Burghley's *Diary*¹.

When it reached Dartmouth the greatest confusion ensued. The port of arrival, says an eye-witness, "looked like Bartholomew Fair."

The theft and plunder were immense, and there was no one strong enough to govern the rabble and to stop the pilfering.

The Privy Council, hearing of the arrival of the ship, ordered that all trunks and bundles from Plymouth or Dartmouth should be examined in search of stolen goods, and sent off Robert Cecil on September 15th "post haste to hinder more plundering²."

Cecil was created Commissioner for the Queen, with Thomas Middleton as his Treasurer. Their commissions and appointments were executed at Sherborne and remain amongst the Cecil MSS., with the first draft of their instructions. The ampler draft of instructions by Burghley—a document of several pages—is amongst the State Papers³.

The instructions given, dated September 16th, 1592, were well defined. They were to cause all the lading to be viewed, to search out all the precious things, to hire ships for conveyance of all heavy things by water, and to arrange for spices, cochineal, etc., to come by land to London. The Commissioners were to instruct the Mayor of Dartmouth and the Sheriff of the County, to prohibit all sale to persons from London, and to imprison all who contravened such orders, and they were to deal with all the mariners, pay them off, obtain from them all that they had

¹ Cecil MSS. XIII. 466.

² Cecil MSS. IV. 227, 238.

³ S.P. Eliz. vol. CCXLIII. 271.

pillaged, and see that proper custom duties were paid, and then they were to stand possessed of everything that had come to England in the carrack.

Sir John Hawkins, who was at first in charge, quickly found out, however, that the only man whom all would obey, and who was sufficiently resolute to deal with the situation, was Sir Walter Raleigh, and he was a prisoner in the Tower.

Urgent appeals were made to the Queen, and Raleigh was released—but as a State prisoner in charge of a gaoler Blount, “The Queen of England’s poor captive,” as he had to announce himself, and he journeyed as quickly as might be down to the West Country. He knew that the London jewellers had been ahead of him and had been buying at bargain prices all the jewels they could lay hands on, but on his way down he wrote to Lord Burghley under date September 16th, 1592, concerning his journey and asking for an order to obtain £2000 to pay off the crew, on behalf of the Queen.

He also asked for a commission to “examine all persons that cum to London and that have convoyed goods and to arest it,” and also to “octoros (authorise) us att Dartmouth to freight shippes to bring about the goodes.”

On the next day he wrote again praying for a “commission to examine uppon oath as well mariners as townsmen and all, strangers of other places, what hath byn bought or solde,” and adds, “I doubt not but wee shall finde out many things of importance for the Earle of Cumberland’s shippes who had the cheefest pillage arived, att Plymouth made part sale of diamonds, rubies, muske, ambergraese and all other cummodetes and not one of the Commissioners ever moved or sent thither but only sacked my shippe which only attended the careke yeven to the very keilson.”

He goes on to say:

The Earle’s shippes the *Daynty*e, the *Dragon*, the *Foresighte* and the rest ran from her into several ports and have sold all only my poore men and ship was stript for her good attendance and if she

had forsaken the carecke as they rest did she had byn cast awaye. Also if it please your Lordship to send a commission to Ald Marten¹ and others to make enquiry in Londone what goldsmiths and jewellers ar gone downe and that att ther returne the may be examined upon oath what stone or perrell (pearl) they have bought I doubt not but many things will be discovered².

In another letter to Lord Burghley written on September 17th, also on his way down, he said:

If I meet any of them coming up, if it be upon the wildest heath in all the way I mean to strip them as naked as ever they were born. For it is evident that her Majesty hath been robbed and that of the most rare things³.

Cecil having left London before Raleigh was released reached Exeter first, arriving on September 19th, and he turned back on their way all travellers he met on the road from Dartmouth.

In his letter to Lord Burghley written from Exeter at 10 a.m. on September 19th, he says that

“Every one I met within seven miles of Exeter that either had anything in a cloak, bag or malle which did but smell of the prizes either at Dartmouth or Plymouth (for I could well smell them also such had been the spoils of amber [that is ambergris *not* fossil amber] and muske amongst them) I brought back to Exeter. I stayed any who might carry news to Dartmouth and Plymouth, at the gates of the town and compelled them also to tell me where any trunks or malles were and finding the people stubborn committed two innkeepers to prison which example,” he adds, “would have won the Queen £20,000 a week past. I found already in a shop a bag of seed pearl, pieces of damask, cipresses and calico, a very great pot of musk, certain tassels of pearl and divers other things which,” says he, “have been registered in the presence of the Mayor.”

¹ Richard Martin, Goldsmith, Alderman of Farringdon Within, 1578–1598, and of Bread Street Ward, 1598–1602, Lord Mayor in 1589, and again in 1594. He was knighted in 1589, was Master of the Mint, 1581–1617, President of Christ’s Hospital, 1594–1602, and Prime Warden of the Goldsmiths’ Company, 1592–3. He died July 1617, and his administration is dated August 19th, 1617.

² Historical MSS. Commission, Lord Bath’s MSS. p. 40.

³ Bath MSS. II. 40 and 41.

He goes on to add that he stayed at Exeter some time, "left an impression by his rough dealing on the Mayor and has ordered the search of every bag or malle coming from the West," yet he fears "the birds be flown for jewels, pearl, and amber yet doubts not to save Her Majesty in recovering the pillage which is almost all desparate what shall be worth his journey." He says "there never was such spoil," and he will "suppress the confluence of buyers which there are above 2000." Further on he adds that there was "never fouler weather, more desparate ways nor more obstinate people," but he is convinced that "much of the pillage will be recovered."

In the search he says he found¹ "an armlet of gold and a fork and spoon of crystal with rubies which he reserves for the Queen."

Finally he says that "Her Majesty's captive" (that is of course, Raleigh) is following him but he has "outrid him and will be at Dartmouth first." In spite of all orders to the contrary he finds that some one "has ridden past to warn the people of Dartmouth of his coming."

When Cecil and Raleigh arrived, much of the most precious part of the booty had certainly disappeared, but there was still a vast treasure to examine.

Raleigh, as his best biographer Stebbing, says, "never grudged praise." He testified freely to Cecil's zeal. He wrote on September 21st from Dartmouth², "I dare give the Queen £10,000 for that which is gained by Sir Robert Cecil coming down, which I speak without all affection or partiality for he hath more rifled my ship than all the rest." Cecil in turn, though in a more qualified tone, commended Raleigh's exertions, in a very

¹ We suggest that very possibly these are the actual ornaments which are now preserved in Berkeley Castle. They correspond very closely to this description and most certainly belonged to Elizabeth just about this very time and were regarded by her as of high value.

² S.P. Eliz. vol. CCXLIII. 273.

interesting letter to the Vice-Chamberlain, Sir Thomas Heneage:

Within one half hour Sir Walter Raleigh arrived with his keeper, Mr Blount. His poor servants, to the number of 140 goodly men, and all the mariners, came to him with shouts of joy; never saw a man more troubled to quiet them: but his heart is broken, as he is extremely pensive, unless he is busied, in which he can toil terribly. Cannot help laughing to hear him rage at the spoils.

The meeting between Raleigh and Sir John Gilbert was with tears on Sir John's part; but Raleigh, finding that it was well known that he had a keeper, whenever he was saluted with congratulations for liberty answered:

"No, I am still the Queen of England's poor captive." "I wished him," adds the letter, "to conceal it, because it diminished his credit there, which I do vow to you before God is greater among the mariners than I thought for. I do grace him as much as I may, for I find him marvellous greedy to do anything to recover the conceit of his brutish offence."

Stepping in an interesting passage goes on to say:

Cecil, Raleigh, and William Killigrew were appointed joint commissioners. They examined even Burgh's¹ chests. They paid the mariners their wages. They gave 20s. in addition to each from whom they had taken pillage. On August 27th, Raleigh and Hawkins had jointly written to the High Admiral asking for convoy for the carack. They computed it worth £500,000 [equal let us say to nearly 2 millions]. About the middle of September Raleigh wrote to Burleigh from the Tower, that its value he estimated at £200,000. It turned out to be £141,000 [in the present day nearly half a million]. Whatever it was, the general rule for distributing the value of privateer prizes was a third to the owner, a third to the victuallers, a third to the officers and crew. Elizabeth contributed 1100 tons of shipping out of 5,000 and £1800 out of £18,000. So she was entitled to a tenth, that is, from £20,000 to £14,000. Raleigh was ready, after negotiation with Sir George Carew, to add £80,000 for the Queen "Four score thousand pounds," said he, "is more than ever a man presented her Majesty as yet. If God have sent

¹ A querulous letter from Sir John Burgh (*sic*) to Lord Burghley, is quoted by Wright. It is dated August 17th, 1592, and was written on board the captured carrack itself. In it, he blames Lord Cumberland for the result of the spoil of the carrack. See Wright's *Original Letters*, II. 419.

it for my ransom, I hope her Majesty of her abundant goodness will accept it. If her Majesty cannot beat me for her affection, I hope her sweet nature will think it no conquest to afflict me."

Finally £36,000 was allowed to Raleigh and Hawkins, who between them had, they said, spent £34,000. To Lord Cumberland, who had spent only £19,000, was awarded £36,000, and £12,000 to the City of London, which had spent £6,000. Raleigh, who was, he boasted, "the greatest adventurer," grievously complained to Burghley. He asserted also that, while he had deprived Spain in 1591 of £300,000, he had lost in Lord Thomas Howard's voyage £1600. He reckoned up, besides, the interest he had been paying on £11,000 since the voyage began. The Queen was grasping in such matters. So, too, was her Lord Treasurer. Sir John Fortescue, Chancellor of the Exchequer, had to remonstrate:

It were utterly to overthrow all service if due regard were not had of my Lord of Cumberland and Sir Walter Raleigh, with the rest of the Adventurers, who would never be induced to further adventure if they were not princely considered of.

He added in a courtly strain: "And herein I found her Majesty very princely disposed."

Lord Cumberland's commission, in the adventure, broad and extensive as it was, had emphasized the fact that *he* was in command and had not provided in any way for his substitution of Captain Norton in his place and his own return to London. It was adjudged therefore in the legal conflict that he who would have had the greater share by reason of the valiant service of his ships was really entitled to nothing at all save at the "Queenes mercie and Bountie," and the £36,000 he had was declared not to be his right but a personal gift from the Queen!

Raleigh was, after this, released from his imprisonment and his sentence cancelled and he was then permitted to return to his home at Sherborne and the Earl, so the deed tells us, "was faine to accept of sixe and thirtie

thousand pounds for him and his as out of gift" instead of some £250,000 as might have legally been his if he had commanded the expedition as he had faithfully promised to do.

References to the dispute concerning the value of the booty from the *Madre de Dios* and the manner of the apportionment of its value abound in the State Papers and also in the Cecil MSS. at Hatfield House.

For example, an unknown Henry called "Henry whom you know" writes to an anonymous correspondent under date January 3rd, 1593, concerning the disagreement thus:

The Earl of Cumberland claims the goods having taken her when she was like to have carried away the Queen's ship and had beaten the one Sir John Burrows was in, but it is alleged for the Queen that by her prerogative she challenges the services of all her subjects' ships which are bound to help her at sea and recompenses them according to her princely bounty which she would do liberally enough to the Earl but for some that would make a profit by buying it at her hands; the Earl might be better contented than his mariners who challenged their share as agreed upon by those that ventured with him. All the others who served the Queen and Sir Walter Raleigh are to only have their pay but are discontented at receiving so little out of a great prize worth £150,000 though much of the richest has been purloined and embezzled.

Another writer, H. Saint Main, writing to Fitzherbert on January 18th, speaks of the pilfering by the captains and mariners at sea and says further that "£10,000 worth was sold at Dartmouth to pay the mariners."

He regards it¹ as "a huge loss to the King of Spain's subjects." He then alludes to the questions concerning Lord Cumberland's claim and the Queen's prerogative and to the discontent of the crew, for says he

the mariners are wonderfully discontent...the whole is offered to the City of London but they expect so great a pennyworth and the State will afford them so little that they are not likely to go through with it.

¹ S.P. Eliz. vol. CCXLIV. 309.

Phelippes writes¹ to Barnes under date February 12th, and alludes thus to the settlement:

“The Great Carrack is adjudged to the Queen notwithstanding the Earl of Cumberland’s challenge and the goods have been found to be worth £150,000 whereof the Earl is to have £37,000 [really 36] by way of reward, Sir Walter Raleigh for his adventure £24,000, the City of London £12,000, some others may take £7000 or £8000 more and the rest is the Queen’s. . . . The Earl of Cumberland’s mariners who went for shares,” he adds, “were wonderfully discontented fearing that the Earl losing all, they should have nothing.”

Yet another letter may be quoted. Thos. Barnes writing to C. Paget² says:

The Queen has all the pepper which amounts to £80,000 for her share, the Earl of Cumberland £36,000, Sir W. Raleigh £24,000, the City of London £12,000 and some petty shares besides. It is a marvellous loss to the poor Portuguese if, as is partly found out, there was a great treasure of pearl, gold, and precious stones conveyed away by the captains that visited her before she came to land.

In the Cecil letters there is more to the same purpose. Thomas Middleton writes to Sir Robert Cecil³ on October 4th, 1592, making a guess at the value of the booty as £150,000 but guarding himself explicitly by saying he can only guess to within about £20,000, adding that as the question is an intricate one, he is afraid of making “an unpleasant slip as would displeas Her Majesty and my lord your father.”

He said there was a weight of pepper on board of 7101 quintals which he estimates as worth £95,200 [so his figures run, really 85,212] reckoning it, so he says, at £12 per quintal.

He states that he has paid Lord Cumberland’s man £1000 and “almost cleared all the mariners out of Her Majesty’s charge and pay.” To some he says he paid all their wages and 20s. for pillage, and to others 20s. on account of wages and 20s. for pillage, the rest of the money to be given them in London by Sir John

¹ S.P. Eliz. CCXLIV. 314.

² *Ibid.* 328.

³ Cecil MSS. IV. 234, 235.

Hawkins as he had no money save his own from which to make payments. He then alludes to loading up the smaller vessels to bring the booty to London (it filled five ships), and complains of the many difficulties, "as there are many dealers and every man hath a saying in the cause," and he asks for further instruction.

This dissatisfaction on the part of the crew was a great worry to all concerned. Lord Burghley, writing to Sir Robert Cecil on December 7th¹, 1592, speaks of the Queen being much troubled about it because "some claim thirds some double pay and shares," although the Queen stated "that Sir Walter Raleigh promised at the beginning that they should have ordinary wages."

Burghley in consequence demanded of Sir Robert full details of all the ships and of their tonnage and of the numbers of the crews employed on each.

The Cecil papers also contain a report² by certain of the Aldermen of the City made to Lord Burghley, Sir Robert Cecil and Sir John Fortescue, who were the Queen's Commissioners in respect to the *Madre de Dios*, conveying their opinion as to a just division of the booty in which they argued that half of it was certainly the property of Lord Cumberland; an opinion which, as we have shown, the Commissioners declined to accept.

With this is a letter³ from one of the Civic party, Richard Carmarden, under date February 20th, concerning the delivery of certain goods from the carrack whether it should be by weight or by value, and pointing out that it would be to the Queen's advantage for the pepper to be delivered by weight, but other spices must be sent "in bulk as they are sorted."

He refers to a quantity of what he calls "gome lake" [probably shellac] at 16*d.* the lb., and to canisters of cloves at 4*s.* the lb.

¹ Cecil MSS. IV. 250. ² *Ibid.* 287. ³ *Ibid.* 289.

The same papers contain various allusions to the knavery that went on at Dartmouth.

There are many depositions respecting the goods, notably from the Captains of the *Samson*, the *Tiger*, and the *Golden Dragon*, and a statement from the Captain of the captured carrack¹ (Fernando de Mendocça) piteously complaining of the treatment that befell him, saying that all his own personal things had been taken from him by the turbulent crew who would not even obey the safe conduct Sir John Burrows (*sic*) had given him. [This was dated August 6th, 1592, and is still amongst the Cecil MSS.] He beseeches Captain Sir George Jefforde to whom he writes to cause his "compass map and astralaby to be returned" to him "without the which," says he, "I cannot proceed."

In order to try and please Sir John Burgh (*sic*) and obtain his good will, he assures Jefforde that Burgh had taken nothing himself, from the carrack. A search of Burgh's chests, alluded to in the Simancas Papers in Spain, told a very different tale!

Another deposition² details the booty thus:

"Mother of pearl, porcelain dishes, raw silk, cloves, calicuts, pearls, rubies and mace, cinnamon, nutmegs, pepper, elephants tusks, turkey carpets, white calicut, quilts, sarsanet. . . jewels, stones, pearls, musk and ambergris," the latter five items alone being worth then some £30,000, also "8500 quintals of pepper 900 of cloves, 700 of cinnamon, 500 of cochineal, 450 of other merchandize with much musk," diamonds and other precious stones.

The examination of some of the thieves who were arrested forms interesting reading.

One man had in his possession³

320 sparks of diamonds, a collar of a 3-fold roll of pearl with 6 tags of crystal garnished with gold, a small string of pearl with a pelican of gold, a small round pearl garnished with gold, 2 chains of two-fold pearl with buttons of gold and 2 small jewels hanging unto the ends thereof, also 3 silver hafts for knives and a silver fork and £12 in English white money.

¹ Cecil MSS. IV. 229.

² *Ibid.* 231.

³ *Ibid.* 232.

Another¹ had

a chain of pearls orient, two rests of gold, four very big pearls of the bigness of a fair pea, four forks of crystal and 4 spoons of crystal set with gold and stones and two cods of musk.

Another a big "bag of small pearls."

From another² were taken "320 diamonds 3 hafts for knives and one fork of silver," from the Master of the *Samson* "150 diamonds," and from the mate "a packet of diamonds which was to have been sent to the Cardinal³, the same being in quantity as big as his fist and might be worth 10,000" crusadoes, while a corporal from the *Tiger* had "a packet of rubies."

A merchant⁴ deposed how a mariner at Gravesend showed him for sale "1330 small sparks of diamonds, some other bigger ones, 61 rubies and some smaller ones, 16 ounces and more of ambergris, 2 or 3 necklaces of small pearls, 2 strings of pearls, 1 chain of gold of 8 ounces and 2 or 3 other trifles," and apparently he bought the whole lot for £130. He tries in explanation to say that the diamonds were not worth more than 4*d.* each and the rubies 16*d.* or 18*d.* each and the ambergris was not of the best (diamonds at 4*d.* and rubies at 1*s.* 6*d.* each!!), and he sold the lot to a goldsmith for £200 soon afterwards.

Yet another merchant, one Bradbent, was found to have in his hands 1800 diamonds and over 500 rubies, which he said he obtained from a sailor, whom he promised he would protect. He hoped, he said, to sell them in Frankfort or Venice, and to make what was, he declared, "a small profit on them."

Then the same papers reveal the Government searcher's⁵ report of the jewels that were left on the ship and obtained by him, and this is a most satisfying list.

¹ Cecil MSS. iv. 233-4

³ The Archbishop of Toledo.

⁴ Cecil MSS. iv. 236.

² *Ibid.* 233.

⁵ *Ibid.* 237 and 255.

Of white small diamonds he says there were 200; of small rubies, 1027; of great rubies, 358; of sparks of diamonds, 1972; of great diamonds, 96; of other diamonds, 551; of orient pearls, 880; of pieces of gold, 7; of cinnamon, 3 bags; of Indian hides, 100; and of gold rings, 10; one fashioned as a dragon with four rubies, a sapphire and a pearl, six with rubies and one with five large rubies, one with a diamond and one with a diamond and ruby.

Wright¹ also quotes Sir Martin Frobisher's despatch to the Privy Council, giving his story of the capture, and his report of what the vessel contained. It agrees, on its main lines, with all the other stories concerning the amazing wealth which was contained in this ship.

The papers all serve to reveal the almost fabulous wealth carried on this ship and to explain the consternation caused in Spain by its capture and equally the excitement created in England.

It was the talk of the whole country and the subject of numberless letters and it entered into the sayings, stories and ballads of the day, for down to quite recent times, a popular local song that was well known in Devonshire alluded to it and stories about it are still told at Devon firesides.

The chief jewel² seems, however, to have eluded the searchers and got to London in some mysterious manner and into the hands of a Portuguese. What it actually was is not clear, but it is believed to have been a great diamond pectoral cross for the Cardinal Archbishop.

It is called the "great jewel" by the Master of the *Roebuck* who writes about it on October 1st, 1592, and he declares it was worth 500,000 ducats.

Painted silk is often alluded to as very precious and there are many references to fine calico as a commodity of high value, while indirectly we learn such facts as

¹ Wright's *Letters*, II. 420.

² Cecil MSS. IV. 232.

that "every cabin was pillaged," "the Portuguese mariners had precious pearls," "the seamen had gold and musk," "the mariners did seize some of the cinnamon," "the pepper is of so great value that it will rule the market if it be kept together and well handled," "the spices are of great value," "eight or nine hundred stones have been found in Weymouth," "a mariner has offered him rubies and diamonds," a man "hath good store of fair rubies and diamonds," one possesses "a peck of pearls," another "hath half a peck of pearls in a bag," and so on, all evidence of the wealth of the booty and of the manner in which it had become scattered. One report by a Frenchman from the Azores¹ declared that the King of Spain had valued the vessel at "4 millions without including an infinite number of stones in the ship which he estimated at a million."

He said the King "had searched in the Indies for stones" from lords and merchants, to aid him to make and maintain war, and that he had suffered "a loss of more than 700,000 ducats in stones alone," and he implies that Captain More had himself taken possession, presumably for his own pocket, "of a bag of diamonds" valued at 120,000 ducats.

All the London jewellers² seem to have had agents to meet the carrack.

Francis and Scott both of Fenchurch Street, Hannibal Caman of Cheapside, Howe a goldsmith³, Conywayes of the Bull's Head in Lombard Street, Barker of Tower Street and Robert Brocke of Lombard Street are all named and Dutch and French jewellers also came in for a part of the spoil.

Bradbank of Gravesend is often alluded to. He appears to have got hold of at least 1300 diamonds,

¹ Cecil MSS. iv. 254.

² *Ibid.* 255.

³ This man had so much spoil that the State Papers declare, "He hath bought so much that he hath shut up his shop, and is gone."

In another place the same man is said to have "gone at once post haste to Veneyce."

150 rubies, 16 ounces of ambergris, jewels of gold, and pearl, and a chain of gold "with a tablet on it"¹; in short, allusions to the enormous wealth that was captured and stolen, are never ending.

The transmission and sale of the Queen's pepper gave rise to some difficulties. It filled 3652 bags and took up the holds of the *Samson*, the *Susan*, the *Margaret Ann*, the *John* and the *Alcedo*. When it came to London there was so much that no one merchant could buy it and Richard Carmarden, already alluded to, suggested it should be sold by degrees, in bags of ten, twenty or a hundred, and that all other pepper should be stopped by proclamation from entering the market for two years. Meantime the City authorities had to be advised that no other pepper was to be placed on the market till that belonging to the Queen was sold.

Then came an offer for it from Garraway², at first at 2s. 2d. per lb.³ and later on at such an increase as would make its value £78,466, but Carmarden, who was acting for the Queen, instructed by Lord Burghley, was anxious to obtain from 3s. to 3s. 4d. per lb. for it. A day or two later it was sold to a syndicate, which included Garraway, for a lump sum of £80,000 plus 4000 marks. This was in April but by December it was found that

the merchants were greatly hindered in the sale of the pepper partly by the sickness in the city and elsewhere, where the pepper ought to have been sold and partly because the grocers of London have daily brought in great quantity of pepper and utter it at lower prices than the said merchants are bound to pay the Queen.

Accordingly a Warrant was issued by the Queen from Hampton Court on December 21st, countersigned

¹ Cecil MSS. 256.

² Sir Henry Garraway (1575-1646), Draper, 1627, Alderman of Vintry, 1627, and of Broad Street, 1638, Lord Mayor, 1639. He was a governor of each of the companies that traded to Greenland, Russia and Turkey. He was knighted in 1640. At his death, he left large estates in six counties.

³ Pepper he says in Leadenhall Street was being sold at 2s. 2d., 2s. 6d., 2s. 8d., and 2s. 10d., and the stalks at 1s. 8d.

by Burghley, prohibiting all import of pepper for one year, or longer, according to the Lord Treasurer's discretion. Of course difficulties at once arose and Messrs Paul Banning and Edward Hemden were quickly charged under this warrant for bringing in pepper contrary to its regulations.

They pleaded that it had been imported from Egypt eighteen months before and accordingly the charge appears to have been withdrawn and Burghley instructs one of the Aldermen of the City, Alderman Billingsley¹, to confer with Sir John Hawkins in the matter².

The whole episode may be said to have been somewhat undignified, the Queen and the courtiers all quarrelling over the plunder which was won from Spain by sheer piracy³.

The people gained no special advantage, for the avaricious monarch seized the bulk of the wealth.

For this voyage, there was the second of the six Patents to which allusion has already been made.

It was dated 21st February, 1592, in the 34th year of the Queen's reign and was far fuller of detail than the one issued in 1589.

The purpose of the voyage was this time clearly declared: "to annoy the King of Spain and his subjects and to burn kill and slay as just and needful cause shall require."

That the pressing of men and of ships for the voyage, referred to in the Patent was not regarded as an unmixed benefit⁴ we learn from a letter in the Cecil

¹ Henry Billingsley, Alderman of Tower (1585-1592) and of Candlewick (1592-1606), knighted 1597, M.P. for London, 1585, and 1604-6, President of St Thomas's Hospital, 1594-1606, Master of the Haberdashers' Company, 1584-5, 1590-1, 1595-6, and 1605-6, died November 22nd, 1606.

² Cecil MSS. iv. 297, 301, 439 and 452.

³ Philip Gawdy is one of those who alludes to all this controversy. In his letter to his father from Clifford's Inn written on December 8th, 1592, he says, "There is much stir and contention about the carracks goods." See Gawdy's letter, Roxburgh volume, Egerton MSS. 2804, folio 84.

⁴ Cecil MSS. iv. 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, etc.

MSS. addressed to the Lord Treasurer, the Lord High Admiral and the Lord Chamberlain from the Mayors of Barnstaple and Bideford.

They had received orders to furnish a ship of 100 tons or more, for Her Majesty's service in the Azores, and in confessing their inability to comply with the demands they point out that they own but three of that burden, of which two, *The Gift of God* and the *Roger Bonaventur*, were in Newfoundland and the third, the *Prudence*, victualled for six months, was with Lord Cumberland.

They also add that they have very few mariners "left at this time," because a great number had been "pressed hence by the Earl of Cumberland" and others.

They complain of poverty in consequence.

Similar demands were sent to the Mayors of Bristol, Southampton, Bridgewater, Kingston-upon-Hull, Yarmouth and Newcastle-upon-Tyne, the chief centres of shipbuilding of the day, and the various replies, which are preserved at Hatfield, alike complain of great poverty, of the impossibility of providing the ship or ships that are needed, of the absence of good shipping in the harbours, and of the great scarcity of mariners. They also, one and all, complain of the dearness of food and the bad state of trade, and regret that with all loyalty for the Crown they are quite unable to carry out the commands of the Lords of the Council.

It is of particular interest to the present day, to find that at this time there were serious complaints concerning the soldiers "disabled in the war." They complained that, while they were absent from England, their work had been taken over by those who remained at home, and on their return "maimed and crippled" they could find no work to do. The captains of the forces were also complaining that they were expected to make provision for the needs of the sick and the wounded "whose charge had laid heavily upon them," and they added

that "the Queen was troubled whenever she takes the air by these miserable creatures." The Queen accordingly appointed a commission to enquire into the whole matter, and Drake, Frobisher, Hawkins, Raleigh, and Lord Cumberland were members of it. As the results of the recommendations of the Commission various statutes were enacted, dealing with the aid of the maimed, hurt, or sick soldiers, but, as the assistance and the pensions to be granted were declared to be derived from the counties to which the soldiers belonged, and to be obtained by means of a special rate to be raised in those counties, they were, times without number wholly evaded.

The special interest, however, of the recommendations lies now in the fact that the Commissioners reported that, where it was possible in apportioning work, the disabled soldier was to "have priority over the rest," and thus clearly foreshadowed the procedure which is being urged with equal force just now.

Perhaps we may also mention that, in *The New Atlantis* which Bacon wrote, but which was not published until after his death, another procedure, intimately connected with the Great War of 1914-1919, was forestalled. The Governor of the House of Strangers, who received the shipwrecked mariners and attended to their bodily and physical needs, was by Lord Verulam described as wearing a white turban which had a small red cross in the front of it¹.

In June 1592, while the great fight was going on at sea for the capture of the *Madre de Dios*, Lord Cumberland was appointed to be Warden of the West Marches and Captain of the City and Castle of Carlisle, places which were void by the death of Henry, Lord Scrope,

¹ See Cecil MSS, vol. iv. 1592-3.

Bacon's *New Atlantis*, 1627.

Various references in the State Papers, 1592, 3 and 4; also an article by Basil Williams in *Recalled to Life*, No. I, 1919, p. 89.

and to which Lord Cumberland succeeded by virtue of an order from Lord Burghley¹.

This was not all, however, for in the same year he received at the hands of the Queen a position of far greater interest.

The story has often been told how, once, in coquettish fashion, Elizabeth dropped her glove when Lord Cumberland was kneeling before her, and how he picked it up, kissed it, and promised ever to retain it, and to act as the Queen's faithful champion against all comers. He mounted it with jewels, we are told, and set it in the front of his helmet as a mark of the favour of his sovereign, and there certainly it may be seen in the miniature, which Hilliard painted of him. This event, if it ever happened, must have occurred in early days, before he set out on his third voyage, because in the picture of him in the National Portrait Gallery, which was painted in 1588, the glove is to be seen, but in 1592 an opportunity occurred for the Queen actually to confer upon him the distinction which in name he had already borne; that of being her own chief champion in the Tilt Yard.

Sir Henry Lee, who had been the Queen's personal champion since 1559, resigned that position on being appointed Master of the Ordnance in 1590/1 and in the following year Lord Cumberland was appointed in his stead.

Perhaps it was for this appointment that he commissioned the magnificent suit of tilting armour now at Appleby Castle, one of the finest in the Kingdom and the subject of two special drawings (Plates XXVIII and XXIX) in the famous *Almain Album* which, under the able editorship of Lord Dillon, was reproduced in facsimile a few years ago.

One of the discoveries at Appleby Castle was that of the manuscript of the speech made by the new champion

¹ S. P. Eliz, Addenda Vol. 334.



George, Earl of Cumberland. From the Painting in the National Gallery.
Artist unknown. Date 1588



before the Queen, in the Tilt Yard at Whitehall, when he assumed the name of the Knight of Pendragon, and as a curious example of the fanciful language of the day, it is well worth reproducing.

Pendragon Castle from which he took his name was one of the most ancient strongholds¹ of his family, but had been seriously injured by fire, and was then uninhabited save by a housekeeper and some servants. Later, in 1660, Lord Cumberland's daughter restored it and spent a considerable part of her time there (1663-1674), regarding it as one of her favourite residences.

After her time it was again allowed to fall into decay and in later years (1773) part of it was intentionally destroyed for the sake of the timber and lead which it contained, while the stone work was used as a quarry by the people round about, with the result that at the present day, only the shell of the keep remains.

The old story that the original builder of it, one Uther Pendragon who gave it its name, endeavoured without success to turn the course of the river Eden so as to enlarge the site, above the river, upon which he erected the building, still lingers in the neighbourhood, and an ancient resident in the place quoted to us the very lines from Merlin's speech when we visited the ruin.

It is conceivable that upon the occasion of the installation of Lord Cumberland some masque or revel took place and that Merlin was one of the characters presented.

Possibly there was some pictorial representation of this building, in the scenery or in a painting; and hence a certain appropriateness was given to the opening words of the speech in which Lord Cumberland pro-

¹ Erected by Sir Hugh Morville (c. 1180), enlarged and strengthened by Robert de Clifford (c. 1300). The residence of Idonea, who entertained King Balliol there in 1333, burned 1341, rebuilt 1360, burned again 1541, rebuilt 1660, dismantled 1685, destroyed 1773.

claimed that the Castle had been removed from West[moreland] to West[minster].

Doubtless the play on the two words was appreciated by those who heard the speech.

The manuscript, for which also we are indebted to Robinson (see p. 25), was, he says, "coppied out of the Originall which Mr Robert Hilton of Murton lent me the 29 of June in 1661," and apparently compared again with the original in Pendragon Castle on November 3rd, 1663.

It reads thus:

Speech of Lord Cumberland delivered to Queen Elizabeth in the Tilt yard at Whitehall when, taking upon him the name of the Knight of Pendragon Castle, he was appointed to the position of Chief Champion for the Tilt-yard to the Queen in 1592 in lieu of Sir Henry Lee.

This Castle most happie Princesse not by Inchantment, but by miracle, is in one night removed from Westmerland, to Westminster.

Part of Mer-
lyns Speech
to Queen
Elizabeth.

The River of
Eden will
keepe his
Course still
lett Uther
Pendragon
say what
hee will¹.

This was the
Speech de-
livered to
Queen Eliza-
beth in the
Tilteyard att
Whitehall,
when Geo:
Clifford
Earle of
Cumberland
took upon
him the

Pendragon Castle, the antient Inheritance of this Knight, &, (as his vowes now are) the greatest Honor, for in this will he yearly sacrifice his thoughts, his resolucons, his fortunes: And now I talk of fortune, it is a strange tale to tell by what fortune this Castle was founded for if Antiquities (which this nice age accounteth Anticks) may be beleived; as much as was raised in the day was rated in the night: The Wise men of their time were consulted with (and in that time they were wise) who sayd that ye Blood of the Fatherlesse must temper ye Morter. But Merlin a Prophet then, & now too, (if thinges foretold, & coming to passe as prophecies) digged soe deepe in the causes, that he found two draggons fighting under ye Castle, which battell being ended, ye Castle was ended. An old tale, but a true, long but pleasant, with which I dare not trouble your Majestie. But if the Epitome would

¹ Endorsement: The Rt Honoble George Earle of Cumberlands Speech for ye Removing of Pendraggon Castle, from Westmerland to Westminster, when his Lord tilted there about ye yeare 1592. This was coppied out of the Originall which Mr Robert Hilton of Murton lent me the 29 of June in 1661. I overlooked all these Papers in Pendragon Castle the 3 day of November in 1663.

Name of
Knight of
Pendragon
Castell in
Westmland
when Sr
Henry Lee
had surren-
dered to the
sayd Earle,
the Place
of Cheiffe
Champion
for the Tilt-
yard, to ye
Queene in
1592.

be accepted, I think it may be presented. Out of this Castle came King Arthur, and by him all his Knights a Monument worth ye beholding for the Antiquity, ye upholding for the Honor, the Holding for ye fortune. Merlin as he prophceyed that, till the White Draggon had slayne the red the Castle should not be finished; so did he foretell that, till a red Draggon did fly into ye Sea, to encounter ye black Eagle, the castle should not be fortunate, oftentimes with great courage, but with noe lookd for successe, hath this Draggon pulled some feathers, but not seized on ye Bodie of this displayed Eagle, wherewith being discontented, but not dismayed, he began to mistrust old sawes, as idle tales, and as on ye seas his Crosses have bin many; so on ye Land his love hath bin thwarted; insomuch that his affections were grown as desperate as his fortunes, receiving neither for his Loyalty, regard, nor for his labour profett: At ye last (I cannot tell whether by search or chance,) between two stones of ye Castle, he found these verses wrapped:

When a Virgin hath reigned thirty three yeares,
When a Vine on ye Walles in one night shall grow,
When Castor, and Pollux, on the Land appears,
and the red Draggon shall seeme like Snowe;
Then shall ye Cormorant, that now the Eagle hight,
have his feathers moulted, by a Virgins might.

This hath pulled up the heart of this Knight which misfortunes had almost pulled out, these two fyres presage happie successe, if your Highnesse eyes (his two Starres) vouchsafe a gracious aspect.

He once resolved humbly to intreat your Highnesse to enter ye Castle, but, being too homely, he durst not presume for there is nothing to be seene,—but yt which this world hath worne out of fashion.

Excalibers Swords, ye Sleeve yt Sr. Lancelott bare for his Ladie, Balyns Speare, Sr Braumins Smyter, Dinidans Dittie, Sr Gawins Spurres, Sr. Lamoracks Gauntlett, ye Sangrealls old Shield, made for ye prooffe of ye Morgley Gash, not for ye Musket shott: Only this engraven in a Stone. That this is his heartes Holy day, which yearly he hath vowed so religious, yt his devotion shal be equall with his desires, his desires with his Loyalty, and all infinite.

Finis.

In this same year, on the 23rd of April, Lord Cumberland received a still further distinction from the Queen, being created a Knight of the Garter. In

the British Museum, amongst the Additional MSS.¹, can be seen the warrant of the Queen to the Keeper of the Great Wardrobe, for the delivery to Lord Cumberland and to Gilbert, sixth Earl of Shrewsbury, who was made K.G. on the same day, of the needful blue velvet and white taffeta for lining the robes of the Order. The document, which is on vellum, bears the Queen's signature and her Privy Seal, and is also countersigned by Windebank. Lord Cumberland was installed as Knight of the Garter on the 25th of June. This did not, however, exhaust the list of his honours in this particular year, for, as already previously mentioned, being in attendance upon the Queen at Oxford, he received on the 27th of September, from the University, the Honorary degree of Master of Arts².

There are also two letters from Lord Cumberland to his wife, which belong to this period.

One relates to his intended departure, which after all never took place, and the other to the capture of the great ship, and to the spoil contained therein.

This latter was probably written from some place in the West country, perhaps from Dartmouth.

It runs thus:

My dear Love,

I well perceive by thy kind lines our once most happy love will again be recovered, which only in this life above all I desire. How much it would have pleased me to have had my great desire satisfied, I will not write, but only thank thee for thy other resolution which shall please me, or anything else thou doest, for I know how much I am to regard thee above all other respects. This bearer's occasion bringing him to London before my departure, the winds being contrary, make me now write, having nothing but well wishes to write, and if the fickle memories [?] of the people whom I deal with, were not such as if I should come from them, they would be all gone before my return, myself would have sent this to whom, both now and ever, I wish all happiness,

Thine only and ever,

GEORGE CUMBERLAND.

To my loving wife the Countess of Cumberland.

¹ Add. MS. B.M. 5756 [229], 240.

² *Athen. Cantab.* II. 416.

And again :

Sweet Meg,

Long before this I had writ to thee, if I had not been so troubled with this exceedingly great business, as twenty times I have wished the ship had never been taken, the spoil in her hath been unreasonable, yet there is so much left as I have will make me a free man. Excuse me to my Lord and my aunt, and as soon as I come again from the Court, I will send to them for thy coming hither. Think not of it, I pray thee, for there is neither anything worth seeing, nor I mean not to tarry here for six days after my return, for this place agreeth very ill with me.

Thus in haste I end this xv of September,

Thine only and ever,

GEORGE CUMBERLAND.

To my loving wife the Countess of Cumberland.

Some correspondence also took place between Lord Cumberland and the Lord Treasurer towards the close of this eventful year (1592) and amongst the Burghley papers (known as the Lansdowne Manuscripts) now preserved in the British Museum, is a lengthy letter from the Earl, having reference, it may be surmised, to the sum of money eventually allotted to him as his share and with which it is clear that he was thoroughly dissatisfied.

The same volume also contains some letters¹ from him to the Lord Treasurer's Secretary, Mr Michael Hicks² (in 1604, Sir Michael Hicks), which as pointed out by a note in the volume (written it is believed by Lord Shelburne or Lord Lansdowne) seem to involve Hicks in a suspicion of bribery, and hence afford ground for some surprise why the letters should have been preserved, unless, perhaps, as the writer surmises, as a token of his actual innocence.

These letters themselves are not specially important, nor is their purport very clear. They appear to concern

¹ Burghley MSS. in B.M. 109. 44-45, 14th December, 1594.

² Sir Michael Hicks (1543-1612), brother of Baptist Hicks, first Viscount Campden, secretary to Lord Burghley, and to Sir Robert Cecil. For details concerning his career, see *A Cotswold Family*, 1909.

the death of a Mr Mydeltone, and an offer to see that Hicks was well remunerated if certain procedure took place and a certain petition was presented very promptly.

Hicks was, as is well known, a man of considerable financial ability and a friendly creditor to many of the men about the Court including Fulke Greville and Bacon. He was also much in Lord Burghley's confidence and was in a position to obtain favours from him.

The letter to the Lord High Treasurer himself is dated on the endorsement (perhaps by Hicks) as belonging to December 12th, 1592, and being written concerning the Queen's share in a prize taken by the Earl is important. It reads thus:

My honourable Lord, How much your kind letter and proceeding findeth me, my actions shall prove whensoever you will command me. In the meantime be assured I will be ever found constant in my professions and think myself most happy that cause hath given me occasion where in I might deliver, what long I have desired, to you concerning the course I told Her Majesty of which would turn (as I touch it) to her most profit and be best agreeable with right for she should take from no man but me who having what I doubt not will prove my due, am well pleased to pledge her with more out of my part joined with what is her share out of the rest than any way else I think can be desired and yet the devices far differing, the one being Princely and just and the other much otherwise.

I desire much to deliver it to your Lordship for that I resolve not to do anything without your knowledge and allowance wherefore I heartily entreat you to appoint me sometime when your leisure will let you (without your trouble) hear it.

My Lord, I protest, my heart is free from the poison of ambitious humours only the desire to relieve my friends and servants in danger of bonds for me, my credit from dying, and my house from falling, kept but in the estate it was left me which God knows in this time will hardly maintain an Earl and for more (if God send it) I will ever be ready to spend it and my life (in any cause you shall wish or give allowance to) for the gain of Her Majesty and my country.

Thus desiring your Lordship to appoint me a time as soon as you well may for that I think the Queen look the earnestly to hear from me I commit you to God from my lodgings at Huggens this present Saturday¹.

¹ Burghley MSS. in B.M. 76 (80), 180.

CHAPTER IX

1593. THE SIXTH VOYAGE

THE Lady Anne narrative prefaces the description of the sixth voyage as follows:

The last yeares good successe gave his Lordshipp encouragment to proceede in the like Adventure. He resolved once more to trye his owne fortune. For that he sawe all his actions were mys-governed and evill carried, by suche Mynisters as his Lordshipp employed.

Of this sixth voyage Robinson again gives us but little information merely stating that

his honor adventured his person the Fourth tyme in 2 severall Shippes of the Queenes named the *Lyon* and the *Bonaventure* attended upon with his owne shippe the *Sampson* aforesaid and other Shippes of his frindes.

Purchas does not say very much more, save that in addition to the *Lion* or *Golden Lion*¹ and the *Bonaventure*, there were the *Barke Chalden*, the *Pilgrim*, the *Anthony* and the *Discovery* and that the last three were sent direct to the West Indies.

He tells us, however, that the voyage "was the most gainfull which he made before or after" by reason of the fact that two very rich French ships from St Malo were captured, one of which was sent back to England and the other retained with the fleet till its return, and that in addition to these, another important prize was obtained, which was a ship laden with sugar.

For fuller details we turn to Monson's narrative, and there also learn of Lord Cumberland's illness, which was really the chief event of the voyage and the reason for the early return of the squadron to England.

¹ This ship was wrecked on the Goodwin Sands in the following year.

Monson explains that Lord Cumberland had found out by the bitter experience of the last voyage that "many of his voyages miscarried through the misgovernment of those he trusted, and so, encouraged by the good success he had last year, obtained two of Her Majestie's ships and victualled them himself together with seven others that accompanied them." He does not name the seven and, as we have seen, Purchas refers only to four of them.

As regards the two of the Queen's ships, we have already met with the *Lion* or *Golden Lion* in Voyage two (see p. 38).

Its dimensions as given by Mr Oppenheim were as follows: length of keel 100 feet, the beam 32 feet, depth of hold 14 feet, burden 448 tons, and tonnage 560 tons. It carried six anchors of 9600 lbs. weight, six cables of 19,000 lbs. weight and forty tons of ordnance and it was manned by 250 men and cost at sea £379. 3s. 4d. per month for wages and victualling.

The ship had been rebuilt in 1582 at a cost of £1440 and its fighting power was represented by 4 demi-cannon, 8 brass culverins, 12 brass demi-culverins and 2 iron ones, 9 brass sakers, 1 iron minion and 8 brass fowlers.

The *Bonaventure*, commanded by Sir Edward Yorke¹, was a somewhat similar vessel. In length of keel it was 20 feet shorter than the *Lion* but its burden and tonnage were the same and also its anchors, cables and weight of ordnance, while it required the same number of crew and their cost was identical with that of the men on the *Lion*.

Its offensive capabilities were rather different, for where the *Lion* had 4 demi-cannon the *Bonaventure* had but 2, but in addition it had 2 brass cannon periers. It had 11 culverins against the 8 on the *Lion*, 14 demi-culverins against 12 on the *Lion*, 4 sakers only where the

¹ Knighted in 1591.

Lion had 9, and 2 fowlers, 2 port pieces and 2 minions against the *Lion's* 1 minion and 8 fowlers.

It was therefore about the same in strength as the *Lion*, if anything rather stronger, and perhaps more convenient in the portability of its guns.

We do not know the exact date on which this expedition sailed, but it was before June 23rd, 1593, because on that date Lord Cumberland had written to Sir Robert Cecil¹ to excuse himself for not taking leave of him, thus:

Bear with me that I took not my leave of you for in truth I was hastened away by such a sudden occasion so as by no means I could without coming to the Court where I durst not be seen.

From aboard the *Lion*, under sail this 23 June.

GEORGE CUMBERLAND.

Monson tells us that the St Malo ships which made little show "in respect of their burthen" were yet rich and "of good value in money," and that they "did more than treble the expense of the voyage by the treasure aboard them."

Monson then informs us that Lord Cumberland met with twelve other hulks which he ordered to surrender, but they, relying on their numbers and power, declined to do so and engaged in fight.

The result was in his favour, however, and he compelled them to deliver up the powder and ammunition they were carrying "for the service of the King of Spain."

In this action, by some error of judgement, Monson was left, with an insufficient guard, to overlook some of these hulks and was very nearly captured. In his escape he received a serious wound in the leg, from the effects of which he suffered for the rest of his life.

Then came the news of a fleet of twenty-four sail of Spanish and Portuguese ships having gone to the Azores, and Lord Cumberland was at first inclined to pursue them, but having come in sight of the fleet he

¹ Cecil MSS. iv. 333.

discovered that it was too powerful for him to attack, and therefore sailed away that time, hoping for a more favourable opportunity later on.

It is clear, however, that the main reason why the attack was not attempted was Lord Cumberland's illness. "His recovery was despaired of, unless he could return to the English shore, or get a cow to supply him with milk," and at last Captain Monson "ventured ashore on the island of Corvo where, what with threats and what with promise of reward, he got the cow, which he carried aboard," and so, he says, "in all likelihood was the means of saving the earl's life," as "my Lord much desired milk."

Monson then completes his narrative by stating that "valuing the earl's safety above all the profit of the voyage" he hasted towards home.

On their way the ships fell into a calm which lasted for several days, and they lost sight of one another and did not meet again until they were in port, in England.

It was on this return journey, in August 1593, that the ship laden with sugar that Purchas mentions, was captured.

From the Venetian State Papers of August 28th, 1593, we learn that the value of the captured ships on this voyage included 2,102,000 ducats belonging to the King, 5,141,000 ducats belonging to private owners, and jewels and valuables besides.

For this voyage, the third of the Royal Patents to which we have already alluded, was granted. It was dated May 28th, 1593¹, in the 35th year of the Queen's reign, and is still more definite in the form in which it announces the object of the voyage.

This was:

to invade, and destroy the powers, forces, preparations and provisions of the King of Spain or any of his subjects or any Prince, Power, State or Potentate. . . not in league and amity with us.

¹ It is given in full by Rymer; see *Fædæra*, xvi. 208.

The patent expressly alludes to the fact that the Queen had placed at the disposal of her worthy cousin two of her own ships, the *Golden Lion* and the *Elizabeth Bonaventure*, stipulating that whatever was captured by these ships was to belong to the Queen. The clause was cleverly worded and, if occasion required, was capable of a very wide interpretation.

Lord Cumberland's expedition was spoken of as his "Brave adventure" and as his "Worthy purpose," but he himself gives a side light when he writes concerning this very voyage saying "what wealth soever the Indies afforded, Spayne was the golfe that swallowed it up."

Lord Cumberland appears at this time to have been appointed one of the Commissioners for dealing with the estates of Lord Vaux of Harrowden¹ whose possessions were controlled, as their owner was a Catholic; by various persons appointed for the purpose by Lord Burghley. The names of Lord Shrewsbury, Lord Strange and others appear with that of Lord Cumberland on many papers concerning the Vaux Estates, now preserved at Rushton Hall, with one specially important order for their administration, dated April 16th, 1593.

¹ William Vaux, third Baron Vaux (1542?-1595), an enthusiastic and devoted Catholic. He gave Campion the Jesuit an asylum in his house at Hackney and at Harrowden. He was heavily fined more than once, but persisted, with much devotion, in spending the bulk of his fortune in the cause of his religion, and eventually had to be excused from attending Parliament, on the ground that, owing to extreme poverty, he had been forced to pawn his Parliamentary robes.

CHAPTER X

1593. THE SEVENTH VOYAGE

THE voyage which Purchas, Robinson, and other writers term the seventh, actually formed part of the sixth and, strictly speaking, should not be dealt with separately, but inasmuch as it will cause confusion if Purchas's numbering be ignored it may be well to treat of it here in separate fashion and under his numbering.

The narrative concerns the three ships which Lord Cumberland detached from his main fleet when he sailed in 1593 and sent direct to the West Indies, the *Anthony*, the *Pilgrim* and the *Discovery*.

The first was commanded by Captain James Langton, and had on board a Spanish pilot, one Antonio Martino, who had spent the greater part of his life in the Indies and knew those parts well.

The *Pilgrim* was under the charge of Captain Francis Slingsby¹ and also carried a Spanish pilot Diego Petrus; but the name of the commander of the *Discovery* is not given in either narrative. The "ship" as it is called, was apparently only a pinnace.

Robinson intimates that the *Anthony* was a vessel of 250 tons and the *Pilgrim* one of 100 tons, and he adds that this last ship was a new one and had been built at Hampton; but this information is so oddly expressed that it may refer to the pinnace, the *Discovery*, and not to the *Pilgrim* at all.

These three ships, making their way direct to the West Indies, commenced by an attack upon the pearl fisheries of Margarita and, landing at night, in boats, guided by Indians, attacked the town where the pearls

¹ Who afterwards read the story of the voyage to Lord Cumberland's daughter Lady Anne, see p. 21.

were stored, capturing some £2000 worth, besides other pillage "the Souldiers gat."

The march upon the town was made in the night and it was, the narrative tells us,

"exceedinge hott neither did they find any water to refreshe themselves. . . insomuch that many of the men beganne to faynte and desired rather to be killed there than to stirre one foote further." "Amongst which," it goes on to say, "one Mr Thomas Cholmley whoe was in the *Pilgrim* faynted soe muche that if he had not founde favour in Carryng his Armes he had been lefte behynd."

Then, this march accomplished, next morning they held up the town to ransom and it was redeemed for more pearls, 2000 ducats in value; but by this time the alarm had been given, the Spanish carracks were on the alert and the English ships, being pursued, were compelled to retire, not however without some loss.

Thence the fleet proceeded to San Domingo and landing close to an estancia, obtained an ample supply of dried and salted meat, fruit, and sugar from it, and also from the neighbouring estates, holding them up, in every case, to ransom.

An English ship which had previously been captured by the Spaniards was their next booty, and from it they recovered, for their own use, the brass ordnance, leaving behind them the iron cannons as the captured ship was lying low in the water and the removal of heavy iron ordnance was attended by some risk of loss.

Here also a frigate was captured and this was added to the fleet.

The next place of call was Jamaica, where they captured two barks laden with hides and these they manned and sent to England. One of them, however, was lost on the way, captured by a French man-of-war.

A trip to Cuba did not yield any spoils, and at length the *Pilgrim*, with some of the captures, set sail for England and landed in safety at Plymouth on May 14th, 1594.

Meantime the *Anthony*, with the captured frigate, made for Central America, putting into the Bay of Honduras, and there engaged a fleet of seven Spanish ships, "the least of which was 180 tons." The fight was a severe one, but ended in a victory for the Englishmen. The spoil was chiefly hides, logwood and sarsaparilla, and the captured ships were dismantled of rudders, sails and ordnance, and some of them were fired.

The brass ordnance was taken on board by the Englishmen, and the iron "heaved overboard," the place of its destruction being noted "in hope some Englishmen might be the better for them afterwards."

The most important of the captures, a vessel of 250 tons, was brought away, but the largest of all, a vessel of 500 tons, was fired, and then the English fleet set sail for England and came into Plymouth with their booty on May 15th, 1594, the very day after the *Pilgrim* had arrived with its prizes.

There were great rejoicings and excitement at Plymouth, so the State Papers tell us.

This success caused consternation in Spain, and when the news arrived, a squadron was sent out in pursuit, but, by the time the Spanish commander arrived in West Indian waters, the English ships were safely in port, at home.

Soon after arriving in England, Cumberland wrote to Sir Robert Cecil a letter which is preserved amongst the MSS. at Hatfield House¹.

"The report here," says he, "of the Queen's removing upon Saturday disquieted me till I sent to you fearing if so it should happen my Lord Fo's: suit would hardly before be despatched and to draw him to further attendance, though upon your word I would do anything, yet should I be loth, for fear it should force his longer attendance to endure which he had better want it.

Wherefore, I pray you direct me what I shall advise him, and let me know if this I have heard be true, for, as I have often told you,

¹ Cecil MSS. iv. 620.

I will be more bound to you for dispatching him with this than for the greatest pleasure you can do me while I live, and while I live I will think myself bound to you for it.

25 Sept 1594 (?)”

It is not easy to unravel the meaning of this letter which it is evident, is with intention written in ambiguous terms, nor have we been able to decide upon the identity of Lord Fo.; although we cannot help thinking that Ferdinando (F...o) Earl of Derby is referred to¹.

One more curious discovery in connection with this year rewarded our labours at Appleby, where a manuscript in an unknown hand was found giving the words of the “Speech of Lord Cumberland, Delivered to Her Majestie on Crownation day att Windsore Castle, 1593.”

This appears to have been delivered on the 34th anniversary of Coronation Day, and on the occasion of a masque at Windsor Castle.

This followed so quickly upon the address when Lord Cumberland was created Personal Champion that perhaps it may have been delivered on his first appearance in that office.

In any case it was couched in the same fanciful imagery concerning Pendragon Castle and was marked by the same sort of playful compliments to the Queen, in which she so much delighted, and which were the invariable habit of the day.

So seldom is it that we have the actual words of any speech made before Queen Elizabeth, that this was well worth rescuing from oblivion, and if strangely removed in quaint conceit, in play upon words, and in flattering compliment, from modern phrasing, it is charmingly illustrative of the pageantry of its time.

¹ Ferdinando, fifth Earl of Derby (1559?-1594), son of Henry, fourth Earl, succeeded to the earldom and to the sovereignty of the Isle of Man in 1593. He was panegyrised by Spenser as Amyntas.

It reads thus:

There are now two yeares past (most excellent Princesse) since the Knight of Pendragon Castle according to his solemne vowes and publique profession kept his wonted true hartes holly day not by any forgetfullnes in him, who makes his whole life A remembrance of duety but at commaund and by her appointment who first gave hope to his desire and glory to his hope, what he hath performed in the meane space and how he hath imployed lett not Jelousie suspect what Loyalltie and Love have undertaken Suer I am that as his enterprises were dangerous so the events are honorable. In this long absence from home and hard adventure abroad, he conversed for the most parte with Seamen and Marriners, a kinde of people by nature painefull, by practise couragious, loving to their Captaine, mindefull of their countrie, and profitable to the Comon Wealth, yet earnest expectn of reward, which commonly comes but slowly and hott ensuers of desert which is not thought on till it be tryed. Good Godd howe these good fellowes laide about them after their arrivall when the knight had imparted at his departure, that as this day he would retorne to his interrupted sacrificse and present your Sacred Majestie with the true devotion of his soule in the tryumphe of his bodie, how clamerous they continewed what arguments and expostulations they used, that they might bee admitted as companions in this action, also said they it were noe reason but if the hazard be equall the honor should in some measure bee like. Suche then was their instance and soe often repeated that as they know best that have to deale with a multitude. The Knight being sicke and unable to abide any noise could not but condiscnt to their demaund albeit with this condicon. That in the behalf of the rest, some few might be sent who for more ease and les trouble should satisfie their request. And hither by good happ are they come, the Knight and his associates, where to begin the day with a mirracle they found the Old Castle which was founded in Westmorland and once removed to Westminster, now strangely erected in Windelysore. It is marvelous to relate, and more marvelous to conceive, but the Knight as an Inheritor to such prodigies tooke the matter to him self both as an incitor of his humble service bound perpetually to follow the worlds most wonder, and as the presage of his better fortune which cannot be amended without a mirracle; Whereupon he called suddainly to his memorie an uncouth Prophesey which runneth over all the Shore where he dwelleth vizt.

“When Windesore and Pendragon Castle doe Kiss
The Loyon shall bring the Red Dragon to Bliss.”

And because we are fallen into a vaine of Prophesies whereof there is plentie in this place, The Knight thinkes it meete to acquaint

your Majestie with a quaint one in deede which his Porter mett with in a vaute whilst he was a way and delivered him at his retorne, the contents being suche as he acknowledgeth with his hart and will make good with his lance to be just.

“When Nature shall spend all perfections in one
 When all for that one of themselves shall thinke worse
 When duety shall move very castles of stone
 When Albion prospers by outlandish curse
 And when the Red Dragon led shipmen on dry land
 Then blest be the Earth for a maide in an Iland¹.”

Finis.

Soon after he returned home Queen Elizabeth commanded Lord Cumberland to attend as her deputy, in Scotland, upon the baptism of Prince Henry to whom she was standing as Godmother, the King having expressly stated that he would gladly receive Lord Cumberland at his Court on that occasion.

Accordingly he made vast preparations for the journey, but, just as he was about to start, was taken seriously ill “with a bloodye fluxe²,” and the Earl of Sussex had to go in his stead.

This he said involved him in “heavy cost” none of which would the Queen defray!

Relative to this period we have two letters to record. One is a brief note from Lord Cumberland to his wife written on February 23rd and is of some importance as it refers to the Jewish Physician, Roderigo Lopez³,

¹ Endorsement: 1593—My Lord George, Earle of Cumberland his Speech delivered to her Majestie on her Crownation day att Windsore Castle.

² He was attended by Dr Gilbert in this illness, see p. 269. Rymer, in *Fœdera*, xvi. p. 259, gives in full a letter of instructions sent to Lord Sussex, in which Lord Cumberland's appointment and his sudden illness are referred to. Lord Cumberland's personal servant is mentioned at this time as a man named Copley. Lord Sussex was Robert Radcliffe, fifth Earl (1569?–1629), the only son of the fourth Earl of Sussex. He was Earl Marshall in 1597 and in 1601.

³ Roderigo Lopez, Jewish physician, native of Portugal, settled in England in 1559, Chief Physician to Elizabeth in 1586 and in high favour with her, see notes made by Gabriel Harvey in a book on medicine in the B.M. by G. Meier (482, b 2).

the first house physician at St Bartholomew's Hospital and the man who was implicated in the plot to murder Antonio Perez and Queen Elizabeth, was tried, found guilty and executed at Tyburn in 1594. Lopez has, however, a specially vivid interest for us, since it has been suggested that he was the original of Shakespeare's Shylock, and the suggestion has much to recommend it.

The letter reads thus:

Much longer than I looked for are my occasions here in despatching which hath perforce till now stayed me, and will till Tuesday, when, God willing, I will not fail to come to you if the arraignment of Dr Lopaz and some other traitors, whereat, it is said, there will great matters be opened, stay me not till Thursday. Tell my cousin Thomas I envy his pleasure in thanking [? thee] and remember my commendations to my Lord, whose happy hour I will heartily pray for.

Thus, wishing to all all best contentment, I commit Thee to God.

This xxiii of February,

Yours as I ought,

GEORGE CUMBERLAND.

To my loving wife the Countess of Cumberland¹.

The other is a courtly letter written by Lord Cumberland to his sister-in-law Lady Warwick. It does not perhaps ring very true, and is worded in even more plausible fashion than was Lord Cumberland's usual wont. It reads thus:

Good Madam,

Your ladyship gave the more thanks for trifles than far greater kindness could deserve, but be assured, if anything in my power may do your Ladyship service, you shall freely dispose of it, and I rest more bound if you will demand it. For your Ladyship's desire to have the £400 paid by warrant out of Westmorland, I willingly would grant, if already for the redeeming of a mortgage in June next, I had not appointed all due to me there to be disbursed, but I assure your Ladyship there shall not fail payment on what

¹ N.B. Lady Anne has added to this letter, after the word "February," the following sentence:

"1594, as the year begins on New Year's Day."

She has also endorsed the letter with these three words:

"Of Doctor Loppes."

days you will appoint, and send me word, and for to know all other kindness, if this done be taken as it ought to be, though by promise I will not be bound to any yet, do you blame me if there be not more than all things considered there is reason to expect, and for the last point is assured me long burden of making an offensive war so tempered me as I will constantly continue, referring all things to God, and your even consideration. Madam, I was bound to your honourable father more than to all men living. I honour his house, I protest, as mine own, and take God to witness, I will endeavour with the best care I can advise, to give your sister all contentments. Wherefore, good Madam, let these respects and my true honouring of you, make you see wrong courses hath been held with me, and so deal as my wife, having the truth opened by you, whom she is sure will not be partial to me, may herein run courses as may confirm the opinion the world had of her and she deserved and I live in quiet, which I will labour for.

So resting at your Ladyship's commandment, I commend you to God.

This xvii of February

Your Ladyship's unfeignedly to command,

GEORGE CUMBERLAND.

To the Right Honourable my good Lady and Sister the Countess of Warwick¹.

¹ In another hand on this letter appear two sentences which cannot be very clearly read. The first appears to be "When the Queen was at Tibbalds 1594, this was agreed of, not perfect till February."

The other sentence appears to be "His Lordship, protesting his honourable desire, and promising that with all this."

CHAPTER XI

1594. THE EIGHTH VOYAGE

OF what is generally termed the eighth voyage, which took place in 1594, we have in print two distinct and important accounts, one written by Captain Nicholas Downton, who was in command of the *Samson* (which appears in Hakluyt), and one given by Purchas. In addition to these, moreover, we possess an unpublished narrative of the voyage which appears in Robinson's Manuscripts, and which came from the lips of Captain William Middleton and Captain Thomas Greenwell.

This narrative, Robinson expressly says, was related unto mee by the said worthie Captaine William Middleton's worde of mouth sometimes having bin a soldier and Leutenant as also Ensigne Bearer under the vertuous renowned Sr Phillip Sydney Knight in the Lowe Countries and here a Follower in all these voiaiges and in the eight voiage also here nowe nexte followinge whereof hee and Captaine Thomas Greenewell gave me under their handes in writing their credible advertizements in manner and from pointe to pointe as followeth.

From this statement we conclude that Captain Middleton was present on each of the preceding voyages, clearly in some humble capacity and that by the time of the eighth voyage (1594) he had attained to the rank of Captain.

It was only with regard to this voyage, and that which followed it, that he supplied Robinson with any really important information.

There are, however, many details in this account of the eighth voyage which do not appear in either of the published versions, and furthermore, it is so complete and picturesque in its wording, that it may well be given

in extenso, as a personal narrative of the journey, and one hitherto quite unknown even to the student.

In its dates it is far more complete than either Downton's or Purchas's account.

It gives us a full account of the wounding and death of the Admiral of the squadron, Captain George Cave, of his burial and of the funeral sermon. It refers more clearly than do the published accounts, to the very small loss of life amongst the Englishmen in this important engagement, which resulted in the capture of the great carrack, the *Cinque Llagas*, and explains more clearly than they do, why the other carrack, believed to be the *San Philip*, was able to get away from the English fleet.

It also refers to the prisoners brought home to Lord Cumberland, in more detailed fashion, and gives other names than those mentioned by Purchas, of the notable persons on board the *Cinque Llagas*.

On the other hand, Purchas it is that tells us who Don Nuño Velio Periera was, stating that he had some time been the Governor of Mozambique and Sofala, that he was returning to Spain on another carrack of great value, which had been lost near the Cape of Good Hope, and that he was therefore only a passenger on the *Cinque Llagas*, while it is Purchas again who states that with the fleet, when it started, was a carvell and a small pinnace.

Finally, it is Purchas who moralises at the end of his narrative that the fleet had done "much harm to the enemy and little good to themselves." Such a conclusion was not at all in the minds of the two Captains who talked with Robinson and would, it is clear, have been unacceptable to them.

With regard to Downton's account in Hakluyt, the only new information it contains is the reason of the fierce fire on board the carrack which at one time threatened the destruction of the English vessels.

Downton expressly states that as there was “store of gum Benjamin¹, and such other like combustible matters in the forecastle,” the flames ran all over the deck and eventually reaching the powder blew the vessel up “so that most of the ship did swim in parts about the water.”

Incidentally we are told that the small ship, laden with Galicia wines, which was the first capture, was bound for Angola, but otherwise Downton follows the lines of the incident as given by Purchas and the verbal narrative set out by Robinson. His is, however, quite a brief story.

Robinson’s narrative reads thus:

1594.

Three shippes
sent by his
honor to the
Islandes of
Tercera
6 of Aprill
1594 from
Plymouth

Bee yt to the glorie of God remembred that in the yeare of Christ our Saviour afore said his Honorable Lordship sent to the Islands of Tercera, three shippes, vizt the Sampson his owne shipp aforesaid of 260 Tonnes, the Mayflower of Lymehouse of 250 Tonnes, and the Royall Exchange of London of the same burthen, All which three Shippes, Togeather on Satterdaie the 6th of Aprill Anno supradict sett sayle from Plymouth, and came to the Northerne (Cape Calais Cape Finister). On Wednesdaie the 18th [*sic*] of the same moneth From whence accordinge to his hono^{rs} direcon they ranged to the Burlings. Then (after intelligence given them by Flemmyngs of an Armado praepared by the Spanish King at S. Lucar to goe for the Islands of Tercera) they proceeded on Satterdaie the XIth of May (accordinge to their Articles) towards the said Islandes.

sight of S^t
Michaels.

They espie
a Carak and
y^e Mayflower
wethereth
her

On Sondaie the 2d of June anno dict they had sight of S^t Michaels from thence they plied to the westward of Phial some 12 leagues where they continued untill Wednesday the 12th of the same moneth, At what tyme this their Fleete (being separated south and North) discried a Carak of 2000 Tonnes burden named the Cinguo Chagas (or five woundes) standinge in the Eastward. The Mayflower (wherin was Captaine the worthie Mr William Anthony) beinge the wethermore shipp with much a doe wethered the said Carak betweene 3 and 4 of the clock in the afternoone that Sondaie.

¹ Usually called gum benzoin.

They assayle
her spoile
her of her
mayne mast
and batter
her

Then cominge within Pistoll shott & batteringe in her weether quarter with great and small shott shee was there soe sore annoyed (especially with the spoile of her mayne-topp maste, that shee was faine to take in her mayne top saile and to steere broad waie whereby she was constrayned to beare to the Leeward of Phial upon this at X of the clock that night, the Sampson (wherein was Captaine Mr Nicholas Dounton) came upp with her, where both ye Mayflower and the Sampson contynued the batterie two houres after.

They conferr
for a freshe
fight and lay
her aboard

Then as the Mayflower was conferring with the Sampson at one of the clock that nighte, the Royall Exchange being Admirall of the Fleete (wherein was Captaine generall, the worthie brave Mr George Cave) came up unto them and upon conference also had with this their Admirall, the fight was deferred till daie light, Daie being come, the Admirall gave directions, that he would assayle the said Carak with 3 boates, and the rest should performe the like: afterward his signall was to strike his Ensigne twice, and then aboard, he first then in the Prowe, the Mayflower in the waste, and the Sampson in the quarter. But it fell out thus that the Admirall laying her aboard at the loofe recoylled a stearne, so that the Mayflower was soe neare, that she was fayne to ronne with her bolte sprite betweene their two quarters wherefore the Sampson laid her aboard upon the bowe.

They fier the
Carak with
danger to
themselves.

After much bickering fier workes flewe on both sides, the Mayflower fiered her sterne, and the Sampson her fore castle. The Fleete piled their small shott at the fiers in such sorte, as they that came to quenche it were slayne, being enforced soe to perishe by their strong resistances. The fier grew soe hott and soe great, that in fieringe the Mayflowers foresaile and her fore topp saile being also loose in the topp were both burned. The Sampson was in the like predicament. And all though the Admiralls sayles were not burned yet he had much a doe to quenche the fier works, they came soe fast unto her. So then the Mayflower being enforced to fall astearne (as the Admirall had donne) to quench her fier, she takinge the winde in ye quarter would not wiere for want of her fore sayles (which were burned) but came to against the helme. The Sampson beinge a fier and her fore boltropp fowle of the Caraks sprite sayle yard, was in great hazard because she

could not gett of. Wherefore the Mayflower sent her boate to helpe her.

The company in the Carak would yeeld to the English but their Captaine generall refuseth so to doe.

While the company doe againe offer to yeeld their Generall being misinformed refuseth utterlie soe to doe.

The Spaniards in perplexitie many of them leap into ye sea.

The names of the cheifest of them

Royal Exchange & the Mayflower now cleared from ye Carak

At what time, while they were thus a boarding of this Carack like 3 good English Mastiffs upon the Spanish Wilde Bull, Don Francisco de Melo a Spaniard beinge her Captaine Generall, and the Companie in her (seeinge their extreame present daunger, and the Carak likelie to be burned) presentlie agreed (for safety of their lives) to putt forth their flagg of truce and wave it to the Fleete in signe of submission and yeeldinge. And still seeinge the fiery flames increasing more forcible both afore and after they then the more earnestlie instanced and besought their Captaine Generall to yeeld unto the English men, therebie to save their owne lives, whatsoever became of the Carake and the rich ladinge in her. But he nothinge willinge soe to doe, for a long time withstood their entratie, yet in fine referringe it to their discretion, he consented thereunto. Whereupon they then againe secretly and more earnestlie waved still their Flagge of truce, and called to the English Fleete to save their lives and take what spoile they would or could in any place of the Caraks. But see while this was thus a workinge, straight waie comes the Carpenter of this Carak steppes to their Captaine and tells him, that the fier was not soe farr to be feared but that it might be quenched yea and shifte might be made for safegard of Shipp and men. This the Captaine then hearinge replied Corage, take in your flagg of truce, I will never yeeld, while I live: By which wordes then and there, all the bravest & chiefest of their companie clusteringe together laid heads in conference and by and by others stood gazing upon their Captaine holdinge up their clasped handes to the heavens, some runne hither and some thither, and soe one upon another all amazed what to doe, and none of them shiftinge for him selfe, nor anie one of them offeringe himselfe to the yeelinge; the names of the cheifest of them were theis

Dom Rodrigo Castiliano; Dom Duarte de Sayas Nune Velio Perira Captaine of ye Island Mazembico Bras Corea; (or Carero) and Juan de Sousa with divers others.

Soe then (as before is said) the English Admirall Royal Exchange falling with the Mayflower asterne of the Carak by this time became both cleere from daunger of the fier still blazinge in divers places of the Carak, little or nothing

at all quenched, the Spainards being still in amazement what to doe remained aboard still in more encombred daunger: So as the Mayflower durst not send againe her boate (the Carak being now past all recoverie) for sinking with the multitudes of the Enimie which here for themselves soone ynough (if not to late for us) leaped into the Sea to seek by swymminge (their onelie Author of late refuge if it might bee) to save their lives In which burninge and sinkinge of this Carake as also drowninge of manie hundreds of the passengers soldiers and saylers even then also verie manie of their bravest Spanish gallants men and weomen goodlie personages gorgeously apparelled yea and decked with rich chaynes of gold, Jewelles perles and pretious stones of great price strippinge themselves of all this (with soe strange a stratageme seldome scene) all naked upon a soddame desperatlie cast themselves into the seas. Here lo here was a thinge most pittifull to see the fatall furious downefalles, and noe lesse lamentable to heare the dolorous exclamations of theis desperatlie drowning Spaniards what tyme one man more speciallie and vehemently moved with his mischaunce (or rather mischiefe past all remedie) runnes upon the hatches to their Captaine and all enraged charged him deeply how much he had to aunswere for before god in the casting awaie of soe manie Christian soules, whose lives (saith he) the Englishmen upon their yeelding would have saved, and whose deathes God would with extreame vengeance unspeakable requier at his handes. But all this was to late now to looke into. When the Complayner and the Captaine with all the rest left in the Carak were with the same togeather burnt and sunck in the bottome of the seas.

The captaine of the Carak charged with their death and destruction

The sinking of the Carak and men

The riches & treasures of his Carak burned and sunck with her

There was in this Carak exceeding great wealthe and Riches first of her owne ladinge from the Indias being gold, jewels, pearles, Royalls of Plate and Costly spices, the basest in value being black pepper: And afterwarde there was bestowed in her also the loadinge of an other shipp called the Nazarite, consistinge also of gold, Jewells Royalls of Plate and costlie spices which Shipp was cast awaie at the Island of Mazembico. The Captaine of which Shipp beinge on Bras Corea one of those five cheife men afore-said then escapinge out of the Shipp and here nowe also out of this Carak, with the before named Nune Velio Periara, Captaine of that Island Mazembico were Caster [*sic*] the burning and sinking swymminge upon the Seas by one of ye English boates, bestowed aboard the Admirall and

Two cheife men were taken togeather swymminge

They were brought into England wher they were kept Captives 3 quarters of a yeare, & then being ransom'd were sent into Spaine againe.

The number of Spaniards perished

The number of English men slayne and hurt

The great hurt of Generall Cave

A twofolde cause for England to praise God for preservation of the English overthrowe of the Spaniard

the Sampson and brought Captives into England to the said (Right honorable) Erle of Cumberlande then residing with his Ladie and their familie within the Charterhouse of London, where theis two cheife Spanish Gallants remayned his Honors captives till within three quarters of a yeare after they (sendinge for their ransomes) were dismissed home againe into Spaine, the next yeare following 1595. All the other cheife men which were in the Carak with the whole Companie in November (reported by the said Captives) to be aboute 1100 persons of all sorts were either some slayne in the fighte, others burned in the Carak and soe sunck and drowned the rest in the seas.

In the unfortunate feighte the good and worthie Mr William Anthony Captaine of the Mayflower (as before recited) and besides him to the number of XX other English soldiers and saylers were slayne and cast over board, and in the same fight was hurt Captaine Nicholas Dounton a board the Sampson who (praised be god) was Cured and recovered upon the waie returninge homewards. But the most worthie brave Generall Cave to the great lack of his helpe and lamentable losse of the worthie man himselfe afterwards to the great grieffe of the whole fleete was shott by a poysoned musquett from the spitefull Spaniard through both his leggs, whereof being greatly endangered and languishing past all recoverie (after his returne) he ended his life at London as in the end hereof more at large shalbe shewed. For which adventure notwithstandinge of theis his honors forces at this tyme and for this overthrow of the Enymie of God given them, as England hath first great cause Impulsive to render all humble thanks, and hartly praise unto his glorious name Who hath by the Enymies owne willfulnes and desperacon made them the Instruments of their owne miserie and mischief remediles Wakeninge the Tyrannicall Tubalkayns forces and diminishing his members; Soe a second Cause full of thanks givinge and praising God let us here confesse due unto him also in soe litle losse of our men soe greatlie endangered by the Enymie when at first they were in the whole Fleete but 150 English persons and for preservation of the rest of them from anie further daunger in the whole voyage untill their safe returne which I cannot yet conclude as herewith the Conflicte and overthrowe of this Carak; But proceeding on with the voyage, nowe I present unto your right honorable viewe, the

discoverie & the discourse of an other lesser Carak, in manner & forme following:

The Discoverie of an other Carake

After that the said Three English Shippes had thus seene an end of the former great Carak they agreed all to goe for the Islands of Flowers To seeke their Pynnisse and their Carvell which were before time sent to search the Roades of St Michael and the Isle of Franck where they arived on Mondaie the 17th of June, and finding their men there tooke them aboard. The lack of which men (beinge to the number of 50 Musqueters) was a great hinderance in the encounter with the Enimie before menconed.

The Roades of St Michael & the Ile of Franck

On St Peters daie the 29th of June they discover the said Carak, beinge 1500 tonnes

Then after some small refreshing they stood of Southward some 30 leagues and there stroke a hull untill the 29th daie of the same moneth being St Peters daie: Thus lying to Hull one of an other south and North, the winds beinge Northerlie, the Sampson, the wethermost, the Admirall Royall Exchange midlemost and the Mayflower the leewardmost, about one of the clock in the afternoone that daie, the admirall and the Mayflower, espied an other Carak of 1500 tonnes (supposed to be the great Phillipp or some other of the Spanish Kings great shippes of warre standing in the Eastward. All the three shippes together sett saile, the Admirall Royall exchange weathered her, the Mayflower two leagues to leeward. The Admirall kept his loofe and neither spake with her nor discovered her.

But neither speake with her nor discover her

Here was the want of worthie Generall Cave whose service both by sea and by land hath bene approved as well in Flaunders as in Spaine; who since the late received hurt in both his leggs keepinge nowe his bedd and no able to stirr, or doe anie thinge (as he would have done had hee bin in his former good estate) could not heare helpe the handes of others neither by them have his directions soe well at this time performed as they should and might have bene otherwise.

The Mayflower bringeth the Carak abaft the beame.

As soone as the Mayflower had brought this Carak abafte the beame, shee cast aboute and kept sight of her all night, carrynge a light for the Fleete all night. The next morninge beinge Sondaie the last of June aforesaid the Admirall was a leigh a stearne upon the Mayflower Weather quarter, Shee beinge then within sacre shoot, the Admirall shoot of a peece for the Mayflower to staie, But shee shakinge in the winde, the Carak gave her the Sterne, whereupon the Mayflower againe aunswered her

The Admirall's warning shott.

The Mayflower discovereth ye Carak fetcheth her up and fighteth with her all the day

with her broad side, and staid then to knowe the Admiralls pleasure, Then the Admirall tacked from her and sent the Carvell to the Mayflower to advertize her, that it was the great Phillip of Spaine and that the Mayflower should come awaie. But shee having then disconcerned her to be a Carak (which some say since was rather one of the Spanish Kings great shippes of warre) shott an other peece, and tacked towards her, and sent them worde it was not the St Phillip, but a Carak, soe the Mayflower fetcht her upp and fought with her all that daie.

The three English ships all at once assaile the Carak

The third daie of this enterprise, being Mondaie the first of Julie anno dict the Admirall came up and gave her about, the Mayflower seconded him under his lee, then shee talked with ye Admirall and agreed to goe verie neare and lye beating with their Ordnance and small shott which was performed accordnglie. Att the end whereof, the Sampson came upp, and bestowed all her forces upon her.

The Spanishe Captaines aunswere to the Parley.

Spoile being done on both sides, as they all both English and Spanish were repayinge their hurts, it fell Calme: The Admiralls boate went with a Parley to the Carak which was not accepted, the wordes were theis, That the Spaniards should yeild to the Queene of England, and to the forces of her good Subject the Earle of Cumberland, or ells to abide the hazard of the Warrs, by sinking killing burning or drowning, as the other, Carak named the Cinquo Chagas obstinatlie endured: For manifestation of which overthrowe of the said Cinquo Chagas, there was then in the boat present two of her brave men, Nune Velio Perira and Bras Corea Captives brought to be shewed unto them. Whereunto the Captaine of the Carak (whose name here followeth) thus replied. Whereas your Generall ys a Brave man and in the service of his Queene and the Erle of Cumberland hath burned the Cinquo Chagas, tell him that my name is Don Lewys de Costinio and that I was at the taking and burninge of the Revenge the Queenes of England: Let him do as much as he can for his Queene, I will doe as much as I can for my Kinge, And withall streight waie he comanded the Admiralls boate to come noe nearer him to viewe his forces, but to depart. Imedeatlie after the retorne of the Admiralls boate the Mayflower (being next to the Carak in a calme) the Carak began with her and gave her her broade side, To aunswere her againe, the Mayflower gave her first one

The Mayflower againe in fight with the Carak.

side, and with the Skiff hailing about the Shipp gave her the other which was the last encounter that they had with her yett for all this even that verie same night Generall Cave callinge together before him his Leiuetennt Mr Thomas Baker now supplyinge in the Admirall the rest of this voyage also the aforesaid Capteine Nicholas Dounton in the Sampson and Captaine Thomas Greenwell who (after the death of the worthie Capteine William Anthony slayne as aforesaid) was sole comaunder of the Mayflower. All theis consulted of divers stratagemes either to take her or to make an end of her. But this conference tooke noe effect by reason the tyme was shorte, and the night approached.

The English
Captaines
doe conferr
but to little
purpose.

Carak went
soe well they
could not
fetch her

Tuesdaie the 2d of Julie aforesaid it proved a gale towards noone the Carak went soe finelie well they could not fetch her upp all that daie, the night followinge the Mayflower kept sight of her carrying a light for the Fleete. About midnight when they could scarce discern the Carak shee tacked about the Mayflower keeping sight tacked with her, and the Admirall followed the Mayflowers light, but the Sampson lost the Fleete that night, wherebie they two agreed to leave the Carak, and to seek the Sampson whome they feared to be distressed by a shott shee received in her fore maste: Duriinge which time while they were seekinge the Sampson and had found her, the Carak with large spread sayles winde convenient and sea roome at will was gotten to farr awaie from them past all pursuite and followinge anie further.

She gets
awaie from
them.

The Fleete
returne for
England.

their Arivall

Within fewe daies after the Fleet resolvinge to retorne for England on Mondaie the 8th of July weighed anchors set sayles, and with a westerlie winde plied homewards: where praised be God the Admirall Royal Exchange, and the Mayflower arived in the river of Thames on Tuesdaie the 6th of August Anno dict 1594. But the Sampson with the Carvell and Pynnesse arived in the begyninge of September followinge anno predict at Portesmouth there landing their men, The Admirall landinge her Generall with others at London he there lyinge at Phisick and surgerie languished soe longe of his great hurt that it growinge to an infestured and unrecoverable Phistilo havinge finished the race of a good soldier (and foughten the good fight of faith) he departed out of this life on Thursdaie the 5th of December 1594 and was buried and Interred in the Middle Isle before the Quire dore of St Gregories Church

The death
of ye Ad-
mirall

1 Tim. 1. 18.

his funerall
solemnized
1594

by Paules church in London on Thursdaie the 12th of the same moneth and yeare with a solemne sermon made, and his funerall accomplished with his faithfull frinds good captaines soldiers and saylers sorrowinge for the want of this their worthie Generall, whose bodie soe buried before their eyes, his virtues reviving in their mindes, his soule is doubtles ascended to the Joyes Celestiall, and his fame for ever amongst men in the vale Terrestriall; And thus an end of this eight voyage, But I must not forgett, the good and learned Captaine William Midleton who returninge from Sr Francis Drake voiage after this 1595 deceased at Famouth of which two Captaines my muse and penn shall thus conclude

The death
of the good
and learned
Capt. Midle-
ton 1595

Horat lib
4 Car

Scribe beati mortui Domino a Vocati soli deo gloria
Viros laude dignos vitat sed Musa mori Nam memorem
tamam qui bene gerunt habent

per me scriptorem

RIC: ROBINSON.

To add to this information Mr Oppenheim discovered in the Venetian State Papers of 28th July, 1594, a report from the Venetian Ambassador that the *Cinque Llagas* was the richest ship that had ever sailed from the East Indies, and that she was worth 2,000,000 ducats [equal now-a-days to some 3½ million sterling] and he added that her journey had been a fortunate one until she arrived at Angola where she took on board 400 negroes for sale in Spain. A virulent disease broke out amongst these blacks, which killed 500 persons in ten days, chiefly attacking the passengers and the crew.

One other interesting circumstance with regard to this voyage remains to be told.

Lord Cumberland, at that time, was somewhat out of favour at Court.

His enemies for once had been successful in their attacks, and his mismanagement of the fifth voyage and the squabbles over the *Madre de Dios* had all produced their effect upon the avaricious Queen.

Before the squadron actually sailed Elizabeth had issued orders to the effect that all ships brought in by it were to be searched. Of this very naturally he complained most bitterly, writing to the Lord High Admiral and to Sir Robert Cecil on May 26th¹, thus:

I have received your Honour's letters and perceive Her Majesty hath given direction that all such ships [as] are any way brought in for me, shall be, by such as she hath appointed, duly looked into, to the end that all things contained in the same ships and prizes may be truly certified.

There hath many more than I can now write richer come into England, not one of them wherein I was not interested thus searched, but sith it is my hap only to be made an example of these unusual courses, I will content myself with knowing I have better deserved assurance.

In time Her Majesty will blame them that to this advised her, and resolution to bear with patience all burdens shall be by Her Highness laid upon me. Those who adventure with me I know by proof do trust me, your lordship for your letter I doubt not will and if Her Majesty do not for so little a part as her custom, I have lived to an unhappy hour and hazarded my estate of life very vainly. Your Lordship writeth this is done for my good: I could answer, but that I will forbear till I see her to whom when I have uttered what I am bound in duty, I will wish myself with Him that only knows what will be the end of these courses.

There is no evidence, so far as we have been able to ascertain, in any State Papers or other Records, that this right of search was insisted upon, and the order was probably one of the petty injuries under which those of Elizabeth's Court had to suffer, when in any way they had incurred the displeasure of their despotic mistress. In this case, no doubt, she remembered the rich spoil that was stolen from the *Madre de Dios*.

The only other letter of this period, amongst the Cecil

¹ Cecil MSS. iv. 537.

papers, which we have been able to find, was written by Cumberland to Sir Robert Cecil on the 29th of June, 1594¹, concerning the son of the Mayor of London.

He writes to say that he has moved Lord Burghley for the wardship of the son of a countryman of his, now Mayor of London², who was dying, and has a grant that it shall be stayed. He begs Cecil's furtherance of the matter.

Finally, amongst the Bolton Abbey papers, we come upon a letter to Lord Burghley, respecting the land of the Earl of Arundel, to whom Lord Cumberland writes thus:

To my very good Lord the Lord High Tresorer of Englande.

My very good Lord

1 Sept. 1594.

Since I last moued your lordship to favor my Lord Tomas³ in his sute, Sir Jo. Forteskew hath delte with her maie, in it, who, after muche speeche (as he sayethe), concluded, not unwyllingle, to grante what my lord desiered (but in fee-farme) and, for any thyng I can perceve, grew in to that eumer by Sir Jo. soe movyng it to hir, wher in he hath donne my lord a myghty displeasure; for I assure your lordship in that kynde it will not be worthe any thyng. To releve this harme I hope it will not be harde sethe it may be may do apparante to her majestie to be as I informe your lordship and that in grantyng the fee-simple she geveth but 120L. and 2 or 3 pound for the lyfe of my lord of Arundayll and his sunne, then w'ch hir majestie connot (gevyng any thyng to suche a man) geve lesse, and that she meanes to him sumthyng is well sene by this sayd already, so as I well hope your lordship's favor nowe showed will easely effecte my lords desier macke me muche bound to you for it, and him to you in loue, whom, I assure your lordship for his firme disposition, and true honesty, is as well worthe hauyng as any man lyveth. If your lordship when you ar w'th the Quine,

¹ Cecil MSS. iv. 554.

² The Lord Mayor in 1593-4 was Sir Cuthbert Buckle, Vintner, who was seriously ill in June 1594, made his will on the 28th of that month, and died on the first of July.

³ Probably Lord Thomas Howard, but what are the details concerning his suit, we cannot say.

will but offer speeche that my lord admeral may be cauled to you, he will faule in to my lord because, he is instructed well in it, and will (I dout not) macke very playne to be but a very tryflynge demand, out of which your lordship if soe you lyke, may tacke best occation to favour him; if not, I pray your lordship co'mand me to wayte upon youe at your leasuer, and lett me know what other course you will derecte, for my lord meanethe hooly to depend upon your derECTION. Your lordship to c'mand,

GEORGE CUMBERLAND.

My lord admeraule is already instructed.

CHAPTER XII

1595. THE NINTH VOYAGE

LORD CUMBERLAND'S ninth voyage was a notable one in several ways, though brief and unsuccessful. Two reasons for the adventure are well set out by Purchas in the short narrative which he gives. They were his "ill partage" in the *Madre de Dios* and the "unhappier losse of two Carricks" in the last voyage, "for want of sufficient strength to take them."

In addition to these, Monson tells us that Captain Crosse had returned, ill and empty handed, driven home by want of provisions and sickness on board, and had brought news of treasure galleons at Puerto Rico which had excited the cupidity of all who "had remained" in England.

Lord Cumberland determined therefore that he would take up the pursuit and try in some novel way to secure success.

He decided to use as his Admiral's vessel a ship of his own building, rather than one from the Royal Navy, and to make all his own arrangements concerning her.

He had heard from Crosse that much of the illness on board his vessels was caused, so he was convinced, by bad food, that his crew had been cheated of sound provisions by the contractors and that in fact the fraudulent victuallers had done more harm than the enemy.

All this Cumberland was determined to alter, and to see that his crew enjoyed not merely adequate and substantial food, but that it was of sound quality.

Crosse's letter is important and worth quoting in full. It was addressed to Sir Robert Cecil and the original is still preserved amongst the Cecil MSS. It reads thus:

I have been hopeful to commend unto your Honour some acceptable news, but so hath God disposed of my laboursome endeavours as they yield no better fruit than the safe return of Her Majesty's ship to Plymouth. I have ever desired to do my dutiful service for Her Majesty, for the furtherance whereof I have now both employed my uttermost labours and spent largely of my poor estate; for the ill success whereof I may justly condemn such victuals as are officed to furnish Her Majesty's ships, whose abuses are greater lets to sea service than any policy or act of the enemy. Thus I am forced to return to my great grief, constrained thereto by the want of water, beer and many other very necessary provisions, as also by the infection and sickness of the company, which have specially proceeded from the corruption of ill victuals laid aboard by the officers. From these abuses arise loss of great expenses and labour, and by reason of them, men either disobey Her Majesty's commission or fall into mutinies, of all which I can now speak by experience, and will (God willing) signify the particulars when you please to command me.

I have effected her Majesty's commission so far as my power extended, and observed such directions as were set down by my Lord Admiral, Sir Francis Drake and Sir John Hawkins, whose performance of promise had in reason given a more successful event to my voyage than hath befallen me, since by our being together we might have extended ourselves in a greater circuit, and by that means have met with the two carricks which (as I certified your Honour) came into Lisbon the second of August. But notwithstanding I attended them according to their determined appointment, I never saw them nor had I company of my Lord of Cumberland's ships, whose wants were (in common sense) the assured lets that I could not see those carricks. I met with divers other ships, but they were all Flemings, except one Baskyn, which I burned, and a fly boat which I sent to Barbary for water, hoping thereby to be relieved and enabled to abide longer at sea, and to attend the coming home of the West India Fleet. At the same time I lost the *Crane* in a fog, for when I sought, in the height which I appointed them to keep twenty-eight days, but could not find her. Contrary winds likewise have hindered the return of the fly boat and by importunate petitions of the company and in regard of their extremities I was forced to come for England. Yet at our first departure from thence I abated a canne of beer from their accustomed allowance, and since, for the space of two months, have allowed them but two cans to a man, which restraint I ordered because I ever resolved to do for Her Majesty some acceptable service.

I doubt not but some will judge of me according to my present success but I am comforted that in your honourable consideration

and approved judgement I shall be found faithful and willing to accomplish Her Majesty's command.

The first of October from aboard H.M.S. *Swiftsure* at 5 o'clock in the afternoon¹.

Robinson tells us that Lord Cumberland "buylte a Newe Greate shipp of his owne at Depthforde strand of 900 tonnes which the Queenes Majestie herself launched and named the *Malice Scourge* or *Scourge of Malice*," and with this he proposed to take command of his squadron. Purchas gives the same tonnage as Robinson. Monson puts her at 800 tons, and she was later described in the books of the East India Company as of 600 tons.

Purchas says that this "was the best ship that ever before had beene built by any subject."

That she was a fine vessel is proved by the fact that not only did she make three good voyages for Cumberland but afterwards did excellent service for the East India Company, her eventual possessors, and for them made five voyages more.

The Admiral's Warrant Books refer to the sale of certain specially fine timbers from Deptford and Woolwich yards to one Edward Stevens for use "in building the Earl of Cumberland's ship called the *Mal Scourge*" at a cost of £22. 9s. 6d.

For her, Cumberland did his own victualling, laying in an ample store, he tells us, of good food, and then he prepared to set sail, intending to be accompanied by the *Alcedo*, the *Anthony* and the old *Frigate*.

The Queen granted him two special commissions under Great Seal permitting him by the first, which was dated March 28th, 1595,

"to victual and arm for sea the *Malescourage* and such other ships and pinnaces" . . . "not exceeding 6" . . . and commanding that "all prizes that shall be taken by you or by any person or persons appointed by you are to be brought into the most convenient haven without breaking bulk or making any distribution of shares until our further pleasure is known²."

¹ Cecil MSS. v. 397. ² S.P. Eliz. CCLI. 21.

By a second, later, document however dated in April (no day given) she gave him far fuller and more easy terms ordering him :

“to weaken the force of those who are hostilely disposed against us and to destroy the forces of the subjects of the King of Spain,” and granting to the adventurers “the value of any prizes taken by them without account saving £10,000 on every carrack bound from Portugal for the Indies or £20,000 on any from the Indies to Portugal. With like powers to the deputy of the said Earl should he himself return from sea¹.”

This was obviously a far better arrangement for Lord Cumberland than the haphazard one it superseded, for having his own ship² he was relieved of the grave anxiety of endangering the loss of a ship of the Royal Navy, a burden which had pressed heavily upon him in past years.

Monson expressly states that he

began discreetly to consider the obligation he had to the Queene for the loan of her ships from time to time and withal weighed what fear of danger he brought himself into, if unluckily any of those ships should miscarry.

We have already seen that Elizabeth had issued orders against boarding from her ships, for fear of their destruction by fire, or serious injury with grappling irons, and such a command had hampered the Admiral's movements very seriously.

Moreover, Elizabeth was not to be offended with impunity, and the loss of an important vessel might have had awkward results for the Admiral of the Fleet, however highly placed or influential a person he might have been. All this difficulty was to be avoided by the use of Lord Cumberland's own ship.

¹ S.P. Eliz. CCLI. 34. Another patent dated May 9th, 1595, is given in full in Rymer's *Fœdera*, xvi. p. 273.

² What is said to be an illustration of her appears in Hakluyt, 1853, volume on the *Voyage to Bantam*, but it is evidently a conjectural representation only. (See Ac. 6172, xvii. Plate 2, B.M.)

Lord Cumberland, having obtained his commission and its appendix, went on board his ship, and made preparations for sailing. From it he sent an important and interesting letter to Sir Robert Cecil on January 16th, 1595/6:

“I did undoubtedly believe,” says he, “these stormy and contrary winds (against which there is no possibility for man to work) would not have left any expectation of my being farther than I am but since it is thought otherwise let this satisfy you. Upon my credit there are many poor men whose living is only trading in small barks along the shore and many being able to put into every creek adventure when great ships dare not hath lain laden this six weeks and cannot get 10 leagues to the west ward but still put back.

As it doth not a little grieve [me] (that have at no small charge prepared these ships to do Her Majesty service) to have it thought I would lose the least opportunity of effecting it, so the conceit of my spoiling Flemings heartily troubleth me, to think (never yet having run that course) I should now be no better thought of.

This only comforteth me, my action shall clear all these unjust informations and thereafter discredit what those reporters speak of me.

I have received Her Majesty's warrant for strengthening my last commission, it doth appoint to return by the end of March which if God permit, I will not fail of, except Her Majesty allow further liberty which I think may be for her service. Since coming hither I met a man born in Hamburg who hath two brothers gone masters of the ships that went about Ireland with the King's provisions and undoubtedly assures me they come out of Lisbon the latter end of March rich laden besides nigh the same time there comes thither another fleet from Hamburg.

This man though it cost me dear I have got to go with me and he biddeth me strike off his head if I meet them not so I will stay upon the coast for them which without Her Majesty's leave I dare not do though great pity it were to miss them.

Wherefore I pray you let me receive Her Majesty's pleasure by your letter.

In all humbleness I beseech you present my humble duty to her sacred Majesty for whose services I desire only to live.

From aboard the *Malis Scourge* 16 January 1595¹.

Quite suddenly, however, all the plans for this voyage were altered.

¹ Cecil MSS. VI. 14.

Eight ships of the fleet came into Plymouth on June 9th, with Captain Goddard, one of Lord Cumberland's servants, bringing news that one of the precious carracks had been met at "Cape Roca" and captured by Hawkins who had secured great treasure. He also said that on the report of Drake's coming, the Canaries and the Azores, were being refortified, and all shipping was stayed in Portuguese ports for three months.

Moreover, the garrison at Lisbon had been largely augmented, no ships were sailing from that port at the moment and because of the alarm other carracks on their way back from the Indies, had either put into port or altered their course.

Cumberland changed his plans accordingly and wrote to Sir Robert Cecil to the effect that as he never wished to go to sea, except with a certain likelihood of success, he had, after reaching Plymouth, decided again to return to London.

It must be remembered that by the wording of the commission of April, he could this time appoint a Deputy, who would have the same privilege as he would have enjoyed if he had been on board. The disaster, which happened on a previous occasion when he changed his mind, was not to be repeated this time.

The letter reads thus:

1595. June 30. So far contrary to my resolution when I came from you is my course altered as I take no pleasure to write to any nor would if I feared not my return without Her Majesty heard some reason for [it] would be miscentered. I had the best manned ship, I think, that ever went out of England, Sir Francis Drake told me he knew that went in her fourscore able to take charge. For good sailing and excellent working it is not possible to amend her and I had my health as well as ever in my life. But when I was even ready to go there came news by a man of war that she met one of the garracks at the Rock which put me in such a fear that I should come short of them, they always going forth of the India together, as I returned, not meaning ever to go to sea myself but when good reason doth draw me well to see certain likelihood of a happy

voyage. Another journey may recover again what now I lose, if I lose, but my own going, idly, I will not, upon slight grounds, adventure. I have given directions so precisely as I am sure if anything be come they are in fair possibility. I have left Langton the commander who, I know, if they meet anything, will have it, or I shall never see him; and all my company hath promised me to be governed as I were myself there.

I perceived by a letter from my Lord Admiral that Her Majesty was much offended I should desire to carry a flag where Captain Crosse in her ships was.

Sir John Burragh in a ship of his own did; it was not only without offence taken, but by Captain Crosse yielded to, and at home allowed of. But well, it is my fortune, who will ever strive to deserve as well, whatsoever disgrace is laid upon me, as any that liveth. Excuse me for going into the North, necessity forced, being without money, having much to pay, presently, there only to get it, and from this place London 9 or 10 score mile about. Thus with the lips of my heart kissing her Majesty's sacred hands, I wish her all highest happiness. From Tawestock. 30 June 1595¹.

Evidently the existence of this letter was not known to Purchas, who adopts in his narrative the statement that was given out to the captains and crew as the reason for the return, to the effect that, "Her Majestie by Sir Francis Drake and Sir John Hawkins sent for him to returne, which commandement his Lordship," adds Purchas, "obeyed."

Robinson tells the same tale—"before his Honour," says he, "was redy to take shipping her Majesty sent for him back ageane from Plymouth by Sir Fra: Drake and Sr John Hawkyns Knighte."

Monson resented the change of plan. Whether he knew the real reason is not clear, probably he did not, but in any case Monson expected, and with some reason, to have been Vice-Admiral under Lord Cumberland and therefore to be in charge of the expedition if the Earl himself did not go, but he found that Captain Langton had been preferred to him.

It was proof to Monson of what he says "he had

¹ Cecil MSS. v. 261-2.

(already) just cause to suspect; the inconstant friendship of my Lord of Cumberland," and in a huff he decided to sail on his own account. What more was the reason of the quarrel it is impossible to say, but from that moment Monson transferred his services to Lord Essex to whom he had been attached for a long time, and who, he probably thought, was able to do him more service than could Lord Cumberland.

Monson therefore took the *Alcedo*, and went off on his own account, while the *Scourge*, the *Anthony* under Captain Daniel Jarrett, and the *Frigate* under Captain James Langton, set sail towards the Azores.

Little success attended their efforts.

Their first capture was a carvell of 100 tons from St Thomas laden with sugar, and their later success "three Dutch ships of the East Countries laden with wheat, copper, and other munitions and provisions for the King of Spaine."

In the interval between these two exploits they attacked a great ship the *Saint Thomas*, "Vice Admirall of the King of Spaine's fleet lying for the waftage of the East and West Indian fleetes," but, after a severe fight, they lost her in the fog and then having "spent their victuals" they had no option but to return home.

The fight was evidently severe for a while, as Robinson says:

they fought with the Kinge of Spaynes Viz-Admirall whome they had almoste suncke and spoylled many of men yet but a fewe of oure English men lost all that tyme. So as with great difficulty and much adoo shee made all the saylles shee coulde to recover her Consortes who kept themselves aloof and were loath to come within daunger of this his Honoures Fleete.

Robinson states that he had his account of this voyage from the mouth of one Richard Hicheman a seaman, "a follower of his Honor in most of his voyages and one of his Servantes at this day."

To ensure the success of this voyage and to give its Commander the widest powers, Elizabeth had issued, in addition to the two Patents already named, to her "worthy Cousin" Lord Cumberland the fourth of the six Patents that are amongst the Clifford Papers and to which allusion has been made. This was dated 9th May, 1595, in the 37th year of the Queen's reign and by it she gives him permission "to provide, victual, furnish and arm to sea in hostile and warlike manner the *Malice Scourge*" which, says she, "he had built at great charge." She permits him to invade and destroy the possession of any of her enemies and as in all the others, grants full powers of life and death and all the usual clauses concerning crews, commanders and prizes.

It seems probable that, as Lord Cumberland did not go on this voyage, he desired to spend part of the year at Skipton Castle and to make enquiries of Lady Cumberland who was staying at Carlton concerning the condition of the house and especially of the Long Gallery in it.

It is likely that a letter from Lady Cumberland, which only bears as date the figures 26, may have been in reply to such an enquiry and one from Lord Cumberland, again without date, a further reply to it.

Probably also a letter from Southampton of January 18th belongs to this year. The figures 159 on the date are quite clear but the final one may be a 5 or an 8. It does not appear to us to be a 5 and we are more inclined to attribute the letter to 1598.

It reads thus:

The bearer, who is most kind to me, hath made me acquainted with a thing, which he thinketh would be easily come by, and very beneficial if I could procure it. For that myself am absent, I thought good to refer him to thee, who, as thou thinkest best, may deal in it, for though I have no great hope to get such a thing, yet that I thought it not amiss to refer him to thee, by which means it may be stayed from others dealing in by his information till I return,

till when and ever I wish thee all God's best blessings. From Southampton, this XVIII of January, 1595 [or more probably 1598].

Your loving husband, GEORGE CUMBERLAND.

To my Loving wife the Countess of Cumberland.

Lady Cumberland's letter is as follows:

My own dear Lord, though much be my desire to possess my greatest joy yet when I hear what good credit you gave I am satisfied with absence wishing myself there to behold myself most and wholly content when you are furthest from company. I have received your Lordship's many kind lines which next to your presence I prefer as most welcome of all the world. Your Lordship refers the direction of all things to me and as far as I can your pleasure shall be my leader. I have sent to see the gallery at Skipton what may be done, their opinion is it is impossible to be roofed or dressed any other way again this time besides hangings will [be] very hard to get. For the rest of the chamber when we have all that my good sister Wharton can spare who is very ill and hath sent for Master Denham after her old manner. I sent Withrington to be with her a night or two and then she was reasonably well but she never came so hardly by any of the others as by this yet she says certainly she will [come] to Skipton before Easter. I am very glad to hear my Aunt Montague will come I think seeing the gallery cannot be made fit the wardrobe will be the best room for my sister of Warwick and the "helmente" chamber for my Aunt Montague I wish that as soon as might be your Lordship were here yourself I will not be persuaded it can be well afore I know not to my liking for where you are absent my delight is wanting. For the £100 your Lordship wrote on the steward had sent before to Renolde "Hardly" who says he sent it open to your Lordship but I humbly thank your Lordship I received £41 when I was at "Coltrope" which will serve me and pay some of my debts I have sent up a note of weighty wants for living for the house and if your Lordship's purse be not fit to buy then Farrant to send me word that I may borrow as much if it be possible for truly it must needs be had and once bought it will serve longer than any can live by course of years to wear it out. And thus I leave desiring the Almighty to send you happy success in soul and body to his glory and your comfort from Carelton 26.

Your Lordships as professed

MAR CUMBERL.

Endorsed—To my honourable dear lord and husband the Earl of Cumberl give this.

and her husband's reply is:

My Sweet Meg,

Sooth desire lack thee to write at large, as I wish, I must in few desire that he may at some times be thought of, who hath never any quiet till he return where he only is contented. For the hangings which you wrote to Robert Lee for, I have seen them. Till I come to thee, I have sent you by this bearer the gun and the train you told me of, and if I have, forgotten aught, as it is not far unlike but I have seeing myself, wanted myself, if I may again be remembered, it shall not be forgotten, and thus, my own Meg, wishing more good hap to thee than ever all the world hath had, I end

Thine, never to be removed,

GEORGE CUMBERLAND.

To my loving wife the Countess of Cumberland.

One other letter from Lady Cumberland belongs to this period. It was evidently written from the Court at Greenwich, where Lady Cumberland was in attendance upon the Queen, and was addressed to the Lord Keeper on April 8th, 1595. It concerns a person of the name of Ryther, in whom it is evident Lady Cumberland was taking some interest, and on whose behalf she wrote to Lord Burghley.

The letter appears among the Julius Caesar MSS. in the British Museum, and reads as follows:

My honourable good Lord, I hope (by this time) yo^r Lordshipp dothe well perceave howe this poore gent. Mr. Ryther hath beene dealt withall by his adversaryes, whose proceedings against him (to his utter overthrowe) as doth appeare, hath beene onely upon malice and not of any Just cause holdenn by them, but notwithstandinge, he farr unable to withstand so stronge an eniyme, being fully bent with all their myghte to execute their mallice, in regarde wherof onelesse yt please your lordshipp (as alwayes you have done) to favoure his Cause, I feare his undoinge. Earnestly requesting your good lordshipp as heretofore he hath found your most Just dealinge towards him, (whose cheifest desyre is to redress suche wronges) that yt would please yow still to continew the same Course and so farr forth as your lordshipp Lawfullie May to affecte his Cause, and not to suffer these lewde practises to those evill disposed

persons, to enter into your lordshipp conceipte, which I nothinge doubt of, but commending my self unto your lordshipp and to your good lady to whome I wishe all content.

Greenwiche this viijth of Aprill 1595.

Youer to redy frind

MARG CUMBERLANDE.

Address—To the Right ho: my verie good Lord¹
the Lord Keeper geve this (Seal gone).

It is probable that the allusion was to Augustin Ryther the engraver, who executed a series of charts and maps in 1590, concerning the overthrow of the Spanish fleet, and the final defeat of the Armada, which he dedicated to Lord Howard of Effingham. The maps themselves were, it would appear, the work of Robert Adams, the Queen's Surveyor, and they are stated to be the most important record of the Spanish Armada which exists. Ryther mentions in his dedication that it took him two years to engrave the plates. It has been said that these charts, or the drawings for them, were the basis for the tapestries of the Spanish Armada which were formerly in the House of Lords. It is suggested that Ryther desired some special payment for his plates, or possibly he had been defrauded of his rights in some way, in connection with his book².

To the same period belong two more letters Lord Cumberland wrote to Sir Julius Caesar (see p. 69), one of which was written on board the *Malice Scourge*, the other undated, but evidently alluding to the same voyage. In the first he writes:

Mr Cesar As I have heretofore bene in sundrye occasions beholden unto youe so nowe I shall agaen earnestly intreate youe in the behallffe of this bearer my servante who nowe is to goy to sea wth me in this voiage a man very necessary for my service therin. And is nowe by processe out of the hyghe courte of the Admyralty called

¹ Brit. Mus. Harl. MS. 6997-7.

² Ames, *Typo. Antiq.* ed. Herbert, also *D.N.B.*; and Thoresby's *Vic. Leod.* 1724, 90.

uppe for a matter comytted and done agaenste certayne Hamborough shippes eyghte yeares sence. And this bearer then at the doinge therof was but a pryvatt man neyther captayne nor maister or other officer in the Shippe that so offended. I pray youe therfore in regarde herof as also that I may have him agaen in dewe tyme that youe will the more spedely dispatche him in his cause and to lye upon him as reasonable penaltie as in justice youe may. So shall youe still mayke me more beholden to youe wherof I doy not doupte and so wth my harty comendaces I comytt you to god from aborde my Shippe the *Malice Scourge* neare the Ile Wyghte this XXth January¹.

Your lovyng frynd

GEORGE CUMBERLAND.

Address—To my very lovinge
Frende Doctor
Cesarr Judge in the
Highe Courte of the
Admiraltye gyve these.

The second letter reads thus :

Mr Docter my comendacons

thesse ar to desyre yow, that yow will make me this lettre of reprisall wth as muche as yow can, for I have spoke with my L. Admyrall and he hathe spoken unto the Register for my quicke dispatche, therfor I pray yow with all spead possible yow can, that yow will dispatche this bearer my servant, who shall certefye howe my state stands in this matter. thus trustinge you will be myndfull of the premyses I cease promysinge yow upon my honour that yf I may stand yow in any stead, I will not be unmyndfull of this your curtesyes farwell from²

Your friend to use

GEORGE CUMBERLAND.

Address—To y^r Woorshipfull my
lovinge freind Mr
Doctor Caesar
dd thesse.

¹ Brit. Mus. Add. MSS. 12506, fol. 97.

² *Ibid.* 12506, fol. 83.

CHAPTER XIII

THE YEARS 1595 AND 1596 AND CADIZ

THE part that Cumberland played in the great movements of 1596 was not of outstanding importance although it is clear that he was more or less behind the scenes. On January 11th he wrote to Sir Robert Cecil, but the letter is not specially important to us.

He wrote thus¹:

I entreat your pardon that I write not of my own hand which now I well cannot do by reason my Lord of Derby is with me. I have spoken with the party I told you of and find him of the same mind he was of neither can I get him to send for any one man.

A little while later, all that we can say of him is that he was in poor health and that his sickness increased during the summer and he was ordered to Bath. He was away from London in June as a letter he wrote to Sir R. Cecil on June 13th testifies, but the letter does not state from whence it was written. It reads thus²:

I have now with much ado got myself free of London and hope to see you in better state than now I am in.

Though many in better terms may proffer firm friendship none shall compare with me in performing all dues when best cause shall be to try it. I must for want of leisure move you by this bearer, in a matter, which if with convenience you may, it shall much pleasure me.

By August he was better and able to do some hunting in the west of England but still on his way to Bath, which he did not reach till October. Perchance however it was his second visit to the place in the same year.

¹ Cecil MSS. v. 83.

² *Ibid.* v. 239, and a recent letter from Mr R. T. Gunton.

On August 15th he wrote again to Sir R. Cecil and says:

Want of means hath kept me thus long from writing to you: and Yorkshire barren of all news, affords nothing worth your knowing, only now my desire to see you hath made me send this bearer, that I may know when (most fitting for you) I may come and return unknown; not willing, for some respects I will tell you, to come near the Court yet.

I purpose to hunt towards the Bath, and when hunting is done, to tarry there sometime for my health, which I thank God is better than it was this long time, but, my advisers tell me, by it shall be confirmed. Do my duty, pray you, to your honourable Lady, and hold me ever as yours firm, which be sure I ever will be, and so wish you all your heart's desire.

From Tilford¹.

15. Aug. 1595.

By the 25th he had reached Oxford and thence despatched to Cecil, by one of his servants, a setter, named "Philyda," regarding whom he writes thus:

If my man had been come to Oxford your messenger had come too late, so religiously all promises to you shall be remembered. Since he is here, I have sent her by him. Her name is Philyda. If your man hit right how to use her, you shall see the best setter in England, and when she hath set your tassel in his best flying if [I] be not deceived, I will shew you another shall look upon his back, and you shall command him as anything else is mine².

Oxford 25 August 1595.

We have one letter from him to Lady Cumberland announcing his journey to Oxford, where she was with the Court. In it he says:

Meg,

It is true, as thou hast heard, that Farrand is come, but that he brought us so great sums of money, believe me, was not he did, and what turn it served, thou shalt know when I see thee, which shall be, God willing, before Christmas, for I will be with thee all that time at Oxenford, and bring Will Ingleby (whom I pray thee, make some shift to get a chamber for) with me. Farrand and Jo Tayler shall also come, but these may shift anywhere. At

¹ Cecil MSS. v. 323.

² *Ibid.* v. 347.

my coming down, I will bring what money possible I can with me. In the meantime, I pray thee, be contented. Three days since you should have heard from me, but I stayed to write thee word, what should become of me upon this sending, for which yet not knowing, I would stay no longer. As soon as I do, which is told me shall be this day, thou shalt again hear from me, but, to tell thee my opinion, I shall no way be employed for the working against me is infinite. So, not having any news to write thee, I end, wishing thee all best fortunes and us both, well settled somewhere from the trouble of this uncertain and miserable time.

Thine only and ever,

GEORGE CUMBERLAND.

To my loving wife,
The Countess of Cumberland.

There is a slight allusion to him in the State Papers of October in that year. An express messenger was sent to Lord Burghley on October 28th advising him of the arrival at Plymouth of "a flyboat laden with corn taken by Lord Cumberland's ship and in her was Capt. Preston." Lord Burghley was prayed to send a messenger at once giving permission for the corn to be sold "as the country standeth in great need of it," and it was mentioned that corn that day was "9/- to 10/- a Bushel in Plymouth and like to be dearer."

So urgent was the need for the corn that the messenger rode hot haste and actually accomplished the long journey from Plymouth to Hertford Bridge in Hampshire, where Lord Burghley was staying (probably with the Wallops), in thirty-one hours. He left Plymouth at noon as the letter itself bears witness, for the hour of its despatch is marked upon it, and he changed horses at Ashburton, Exeter, Honiton, Crewkerne, Sherborne, Shaftesbury, Salisbury, Andover and Basingstoke, arriving at Hertford Bridge at seven in the evening of the 29th, a splendid feat of horsemanship. A report on the value of the wheat dated November 1st and made at Portsmouth appears in the State Papers¹.

¹ Cecil MSS. v. 433 and State Papers, Dom. Series, CCLIV. 121.

The only other letter of any importance relative to this period is one from Clerkenwell, addressed by Lord Cumberland to Sir Anthonie Standen, dated the 22nd March, 1595/6. It is merely a formal communication, introducing a Mr Thomas, in whose favour Lord Cumberland wrote fully, and in high terms, declaring that Sir Anthonie could repose full confidence in him. The letter is preserved in the British Museum amongst the Bacon Papers¹.

Then we have no further news of him till we come upon a long letter to Lord Thomas Howard and Sir Robert Cecil, jointly, and from it we learn that an important movement was under consideration and that it was desirable that it should be authorised by the Queen.

He writes this joint epistle from Portsmouth on December 21st, saying:

Having now understood that the ships of Hamburg are gone about Ireland, all saving three, and that they were laden plentifully with all manner of warlike provisions; though it grieve me I cannot do her Majesty the service I would, yet doth it the less trouble me that nobody pays for it but myself, and that it shall neither be accounted unluckiness in myself that I speed not nor blameful, seeing her Majesty is not charged. I have needfully observed the winds since I came, and both by mine reason and by the report of a ship newly come into Dartmouth, I do conjecture, that these ships cannot yet get about Scotland; so as having no other use of all my victual I have provided, and knowing that I must be going further southward of necessity meet either with those or some other ships which carry provisions for the composition of this great navy, and be able daily to send intelligence of his preparations, I have thought it my part to acquaint your Lordship with my purpose, and to remember you, Sir Ro. Cecil, for a letter from the Queen authorising my doings; for though I shall be as careful of her Majesty's subjects as of my own well doing yet if I shall lose but a man, having nothing to show for my warrant my danger is more than willingly I would adventure. Therefore, if her Majesty will not trouble herself with a commission, if I may but receive two lines under her hand, to continue my former last commission at my

¹ Add. MSS. (Birch MSS.) 4123 (81), 41.

going out this summer, it shall be sufficient. I will not fail to send you advertisement both often and the truth of what can be learned from those come out of Spain.

No man can look for much to be performed now (the grounds of my projects being altered) so I am sure her Majesty will think that whatsoever I am able I will do¹.

Portsmouth 21 December 1595.

Now we come to the eventful and harassing year 1596 and to the deliberations over the attack upon Cadiz, for which the fleet had been preparing, in secret, for a considerable time. The vacillation of Elizabeth during this momentous year had grave effects, for while she was alternately giving and rescinding her permission, Calais fell at length into the hands of the Spaniards and its possession was a serious menace to England's naval power.

Cumberland appears to have given out all the time that his voyage was merely to be to France but it is clear he knew all about the project Howard had in contemplation and was himself to have taken part in it. He thus wrote to Sir R. Cecil concerning his delay:

1596. Feb. 3. After being long detained by contrary winds I am setting sail, well furnished for my purpose. I hope to do her Majesty good service, and by my actions to clear former mistakes and defend myself from unjust informers who seek credit by depraving others.

...I hope soon to write more certainly. I am setting sail for the coast of France and if the wind will let me still further. I am taking four or five small pinnaces on purpose to send back if necessary. I forbear writing to Her Majesty, as I have nothing worth her reading, but present my humblest duty, and pray that her health and life may be long preserved.

He sends word, at the same time, about a great Spanish fleet of carracks on the way to the Indies and of a new Flemish vessel for which Howard was to search².

There is another letter on the same subject dated February 2nd. It was at one time amongst the Bolton

¹ Cecil MSS. v. 503.

² State Papers, Eliz. CCLVI. 170.

Abbey Papers but cannot now be found. In it Lord Cumberland writes to Lord Burghley thus:

I perceive by your Lordship's speech at the consultation yesterday what is Her Majesty desiereth to have this yeare donne agaynst the Spanyards by sea. I have considered which may best (to Hir Hi[ghnesses] likyng) it may be effected; and fyndyng in my concete good lyklyhood to performe it boothe for Hir Majesty's safty and profit I much desier to make your Lordship aquanted with my opinion.

He then proceeds to ask for an appointment with the Lord Treasurer.

Within a few days he is writing again to Cecil much to the same effect thus:

I received yours whilst dispatching the confessions made before the mayor's deputy of Plymouth to certain skippers and others of the company whom I have lately brought in thither. The Ships having run aground and being very leaky I have taken out all the sugars and other commodities belonging to the Spaniards for the ships could not bring them further without spoiling. I have left in the oranges which belonged to the skippers and despatched them for their own country... The confessions showing much kindness to the King of Spain and little to Her Majesty I am as content at taking them as though they were rich prizes, striving more to serve Her Majesty than profit myself. I send up the letters lest there be anything in them that should be known. I have a fair wind I am going out, hearing of 5 carracks to go out next month and all the Hamburgers that carried cordage and other provisions returning laden with spoils; I hope to meet some of them¹.

9 February 1596.

Then follow two other letters within short intervals. On February 19th he writes:

...I have been unable from the weather either to send eastward what I took, or to get to sea, though lying at great charge. I am sanguine of success and hope, by lying on the coast, not to be discovered till those I look for come forth...¹,

and the following day (February 20th) he sends up the examination of one Thomas Saunders, an Irishman,

¹ State Papers, Eliz. CCLVI. 173 and 174.

one of Hawkins company, who escaped from prison at St Lucar.

“He had been taken,” says Cumberland, “two years before” and gives a great deal of information as to Spanish ships sent out after Drake, “thirty with 2000 people sailing from Guiana” and others which have just left Cadiz¹.

Now, however, events began to move more swiftly. The Queen, at length, had really decided to invade the realm of the King of Spain, although whether she had actually contemplated, what Essex and Howard desired, the permanent occupation of Cadiz, “a thorn sticking in the foot” of the King of Spain as Vere called it: is not so clear. However, the commissions were drafted and sent by Lord Burghley to the Clerk of the Signet.

Lord Burghley himself wrote on March 16th sending to Windebank, Clerk of the Signet, two commissions for Cumberland and the Lord High Admiral, desiring the docquets may be read to the Queen as containing the substance of all their powers for levies and the government of her forces and of the ships appointed for this great action.

He had been importuned, he said, by the two Lords to prepare them and had done so. “If Her Majesty signs them,” says he, “send them privately to the Great Seal as it is not fit that their content should be publicly known yet².”

The Clerk duly presented them and, to his amazement, the Queen signed at once and then, instead of keeping the contents secret, told Essex she had done so. Then began again the usual vacillation. It was on a Sunday she signed but when in Church in the middle of the sermon the Queen signalled for Windebank and told him he was to stay “those things which

¹ State Papers, Eliz. CCLVI. 173 and 174.

² *Ibid.* CCLVI. 188; and Cecil MSS. VI. 101.

she had signed" and to send for Cecil as she desired to consult him further.

We must not follow out all the details of this long considered and often abandoned, attack upon Cadiz nor of the circumstances that preceded it.

News, however, arrived soon after, that Drake had been repulsed at Porto Rico, and later on, that Hawkins had been killed and his expedition had ended in disaster.

There followed the capture by the Spaniards of the Rysbank Fort, the pivot of the land approach to Calais; a week later, the news of the occupation of Calais¹, the central fortress only remaining in French hands: while a few days later still, London heard with great dismay that the fortress itself had fallen and Calais was actually a Spanish port.

¹ Sir Thomas Vere in a letter to Lord Essex written at this time says that the States General had an antipathy to Lord Cumberland and would send no shipping for the siege of Calais if he had command.

His determined attitude however appears soon after to have subdued the States General, and they waived their determination. See Cecil MSS. VII. 130.

A letter from Lord Cumberland to Lord Burghley which was at one time amongst the Bolton Abbey papers but has been lost in the past 40 years, probably relates to this occupation. It reads thus:

"To the ryght honorable my very good Lo. Hygh Tresorer of England.
20 Feb.

My Good Lord,

Upon a letter from her majestie co'mandyng me to repare with my fleete to the rode of Callis, and to brjng with me all such shipps as I should fynd fitt to doe hir servis ther, I comanded tooe shipps in the harbor of Porchmouth, and three at the Cowes, good shipps, and laden w'th nyne companynes of soulgerrs, out of France, to returne with me. Sir He. Poure, their coronell, writte me word that before ther cu'myng from the Dounes the Spanyards aryvall at Callis was knowne, yett they were suffered to procede. Soe, doubting least I should dooe amisse, I have stayed them, to remayne where they be till further derection cum for them, w'ch I pray your lordship maye be sent, soe that they depend upon it. My selfe am nowe gooeinge towardses Douer wher, if hir mai. have any thynge to co'mande me, I will be redy to obey it.

Your lordships to co'mand,

GEORGE CUMBERLAND."



Portrait of Lord Burghley in Garter robes with wand, from a painting at Hatfield by Marcus Gheeraerts

Then ensued a panic in London, and quickly followed the staggering news that Drake was dead, when Elizabeth again began to vacillate as there could be no fleet for the protection of home waters, so completely had the Porto Rico expedition failed.

To add to all the anxiety, news came in, that a great Spanish fleet was on its way towards England.

The correspondence that passed during the few weeks in which these various disappointments occurred shows the intensity of the anxiety and how eager were the people that the fleet should move out of the English ports and make for Spain.

No one knew exactly what was projected, not a glimmer of the real truth had been allowed to appear, but it was well known that great preparations were being made at Woolwich and the country recognised that there was grave danger and that the fleet constituted its chief protection. At last the Queen gave the word and the expedition started.

Even then, however, when the ships, at last, put out to sea, no one save the commanders knew whither they were bound and as they sailed "in extended order so as to cover a wide front" and were screened by a fleet of "pinnaces and fast sailing small craft thrown forward to intercept any vessels which might carry to Spain intelligence of the approaching surprise," the approach to Cadiz was exceedingly well masked.

There are two letters from Lord Cumberland in the Cecil correspondence which clearly relate to this expedition.

Some time before March 25th, 1596/7, Lord Cumberland was writing to Sir Robert Cecil to tell him that he was getting his ship ready for what he terms "his pretended journey," that is to say the secret expedition, but that he "finds such scarcity of corn that he can hardly get his biscuit made in time unless he may have for ready money 200 quarters of wheat,"

which at that moment was in storehouses in Portsmouth.

To this application he begs for an answer by bearer as the time was very short¹.

Then in a letter written to Sir Robert Cecil on April 15th, Lord Cumberland says:

My purpose of going out of town by want of health was hindered which now I am glad of since you desire to speak with me.

It will give me mean to utter some of my heart's griefs which done, I care not what becomes of me. At 8 o'clock I will wait upon you at your chamber².

It also seems as though one of Lord Cumberland's prisoners, one Nuño Velio or Nunez Velho³, a Portuguese of high importance, was allowed to give misleading information to Spain, concerning the preparations being made in England.

It was not until the fleet had passed Cape St Vincent and stood well into Lagos Bay that its approach was perceived and then, indeed, there was excitement in Spain.

Into all the details of the action which speedily ensued and which ended, after a terrific struggle, in the capture of Cadiz, we have no space to enter. It can be found set forth in books dealing specially with that expedition and notably in Corbett's *Successors of Drake* and Monson's *Naval Tracts*.

The expedition was a success on the whole, as Cadiz was captured and sacked, and a mighty blow was struck at the integrity of the enemy. The loss of life on the English side was but trifling; in fact by the time that the struggle was over and the harbour entered, not a single Englishman had been killed, but it was impossible to occupy the town permanently and none of the rich Spanish ships were captured, for the heroic commanders determined to destroy every vessel sooner than allow them to fall into English hands.

¹ Cecil MSS. VII. 128.

² *Ibid.* VI. 145.

³ State Papers, Dom. 1596-7, 106.

The holocaust, we are told, lasted three days and three nights, and the destruction was of a fleet valued by the merchants at 24 million ducats.

The Spaniards themselves recognised how much they lost by this tremendous blow, not only a "famous city and port," as one of their own commanders Don Luis Fajardo said, "with a fleet of war" and a flota and the Standard of Xeres and 600 horse but the "prestige that is destroyed as even in Andalusia...we could not...gather forces enough...to turn them out of the city nor to strike so much as a blow."

The question that interests us here, is to know whether Cumberland took any part in this attack, and if so, when and where.

There is unfortunately no very definite information either way.

Two members of the Clifford family who were his cousins were certainly there.

Sir Conyers Clifford (*ob.* 1599) was Staff-Sergeant Major (i.e. Adjutant General) to the Army, Sir Alexander Clifford was a Vice-Admiral, and a torn fragment of a letter from the latter to some unknown correspondent exists, in which allusion is made to the "skill and prowess of my noble kinsman."

Whether this refers to Cumberland cannot be stated. It would appear probable that it did, and we have no definite knowledge of where Cumberland was in this July and August, 1596. It is certain that one of the commissions sent to Windebank in March and signed by the Queen was in his name and that it was *intended* he should take an active part in the expedition.

It is equally sure that he would have taken part in such an expedition, an affair after his own heart, if possible, and there is evidence that he was expected to arrive off Cadiz in his cruising squadron, with large reinforcements, but no allusion is made in such papers

as we have consulted to his actual arrival. The evidence is therefore only presumptive, supported by the torn scrap of Sir Alexander's letter, that he did take part in this notable fight and showed his customary "skill and prowess" in it, but we are disposed to accept it.

The return of the squadron was attended by many a regrettable episode and with some disaster and the fleet arrived home to find an angry Queen, righteously indignant with what she considered the failure of the expedition, and hardly realising that, with all the disappointments, it had made her name "dreadful, famous and renowned" and had exalted the prestige of England and that of her fleet, to a position it had never occupied before.

In the absence of the rich plunder which had been expected, the skill with which the attack was made, the wisdom of the commanders of the fleet, the bravery of the mariners and soldiers and the personal prowess of all concerned were quite overlooked.

As Mr Oppenheim wisely states:

Elizabeth never understood that the object of war is not to pay expenses or to even make a profit but to crush the enemy and that to stand on the defensive only, is to court defeat.

At this time Lord Cumberland was, it would appear, residing in the City of London in Bishopsgate Ward, as his name appears in a List of Strangers resident in that ward in 1595¹.

Amongst the Bolton Abbey papers, there is a letter belonging to this time, and dated November 24th, which appears to refer to the great dispute which happened after the death of Ferdinando², Earl of Derby, in 1594, and took place between his three co-heiresses

¹ See *Collec. Topog. and Genea.* VIII. 206.

² It was to Ferdinando, Earl of Derby, that Sir Piers Legh in 1587 bequeathed by his last will "all my hawks of what kind and sort they be and all my hounds of such and every sort, a small gift wherein in time past I have had singular good liking." See Lady Newton's Book *The Leghs of Lyme.* p. 46.

and William, his brother and successor in the title, with respect to the sovereignty of the Isle of Man and to the estate contained in the Island. The letter reads thus:

To the ryght honorabl. the Lo. Tresorer of England.

My good Lord

24 Nov. 1596.

If want of health had not stayed me, before this I had waited upon your lordship and let you knowe boothe what I perseve my lord of Darbye's cources ar, and alsoe therr's whoe advise, follow, and depend upon him; to longe and intricate it would be to troble your lordship w'th now'e, soe I will forbere till more fittyngly I may attend you; but heryng that your lordship hath apoynted Mr Ireland to be w'th you this day, I thought good to desier your lordship to euse him with kynd speches, and not to seeme but that you beleve he hath dealte most honestly in thes cources w'th his lord els I feare me, in a'desperate eumer, he may perhapps dooe what hardly agayne may be helped. And I dare assure your lo. this conveance effected, thought but as it is, other thynges after will easely be effected to your lordship's contentment. Thus, hartely thanckyng your lordship for your care of him whoe cares not for him selfe, I ende, ever your lordship's to co'mand,

GEORGE CUMBERLAND.

In the same year (1596) after the Cadiz expedition was over, and under date September 25th, Lord Cumberland addressed a letter to Sir Robert Cecil in which he writes thus:

I pray you excuse my often sending to you, forced by necessity. The ships that should go forth with me being much sought by merchants that would freight them for the Straits so as if I do not upon assurance that I shall proceed with Her Majesty's *business* conclude with the owners to-morrow they will be had from me and my voyage is overthrown not able any other where to furnish myself of ships fit for my pretence.

I would myself have come to you (but) that I cannot get away from my sister¹ though she hath as perfect understanding as ever had any in her weakness yet hath she not spoken anything since

¹ Probably the invalid recovered as there is no death of any of Lord Cumberland's or Lady Cumberland's sisters recorded as having taken place in that year.

Thursday and we look every hour for her departure, which God send may be happy as I doubt not it shall for she showeth the most and greatest tokens of God's blessing and mercy that I think ever did living creature.

So loth to trouble you I end¹.

This, it would appear, refers to the tenth and eleventh voyages to which we allude in the next chapter.

The Bolton Abbey papers, many of which cannot now be found, also contained some correspondence belonging to this year (1596) between Lord Cumberland and Lord Burghley relative to a Mr Midleton, who had married Lord Cumberland's cousin, and asking for the wardship of the infant son and heir. It is possible that this is the Mr Midleton (or Mydeltone) whose own death is alluded to in the correspondence between Lord Cumberland and Mr Hicks to which we refer in chapter VIII (see p. 112).

The final letter to which we have to refer was one written on a ship, which Lord Cumberland sent to Cecil on July 26th, 1596, intreating a favour for a person whom he styles "the Baron of Walton²" but whom it is not easy to identify under this style. He had, he said, been arrested upon an action and committed to the Counter (Debtors Compter) in Wood Street³. Lord Cumberland was importuned by his friends to apply for the favour of Sir Robert Cecil as the man in question could be freed—he was informed—by a letter from any member of Her Majesty's Privy Council⁴.

A curious letter from Lord Cumberland to his wife belongs to this eventful time, so we learn from his daughter's endorsement upon it. It is a pleasant epistle

¹ Cecil MSS. vi. 399.

² There does not appear to have been any Lord Walton at that date.

³ The vaults or dungeons of this place still exist in Wood Street, City.

⁴ Cecil MSS. vi. 145.

though we are quite unable to explain the allusions which it contains. It reads thus:

Meg,

Let not, I pray thee, this good course begun die in his first beginning, but go forward in doing to me as thou oughtest to a husband whom solely and wholly will be thine as he is bound, both by God and right courses to the world, and then I protest to God, thou shalt have me as fully thine as thy heart can wish. My occasions will not this night suffer me to go out of the town. Tomorrow, God willing, I will not fail, and take the course I told thee, wherefore I pray thee, fail not do as thou did determine, and if thou have anything to me, send to Jones any letter, in which enclose some, but as thou lovest me, hold secret what I desired.

Thine, as thou wilt,

To my loving wife¹.

GEORGE CUMBERLAND.

We believe that another more abrupt letter, probably only a mere note, belongs to the same period. Lord Cumberland evidently desired to have his little girl with him wherever he was, and sent his coach and horses to fetch her and these lines of authority by the servant.

He wrote:

Not doubting but that now you have thought well of my desire for Nan's coming hither, you will willingly send her, I have sent this bearer with Coachman and horses, to bring her to me, and will not fail, if God pleases, as appointed you, to let her come to you again before Michaelmas. So, wishing to God that you may do in this and all other things what is fittest for you.

I rest,

Your husband,

CUMBERLAND.

To my wife, the Countess of Cumberland.

Beyond this we have nothing but a brief note of December 21st, 1596, in which Lord Cumberland writes "from his lodging" to Sir Robert Cecil asking for some money that had been promised him².

¹ N.B. This letter is endorsed, in another handwriting and not that of Lady Anne,

"28th November, 1596, From my Lord to my Lady the Countess of Cumberland."

² Cecil MSS. VI. 532..

CHAPTER XIV

1597. THE TENTH VOYAGE

IN 1597 Lord Cumberland appears as one of those who submitted proposals to Lord Burghley, with a view to another invasion of Spain.

There was a scheme for the mobilisation of the whole Navy for four months and for an important expedition "under Howard and Essex on the lines of that of the previous year, to be attended with a military force of 5000 men. . . from the Low Countries."

A State Paper of January 20th in Burghley's writing sets forth that:

"the Earl of Cumberland's offer is to be considered as also a plan by the Earl of Essex for by one of these projects the attempt is to be made. The attempt is specially to be taken in hand to hinder the intended assailing of Ireland by the Spaniards.

"The Earl of Cumberland's attempt," he goes on to say, "is to have two of the Queen's ships, 20 Hollanders and some of his own; though no assurance can be made that he shall burn the Spanish Navy yet he may impeach them divers ways and hinder them from going to Ireland or pursue them thither¹."

We find from this same document that the scheme of Lord Essex was a far larger one and conceived on a scale more likely to win success, but the cautious Burghley was afraid of the heavy cost and also doubtful whether in the time at his disposal it would be possible to prepare the vessels and provide victuals for at least 5000 men "if this," says he, "shall not be taken in hand yet the Earl of Cumberland's offer might be taken without great charge and yet thereby offend the enemy."

It is clear, however, that the scheme did not mature

¹ S.P. Eliz. CCLXII. 350.

and Cumberland was busied preparing for what may be termed his tenth and eleventh voyages.

Of the tenth voyage there is little to be said, although in this case, as in previous voyages, Robinson had his information, such as it was, from "the relation and affirmation of Robert Hicheman the seaman" who took part in the expedition.

It was, however, of the briefest possible character, for, says Purchas, when some 30 to 40 leagues from England the fleet "was incountred with a storme wherein the *Scourge* spent her mayne mast and was made unserviceable for that voyage."

Robinson's story is practically identical. He points out that it was the first time that Lord Cumberland had been in his own ship, and only the fifth on which he had himself actually been to sea, and says the voyage was "shortned by a mischance hapning to the *Malice Scourge*" which he describes as "by fowle weather she spent her mayne mast," and "so the Fleete withoute any other losse or hinderance presently returned into England safely, prayed bee God."

It is, however, of importance to notice that despite all the arguments against the use of the Queen's ships that were set forth in connection with the ninth voyage, this time the fleet *was* accompanied by one of the Royal ships, the *Dreadnought*, although the *Malice Scourge* was regarded as the Admiral's vessel and Lord Cumberland only went on board the *Dreadnought* after the accident on his own vessel, for, says Purchas, "hee was forced to returne for England in the *Dreadnought*."

The *Dreadnought* was a smaller vessel than Lord Cumberland had borrowed hitherto, a ship of 450 tons, 80 feet long in the keel, 30 in the beam and having a crew of only 200, costing for wages and victualling when at sea £303. 6s. 8d. per month.

She had been built at Deptford by Mathew Baker in 1573 and rebuilt in 1592 and was probably already

considered obsolete as regards fighting power; indeed she does not appear at all in the armament list of the Royal Navy drawn up in 1603.

She is entered in the older list of 1585 as carrying 2 cannon periers, 4 culverins, 10 demi-culverins, 6 sakers, 2 fawcons, 2 port pieces, 8 fowlers and 8 bases.

On this one occasion only, is there any allusion to her in Lord Cumberland's papers.

CHAPTER XV

1597. THE ELEVENTH VOYAGE

THAT same year yet another voyage was made which is by Purchas termed the eleventh, although Lord Cumberland himself did not take part in it.

Robinson does not allude to it, nor does Monson, and we are dependent upon Purchas for all we know of it.

The vessel used was the *Ascension* (400 tons, 34 guns) manned with 120 men, and Cumberland fitted it out, put it under the charge of Captain Francis Slingsby¹, and sent it out "chiefly to look for such ships as should come from Lisbone."

It started under unfortunate circumstances, for it met with "such a fret of winde" that it was nearly wrecked off the Goodwin Sands and had to put in again to Plymouth for "replenishing." When at length it set out, instead of capturing prizes, the *Ascension* ran into the midst of a Spanish squadron, under the Admiral Pedro de Zubiaur and was set upon by six ships at once.

With two of these, there was a desperate fight, but the Spaniards were prevented by the ordnance from boarding the ship although they filled the chains and made strenuous efforts to get on to the decks.

Twenty-two men were killed, but the English ship made such a valiant fight that the Spaniards eventually "tacked about and went in for Lisbone without any further leave taking."

The *Ascension* continued the cruise for some fourteen days more but, as by that time, its provisions were

¹ See pp. 21 and 118.

exhausted there was no other course than to return home to London "with," as the chronicler quaintly says, "hurts to themselves and losse also to his Lordship," the "Company" returning

having made noe profit to his Lordshipp towardses all his charge expended in that Shippe...and many maymed and many hurte and all without meanes to maynteyne them at their Cominge on Shoare.

Something seems to have been captured, however, even though it was small, because the State Papers of June 2nd especially refer to

commodities brought into the port of London in May by a prize of the Earl of Cumberland's...and by vessels...from Germany, France, Italy, Spain, Norway, Scotland, Holland and the Canaries.

The only correspondence of this period which has come to light consists of six letters, which are relatively of small importance.

Three are of the nature of introductions, two addressed to Sir Robert Cecil and the third to Lord Essex, while a fourth is a communication from one George Hanger, who addresses Sir Robert Cecil concerning a man who was once a servant to Lord Cumberland. They read thus:

1597/8. Jan. 10. A letter to Sir R. Cecil in favour of the bearer Mr Purfitt in his suit to the Council in which Lord Cumberland says He was the master of one of his ships and the ship was now ready "and only stays for him¹."

A letter to Sir R. Cecil concerning one Abraham Birch in which Lord Cumberland under date January 1597/8 states:

This bearer Am Birch telleth me you are desirous to know whether he [can] go with me to sea or no. I have known him long to be both valiant and honest and if it be no hindrance to his preferment I shall be glad of him. He did, as you know, a good service, in bringing in the ship to Dartmouth and if you will be a mean to get

¹ Cecil MSS. VIII. II, 33, 514 and 525; and IX. 116.

him some reward for it it will encourage others to do the best they can hereafter. A speedy despatch, though it be with the less, will best content him, whose life is only to be at sea and upon the shore in a short time will spend more than his reward will come to.

A letter from George Hanger to Sir R. Cecil written prior to March 25th, 1597/8, concerns one Thomas Brough, one of Lord Cumberland's servants, who was accused in the Canaries of betraying the Isle of Teneriffe to Lord Cumberland, was imprisoned and had his goods seized and in which he begs for relief for him.

In Lord Cumberland's letter to Lord Essex, under date December 23rd, 1597/8, he prays him "to further the suit of the bearer William Walton his old servant who was abroad with Cumberland this last journey," and adds, "The Queen since Walton's coming home has given him very gracious words and commended his courses."

There is a similar letter, also to Lord Essex, introducing one Captain Evans, and then, finally, there is a letter (which we give in full in chapter XVIII) dated April 26th, 1597, and addressed by Lord Cumberland to Lord Burghley, in which he prays that he may be appointed Governor of the Isle of Wight. This position, however, Lord Burghley was not able to give him.

CHAPTER XVI

1598. THE TWELFTH VOYAGE

THE first allusion we have to the final voyage Lord Cumberland took in hand, and which was certainly his greatest and most important effort, is contained in a State Paper of 1597, probably dated July 19th.

It is a letter from Cecil to the Earl of Essex in which he writes thus:

Lord Cumberland is a suitor to go a royal journey in October. The plot is very secret between Her Majesty and him; it is to be wished that his spirit which loves action should be well cherished. Tell Sir W. Rawley¹ I think he will venture the *Roebuck* with him instead of my *True Love* which I will adventure if I hear her speak at her return: if you meet her let us have no searching of Admiral Bredgate nor borrowing our sugar loaves.

This evidently alludes to the expedition to Porto Rico which formed the twelfth voyage.

Of this twelfth voyage, which Robinson terms the ninth, we have two new manuscript accounts.

One of them was, he states,

first penned at sea by Rob Thornton, Mr Walter Cox and Peter Heyburne, passengers 1598 newly amplified and truly written by other credible advertizement per mee Richard Robinson.

The other was "sett downe by relation and affirmation of Captain William Meysey, Robert Thornton, Mr Robert Hickman and Peter Hayburn, Passengers," and written out by Robinson.

The two narratives very closely agree save that the latter is fuller and supplies several details which are lacking in the narrative of Thornton, Cox and Heyburn.

¹ Note the phonetic spelling of the name.

The names of those who were in command differ however in a few instances, in the two narratives.

Of the *Prosperus* the fuller account says that James Langton was Captain on the outward voyage; the other narrative gives Captain John Ley in his place.

As to the *Centurion* the fuller narrative gives Henry Palmer as Captain on the outward trip and his son William Palmer homewards; and as the homeward Master, Bartholomew Keble; whereas the other gives in place of William Palmer, Henry Keble, and in place of Bartholomew Keble, Perryman's son William, the father, John Perryman, according to both narratives, having been killed at Porto Rico.

The fuller narrative gives the outward Captain of the *Guiana* as Christopher Coltes, whereas the other gives James Langton.

The Thornton, Cox and Heyburn account says that the entire list of persons, Captains, Masters, Soldiers and Mariners on board the outgoing fleet was 1700 and that of these 600 or more were killed. The ampler narrative omits some of these figures.

In many of the paragraphs the two narratives are identical, in others very nearly so, evidence that they were derived from similar sources or set down by Robinson in similar fashion, and it will be noticed that two persons, Robert Thornton and Peter Heyburn, were concerned in each, so that apparently Robinson interviewed two separate groups of survivors on two separate occasions, and set down what they had to tell him.

Of this same notable voyage there are two accounts in Purchas as well as his own introductory remarks. The first account was, it is clear, the work of the Admiral himself. "The voyage to St John de Porto Rico by the Right Honourable George Earle of Cumberland written by himself," but that only takes us part of the way and to it we allude later. Then Purchas inserts

more introductory remarks by way of a Preface to a further narrative written "as is reported by that learned man and reverend Divine Doctor Layfield¹ his Lordship's Chaplaine and Attendant in that expedition," and this completes the story.

This last is a lengthy account although Purchas tells us it is "very much abbreviated." He is perfectly right in this statement, but the abbreviation is skilfully carried out, for the entire narrative, which is to be found in the Lady Anne book, although considerably longer and fuller in detail, does not give us much more information than is contained in the abridgement by Purchas or in Robinson's MSS.; differing from them, mainly, in voluminous accounts of what Lord Cumberland and the other commanders, said and thought.

Then, in addition to these, there is the narrative supplied by Sir William Monson, "a very late addition," according to Mr Oppenheim, to his *Naval Tracts*, even if it is Monson's own work at all.

There is no MS. authority for it, but the style is that of Monson and the aggressive way in which part of it is prepared, together with the unfair assumptions it contains and the querulous and self-justifying manner in which Monson's own connection with Lord Cumberland is described, betray whose hand is responsible for it.

We have therefore, at least five separate accounts of this eventful voyage, and although a great deal of Monson's story is a mere *réchauffée* of Dr Layfield's narrative, which, long as it is, Purchas abridged from the original (which is in the Sloane MSS.) yet from the whole set we derive an interesting account of what was really an important voyage with far-reaching results.

¹ See chapter XXI. p. 285, John Layfield, D.D. (*ob.* 1617), Scholar of Trinity College, Cambridge, 1578, Fellow, 1585, Reader in Greek, 1593, Examiner, 1599, Rector of St Clement Danes in the Strand from 1601 till his decease. He was one of the revisers of the Bible in 1606.

Cumberland's own account was written: "To my right noble sister-in-law, Anne, Countesse Dowager of Warwicke," and commences thus:

Worthiest of your Sexe, my chief Commandresse, to give contente to your wishe in bare plainness I have sett downe the Courses and fortune of my late performed journey.

It has hitherto been supposed that this narrative was written for, and dedicated to, the Queen, and knowing how complaisant and complimentary Lord Cumberland was towards Elizabeth the theory that it was so addressed was credible, but the Lady Anne narrative gives the dedication (which Purchas omits) in full and shows clearly who was Lord Cumberland's correspondent¹.

That being so, we surmise that the manuscript never came under the attention of the Queen or we may be pretty sure that the dedication of it to any other lady as "Worthiest of her sex," to say nothing of being styled Chief Commandress, would in no way have pleased Cumberland's imperious mistress.

This also is almost proved by the concluding words of Cumberland's own account, in which he begs Lady Warwick, when she has read it, to burn it for fear that others should see what he had written and that he in consequence should suffer.

We have a decided opinion that here he alludes to the Queen and to his dread lest she should see the epistle he sent to his sister-in-law.

First then to give the more ample of the two new narratives in full, as it supplies all the dates missing in the others:

A Journall of the Eleaventh and later Voyage to the West India 1597 with his memorable action performed at Sct John Port Rico 1598.

But first followeth a description of his Fleete and Men.

¹ Cooper was not aware of this, for in *Athenae Cantabrigiensis* he states definitely that it was addressed to the Queen.

Admirall
His Honours
Ship

Land Cap-
teynes mar-
shalled by
Capt Wm
Meyse

Vizadmirall

Rear-
admirall

The Erles
ship

Merchant
ship

Imprimis, his sayde shipp the Malice Scourge (beeing Admirall) His Honoure went oute personally in her as the Generall now the second tyme, but the sixte tyme in person to the seaes for this his Eleaventh and later Voyage to the West India; Capteyn in her owten John Wattes Capt. homeward James Lancton Mr all the voyage John Ellyot of His Hounoures Lande Capteynes were xvij vizt. Sr. John Barckley, Knighte, Colonell generall of all the Erles forces Capt Willyam Meysey Leevetenant Colonell of same. Capt Hercules Fulgeam Sergeant Major generall Capt Arthure Powell Leevetenant Colonell of the Erles Regiment Capt Lewys Orrell Capt Thomas Robartes Capt Henry Gill Capt. Tho. Coche Capt Hughe Starckey Capt Rookesby Capt Roger Tyrwhitt Capt Andrew Andrewes Leader of the Erles Company Capt. James Tottell Leader of Sr. Jno Barckleys Company Capt James Evans Capt. George Carrell Corporalles of the field. Capt. John Man Provost Marshall Capt Arthure Milles Mr. of the Artillery and Probant Master. The Merchaunt Royall (Vizadmirall) Capt in her all the voyage Sr. John Barckley, knight abovesayd Mr all the voyage Wylyam Perfect The Ascension (Reareadmirall) Capt all the Voyage Robart Flick Master owteward John Graunt mort at Port Rico Mr homewardes Willyam Winter.

The Sampson Capt owteward Mr Henry Clifford gent mort there Capt homewardes Xpofer Colles Mr. all the voyage Andrew Shilling.

The Alcedo Capt outward John Ley till they came beyond the Coaste of Spayne to the Island of Lancerote and then he went oute of her into his owne Pyness upon his owne private voyage to the India where hee sped well. Capt in the Alcedo from Lancerote to Port Rico and so homewardes Tho: Coche aforesayd. Mr. all the voyage John Pokam The Consent Capt. all the voyage Mr Francys Slingsby, gent Mr all the voyage Samuell Spencer The Prosperous Capt outwardes James Lancton to the Islandes thence and homewardes Capt. John Wattes Mr. all the voyage Robart Thornton.

The centurion Capt outwardes Henry Palmer mort at Port Rico Capt. homewardes his sone Wm Palmer Mr. outwardes John Peryman mort at Port Rico Mr. homewardes Barthollimew Keble.

The Gallyon Constant Capt. all the voyage Hercules Fulgeam abovesayd Mr. owteward Rich Knottsford mort Mr homewardes Walter Pryse.

The Erles
shipp

The Affection capt all the Voyage Wm. Fleming Mr owtewardest Thomas Harding mort Mr homewardes. . . The Guyana Capt. owtewardest Xpofer Coltes Capt. homewardes Gerard Midleton gent Mr. all the voyage Edward Godderd.

The Residue of his Honoures Fleete and Men thus described

The Erles
Pynes

The Scoute Capt. all the voyage Henry Jolliff Mr all the voyage Henry Lake.

The Erles
shipp

The Anthony Capt owtewardest Robt. Careles mort at Port Rico homewardes Andrew Andrewes. Mr owtewardest Willyam Winter till he came to Dominico, and then he went oute of her into ye Assension as aforesayde, Mr in her homewardes Anthony Danyell.

The Pegasus Capt. all the voyage Edward Goodwyn Mr all the voyage R. Carr till she was cast away at her returne.

The Royall Defence Capt. all the voyage Henry Bromley Mr all the voyage Phillip Hilles The Margaret and John Capt. all the voyage Edward Dixson Mr. all the voyage John Newman.

The Barck Ley Capt. owtewardest. . . Capt homewardes. . . Mr. owtewardest. . . Mr. homewardes.

The Erles
Pines

The Olde freegott Capt all the voyage Willyam Harper Mr. all the voyage Edward Smyth till she was cast away at her returne.

Two Barges used of purpose for the necessary landing of men in any port.

Vessells 20

Suma totalis Wherof 4 shippes, 1 pynes, 1 Fregott & 2 barges of the vessells were the Erles 8 vessells. The other xj ships in all 20 and one Barcke were Merchaunts of London &c. These had in them, Capteynes, Masters, Sayllers, Soldiers & passingers.

1700 men

A Journall of the xjth & later Voyage to the West India with the Memorable Action at Sct. John Port Rico 1598.

6 Marche
departure
from Portes-
mouth to
Plymouth

This Noble Erle and Renoued Defender of his Sovereigne Queene and his Native Contry (beeyng thus by Gods good providence preparid) did in his Honoures owne person and at his Cheefest charge embarck him self in his sayde Admirall at Portesmouth on Monday the 6th of Marche 1598¹. From whence hee sett saylle with all his

¹ In the correspondence of Matthew Hutton, Archbishop of York, we find the following letter from Lord Cumberland addressed to his Grace:

"My good Lord," says he, "If the extreme toil of infinite business and deep engagement in a sea preparation had left me any leisure

Fleete directing theyre Course righte Forthe towrdes Plymouth.

8 March by
the way they
meete 12
sayle of
Duchemen
Wednesday the 8th of Marche did saylling alongst the Coaste of England towards Plymouth, they mett with 12 saylles of Duche men the Queenes frendes laiden wyne oringes & lymons of whome they borrowed two buttes of wyne and so lefte them bound for England.

10 Marche to
Plymouth
& away
Fryday the Xth of Marche they came streighte to Plymouth, where they stayed not at all: By reason the wynde fitly serving them they proceeded on theyre voyage.

16 Marche
to the
Burlinges
Thursday the 16th did they fell with the Burlinges and came to anchor there aboute 8 of the clock at nighte where they stayed a day and a nighte to fish or fasten with ropes rounde aboute the Mayne mast of the Malice Scourge to strengthen yt.

18 Marche
there comes
to them a
tall and
stoute Ham-
burger
Saturday the 18th Marche about 6 of the clock at nighte there come in a Flemming talle and stowte towards them as they were then and there at anchor whome when they espyed they sent towards him theyre foresayde Pynnes the Scoute to see what hee was. Shee beeyng come nere him hee sett upon her and foughte with her: The Fleete hearing them so in feighte was once mynded to way unto them, and (verie indeede) considering the length of tyme they let slipp theyre Cables and made towards them within half an hower they fecht up the Flemming and hailed him, yet hee would not answer them but shooting at them meynteyned a feighte for 3 howers space with the Fleete, and spoyled two of oure men slewe other two owtrighte and cutt of one of good Capt. Thomas Greenewells legges of whose service I have spoken somewhat in the 8th voyage

Hee feighted
with ye pines
and the
Fleete for
3 howers
spece, doth
some hurt

They shoote
him through
in 8 places
in the ende
hee yeeldeth

Anno 1594. Notwithstanding the Englishmen shott him through in eighte severall places at last clapt him aboarde and entered some x men into him with whome hee made

thus long your Grace had not been without kind salutations from me though no otherwise I could express my love and now going upon my journey I recommend to your Lordship my loving thoughts which with meself shall ever be ready to do you all friendly offices as to one whose love I much account of and will not fail to requite.

So wishing to your Grace best health, all happiness and long life to God's pleasure, I end.

Your Grace's to command,

GEORGE CUMBERLAND."

16 February, 1597/8.

(See *Hutton Correspondence*, p. 122.)

away from this Fleete, but the next newes they hearde of him was that hee had yeilded: This was a shipp of Hamborough laiden with corne, copper, cottons, russhes and much more other merchandizes: So the Fleete saylled forward and recovered sighte of the Rock a place in yee sea towards the Sowthward Cape whether they afterward saylled.

1 Pryze
taken

20 March the
Erle lay
wayting for
yr Span
Carake

Newes of
them

7 pryses
taken

Proceeding
to ye Ca-
naryes

2 Empty
Flem taken
and released.

The Erles
making to-
wardes ye
Carak dis-
covered by
an English-
man

Sowthwd
Cape

Monday the 20th of Marche dict the Erle lay toylling up and downe for the Fleete and so kept on his course towards the Roch aforesayd and so to Capticher a foreland of Portugale: where they lay beating up and downe (wayting for the Spanish Kinges Carakes to come from Lishbone) untill Tewsdays the 4th of Aprill anno 1598 followyng. In which tyme they specke with fyve Flemminges, and tooke two Caravells who all in one agreed affirming that the sayde Carak were in a redynes to come forthe with the first wynde. During which the Fleetes there lying before the Roch, the Affection tooke a Flemminge laiden with wheate and sent her (unknown to the Erle) into England shee goyng in her voyage to Port Rico: And the rest of the Fleete tooke 3 Flemminges laden with wheate and a French man laden with wyne.

Tewsdays the sayde 4th of Aprill 1598 the Fleete lefte sighte of the Rock and bare with a fayre wynde towards the southward Cape and so towards the Islandes of the Canaryes.

Saturday the 8th of Aprill dict, the Fleete tooke two empty flemings which were ageane releassed afterwardes at the Island of Lancerote. The cause of theyre goyng forwardes (before the Carak came forthe) was by reason they had intelligence that one Woosley a Master of a shipp of London who broughte certeyne prisoners oute of England to Lichbone certified them that the Erle of Cumberland lay attending for them upon which wordes by the said Woosley so malignantly mattered [*sic*] to the Carack they stayed theyre voyage and went not forwardes till the Erle was departed upon his voyage to the India aforesayde and then they proceeded homewardes and escaped the Erles interceptions.

Tewsdays the xjth of Aprill dict the Fleete aboute ye Sowthward Cape. Thursday before Easter being the 13th of Aprill dict, the Fleete came to anchor before the Island of Lancerote.

- Loss of men Good Fryday beeyng the 14th of Aprill dict, they landed there and stayed until Easter day, where they lost some fewe men but how fewe or howe manie I knowe not, some say 7 or 8.
- Proceeding to Teneriff Friday following the 21 dict they weighed anchor and bare away betweene Lancerote and Fontey Venture and came to Teneriff on Saturday the 22d dict: where they lay nere the shoare of Gomera, having lefte the Grand Canaryes to the Sowthward of them for 3 days after. This contry had bene a good soylle to have planted suche a Multitude of men there to have taken and kept yt for use and continuall traffique of oure Nation thether for suche wyne as are made there. Yt ys sayd of late that the Hollanders have newly taken yt and do meane to meyn-tyne theyre traffique thether for the wyne (say they) whiche are made there some 30000 pypes yearly will yeelde every Tone xli sterling at least, which had bene as easy for us to take and keepe as for them.
- Not a newes of the Canary Islandes at this day
- Henor Tewsday beeing St Markes day and the 25 dict they bare to ye Easteward of Henor for 4 dayes after.
- Capt. Slingsby & Capt. Jolliff Saturday the 29th of Aprill dict Capt Slingsby and Capt. Jolliff with others (who were sent to the Roade of Palmer upon some service) came the Fleete ageane. During which time they tooke no thing Yet Capt. Jollyff will bynde yt with an oathe that they tooke a fleming.
- Short of Dominico Saturday the 13th of May Anno dict the Fleete made towards a smalle Island short of Dominico where they lay all by the Lee filling theyre saylles with a fayre wynde.
- Harbour at Dominico Monday the 22 dict they came to anchor at the Harbour of Dominico and there stayed the rest of that moneth.
- Proceeding to the Islandes of Virginea Thursday the first of June 1598 having taken in Fresh water they weighed anchor and hoyssed saylle to goo for the Islandes of Virginea where they discryed the same on Fryday following the 2d dict and came to anchor next Saturday the 3rd of yt June.
- Mustering theyr men they departe to St. John Port Rico Whitsonday beeyng the 4th of June dict the Fleete landed there to muster theyre men where staying some 4 or 5 howers they returned to theyre shippes and so weighing anchor, and setting saylle, they directed theyre course toward St John Port a verie strong Island in the West India.

Landing
there they
marche to
the forte &
to the
Bridge but
were re-
pulsed

Tewsday in Whitson holly dayes and the 6th of June dict in the morning they landed there marching towardes the Forte which was some 12 or 14 myles distant from theyr landing place, and by nighte they came within a myle of the Bridge, where they rested them selves untill that midnichte: and then they marched downe to the Bridge thinking to have entered there: But yt was so strong of ytself and so well defended by the enemy that oure men were enforced to retreyte with the losse of some XX persons and as many hurt at ye least.

40 men
slayne &
hurt.

They assaute
yt Red forte
& land theyr
men oute of
the boates

Wedensday followyng the 7th dict they lay all about the Bridge where planting theyre musquettiers they played at an other Forte called the Red Forte, where they killed most of the Enemyes there defending the same and caused the rest to forsake the Forte, by which meanes ye boates landed theyr men in the evening of that day.

Marche
agene to the
Bridge and
entrance in-
to ye Towne

Thursday morning the 8th of yt June the Erle marched to the Bridge, where they entered with oute resistance and so the Companyes meeting together marched to the Towne, where they entered in like maner by reason the Enemy fledd from thence allso. But the Governor of the Towne betooke himself to an other Forte with 2 or 300 soldyers where they kept oure men play by reason of theyre greate ordenance untill the Erle had made two Barricadoes and planted 4 or 5 greate peeces which hee fecht from his shippes.

The Gov-
ernor resist-
eth

The Erle
assaulteth

The Eries
Battery

Sonday the 18th and Monday the 19th of June dict. the Erle made a battery in 2 or 3 places of the sayde Forte.

Parley and
yelding by
the Enemy.

Tewsday following the 20th dict the Enemyes were glad to entreate for a Parley: and on Wedensday the 21st dict. they yelded bothe ye Forte and Towne to this Right Honorable Erle of Cumberland.

Negroes
taken

Wednesday Seaven nightes after the 28 of that monthe of June there came from Angola into that Harboure a litle Freegott laden with Negroes whome the Erle tooke.

Negroes es-
caped not
taken

Fryday next followyng the 30th and last of June dict there came an other Freegott into the mowthe of that harbour: But seeyng our Fleete there ryding mistrusted and tacked aboute after whome the Erle sent a shipp but coulede not fetch her by any meanes.

A great ship
of 200 tonnes
taken as a
Pryze within
the haven of
Port Rico

Saturday the first of July anno dict there came in thether a greate shipp of 200 tonnes laden with Meale, Oylle and other necessaryes for Brazyle hapning to Port Rico by fowle weather. His Honour seized upon the Shipp and goodes

taking into his power the goodes as a Pryze but sent away the shipp and men with 2 other Spanish bottomes loaden with 300 Spanyardes cleared out of Port Rico: and (taking them by the Prosperous and an other small shipp so farr to Leeward as Cartagena) the twoo English shippes came home ageane after the Fleete into England. And here an end of this xjth and later voyage to Sct. John Port Rico in the West India.

1598

The Return and Aryvall of the Erle wth his Fleete into England.

Comodities
found in ye
Towne &
brought
away by
the Erle

After that this Noble Erle had thus surprized this stronge Towne and possessed himself thereof with all fortifications, habilements, munition, armour artillery and other Defences within the same having also cleared the Towne of all the Spanyerdes that were in yt and shipped them away as aforesayd His Honor fynding then in the Towne LX good Brass peeces of ordenance certeyn Belles to some good valewe, also some good store of Ginger, Sugar and other spyces for his best benefit hee shipped them also aboarde certeyne shippes of this Fleete, and so weighed anchors and sett saylles out of Sct John Port Rico on Monday the 16th of July dict 1598. But what treasure hee found there in ransacking the Towne as yt ys best knowne to his Honoure who was worthy of the best share, so yt is sayde by some to have bene more by cause theyre shares fell oute less than they looked for. And by some yt is sayde to have been lesse, who having certeyne knowledg in this Comodities and benefits which hee purchased in this voyage, do credibly affirme that neyther the sayde comodities brought away, nor any Treasure found there, Nor his Nyne Pryses taken brought home and recoumpted by Just accoumpt, were found sufficient or equivalent to acqyte and discharge the greate charges expended by his Honour for hyering of shippes and men and for discharging of all other necessarye and needfull charges in this voyage. But dowbtles had he mett with the Spanish Caraks to his good endevor and expectation (having bene contrary wyze trecherusly discovered that hee could not performe his purpose) hee had moste lykely by all meanes made this his Eleaventh and later voyage the best and moste beneficiall voyage that ever hee made hetherto. Now to recoumpt his uwne and other mens losses which were greate and Inevitable bothe of Vesselles and Men thus they were: and first of Men he lost in all 700 whereof some

Nyne Pryses
in all taken
& broughte
away & the
Valuation of
all bootyes

The hinder-
ance he had
by being
discovered

Loss of men
700

Loss of
Vessels 4

An honour-
able &
memorable
voyage

His aryvall
at Portes-
mouth &
landing at
Blackwalle

The death
of King
Philip of
Spayne

This Voyage
ys sett
downe By
relation &
affirmation
of Capt.
Willm
Meysay
aforesaid
Robt Thorn-
ton Mr Robt
Hickman
seaman &
Peter Hay-
burn pas-
singer

60 were slayne in feight there, at the taking of the Towne, 600 dyed there and aboarde the shippes in the tyme of theyre aboade there of the bloody flixe (a dizeaze mortally accidentall in every monthe of June onely and especially amongst oure Englishmen) and 40 were cast away by fowle weather oute of the Vessells here following werof one Barge was by his Honors Commaundment suncke in the haven of Port Rico of purpose to prevent the Enemyes malice, the other Barge was by fowle weather cast away at the Island of Bermudas returning homewardest. The Pegasus before mencyoned at her returne was cast away by fowle wether uppon Goodwyn Sandes and lykewyse his Honors Olde Fregott upon the Usshent at her returne allso. And yet (notwithstanding those greate losses and hinderances partly his owne and partly other mens to his owne greate greef) his Honoure hathe made to the glory of God, honoure of his Prince and confuson of the Enemy an honourable servisable and memorable voyage: Aryving with xv good shippes one Barck and a Pynes with a 1000 of his men in them at Portesmouth on Monday the 23 of September, and landing in his owne person at Blackwall on Monday the first of October following anno dict 1598 in good savety Praysed be God. But Duble prayse and thanckes bee rendered unto God who (Imedyately before this noble Erles sayde aryvall in his owne Native Contry) tooke away oute of this lyfe that same mighty malcontented enemy of peace and amity in Christendome Philip the second of that name Kinge of Spayne deceassing at his Abbey of Sct Lawrence in Escariel seaven myles from Madrid (where he used to keepe his Courte Royall) on the xiiijth day of September aforesayd Anno dict. 1598, For which gracyus good turne unto all (as for all other benefits bestowed by our gracyus good Mercyfull Allmighty and Aeternall God upon us) his name be therefore prayed glorified and magnified now henceforthe & for ever. Amen.

Deo Laus, Regina Vivat, Valeant quoqz leges, Vigeant ut Bons Mals Vilesantqz greges, Per mare, per terras undiqz contiguas Recti lux loetificat Impis extincta lux erit.

Prov. 13-9.

Written and given my Lord the first Copy on St Georges day last 1599.

(In Gratiam Gratorum Gratus)

Written this copy the 3 of August 1599 Per me RICHARD ROBINSON.

Then to deal with Monson's story:

He prefaces it by a brief account of Lord Cumberland's earlier expeditions and alludes, in a phrase we have already quoted, to the danger of taking the Queen's ships into action and thus risking their loss and her consequent grave displeasure.

Monson then with reference to the *Malice Scourge* gives ample credit to Lord Cumberland for his remarkable actions.

"He resolved," says Monson, "to build a ship from the stocks that should equal the middle rank of Her Majesty's an act so noble and so rare, it being a thing never undertaken before by a subject that it deserved immortal fame."

He says that the *Malice Scourge* and

for that by that nounce it seemed he tasted the envy of some that repined at his honourable achievement was . . . proportioned in all degrees to equal any of her Majesty's ships of that rank and no way inferior to them in sailing or other property or condition of ships.

But having said thus, his words of praise end.

He was, when he wrote the account, in ill odour with Lord Cumberland, felt very bitter against him, and was determined to belittle the importance of the voyage although bound to describe it. He therefore proceeds to make various accusations against Lord Cumberland and to start certain theories respecting the purpose of the voyage, which were manifestly unfair.

He implies that Lord Cumberland was out for plunder alone, that no statecraft was involved in the voyage, and in fact that there was no real plan of action, beyond a desire to enrich himself, at the expense of the Queen's enemies.

This was far from being the case as the State Papers prove, and as Monson was probably aware. The real purport of the voyage, although wisely kept a profound secret, was to obtain and to hold the Island of Porto Rico as a West Indian station, "a secure and easily defensible port" and a possession of supreme value for the interception of the Spanish lines of communication,

and for "the containment of a fleet in readiness to engage and capture the rich galleons that were constantly passing to and fro." There was undoubtedly able statesmanship in the idea, and although by reason of sickness and insufficient strength on the part of the fleet, it could not be carried into adequate effect, yet the seed of a noble plan was laid by this voyage, Cumberland in this expedition proving himself able, wise and far-seeing in his conduct; while the weakness of Spain was clearly revealed to her own people and to the English, and the lines on which a serious attack could eventually be made, which should have resulted in permanent success, were laid down.

Monson intentionally overlooked all this, and in his desire to exalt himself, and his critical powers, overreached himself, as so many men of his order of mind do, and by faint praise and in some respects condemnation of the results, tended to exalt rather than abase Lord Cumberland's character and the purpose and aim of the expedition.

That the object of the voyage was kept secret, Cecil himself explicitly states and the Commission to Lord Cumberland which was dated 17th October gives no information on this head whatever.

In fact, Cumberland himself did not disclose the purport of the journey until the psychological moment for doing so had arrived.

He himself comes out of the narrative extremely well. It is evident that he possessed the ability to guide, control, and direct, while, when occasion needed it, he could be absolutely firm, but when there was any difficulty that could be solved by consideration for others he was quite ready to afford it and thus by consulting those about him and paying them the compliment of his confidence, he was often successful in obtaining his own way, when a more resolute hand would have made shipwreck of the scheme.

Furthermore he was a courageous man, and had no intention of exposing those under his charge to risks which he did not himself share. He was ready to lead them into danger, and they were prepared to follow him. His personal courage was evident on more than one occasion, in this expedition, and gained its reward. Finally, he was an able strategist, and the taking of Porto Rico was a clever display of military tactics, dictated by a man who was all the time in poor health and against great odds; and the after results in no way detracted from the skill with which the enterprise was carried out.

In his own account of the voyage, he explains how quickly he discovered that the masts of his own ship (repaired as we have seen in her previous expedition) were "not made so sufficiently as I expected, and both now began to show their weakness especially my mayne Mast which I continually looked would have gone overboard."

So serious was his predicament that he adds "I protest I would have given £5000 for a new one."

He then decided to take shelter, in order to have the masts attended to and managed his scheme quite cleverly, putting into a small bay, all alone, sending the other ships of his fleet away to keep guard at a distance, hoisting a strange flag, taking down all the rigging of the vessel and setting the carpenters hard at work.

An interesting touch of modern life occurs in the narrative for says he "My ship was black which well furthered my desire and though shee were great yet shewed not so afarre off."

An episode which the new narratives pass over, Cumberland in his epistle specially explains. In Lancerota there resided in the castle a wealthy Marquis, whom it was desired to hold to ransom. Such ransom was he was informed "worth £100,000 if he could be taken suddenly."

Many efforts were made to this end, but the gentleman eluded them all and although the town and castle

were taken there were no signs of the rich prize that was expected.

Here it was, that certain of Cumberland's commanders misbehaved themselves.

"Some," he says, "distempered with wine, some with pride of themselves or scorn of others so as there were very few of them but that fell to most disorderly outrage one with another."

This, Cumberland could not overlook. He called them together, read to them his commission, appointed to them certain rules and regulations and warned them of the penalties that would attach to disobedience.

A little later on we read of his calling a conference on board his ship, and consulting with the captains and masters, after dinner, respecting their further movements, giving at this time to all the other ships, sealed orders, to be used only in case the fleet got scattered, so that each vessel might know where to find the Admiral of the fleet. These orders in case of capture or shipwreck were to be cast overboard.

This conference was however but the preliminary to another and more serious one which is fully described by Layfield. At this, Lord Cumberland and Sir John Berkeley, alone, were seated, and all the other captains and masters stood around. The commission under the Great Seal was formally read, and then Lord Cumberland announced the purpose of the voyage, the capture of Porto Rico and as Layfield tells us, "after his Lordship had ended his reasonable and (as I think) very wise speech, a man might perceive something muttered rather than spoken against it."

There was no serious opposition to the plan, Cumberland with admirable skill having expatiated upon the importance and advantage of the undertaking and explained its possibilities of treasure; so each ship was set free to shape its own course as the captain thought fit, and in process of time all were assembled at the Virgin Islands, where a further conference took place.

This was attended by others than the commanders, probably by representatives from the entire crews, and after alluding to the insubordination at Lancerota and his leniency at that time, he inaugurated, from that moment, a stern but acceptable discipline.

“Let the warning I now give you,” says he, “drive these thoughts out of their thoughts that hold them. . . my over patient humour is now shaken off and I will neither oversee nor suffer to pass unpunished ill deserts. . . The sum of it all is that as you shall look from me to be commanded for your good so will I have you pay me all obedience and then will we be partners in all either profit or honour that is got.”

The needed lesson was appreciated, and there was no serious trouble in the fleet after that time.

Layfield expressly tells us, that the Earl always thought before he spoke, and always let the deed follow his word. He was therefore thoroughly understood, and as we learn from his narrative, “good conduct and discipline held through the remainder of the voyage,” and as he himself says, “they went with greedie desire and hopeful expectation.”

Space does not permit us to dwell upon all the details of the attack, the first attempts at which were unsuccessful.

Even the landing place did not seem to some of the captains as well selected, but Cumberland overturned their objections and gave his orders clear and distinct.

“So all you have or can say,” said he, “being now thoroughly answered, let me have no more speaking but get your men all into your Boats and follow in order as I have directed you,” adding with his customary skill that he did not desire they should take any risks in which he did not play an equal part:

A willing heart makes long steps with great ease I have beene sick and am now not strong, you shall goe no further nor faster than I will doe before you. . . I will goe before in my Boat and when you see my Colours displayed make all the haste you can to land. . . This doe with good heart and courage.

Even so, the venture on the rough and slippery road, with men wading on either side was not at first a success, and, in the meantime, Lord Cumberland himself had nearly been drowned, for

by the stumbling of him that bore his Target he was overthrowne even to the danger of drowning for his armour so overburdened him that the Sergiant Major¹ that by chance was next had much adoe at the first and second time to get him from under the water: when he was up he had received so much Salt water that it drove him to so great extremity of present sickness that he was forced to lye downe in the very place in the Cawsey till being somewhat recovered he was able to be led to a place of some more safetie and care in which place the Bullets made him threatening musicke on every side.

Meantime the first attack on Fort San Antonio took place, but it was fruitless. "For all this no entrance could be got," says the chronicler, and at last the English force had to withdraw for a while, having done considerable damage to the enemy, at comparatively small cost to themselves.

Then Lord Cumberland

having given the Souldiers some time to refresh themselves in the meantime went himselfe aboard so sicke that in truth he was to be feared with purpose to repose himselfe for that nighte but his thoughts were so busied and restlesse that within few houres he came ashore againe and presently put in execution a purpose which his Lordshippe had this meantime digested it was to land men at the other Fort.

This new piece of strategy was a success but meantime night came on, "the moone was growne so light

¹ This man we learn from the wording of a petition to King James was Hercules Foljambe, who for more than 40 years was engaged in such expeditions, and who declared that he had spent over ten thousand pounds of his own money in voyaging and in doing service to his country on the sea. He was, he says, to have been remunerated by the Queen for all this vast expenditure but she died before carrying out her intentions and he therefore appealed to King James (we fear without any success whatever) to have his great services recognised. He expressly states that he saved Lord Cumberland from drowning at Porto Rico in 1598 and was Sergeant Major of the Army. See *Collec. Topog. and Genea.* II. 85.

and the water fallen to so dead an ebbe that there was no hope of passage [across to the fort] till the next flood."

Besides all this, the men needed refreshment. That fort was therefore left, and the soldiers proceeded to make a night attack upon the town of San Juan, which was taken and held, but meantime most of the inhabitants had fled for protection to the various forts.

Some disorder ensued in the place and Lord Cumberland, before attacking the other forts, summoned a court martial to deal with two flagrant cases. One man who did violence to a Spanish woman was convicted of the crime and although an excellent soldier "who had given very good proove of his valour," he was condemned to die, and was hung in the Market Place in the presence of "as many Spaniards as would come" to the execution.

The other, a sailor, was accused of having defaced things in the Church and he also was condemned to die, but eventually, owing to great entreaty, was pardoned.

Of a third, a soldier who was over violently "spoyling a Gentlewoman of her jewels" we read that "his Lordship publikely disarmed him for unmanly and unmannerly usage to a woman."

This action on the part of the Admiral produced what Purchas quaintly describes as "much better termes of ruly obedience."

The newly planned attack was now continued, and was quickly successful, so much so, that the Spaniards sent out "to demand parley," but the terms they asked were not acceptable and Lord Cumberland dictated his own, which amounted to complete surrender. Those in command of the fort having received the Articles as they were called, from Cumberland, desired for fuller understanding that they might be rendered into Spanish, but Lord Cumberland with the glorious assurance that characterized these Elizabethan warriors,

PLATE XIII



The Map of the Porto Rico fight as drawn in colours in the "Lady Anne" Narrative. For details see page xviii.



and in a mood which was similarly adopted by Bismarck in the Franco-German War in 1870, "peremptorily refused to seeke their language but would have them to finde out his."

He gave them however some few hours respite, in which they might make up their minds. The result was an acceptance of the English terms and the forts were taken and occupied. The men had been safely landed near to the town of San Juan, to take it in the rear, the vessels had stood by and the soldiers had used their muskets with good effect from the opposite shore. The operation was really a brilliant success, as it had been carried out with practically no loss, only one man having been killed, and but three wounded. The vessel which had stood close in to the shore, to protect the landing force, had, however, been sunk by the enemy.

Cumberland, at length, had the whole place in his hands. Drake had failed to take it, he by fine strategy had succeeded in doing so, and, to the amazement of the inhabitants, who had declared their city not only a "virgin" fortress but wholly "impregnable," it had fallen! It was an important city with a cathedral and a number of good houses. The chronicle speaks of it as larger than Portsmouth but not quite so big as Oxford, but the situation and mineral wealth were more important than its size. It was now his, and he marched in with all the honours of war.

Presently the remainder of Cumberland's fleet delayed by contrary winds, came into port and two of the ships, the *Prosperous* and the *Objection*, were utilized to send away the captured prisoners, some four hundred in number, who were shipped off to Cartagena.

These were what Purchas calls "the baser Spaniards," but as two of the other vessels were appointed to guard those just mentioned, on them were placed the "Governor and some few others who deserved some respect."

Then Cumberland proceeded to make arrangements for retaining the place and for keeping a garrison there.

It was, says the chronicler, "the very key of the West Indies which locketh and shutteth all the gold and silver in the Continent of America and Brasilia." San Domingo, it was pointed out, could have been taken more easily and with "lesse losse" and it would have brought greater profit at the moment, but Porto Rico was the more important place for cutting the lines of trade communication and Lord Cumberland had no intention of letting it slip now he had captured it.

Yet, unfortunately, this is just what he had to do.

He needed five hundred men, at least, to garrison it, but he had made his capture at the most unhealthy season of the year, and the tropical rain and scorching sun brought on dysentery amongst the men, who were unaccustomed to the extremities of the climate of the West Indies, and were all the more exposed by reason of the sudden change in their food and drink.

By the beginning of July two hundred had died and over four hundred more were ill, so ill that "there was no great hope to recover the most of them."

Before Lord Cumberland left the place, the deaths had doubled in number and still there were four hundred lying ill, the most of them in such a condition "that they could not bring themselves aboard."

In this state of affairs, delays were dangerous, and it was quite evident to all, that Porto Rico must be relinquished, although with great reluctance, and the Admiral accordingly gave the requisite commands to evacuate the town.

Meantime one of the vessels, which had gone hopelessly astray and had only captured a ship "laden with Muttons and Hennes" had been forced to open its sealed orders, and had made for Porto Rico, stopping at Margarita and then at San Domingo on the way. It there heard of the attack and hastened up to render

assistance, taking possession, in the very harbour, of a carvell on which was found a treasure of pearls to the value of 1000 ducats.

Before departure Lord Cumberland opened up negotiations for the ransom of the town, but he was at a disadvantage in so doing, inasmuch as the Spaniards were fully aware of his predicament, and of the illness of his crew, and were therefore disposed to delay all replies to his messengers, hoping in time the English garrison would be so reduced that they could fall upon them and regain all that had been lost. Cumberland on his part was also aware that time was precious, and so the *pourparlers* were not of a very resolute character on either side.

Eventually a considerable booty of ginger, hides, sugar, and ordnance was taken on board and stowed away but the Spanish messengers were "subtile and craftie," and the spoil in consequence was not as large as was expected. Moreover there was treachery in the camp, and prisoners, and even messengers of high standing, who were held to ransom, were frequently escaping; and to add to all Lord Cumberland who had yet "a string left in store for his Bow" hoped that on the return voyage he might meet some of the ships from Mexico¹, and was therefore impatient to leave the island. It was therefore decided that he, on board the *Malice Scourge* and with the *Samson*, should depart at once and have associated with them the *Frigate*, the *Scout*, the *Elizabeth*, the *Guiana* and two prizes; and the remainder of the fleet, which included the other great vessels, should be left for a short time longer under the command of Sir John Berkeley, who was still seriously ill and unfit to leave.

¹ Trelawny, Mayor of Plymouth, writing to Sir Robert Cecil, September 9th, 1598, says he has been given to understand that 46 Spanish ships had gone out to try to intercept Lord Cumberland's fleet. Cecil MSS. VIII. 341.

That being so, he set sail on August 13th, so Layfield tells us, giving careful instructions to the remainder of the fleet concerning the journey, and where he might be found if it was necessary to seek him.

He made for the Azores, his customary place of resort, and fell in, first, with a great calm which lasted for some thirteen days, and then, with a fearful storm.

Layfield states that he "never heard any winde so high," and "oftentimes" the sea would "ship in waves into her of three or foure Tunne of water," and he adds "the ship would bee as it were in a pit and round about vast mountaines of water."

During this storm, the vessels of the fleet parted company, and when it was over Lord Cumberland found himself alone, but later in the day, was joined by the *Frigate* and a few days later still, by the *Samson*.

It was now September 15th, and the fleet came in close to the Islands, and Lord Cumberland sent out a Portuguese and an African with a flag of truce to the islanders, to ask if he might purchase food and promising them that he would pay for it and "would not use them more than in former times they had experience of him."

Meantime, he came to anchor at the E.N.E. side of the island, and presently, to his great satisfaction, was joined by the *Merchant*, the *Ascension*, the *Consent* and the *Pegasus*, as by this time Sir John Berkeley's portion of the fleet had sailed in the same direction.

On first sighting these vessels, there was some doubt as to whether they were enemies or friends, but after a while says Layfield in an interesting passage

we perceived them to have pendants in their fore-top-mast heads this put us out of doubt that they were of our owne fleet. For his Lordship at his departure from Puerto Rico had given them directions that every ship should so beare a pendant for a marke to be knowne of their friends and which would make strangers never a whit the wiser.

This gives us a further proof of Lord Cumberland's wisdom and foresight.

The flag of truce messengers, brought back word that the soldiers and crew were not to land, but that "his Lordship should have anything that the Island could afford."

The islanders were however "ill provided" as a Spanish fleet had recently visited them, and taken away almost all their store of provisions.

The news of this fleet was a little disconcerting to the English and Lord Cumberland sent again on shore for fuller details, commanding "Captaine Slingsby, a fine Gentleman," says Layfield, to "goe ashore and to learne more certainlie what was become of the King's fleet and why they came."

Slingsby returned late that night, with the desired information, and with a message to Cumberland from the Governor "that his Excellencie should have anything wherewithall they could doe him service and if it would please him to come ashoare they would take it as a great favour."

His extreme courtesy to them and the justice with which he had treated them, on other occasions, had borne good fruit. Presently, to emphasize the truth of the message, the Governor himself, Captain Juan de Fraga de Mendoza

came himself and made the same offer to his Lordship and withall brought both Hennes and Mutton with him which hee knew he should not give for nothing though hee would seem unwilling [a true Spanish characteristic of courtesy] to receive anything.

Lord Cumberland received the Governor, whom Layfield describes as "a poore Governor, God knows scarce as good as an English constable," with his usual politeness and affability, gave him a "Pass and Protection for his Islanders to keep them from spoil from his own men"; entertained him with "rich food and wine," gathered up his news, and then bade him a stately farewell.

It was clear, from the information he obtained, that the Spanish fleet had been recalled home, and that no treasure ships were likely to be met with, so a Council was called of the various commanders, and it was decided that there was nothing more to delay the return home. Lord Cumberland had an idea of visiting the various islands round about, before he finally left for England, but the weather prevented this, for a wind set up and blew them all away from the Azores, and close up to the shore of Normandy. They arrived in London, as Robinson's narrative sets out, on Monday, October 1st.

William Stallenge, who knew nothing of the arrival in London, writing to Sir Robert Cecil on October 6th, 1598, says that five ships have arrived at Dartmouth that "left my Lord of Cumberland in health about 18 days past." He goes on to say that Lord Cumberland was waiting at the Azores for the remainder of the fleet, that he had advised Lady Cumberland of the news and that Lord Cumberland had made a saving voyage but no great profit. He added that the ships were destitute of victuals and some had spent their masts and all this he had told Lady Cumberland¹.

Layfield records that if it had not been for Lord Cumberland's strong authority in contradicting the statements of the navigators and altering the course of the fleet to a northward direction, "all had perished in all likelihood on the Ushent and rocks."

For this voyage the fifth of the Patents granted to Lord Cumberland came into force.

It was issued by the Queen on January 14th, 1597/8, in the fortieth year of her reign, and as the Deed is still in existence and in perfect order, with the Great Seal attached, it may be of interest to give the chief part of it in full².

¹ Cecil MSS. VIII. 378.

² There is also a careful copy of it amongst the Clifford Papers in Lady Anne's three great volumes, vol. III. p. 77.

It reads thus:

ELIZABETH

To our Right Trusty Right Well Beloved Cousin George Earl of Cumberland.

Greeting. Forasmuch as duly considering the late hostile attempt against these our Realme and our person without just issue given by us wee are justly moved to enter into consideration how necessary it is for us to use all good means to prevent, impeach and withstand all occasions of hazard and danger of the like in time to come, and by all means to disable and weaken the strength and wealth of all and every person and persons so maliciously and injuriously effected and disposed against us, our dominions and subjects Wee lett you witt that knowing your approved fidelity wisdom valour and circumspection of our especial grace and mere motion we have made choice and doe by these presents give you authority to make choose and constitute such principal Officers as well by Sea as Land, and also to appoint and meet Captains and other persons whom you shall depute there unto by writing under your hand to take upp, levy assemble, arms and furnish with all and manner of victuals and warlike provisions whatsoever within any part of this Realme such and soe many of our loving subjects as are fitt and apt for the warrs to serve by Sea or Land as shall be willing thereto and as by you shall be thought expedient to serve in this Fleet under your charge. And with the same men such provisions and furniture shipped and embarked wee do authorise you in your owne person and by such officers also whom you shall depute by Sea or Land to invade and destroy the powers forces preparations or provisions whatsoever of the King of Spaine or any his subjects or of any Prince State or Potentate or the peoples or subjects of them or any of them that is not at this present in League and Amity with us. And the said persons their possessions Territories Dominions and Goods as well upon the Sea as upon the Continent or any Island belonging to such persons their adherents or subjects in hostile manner to invade and take and destroy as just and needfull cause shall require. And for your more strength and assistance we do authorise you to take into your charge your owne shipp called the Malice Scourge and such other ships of your owne and others which shall be appointed by you in your name not exceeding the number of twelve shippes and two Pinnaces at the most to the performance of the services aforesaid.

And forasmuch as you our said Cousin being at greate charges in the victualling and furnishing of your owne and other shippes aforesaid together with such other of our loving subjects which

shall assist and be employed in the said service or may bear adventure with you are to receive due consideration for their charges services assistance and adventures wee give you full power and authority not only to deale with our said subjects so offering to adventure and to accept and agree with them for the same but also to make distributions and shares of all such gains goods and prizes whatsoever that shall by the said Ships or any of them or their Captains jointly and severally be taken from any such enemies. . . . And we hereby straitly charge and command all our loving subjects which shall serve. . . . to yield all duty and obedience to you and those under you. . . . and give you full power and authority to inflict punishment by loss of limb or member or by Death. . . . as seems good to you. . . .

There are also charges to all the officers etc. that they shall assist the commander, and a statement that they will have to answer to the Queen herself for their refusal.

This Patent is dated the 14th of January 1598, in the fortieth year of the Queen's reign and is sealed with the Great Seal and countersigned "Carew."

There were prepared, moreover, in connection with this voyage certain articles of Agreement (18 items in all) between Lord Cumberland and ten other persons representing the City of London, four Aldermen, Paul Banning¹, Leonard Holliday², John Watts³, and John

¹ Grocer, Alderman of Farringdon Ward Without, 1593-99, and of Walbrook, 1599-1602. On the Committee of the E.I.C., 1600-2, 1606-7 (Treasurer, 1600-2). Died Sept. 30th, 1616, never having been Lord Mayor, Will (P.C.C. 99 Cope), Sept. 11, proved Oct. 20th, 1616.

² Merchant Taylor, Alderman of Portsoken Ward, 1594-1602, of Bread Street Ward, 1602-10, of Bassishaw Ward, 1610-12, Lord Mayor, 1605-6, knighted July 26th, 1603. President Bethlem and Bridwell, 1605-6. On the Committee E.I.C., 1600-2, 1606-7 (Treasurer, 1602-4). Died Jan. 9th, 1612. Will (P.C.C. 4 Fenner), Jan. 5th, proved Jan. 11th, 1612.

³ Clothworker, Alderman of Aldersgate Ward, 1594-1601 and 1605-6, of Tower Ward, 1601-5, of Langbourne Ward, 1606-16. Lord Mayor, 1606-7. Knighted, July 26th, 1603. Auditor, 1594-5. Col. of N. Regt Trained Bands, 1616. On the Committee E.I.C., 1603-4 (Governor, 1601-2). Master of the Clothworkers' Company, 1594. Died September, 1616. Will (P.C.C. 129 Cope), May 10th, 1613, proved September 14th, 1616.

Moore¹, and six others, Thomas Cordell², William Garraway, William Shute, James Lancaster³, Thomas Allabaster and Robert Waldon, who are all called commissioners concerning the conduct of the voyage, the value of prizes, the steps to be taken in respect to loss of any vessels or to Lord Cumberland's death and the distribution of profits, but these articles, which Lady Anne Clifford (Countess of Dorset, Pembroke and Montgomery) his only daughter, caused to be copied out in her volume of Records (vol. III. p. 78), appear never to have been executed, as they bear neither date nor signature nor are the proportions to which each was entitled inserted nor the tonnage and crews of each vessel of the fleet. The Commissioners by these Articles appointed four persons to act as their Deputies and Factors, Thomas Barnes⁴, Thomas Baxter, Fabian Gimber and Christopher Radcliffe; and Lord Cumberland appointed as his representatives, to act in all respects for him in his absence, and to deal with all his affairs, in case of his decease, William Ingoldby, gentleman, and William Farrand, gentleman, but notwithstanding all these arrangements which may possibly have had force, the actual deeds of appointment appear never to have been legally executed.

It would also appear by another unexecuted document that the three persons who had the chief interest

¹ Skinner, Alderman of Queenhithe, 1597-8 and 1603. On the Committee E.I.C., 1601. Master of the Skinners' Company, 1597 and 1601. Died April 20th, 1603, without having been Lord Mayor. Adm. (P.C.C. 26 Bolein), April 21st, 1603.

² Mercer, Alderman of Bridge Without, 1595. Auditor, 1590-2. On the Committee E.I.C., 1599-1607. Master of the Mercers' Company, 1605-12. Died April 1612 without having been Lord Mayor. Will (P.C.C. 32 Fenner), April 8th, proved May 4th, 1612.

³ Skinner, one of the founders of the East India Company and commander of its first fleet. He was named as Alderman for Cordwainer Ward in February 1612, but the election fell on Edward Barnes.

⁴ Haberdasher. He became Alderman of Cheap Ward in 1649, was Master of the Haberdashers' Company in 1655-6 and died, April 12th, 1667

in the success of the voyage were Lord Cumberland, Sir John Hart, Knight¹, and Alderman Paul Banning, and the latter, in addition to what was adventured by the City of London, one of whose representatives he was, seems to have taken a large personal risk.

It seems to be likely that the City put up certain moneys towards the cost of the entire fleet in respect of which these ten persons were named as commissioners, but as regards the *Malice Scourge*, the only three concerned in her prosperity were the Earl himself, Sir John Hart, Knight, and Alderman Banning.

The records and accounts of the voyage were ordered to be in the charge of Thomas Allabaster only.

Layfield in his narrative gives a lengthy and instructive account of Porto Rico and its inhabitants. He describes its size, soil, rivers, minerals, woods and timber, plant and animal life, fruits, products and spices with careful detail, giving especial reference to cassava, cocoa, maize, pepper, oranges, citrons, lemons, guavas, ginger, rice, cinnamon and other products which were of particular value, and concludes with a charming account of the Sensitive Plant, which excited his curiosity, and caused him much satisfaction.

For all this, however, we must refer the reader to the full account to be found in Purchas.

The State Papers give us some of the correspondence that took place concerning this voyage.

There are letters dated in January 1598 written from Lisbon, in which rumours are mentioned that Lord Cumberland was "at sea with thirty ships, eight of the

¹ Grocer, Alderman of Farringdon Without Ward, 1580-2. Of Queenhithe Ward, 1582-90. Of Cornhill Ward, 1590-5, and of Lime Street Ward, 1595-1604. Lord Mayor, 1589-90. Knighted before March 12th, 1590. M.P. for London, 1592-3 and 1597-8. Auditor, 1575-7. President St Bartholomew's Hospital, 1593-1604 (Treasurer, 1573-4). Surveyor-General of Hospitals, 1594-1602. Comptroller-General of Hospitals, 1602-4. On the Committee E.I.C. (elected Governor), 1602. Died January, 1604. Will (P.C.C. 1 Harte), January 8th, proved January 23rd, 1604.

Queens, eight of his own, and the rest merchants, to intercept the treasure or provisions coming to Lisbon," and others from Lord Essex to Cecil in February, saying that "Lord Cumberland had been ordered to put out to sea . . ." "to do what service he can upon the enemy," and a similar reference occurs in a letter from the Lord Admiral Nottingham to Burghley.

There is also a hint, in a letter from the Lord Admiral, written from Gravesend to Burghley, under date February 17th, that if only he would "make haste out" even with part of his fleet, "he might meet" some of the Spanish ships that were making for Calais and stop them, but as we have already seen he was not ready to start until March.

In April letters from Lisbon, notably one of April 7th from an unknown person to G. Glassier, announce that he had started:

"The archpirate Earl of Cumberland," it says, "is reported to be on the coast so that five great carracks laden and bound for the East Indies dare not go forth without convoy, thereupon all Dutch ships were stayed, but are released, except twelve or thirteen which are to see them out of danger."

Another correspondent at Lisbon, writing on May 1st, announces that these five carracks had given over their voyage and are discharging for fear of Lord Cumberland; these and other are to try to remove him from the coast and also to bring safe the carracks expected from East India in June or July.

This same person goes on to say that

"if these carracks had not given over their voyage, this place could have done nothing against the Earl and provisions are so scarce that the victuals that should have carried the ships to the Indies must victual this intended armada. Thus," he adds, "the small forces of an English Earl can shut in both the East and West India Fleet."

Finally in the same letter is the following interesting sentence showing what Lord Cumberland missed:

After the Earl of Cumberland had heard that the carracks were doubtful to proceed, he showed himself near the river and it was

thought he would have intercepted all provisions for this place till the expected forces came. Had he done so he would have gained the great store of victual &c, since come in and have famished the country.

A report reached London in May concerning his exploits, as John Chamberlain writing to Dudley Carleton, attending on the Governor of Ostend, on May 17th from London, says, "It is reported that the Earl of Cumberland has met with four carracks bound for the Indies, sunk one and taken two."

A further allusion to what he missed is found in another letter from Lisbon, written in June, describing how Lord Cumberland went to Lancerota and took it, and then goes on to say "had he continued here he had taken thirty corn vessels from Hamburgh, the Low Countries and Straits which had furnished his country and famished this."

The carracks with some other vessels, "seven of which have served the King two years without a penny's pay," the same correspondent says, "are going to the Azores to seek out the Earl of Cumberland or waft the carracks from the Indies," and he, as an Englishman adds, that if only the Queen would send "a fleet to intercept these forces the last estate of the Spanish would be overthrown."

Exactly the same information was given in Plymouth on July 30th by one Thomas Foreman of London, who had come from Lisbon and who reported the sailing of this fleet.

The news of the capture of Porto Rico was known in London in September, as Resould, the correspondent, to whose letters to Cecil we have already alluded, wrote from Lisbon on September 5th announcing that Lord Cumberland had taken the place, "surprised the castle and means to keep it," and a letter from Tobie Matthew to Dudley Carleton written from London on September 20th, says, "Cumberland has taken St Jean

de Porto Rico left Sir John Berkeley, his general there and gone elsewhere."

By October 3rd, as we know, Cumberland had arrived home and John Chamberlain, writing on that day to his friend Dudley Carleton at Ostend, says

"the Earl of Cumberland is come, with some of his ships; the rest are supposed to be on the coast for according to our custom they scattered each shifting for himself. They missed the Spaniards who awaited them," he goes on to say, "at the Terceras and who left the Island of Flores only the day before the Earl came there. All they have done is to take the town and castle of Porto Rico; the Spaniards knowing of their coming, the property had been removed. All the Earl has brought (chiefly sugar and ginger) is worth but £15,000 or £16,000 not half the charge of the setting out besides the waste of shipping and loss of 600 men. Some find great fault with the Earl," he concludes, "saying he neglected present profit in hopes of greater matter."

It is curious to notice how completely this and other correspondence overlook the military success of the expedition, pay little regard to its striking importance as a military and naval action; and do not in the very least appreciate the severe blow it struck to the prestige of Spain.

Resould, in his letter to Cecil from Lisbon under date November 29th, sees more clearly what has been done. He says that "before peace can be concluded the Spanish pride must be put down."

He realises that the Spaniards were "in fear" of Lord Cumberland's return and considers that he had acted wisely when he "left 300 men in garrison at Porto Rico, put forth all the Spaniards and gave liberty to the slaves who remain with the English," meaning to send "more forces which puts these parts in fear of his return."

His letter says that "the English should be encouraged by past success" and hopes "that as the Queen is now the ancientest prince in Christendom both for years, long reign and happy government she will be

the Prince of Peace," and terms her "the principal diadem of Christendom¹."

Another correspondent, Richard Bayley, writing from Brussels, to Colonel Sir William Stanley, under date November 19th, thus alludes to the voyage, but he again misses the main point of its success, regarding it solely from the Elizabethan point of view, of whether or not the adventure paid.

He writes thus:

The Earl of Cumberland has come home with his whole fleet five or six ships only missing whereof two or three are said to have miscarried and the others to have put into some haven of Brittany through tempests. He took Porto Rico by composition the soldiers to depart with what they could carry with them. Those of the town all fled as soon as they saw him bear into the port and carried with them all that was of any value. He brought from thence² fifty very good brass pieces, some sugars, ginger and cochineal but not enough to make it a saving voyage. Howsoever, he helped himself, the merchants that adventured with him would be content to take eight in the hundred of their principal; a gentleman soldier's share comes to but 10/- English which they disdain to take and the common soldiers go begging into their country, after the English manner, and yet some think that the Earl will be no great loser. Scarce a fourth of his men are come home and of eighteen of his own household, that went in the same ship with him, two only returned.

In October of this same year (1598) we know that Lord Cumberland was in Cambridge, because he was called in to quiet a brawl that arose between the students and some of the merry-makers at Sturbridge Fair.

It would appear that on the ferry-boat, crossing from Chesterton to Cambridge, a quarrel had sprung up and one of Lord North's retainers, a man named

¹ See as to above quotations: S.P. Dom. Eliz. 1598-1601, pp. 3, 25, 26, 27, 37, 41, 47, 51, 55, 75, 91, 97, 102, 119, 120, 159. Cecil MSS. vol. VIII. p. 526.

² Two pieces of brass ordnance we learn were sent from London to Portsmouth but the ship that carried them was driven by bad weather to St Jean de Luz, and there wrecked and the guns taken by a gentleman of the place for his own use. It is stated by a correspondent in 1918 that they are there still!

Parish, had wounded with his dagger one of the undergraduates.

An attempt was made to arrest him for the offence, but his fellow-servants and those of a certain Sir John Cutts, effected a rescue and hid Parish from those who would have taken him into custody.

Lord North, who was Lord-Lieutenant of the County and also Lord High Steward of the Borough, was attending the sessions at the Castle, and in the evening of the day, when there was great excitement amongst the scholars at the wound inflicted on one of their number, he appeared, clattering down the street attended by his followers, amongst whom should have been the man Parish. His way was barred in the street and some of the students seized his horse's bridle and demanded that Parish should be handed over to them. Lord North, commanding all his retainers to keep the Queen's peace and strike no blow, dismounted from his restive horse and addressed the crowd, delivering to the young men what the University records describe as "many honorable speeches."

He was then allowed to depart, and on reaching his inn, The Falcon, found there Lord Cumberland, with whom he consulted as to what should be done.

Meantime, the ringleader of the rioters again made a violent and insolent attack upon Lord North, requiring him to deliver up his servant to them.

Lord North replied that he did not know where Parish was, but that if he had known the whereabouts of the man he would not have yielded to a demand made in so turbulent and unlawful a manner.

He then made a formal complaint to the authorities of the University concerning the riot, and the ring-leaders were thereupon arrested and sent up to London for trial.

Meantime Lord Cumberland addressed the crowd, quieted down the disturbance, promised full enquiry

into the matter, and then from the Bear Inn wrote, at the request of the Vice-Chancellor, to Lord Burghley, the Chancellor, a full account of the disturbance, so that an exaggerated story of it should not reach the old statesman's ears when the prisoners arrived for trial.

The Cambridge records do not tell us what befell Nowell and Shaxton who were the leaders and were most to blame in the matter, but we learn that Parish was eventually captured and was imprisoned, and later on was required to give security to the University for good behaviour¹.

Lord Cumberland's letter reads thus:

My good lord Mr. Vycechancellor hathe earnestly entreted me to enforme your Lordship my knolege what passed, in a brouyle which lately was lykely to have happened betwyxte my Lord Northe and the Scolleres of the Uneversity. The oryginall grounde I am ignorant or nether can I to the fyrst beginnyng but desierus to have the matter well quieted I entreted all the Scolleres to assemble themselves together and here me speeke, whom I found very redy to satisfy me then demandyng of them the cause of ther suche assembly they answered it was only for the takynge agayne of Paris one of my lord Northe's men whoe by force had disobeed an areste immediatly before made by the officers of Eunyvercety the delyvery of whiche party they sayde they only required of my Lord protestyng to himselfe that they honoured him without thought of harme to his person or any about him that party excepted.—wherupone my lord gave then suche sufficient contente by his speche as they were well plesed toe gooe hoome with me to ther houses wher I lefte them not mackynge any further stirre that I did here of.

And thus lothe to troble your lordship with any further discourse this being the effecte of all that passed within my knolege I committ you to God.

From Cambrydge this 8 of October

Your Lordship to command,

GEORGE CUMBERLAND².

To my very good lord, the lord
Burley hygh Treserer of Englande.

¹ See Lady Frances Bushby's *Three Men of Tudor Times*, p. 157, and Cooper's *Annals of Cambridge*, II. 497.

² The actual letter written by Lord Cumberland is amongst the Burghley Papers (Lansdowne MSS.) in the British Museum, vol. LXXXVII.

The Lansdowne Papers¹ give us further details concerning the "brouyle."

Parish, they tell us, "was a very violent and turbulent person," and he had wounded several scholars of the University. A warrant was issued by Dr Robert Some, the Vice-Chancellor, for his arrest and given to Nicholas Gifford and Thomas Atkins, a singing man; both Masters of Arts, of Trinity College, to execute. They did, in consequence, arrest Parish on September 30th, when he was with Lord North² but his followers rescued him, Parish offering great resistance and using weapons,—swords and daggers,—against the holders of the warrant.

Later on, while Cumberland was actually talking to the students, they state that Parish was arrested by one Nowell and others.

The scholars who were wounded were, so these papers tell us, Walter Hawksworthe, Hughe Holland and another, and Parish tried his utmost to throw them from the ferry into the river.

The last allusion to Lord Cumberland in this eventful year which we have been able to trace occurs on the last day of the year, when he writes thus to the Earl of Essex:

1598. December 31. I entreat your favour in the behalf of Captain Evans, this bearer, whose desire is to follow you in these intended services. The man being known to you I will only desire that you will respect him as he deserves and the better for my sake.

From my house this last of December 1598.

Of the further history of the *Malice Scourge* we learn many details from the Court Records of the East India Company, extracted from the first volume of the Court Minutes by the late Mr Henry Stevens of Vermont and from other E. I. Co. Papers.

¹ See Lansdowne MSS. LXXXVII. 18.

² Lord North considered he was placed in some peril by this attack upon his servants, and he made a complaint to the Privy Council, charging the scholars with a riot and with a design to murder him. See *Athenae Cantabrigienses*, II. 292.

On September 27th, 1600, at a meeting of the Court the ship was offered to the Company by Mr Richard Staper¹ on behalf of Lord Cumberland:

“the same ship being offered unto them,” says the minute, “after they have furnished themselves of the proportion of shipping agreed upon by the generality, these Committees cannot by any warrant to them proceed in the buying of the same ship her burden being so great. . . but are of opinion that if she were prepared and fitted for service she would be a meet ship for the next years voyage.”

At a further meeting on October 3rd, as it was found that more shipping *was* needed for the proposed voyage than was at first supposed, it was decided that Lord Cumberland's ship should be taken into the docks, examined and surveyed, and six persons, Captains Lancaster and Mydleton² and Messrs Burrell, Chambers, Harryson, and Wyseman, with such carpenters as they might deem necessary, were requested to “search into all her defects,” and report in due course.

The Committee must have gone into the matter with extraordinary promptitude, made some enquiries at once and inspected the ship's papers, for at a Court the very next day they were present, and it was stated that “having perused the inventory of the said ship and made some estimate of her value” the Court offered to Lord Cumberland “for the said ship and all her ordnance, sails, cables, anchors and all her furniture, as she is now, the sum of £3000.”

It was, however, announced at this Court that Lord Cumberland would not accept £3000 but was disposed to take £4000, and from anyone else than the Company he would not accept less than £4500, so the Court

¹ Clothworker, Alderman of Aldersgate Ward, 1594. Treasurer of St Thomas' Hospital, 1597-9. On the Committee E.I.C., 1599-1603 and 1606-7. Master of the Clothworkers' Company, 1590. Died June 30th, 1608. Will (P.C.C. 72 Windebank), June 16th, 1601, proved July 12th, 1608.

² Grocer, Lord Mayor, 1614. On the Committee, E.I.C. 1599-1600 and 1603-4. Knighted, 1603. M.P. for Merionethshire, 1597-8. London, 1624-6. Died, 1631.

decided that the Committee heretofore mentioned, with four carpenters, should actually survey and view the ship and make a detailed report concerning it.

It does not appear that this report was really needed, for the Committee met in the afternoon of the same day to consider the matter, "to talk and confer about the price," and to this meeting Lord Cumberland came, "again himself telling them," says the minute, "he perceived what pains they had taken about this business but he said he would take no less than £4000." His impetuous nature is clearly reflected in the words which follow and which read thus:

which seeing they would not give (the £4000) he would lose no time more (said he) about the same but since they would not buy her he would proceed about his own business and so prayed them to do theirs, and so departed.

The Clerk slyly adds at the end of the minute "but they offered him £3500."

Within a day or two Lord Cumberland appears to have intimated that at a further conference it was possible terms might be adjusted, more especially as the Court was not disposed "to hinder the preparation of the voyage by resting in an uncertainty of shipping," and accordingly on October 7th "Mr Alderman Bannynge and Mr Alderman Holliday" met Lord Cumberland's agents Messrs Garraway and Allabaster in conference and after some bargaining "loosing and bidding and departing aside" the price was agreed upon as £3700.

This was to be for the ship and all her contents, as per inventory, and to include any fittings not mentioned in the said inventory "which in any way doth belong to the said ship."

After the arrangement had been made with his agents, the Committee interviewed Lord Cumberland himself, taking every possible precaution and "he himself" they add "coming hither and being made

acquainted what had passed touching the bargain of the said ship, by the said Mr Garway and Mr Albaster [*sic*] did, for his part, assent to the said bargain."

Another Committee was then appointed to provide all things necessary for the ship, and the Boatswain, William Burrage, was called in before the Court "to whose hands the custody of much of the rigging of the same ship was committed "by my Lord Cumberland," and was by the Court "entertained to look to the furniture of the same ship and to the work to be done upon her in furnishing her for voyage, the which," the minute adds, "he is content to do."

When payment for the vessel was made, Lord Cumberland agreed to retain an interest in her success, to be represented by fifteen hundred pounds, and he appointed Mr Cordell to have a similar interest or adventure, as it was termed, of five hundred pounds; but the balance of £1700 was paid to him by two warrants from the Treasurers of the Company, Alderman Banning giving him one for £1000 and Alderman Holliday one for £700.

These being paid Lord Cumberland sealed "the bargain and sale" of the ship.

He advised the Company at this same Court (11th October, 1600) that a chain-pump was very necessary for the ship and the Court granted the sum of £100 to the Purser of the ship for necessary expenses.

At the next Court, that held on October 15th, a new long boat "Carvell fashion" was ordered to be built for the *Malice Scourge*, and at later Courts various sums amounting to £1300 were granted to the Purser for his costs and £150 to the Carpenter for timber.

Some of the timber required in refitting the ship was not actually purchased by the Company, but was "borrowed of her Majesty out of the Storehouse at Woolwich," and at the Court held on November 7th a careful inventory was presented of all such timber

amounting in total to 791 feet which reckoned at 40 feet per ton came out at a little over 19 tons in weight.

At this same Court it was decided that 180 men were to be the full complement of the crew for the ship.

At the various Courts at which consideration was given to the purchase of his ship, Lord Cumberland was not present as a member of the Court, only coming in specially, as we have noted, when his presence was actually required, but so soon as the transaction was completed he took his accustomed seat, and his presence is specially recorded at the Courts held on October 16th and on November 6th and November 28th.

The inventory of what remained on the ship is carefully noted in the minutes of the Company.

There is the list of the sails, most of them marked "little used," there are four anchors and two cables, and a whole set of rigging is referred to "as the ship came from Chatham, saving that the most part of the small running ropes is spent and hath been otherwise used."

There was a long boat lying at Plymouth "very little used," and on board were 63 tons of ordnance, being 3 demi-cannons, 16 culverins, 12 demi-culverins, and 8 sakers, with 3 cwt. of shot, 4 dozen of cartridges, 120 rolls of matches (specially mentioned as decayed), and the needful appliances in the way of gunners' tackle, plates of lead, brass balls, brass ladles, wad hooks, etc.

The masts and yards are specified, the earthen pots for water, the hawsers, chains and hooks and the table in the great cabin with 4 stools and a chair are not forgotten.

The entire inventory is a very painstaking piece of work and is a credit to the attention given to it by the Committee.

Another interesting document sets forth the provisioning for the voyage, 500 men in the five ships having to be provided for.

Of these it was estimated that the *Scourge* being rated at 600 tons would require 200 men, the other four ships that were to accompany her, having respectively 100, 80, 80 and 40.

Bread, meal, beer, cyder, wine, beef, pork, peas, beans, fish, oatmeal, wheat, cheese, butter, oil, vinegar, brandy, honey, sugar, spices, mustard, rice, rape oil for lamps, candles and lamps, wax candles for cabin use, salt and water, all had to be provided and in varying quantities. Beer was given at the rate of a pottle per man per day, cyder at a quart per day, wine at a pint per day, beef at a pound per day and pork at half that amount.

Of brandy the *Scourge* was to carry six hogsheads, and of general food, such as wheat, cheese, butter, oil, fish, etc., no arrangements were made for the period during which the ships were expected to be close to land, only for the three or four months of the voyage. During the other part of the time the ships were expected to obtain their food from the places where they were.

The Committee was instructed from time to time to see that the work went steadily forward, and to watch over it at Woolwich from day to day, employing so far as was possible Woolwich men to carry out the work, and Woolwich shipwrights, carpenters and smiths.

One entry in this connection is of peculiar interest. An order was given to the Committee that

according as they shall see cause for the better holding together of the workmen from running from their work to drink, to allow them of the Company's charge a barrel of beer every day and to have a special care they leave not their work to run to the alehouse.

The difficulties with the British workmen in the present day are alike, it is clear, to those which existed in the time of Queen Elizabeth.

As the time approached for provisioning the ship the Company issued a commission to two of its Court

that they should journey down to the west country and purchase such victuals as were required, especially as regards fish, cyder, wine, peas and beans, meal and wheat.

Dartmouth, Plymouth, Exmouth, Seaton¹ and other places are specified as those they are to visit, and elaborate instructions as to price, packing, delivery and payment are set forth in the document.

Every possible care was to be taken that sound, good, and sweet provisions were secured and that all was carefully packed for the long journey.

The members were specially told to look out, when at Plymouth, for the boat that belonged to the *Malice Scourge*, to have her properly fitted up if her condition warranted the cost of such work, and then to have her despatched to London.

While the work of refitting was in progress an accident happened at Woolwich. An anchor belonging to the *Scourge* seems in November to have fallen foul of a crane belonging to a "pore man" and in recompense of the injury done the Company paid him £4 and took his receipt for it.

By this time the ship was sufficiently ready for equipment and in December the Court met to decide on the details of its crew, allotting to the *Malice Scourge* 4 carpenters, 4 calkers, 10 gunners, a steward and mate, a cook and mate, two surgeons, a barber, a general pilot and certain masters. A few days later Captain Lancaster was appointed to have charge of the ship, Henry Mydleton was made Purser and paid a further £300 on account of his expenses, Edward Stephens was made Chief Carpenter and paid a further £50, Ralph Salter was made Senior Surgeon and paid £32 to furnish his chest "with all kinds of necessaries and

¹ These were the actual places where Lord Cumberland himself had obtained victual for his men (see p. 140). Probably he suggested the places and the merchants to the E.I.C.

remedies belonging to a surgeon to be used in the voyage," a further large purchase of Canary wine for the voyage was made, and then finally on December 11th the name of the ship was changed and the minute states that

It is ordered that the great ship called *The Scourge* which is to be launched this afternoon shall be called hereafter by the name of the *Red Dragon* and no more to be known by the former name of the *Scourge*.

The later history of the vessel does not interest us so much. It now formed part of what was termed "the first voyage" of the East India Company and was the Admiral's ship, Captain Lancaster being appointed as its General, Captain Davies as the Pilot-Major of the fleet and Mr Broadbent as the Master. The other ships of the fleet were the *Susan*, more strictly the *Great Susan*, the *Hector* and the *Assention* (or *Ascension*), and to these was presently added a fifth and much smaller vessel for the conveyance of some of the indispensable stores of the squadron. This was named the *Gift* and might be cast adrift, it is stated, at the discretion of the Commander.

The *Red Dragon*, as we now know the ship, cost as we have seen £3700 irrespective of fitting up, the *Susan* cost £1600, the *Gift* only £300, but the Minute Books do not allude to the prime cost of the other two ships.

The Company spared no pains or costs in fitting up and provisioning the vessels, and was scrupulous also in the selection of officers. All of them were treated in liberal fashion as regards wages and allowances, and all the sailors were given two months' wages in advance.

There are several allusions in the Minute Books to later expenses for the *Red Dragon*, new iron work, new timber, new sails, painting in many places, new lanterns, platters, turnery work, flags and streamers;

and there are also several allusions to the barrels of beer and of wine which were put on board.

We also read of a silver fountain and bason being supplied, in weight some 200 ounces; a large silver standing cup with cover weighing 63 ounces; two large looking glasses, some daggers and some plumes of feathers, and many of these things were intended as presents to be given "to the Princes of the Indies where trade is to be sought." There were similar presents, although of lesser importance, placed on board the *Hector* and *Assention*.

The Admiral's ship also carried the largest proportion of money on board, having in "Newe money" no less than £2600 in bags and chests and in "Spanishe money about £1800 extra." The only other entries that are of interest concern the provision of table silver, cups, plates, basons, ewers and other pieces for the cabin use, the appointment of a preacher "Thomas Pulleyn" to accompany the fleet, and a rather lengthy dispute with a mariner of Colchester touching some damage to his ship by the anchor of the *Red Dragon*, a dispute which eventually the Company appears to have settled by a money payment, and concerning which they took the advice of Lord Cumberland himself.

The minutes are, however, full of interest, and record in emphatic manner not only the boldness and enterprise of the earliest managers of the East India Company, but also their care on behalf of all whom they employed, their wise discretion in making payments, their business habits of entering up all the costs and having them carefully examined and eventually audited, and their desire that all complaints should be considered and satisfied, and that no one should ever have cause to speak evilly of the Company, or make default of any obligations entered into. The extreme foresight and wisdom of their proceedings is very marked.

They were, as Sir George Birdwood has said, the "Pioneers of the unparalleled colonial and mercantile supremacy of modern England," and "these Elizabethan merchant adventurers—who so well understood when occasion called, how by transgressing, most truly to keep the moral law—will be for ever cherished and revered as of 'brave men and worthy patriots, dear to God and famous to all ages.'"

The final history of the ship was unfortunate. Monson tells us that "by foul plan and treachery she became a prey to the Hollanders where she ended her days in fire being worthy of a far better funeral."

CHAPTER XVII

THE YEAR 1599 AND THE CITY OF LONDON

LORD CUMBERLAND never returned to Porto Rico, although he had hoped to do so, and his return was always feared in Spain. Thomas Phelippes, writing to his cousin William Phelippes, who was attending the Lord Treasurer, under date July 6th, 1599, said:

they fully believed in Spain that Porto Rico which was taken by my Lord of Cumberland would be held and that both England and the Low Countries armed to sea, in extraordinary sort for maintenance thereof and to assail Spain itself, though there were no such thing¹.

It was not however Lord Cumberland's fault. He was ready for further adventure and was convinced that the Spaniards were preparing another Armada for the invasion of the country. He was moreover fully alive to the importance of British trade and to the need for a determined effort to sweep the Spanish and Portuguese vessels from the seas, in order to get the vast trading and carrying enterprise of the New World into English hands.

He realised, as did few men of his time, that British mercantile vessels were urgently needed, and that a determined effort, at the psychological moment, would make England supreme and do away, for ever, with the danger to her ever increasing trade from armed foreign competition.

From a mere privateer Cumberland had become a notable statesman with the broad and lofty views that characterised his age, and in proof of this, let us refer to the conclusion of his letter to Lady Warwick, a new

¹ S. P. Eliz. 1599, CCLXXI. p. 239.

and unpublished document so far as we are aware, which we extract from the Lady Anne narrative.

Purchas, as we have stated (p. 176), gives the main part of this letter, but his statement ends abruptly and he does not appear to have heard of the conclusion of the letter.

He states that the Earl exchanged the pen for the sword and implying that he thus left the letter incomplete, Purchas, to finish the story, had recourse to Dr Layfield's narrative, which he proceeded very cleverly to abridge.

Possibly the letter was not finished at the time. It may have been laid aside for completion, and we are inclined to suggest that this completion belongs to a somewhat later period than does the early part of the letter.

Certainly Purchas never saw it, but it is worthy of careful consideration and sums up in excellent language Cumberland's ideas on the West Indian expedition.

He could, it is evident, open his heart to his wise sister-in-law. She had, we believe, far greater interest in his voyages than had his wife, and was, we are told, a person of "nice discrimination" and "clear judgment." To her he unbosoms his thoughts, his desires, his aspirations and his hopes, and sets before her his views in the following striking phrases:

Thus Madame have I brieflie but trulie sett downe the whole course of my voyadge: From whiche thoughe I shall presentlie drawe litle to fill those purses it hath emptied: yett should I sucke thereby, sweet contentment if this begunne might be followed, which reasons unanswerable will urge. But I dare not hope, for havinge as you La^d. well knowes beene onelie a Fyre maker for others to warme themselves at, when I was thruste out of doores to blowe my fyngers in the coulde, and I thinke was borne like Watt of Greenwich to dye carryinge the Colebaskett: I might comfort my selfe with the most honorable man, yo^r honorable fathers worde Che sera sera: yett will I sett downe to you (which honorable ladie keepe to yourself) the gappes I have opened to the Enymies ruine and howe it maie breede his utter destruction if it be followed: All the worlde knoweth that knowes any thinge of the Spanishe

greatnes that it groweth, meerelie from the wealthe the East and West Indies yeilde: Both which if my begunne course be seconded in shorte tyme he shall loose, and presentlie muche of his proffitt. I take God to witness (before whome we must al answere) I went this tyme abroad more to doe her Ma^{tie} servyce, then for gettinge wealth, as it is made apparant by my proceedinges at Porto Rico: where if I would have left the place I could have had all the Gynger and Sugar in the countrie brought in to me which by good accompte was worth above fyve hundred thousand poundes besides good store of jewells and plate. But to returne to what I promysed and begunne with the East Indies, this yeare stopped fyve Carrack's from goinge thither by which the Kinge of Spayne lost hymself more than three myllions all the pepper that should have returned in them being his, besides his Custom which amounteth to a mighty matter. The losse of his Merchants was foure tymes so muche; for upon everie returne they double the pryncipall and this yeares returne they have cleane loste And though this were a great wound if there were noe more: yet have I toulde you the leaste. Theis Shippes never but once before failed goinge: and then all the Nations that trade with the Portugalls in these partes, were readie to rise and cutt their throates, for that they received not such comodities as their Carracks bringe and this yeare they are sure to wante: which will againe putt them in the like humour: But if another yeare they come not, then without faile yt wilbe performed and the great and riche people be lefte greedilie gapinge for any Nation to trade, that will bringe the like comodities wch I dare undertake the Merchants of London shall doe if her Ma^{tie} will staie the Carracks from goinge thither: But here maie you iustlie doubt, have her majestie shoulde staie them, alleadginge they will be wafted with good strength: Glad am I of it, the greater his losse: for that shall not save them. You will alsoe alleadge the Portugalls in the Indies are to stronge for those they trade with to harme them. To the firste I woulde aske but Sixe of the Queenes shippes and as many Marchantes: with whiche first I will staie all prohibited goodes that the Hollanders shall carrie into Portugall, and doe not onelie disapointe them of many necessaries the Countrie can hardlie spare, but make her Ma^{tie} and the Adventurers by them gayners then if the Carracks come for the unwafted they were sure myne owne if with men of warre I woulde saile by them till those were forced to returne: For returne they muste before they came neare the Lyne. And seeinge suche Attendants, my onlie feare if they will take the carracks back with them For if they parte lett me forever loose honour if they come not into England: But you see the worste that can happen is this, That they shal be forced to returne and then are their Indies loste: For it is not there as in the West Indies where the whole wealth is gotten by the Spaniards themselves: but what they have

they onlie gett by trade: themselves (I mean the Portugalls) beinge but fewe in comparison of their bordering neighbours, gett onlie by trade and temporizing courses, as I shall easilie make manifest. There be tenne severall Kings with whom the Kinge of Spaine hath comerce and trade, as the Kings of Bissoppoore, of Amdunnegar, of Culcanda, of Gussarate, of Pergu, of Sylon, of Molocke, of Chyna, of Japan, of Mozambique. Theis I knowe by good enformation, are able to arme at pleasure, without harmyage their Countries. Three hundred seaventy eighte thousand men, not as Indians or Salvages, for all theis cuntrye are civill, and the people goe clad with swordes, targetts, shott and greate store of horse. In all their severall countries dwell the Portugalls scattered and assurdelie. . . there is not above tenne thousand of them in those partes: which howe small resistance they are able to make againste soe great a force you maie easilie judge. Itt is seene through the whole worlde, that the cheapest sellers have moste buyers followinge them, and wthout contradiction we maie sell moste of the comodities whiche the Portugall carrieth thither much cheaper than he whoe hath them but at the second hand, and moste of them from our selves, being wollen clothes leade and saffron. And for the money coyned which he sendes, he is forced to fetch it for his comodities (havinge noe other growinge in his owne cuntrye then wee.) And as we should with more ease and greater proffitt doe then he canne beinge nearer the Northern Countries, which consume up all those spices then he is. That wee in shippinge and men doe farre exceede hym and all natyons of the worlde: I need not goe aboute to prove the case beinge without question: and beinge soe in myne opynion we should mightilie offende him that bestowed this rare blessinge upon us, to lett slipp this gracious-geven opportunitie of drawinge a perpetuall trade that will not onlie enrich our cuntrye, but breed numbers of men to strengthen the walles of our realme, and leave a blessed memorie of Queene Elizabeth (whome God ever blesse), that in her tyme and by her endeavour, that honest meane was founde and settled, that whilest the worlde endureth shall make England rich and invincible as without question multitude of shippes and marryners will make it, both which this breed in abundance. I will not here sett downe the severall comodities, that come from everie one of theis Kings least the readinge shoulde be too wearisome, but at your ydle tymes if you desire to knowe them, and I assure my selfe you will take pleasure to heare as I have done, whose desire is such to doe that worthie Queene and my cuntrye servyce, as if she will commande, I will either make a trade there or loose my carckas in endeavouring to doe it: And for the West Indies what I have done, this yeare maketh it apparant, that their strongest places maie be carried with reasonable forces if they be resolutie attempted. Porto Rico was thoughte invyncible and soe helde amongst them,

they called it the Maiden towne and feared noe force, yett loste I not by the enymie Thirtie men in gettinge it; There was in the towne seaven hundred men, foure hundred of them soldiers, that received paie of the Kinge: I did not land full seaven hundred, which goinge without Guydes came full upon their strongest places, yett as before I have shewed you, we carried it, though all our souldiers (except Comaunders) were men untrayned, and I assure my selfe had never seene land-service most of them. By this you maie judge, what with souldiers indeed is to be done in other places, and with much more ease than this was: For they had twentie daies warninge of my comynge, yett loste they as they call it the key of the Indies and fitlie they call it soe, for whoe soe possessed it, at his pleasure maie goe to any Chamber in the house and see howe they sleepe before he be either stopped or descried: soe as they must at everie doore keepe soe greate a force to garde them, as will consume a greate parte of their yearelie revenue, and sende it from place to place with soe greate a wastage as will (not without cause) make them curse their newe Porter: For when they have done what they can, they shall beare his chardge to their owne destructions and still be loosinge places both of strength and wealth: As firste to begynne this yeare, lett me be furnished to leave them fye hundred men, and then to goe forward able to land one thousande more, I will have my head stricken of when I returne, if I take not Panama when all his wealth is in it, excepte God doe by his hande overthrowe me: and that wealth broughte into England, what then mighte not Queene Elizabeth doe, for those places that have bene alreadye taken I speake not of them, but if they be desired agayne, with this force I will take them, for the Havana, which is thoughte invncible, this force will carrie it: but then it muste be when there is noe fleete there, soe the wealth wilbe litle, though in shorte tyme overthrowe all his trade in the Indies, it beinge the onlie place, that he hath for his Fleete that come from all partes of the Indies to meete at before they goe for Spayne which they shall not onlie be disapoynted of but good strength of English shippes beinge kepte there; they must of force meet with them havinge noe other waie to come for Spayne but there; but by beatinge it upp againste the wynde soe as they cannot escape if they be looked for. Howe all theis thinges maie be done will seeme strange, and many reasons makes me forbear to sett downe the waies of doinge them: But whensoever your Ladishipp will, I shall lett you see it is cleare and withoute doubt, if once we maie but dwell soe neere them as Porto Rico: All or anie of theis maie be accomplished, and that Skar-baby (for in truth hee is noe other) be forced either to peace upon what conditions we will, or loose his Indies this yeare, as he loste his trade for the Easte: soe did he alsoe into theis Indies of the West. For havinge certen intelligence from the Canaries that I had been

there he streighte comaunded all his Marchants fleete to be unrigged and soe staid them for this yeare. The Nova Hispania whither this Fleete shold have gone, beinge fyve moneths in the yeare contynualle haunted with wyndes, which they call Nortres that blowe soe terrible as noe shippes dare saile within that Baye which they call the Baye of Mexico whilst they raigne: soe as they have loste a yeares Trade.

This intelligence I had by a Carvell that came into Porto Rico whilst I was there takinge us still to be Spanyards: She came from an Island not farre from thense, which they call Margarita, whether, not three daies before she came forthe, there came an advise from the Kinge out of Spayne, and tould them this: and alsoe that he came purposelie to comaund the Fleete that was comynge out of the Indies, that they shoulde wynter at the Havana which is noe small losse to his Merchants to wante halfe a yeares returne at the leaste, and hym soe longe his treasure that he had readie to come home (as I well knowe by good intelligence) verie muche, his Merchants the greatest fleete that came at any tyme synce theis warres begune. But besides their longe staie there falleth another mightie perill upon them: They will without question disimbogue in Februarie which once they have done: But the Phillip being Admirall, and moste of the beste shippes the Kinge had in the fleete, they were by extreamytie of weather putt to suche distresse, as manie of them being drowned, all were dispersed one from another. And the Phillip beinge the best shippe he had with much treasure escaped hardlie drowninge, and came (though Admirall) poorelie accompanied into harbour, if not alone. The like I dare assure your Ladishipp, any of experience that knowes those countries, will judge is likelie to fall upon them: And then how faire a possibilitie are her Majesties shippes in, that shall lye for the Carracks upon the Coaste of Spaine, both beinge at one tyme of the yeare, and it is verie easie for hym that knowes howe to worke soe to use it as that expectance for others, shall hynder their other possibility.

Thus have I shewed you the service that this yeare I have done: which though perhaps yt shalbe litle accompted of and soe shall I loose a greate parte of my reward, which I wish might be but thankes and a good opynion which mighte defende me from undergoinge such disgraces as heretofore have been too heavily laid upon me, and perhapps would have discouraged manie from further endeavouringe: yett shall it whilst I lyve glad myne harte, knowinge that I have done unto her Majestie an excellent service and discharged that dutie which I owe unto my cuntrye soe farre as that, whensoever God shall call me out of this wretched world I shall dye with assurance I have discharged a good parte I was borne for. But I had almoste forgotten to sett downe one thinge verie materiall, what was my strength. Twoe shippes of myne owne and seaven

of the merchants. Yf theis Nyne thus hyndered all his Trades, what woulde the Queenes shippes doe if they were rightlie sett on worke? It is too longe to sett downe the severall waies they would wounde them: Onlie this I will nowe tell you: He muste be forced to inploie all his men of warre to wafte his other flectes.

Soe wee should not need feare invadinge, but might sett out our shippes to gett weapons from hym for his owne scourge.

I have sett downe heere manie things darkelie, but in which soever you will, I will at your pleasure satisfie you: For take it upon my worde (Honorable Ladie) if the flyinge abroade of his Crownes did hym noe more service, then all his other forces canne. England woulde in Tryumpe verie quicklye growe riche and great by his weakness.

Thus havinge performed you comaund (whose leaste word shall ever comaund me,) I earnestlie desire that when you have read yt the *fyre* maie be your Boxe to keepe it in: Not that there is anye thinge in yt

Which I will not with sound reasons
mayntayne, but that I am
loath my writinge shold come
to the worlde's censure:
and if one
heare but of
it more
will.

For (thoughe it be a farre contrarie match)
Both love and hate have eies alike to water.

Lord Cumberland was not the only person who believed in the imminence of another attack from Spain. Time after time there came rumours that the Spaniards were on the way, and preparations were made to resist the expected invasion, but Cumberland had better reason than most for his belief, as he was in direct communication with the country. Witness for example the following letter written by one Thomas Hawkins, who at one time commanded under him and who thus wrote from Lisbon to the Earl of Cumberland at Court:

May $\frac{2}{12}$ 1599.

Being in a small carvell on the coast of Spain with letters of reprisal I was taken prisoner by the Spainards with four men-of-war, and am in great misery, being strictly kept in Lisbon Castle, with

two musketeers at the door, where I am to remain until Augustin Demora Agilla, a Spaniard in Lord Burke's keeping, is returned.

Having the language, I can hear what they pretend here, which is altogether against my Lord Marshall and your proceedings. One Porter and a Spaniard who came with him into England have sent letters to Don John de Silva, Conde de Portallegra, on receipt of which he sent off letters to Madrid and to Seville, where the Court is on account of the marriage. The Conde immediately built a fort between St Gillens and Belle Isle on the point of Sta. Catalena, where are seven pieces mounted and planted seaward. In this castle, where were only seven they have mounted twenty. Their strength is but 600, good and bad, and some run away daily, for want of pay, and by reason of the plague, of which 52,000 people have died, but now it is nearly over. They have 2000 men ready to come from Brassis, 32 leagues from Lisbon.

The Adelantado has a great fleet making ready in Seville, and is expected on the 20th, and so for the Groyne, where are 12 new ships built in Biscay, called the 12 Apostles; he has many galleys and 24,000 soldiers; I know not where they are intended for, but an Irish bishop has been here five months for aid from the King, is in great favour with the clergy, and is now in Seville with the Adelantado.

On 25. February seven carracks sailed for the East Indies and three more on 1. April. The King's treasure fleet from the Indies, worth 28 millions, was scattered by weather, but all came home, except the admiral with three millions and seven merchant men; they arrived in Seville, 5. April.

The provision master is here, and has embargoed all the green fields and corn in the ground; three leagues about the city, 3000 horsemen are coming. Suriagoe is bound for the Indies with 30 sail and 6000 men; 3000 being old soldiers out of Brittany, their best men.

Wanting an opportunity of forwarding letter, I feigned myself sick of the plague to get into the hospital, but was belaid and brought back; I made this boy escape home with our letters. It grieves me to be left behind of your Indian voyage; I have neither clothes nor money.

P.S. The Adelantado has sent for 80 pieces of ordnance and 500,000 of biscuits; his coming is for England, and Suriagoe¹ is sent to meet you, this I know for certain.

When the rumours became more definite and insistent Lord Cumberland offered his service at home, if it was not desired that he should again go to sea.

¹ S. P. Eliz. CCLXX. 190.

He was bound to be "up and doing" as he himself phrased it. His was never an idle life and eager though he was for sport and ready to engage in all the diversions of a Court, it was adventure and war that he really loved, and if prevented from going to sea, he was equally ready for a bout at home.

By August 1599 it was thought desirable to take steps for the protection of London against the anticipated attack of the Spaniards, and a camp was ordered to be constructed. John Chamberlain in his letter of August 9th, written to Dudley Carleton then in attendance on the Governor of Ostend, tells us all about it¹.

The departure of the Spaniards was said to be then taking place, and their designs were upon London. The Lord Admiral was appointed General of the forces, Lord Mountjoy², Lieutenant; Sir Francis Vere³, Marshall; the Earl of Northumberland, General of the Horse; and the rendezvous was to be as before at Tilbury. Ships were being prepared also under Lord Thomas Howard and Sir Walter Raleigh; and Fulke Greville and the Earl of Cumberland were put in charge of the London regiments and the river.

Sir Thomas Gerard was to have commanded them, "but they would not have him for an old grudge since Parliament," and so Lord Cumberland was given chief command.

"He means," says Chamberlain, "to make a bridge on this side Gravesend like that of Antwerp so he got together all the lighters, boats, barges, anchors and cables to be found giving out that with 1500 musketeers he would defend it or lose his life upon it, but after much turmoil and expense," he adds, "it was given up and they think now of sinking some hulks in the Channel if need be."

¹ S. P. Eliz. CCLXXII. 282.

² Charles Blount, eighth Baron Mountjoy and Earl of Devonshire (1563-1606), served in the expedition against the Armada. K.G. 1597. Lord Deputy of Ireland, 1601.

³ Sir F. Vere (1560-1609), Governor of Portsmouth; benefactor to the Bodleian Library.

Great consternation was caused, he goes on to say, "by a false report that the Spaniards had landed in the Isle of Wight, there was cry of women, chaining of streets and shutting of gates as though the enemy had been at Blackwall, and," says he, "our weakness and nakedness disgrace us, both with friends and foes."

The Privy Council thus wrote to the Lord Mayor and to the Earl:

1599—Aug. 25.

Wheras her Majesty has by her letters joined his Lordship the Earl of Cumberland with you the Lord Mayor in care and charge of all martial causes: forasmuch as now the Sp[anish] fleet is discovered upon the coast of France and that there is now high time for every good subject to show his duty and affection to their Sovereign and country, it is Her Majesty's will and pleasure that with all speed you do put in readiness all the armed force of the City; as also that you do presently take care for the defence of the river with the crompters and such other vessels as are in the Thames to impeach the coming up of the galleys: in all this to proceed with all expedition, without such disputation and backwardness as heretofore hath been used as you will answer it at your peril. And where there hath been certain number of horses dismissed of part of her Majesty's army we do also require you to make stay of all such horses to be disposed afterwards as by her Majesty's general, the Earl of Nottingham shall be appointed. You must consider that by the disposition of the winds, they must needs be on the coast of England by this time being all at Conquet on Wednesday last¹.

Lord Cumberland himself addressed Sir Robert Cecil on almost the same day in the following terms:

My desire to have what is committed to me well discharged forces me to desire that with expedition I may have power to put these men of the City in some better order for except there be time to train them and that they be better overseen they will come to the camp little able to do service. Let me know what I shall do, for as it is, I lose much time to no purpose.

Then comes the old story:

After all this blustering the preparations slacken and the rendezvous at Tottenham is postponed.

¹ Cecil MSS. IX. 322.

Cumberland's commission is still preserved in the State Paper Office, dated August 11th, but it was not actually sealed till February 4th, 1601¹, long after this rumour had proved false and in the presence of another, almost as alarming.

This was in connection with the plot contrived by Lord Essex in conjunction with Mountjoy, Southampton and others, to secure the dismissal of Elizabeth's councillors and to rouse the citizens of London, for which he was proclaimed traitor, was tried at Westminster, condemned and executed.

The State Paper Office contains many documents relative to this notable occurrence, but one of the clearest accounts is given in a letter from Vincent Hussey to an unknown correspondent, under date February 11th².

From it we learn, in unequivocal fashion, how Lord Cumberland was on the side of the Queen and how from the very beginning of the discovery of the plot he took an active part in the support and protection of his Royal Mistress. Being in command of the London regiment, we hear of his sentries being posted in strategic positions in the City, near Ludgate Hill and St Paul's; and of the various steps he took to prevent the conspiracy being proclaimed in the City and in Westminster, and receiving in any way the support of the disaffected in these places.

There is an interesting report of the whole proceedings in the Cecil MSS. written by Sir John Leveson and dated February 16th, 1600/1. In it he speaks of Lord Cumberland being in charge, with the Bishop of London, of the entire military force of the City, and Leveson reports having met them both on horseback giving instructions for chains to be placed across the streets near to St Paul's that no one should pass.

Ludgate was he says locked, there were halberdiers

¹ S. P. Eliz. CCLXXXII. 290.

² *Ibid.* CCLXXVIII. 594.

near Bergavenny House and others near Carter Lane, and he describes the scene when Lord Essex and his party approached and desired to pass, and were informed that permission was refused by orders of Lord Cumberland and that pikemen were ready to resist any opposition to his instructions. Leveson also tells us how the Bishop and Lord Cumberland ordered the street "to be cleared of idle gazers wherewith it was much pestered¹."

Lord Cumberland was named² one of the Commissioners³ to sit at the trial of Lord Essex, and was one of half a dozen peers who were present at his execution in the Tower on February 25th, a long and interesting account of which, written by some unknown eyewitness appears in the State Papers under that date⁴. The only other allusion to him that we have been able to trace concerns a payment to him of £2691. 4s. 3d. for thirty-one pieces of brass ordnance captured on one of his prizes which he had sold to the ordnance stores⁵.

Perhaps it was for his services to the Queen on these occasions and also in partial recompense for the vast sums he had ventured for the Crown out of his private fortune, that there were granted to Lord Cumberland certain privileges with respect to cloth, which were the subject of constant correspondence and of many a bitter complaint on the part of others who deemed themselves aggrieved by them.

¹ Cecil MSS. xi. 60.

² *Ibid.* 551, 561, 594, 595; and see also Rutland MSS. vol. i. 362, 371, 373.

³ Another commission on which Lord Cumberland's name appears is that of November 24th, 1599 (see Rymer's *Fœdera*, xvi. 386), for the purpose of suppressing schism, and doing away with all schismatics.

⁴ There is also a long and interesting account of the trial and execution of Lord Essex—in which Lord Cumberland's presence is alluded to—contained in a letter written by the Archbishop of Canterbury (Whitgift) to the Archbishop of York (Hutton corresp. 157), on June 7th, 1600. The Pardon issued after the execution is given in full by Rymer (xvi. 455). It alludes to Lord Cumberland as one of the Commissioners.

⁵ S. P. Eliz. CCLXXIII. 359.

To this matter we refer in detail in the succeeding chapter.

Towards the end of the year 1599 there appears a letter from Lord Cumberland to Sir Robert Cecil regarding a suit he had in hand which may have had some connection with this cloth privilege, but we are disposed to think that it relates to quite another matter and implies that he had obtained some temporary relief from his embarrassment from Cecil, and was in addition endeavouring to obtain powers to sell certain lands in order to pay off the advances.

He wrote on December 20th that he

1599. Decr. 20. Had received from the Lord Chief Justice so good words with regard to his suit that he thinks he will have his best furtherance. The Lord Treasurer delivered to him her Majesty's warrant and wished him to send it to the Privy Seal and then the Lord Treasurer would take order for the money to be paid; out of which he (Cumberland) appointed there should be so much go as should redeem those things which he had of Cecil's but this stay will draw such an unexpected charge that he entreated Cecil to let them continue for three months longer¹.

The only other event that we have to chronicle as concerning Lord Cumberland in 1599 was that he was in treaty with Sir Edward Carye for the purchase of an estate called Grafton Regis, and had offered £500 for it. Lord Southampton also desired to possess the same estate, and there was some feeling aroused in the competition between the two noblemen.

Eventually Lord Cumberland obtained the estate and the place is often alluded to by his daughter. It was in Derbyshire and the house was eventually destroyed by fire².

He also acquired from the Crown the manorial rights over the same property and was styled "Steward of the Honour of Grafton." It was in the manor house

¹ Cecil MSS. IX. 416.

² *Ibid.* 198.

of this estate that he entertained King James and Queen Anne on more than one visit¹.

¹ Lord Cumberland had another estate in Derbyshire called Darley Manor or Darley Hall. It passed into the possession of Roger Columbelle whose Commonplace Book is amongst the Woolley (Derbyshire) MSS. in the British Museum.

In this book (see 6702) and in another of the Woolley MS. (6687, folio 351) may be found deeds relative to this property. In a third volume (6705) will be found papers as to other Clifford property in the same county.

CHAPTER XVIII

THE FINAL YEARS OF THE REIGN OF ELIZABETH

SUCH information as we possess concerning Lord Cumberland's doings in the last few years of his life, is derived mainly from his letters to his wife and from the correspondence which he kept up with his constant friend, Sir R. Cecil.

It is evident that early in 1600 he was at Court and the following letter to Lady Cumberland appears to relate to this time and refers to her journey from Grafton to London.

He writes thus:

Sweet Meg,

As you willed me, I have done as much as I could for Bolton. To what end it is brought, I refer to him to show you. The coming of the Commissioners is now certainly agreed upon. Her Majesty removeth to St James's upon Monday, that Whitehall may be made ready to receive them in. My Lord Chamberlain commanded me from the Queen to send for thee, but I required to come and fetch thee, which I hope to obtain, and am promised to be excused, that we both tarry at home, which well pleaseth me, if thou wilt be contented, for I too well have tried what discontent long absence hath brought me into, and best know how easily by thy sweet kisses it is to be clean banished with no one to receive. Blame me not for being short, I have a sufficient excuse, which I will not show till I see thee and thus, farewell wishing that, when I prefer not thy good before myself, God may confound me. I end, this xi of March.

Thine, never to be removed,

GEORGE CUMBERLAND.

To my only and best loved wife the Countess of Cumberland.

Lord Cumberland's present to the Queen for New Year's Day of this year is carefully chronicled in the State Papers. He presented "one pettycote of white

sarcenett embrothered all over with Venyce silver plate and some carnacon silke from the East like columbines." His wife on the same auspicious occasion gave "one paire of bracelettes of golde conteyning eight peeces like knottes and eight rounde peeces garnished with small sparkes of rubyes pearle and half pearles."

In return for these handsome gifts the Queen presented to them "nearly forty four ounces of gilt silver plate¹."

On May Day of that same year he presented a show on horseback before the Queen, and on this occasion an Ode to Cynthia was sung by some picked singers.

This Ode which Davison preserves for us in his *Musical Rhapsodie* runs thus:

The ancient readers of Heaven's Booke
Which with curious eye did looke
Into Nature's Story

All things under Cynthia looke
To be transitory

This the learned onely knewe
But now all men finde it true

Cynthia is descended
With bright beams and heavenly hew
And lesser starres attended

Landes and Seas she rules below
Where things change and ebbe and flowe
Spring waxe olde and perish

Onely Time which all doth mow
Her alone doth cherish

Time's young hours attend her still
And her eyes and cheekes do fill

With fresh youth and beauty
All her lovers olde do grow

Cut their hearts they doe not so
In their love and dutie².

While at Court he was consulted by the Queen concerning a further expedition, and on May 5th he writes fully to Sir Robert Cecil narrating the circumstance

¹ Nichols's *Progresses*, III. 446, 447.

² Davison's *Musical Rhapsodie*, 1611, 197.

and placing before her responsible Minister the information that the Queen had begged him to procure. The letter reads thus:

1600 May 5. It pleased her Majesty two days since to talk with me for the putting some ships to sea and commanded me to set down what the charge would be to victual them. My own ship can have no less than 400 men, the two merchants 150 apiece.

The proportion of their victual I send you herewith for four months which is long enough, considering how far the year is spent.

Precisely to set down what the victualling will cost, I cannot as yet, not having enquired what the prices are, but I am sure £3000 will be the uttermost & so I dare undertake it. Thus much I pray you inform her Majesty and excuse my not attending with it, being now in good faith so discouraged with the manner of her denying me a suit which I moved at my late speech with her Highness, as I protest my heart is near broken, and if it were directly so I should be glad, if honour and conscience continually awaked not my thought to consider the just scandal of the world and heavy burden to my soul, if I should end, as too many have done before me leaving what I owe unsatisfied. Wherefore, since after my long attendance, with neglect of my poor estate, adventure of my life, hate of all thoughts that were not for her Majesty's service or profit, I have gained no better opinion than to be a deceiver, it is time for me to creep into a corner, where, hiding myself from company my frugal course out of my own shall pay what down my last breathing I will heartily wish for. It would never have troubled me if the rent I offered, had been thought too small, or any particular in it excepted against, so as being referred to the consideration of any, it might have been rejected or allowed upon conference; but at the first to be judged a cosener, and so absolutely denied, it sticks near me and forces me now to entreat you, as the last favour I will beg at your hands, and the greatest you can do me, to draw her Majesty's allowance to my private course in the country where time and care shall scrape out of my own living to pay all men.

If the journey pretended proceed, I pray you get of her Majesty's ship to go in place of mine, for I have done hoping, and yesterday James Sutton brought me word that a Fleming which long has been desirous to buy her, is come over and we will agree, whatsoever I lose, for my thoughts must turn from intercepting of carracks, to sowing of corn, from rigging ship to breeding sheep and from honour to clownish cogitations¹.

¹ Cecil MSS. x. 139.

The enclosure was an estimate¹ for the victualling of 700 men for four months with the allowance of, for every man, 1 lb. of bread and 1 gallon of beer per day; four days in the week every man to have 2 lb. of beef per day, and three days in the week every four men to have two messes of fish per day. Every mess of fish to be made of the third part of a ling, also every fish day every four men to have half a lb. of butter at dinner and a lb. of cheese at supper.

Other items mentioned are water-casks for water, wood, candles at 6 lb. per day in three ships, oatmeal for sick men, pease, vinegar and mustard seed.

It is also clear from this letter that Lord Cumberland had been making application to the Queen in more formal fashion for some recompense in return for his long and arduous exertions on behalf of the Crown and for repayment of some of the monies he had expended, and by which he had crippled his estate in very serious fashion².

Further information concerning this suit is supplied by the State Papers, for in that same month (May 1600) he presented a petition to the Queen that he might have granted him a licence for twenty-one years at a rent of £500 a year to the Crown to buy and sell yearly in the realm "1000 sarp cloths of wool," and with power to prohibit aliens from buying wool without his licence and a grant to him of a moiety of "all forfeitures accruing from transgressions."

Furthermore he prayed for the sole licence during the same period to export white broad cloths undressed "with a similar moiety of forfeiture provided that all transported by strangers pay double duties."

¹ "A proportion," as it was termed.

² As far back as 1591 we find he was so heavily in debt that he had to pay Lord Shrewsbury some two hundred pounds a year for "intreste." This appears from a curious document amongst the Lambeth MSS. relative to monies advanced to Lord Cumberland by Lord Shrewsbury. The rate of the interest is not stated in the document. See Lambeth MS. 707. M. 67.

It seems as though he had asked for this further favour for his exclusive use, the Crown obtaining no rental whatever for it, because in a second State Paper we learn that, so valuable was it found to be, on more careful examination, that Lord Cumberland was willing to pay to the Queen £1000 a year rental for it.

As regards the first petition, in a third document it was pointed out that similar privileges had been granted in the past with no rental to the Crown, whereas this was, it is stated, "a liberal offer," as £500 a year would gladly be paid for it.

By later documents it would appear that both privileges¹ were granted, and at the same time Sir Walter Raleigh was given his patent for overlengths of cloth, Lord Thomas Howard his for rights and dues over "Venice gold and silver," and a Mr Swinnerton his for dues "for wines."

There are several allusions to the petitions against Lord Cumberland's privilege, on the part of the Company of Clothworkers of the City, with whose privileges it interfered in grave manner, and these disputes which came to a head in 1603 continued down to Lord Cumberland's death in 1605, and also, against those who succeeded him. There are many allusions as late as 1610 to the controversy. It was however the method recognised at the time, by which those who expended their own money for the State and adventured their lives for State purposes, were repaid by grants that actually came out of the pockets of the merchants, and by an arrangement which saved the Crown the trouble of collecting, and gave it a nett sum in the way of receipts without the burden of officials or of book-keeping².

It was, it must be confessed, a system which lent itself to misuse and was the cause of much exaction and

¹ Cecil MSS. xi. 326. S. P. Dom. Eliz. CCLXXXI. 44 and also several allusions in the Foljambe Papers.

² S. P. Eliz. CCLXXIV. 430 and CCLXXVI. 517.

of bitter and ever increasing opposition, but it was persisted in, for a long space of years.

Lord Cumberland would appear to have been ill during this year, and we believe that a letter to his wife which only bears the date of October 4th, was written in 1600 and concerns this illness.

Probably the Mr Butler, who is alluded to in it, was the Dr M. Butler who in the previous April had written to Sir R. Cecil and had mentioned Lord Cumberland's name. It is clear from his letter that he was a physician. He wrote on behalf of a "poor desolate lady" in "dire necessity" for a bezoar stone¹. He heard that Lord Cumberland has become a "merchant venturoure" into the East Indies and has brought "good store of the East Indian bezoars," and begs Sir Robert to intercede with him for the valuable remedy he requires².

In the same year, Butler wrote, in great haste, direct to Lord Cumberland begging him to try to persuade the Queen to take a lease of certain land belonging to the Master and Fellows of Gonville and Caius College. It appeared that the College was unable to grant a lease for this land to anyone but the Crown, and he was anxious to get the Queen to do this and then to get the lease re-assigned to him³.

This letter was addressed to Lord Cumberland at his house in Clerkenwell but there is no specific date (save the year) affixed to it.

Lord Cumberland's letter to his wife reads thus:

Sweet Meg,

I thank thee for thy kind lines whose performances shall bring more happiness than the world, and health than Butler or any other Physic can afford me. I determined this day to have come towards thee, but am by Mr Butler directed otherwise, for though

¹ Cecil MSS. x. 132.

² *Ibid.* Concretions found in the intestines of various animals, especially in Persian goats, and at one time in great demand in medicine as antidotes against poison. They were also regarded as valuable astringents.

³ *Ibid.* 450.

my physic have, I thank God, wrought very well, and I well after it, yet so soundly it hath purged me that he will not suffer me to stir till Thursday, so as I cannot be with thee till Tuesday, at which time God willing, I will not fail. I did promise by a letter I writ my Lord Treasurer and my Lord, by Captain Monson, to be with them this week, which now I cannot, by reason of Butler's directions, wherefore I pray thee, let my Lord Admiral know so much, and desire him to excuse me to My Lord Treasurer till Wednesday, at which time I will not (if God will) fail to be at Court with them, thus committing thee to thy heart's contentment and myself to thy love.

I end this IV of October,

Thine only, GEORGE CUMBERLAND.

To my loving wife the Countess of Cumberland.

The Lord Treasurer is again referred to, in a letter Lord Cumberland wrote to Sir Robert Cecil in April of the same year thus:

1600. April 18. I much long to let you know what this day I have learned which I take it, will much further our business and draw my Lord Treasurer to friend us. This bearer, I pray you, give leave to speak with you, and pardon his motion from me¹.

The petition to the Queen, to which allusion has just been made, did not at the time receive favourable consideration.

Elizabeth as usual played with her favourite, put him off with honeyed words, reminded him of what she considered "gracious dealings" with regard to the *Madre de Dios*, when in fact she took £100,000 and only allowed the man whose ships actually captured the vessel about a third of that sum; and in her usual vacillating fashion, determined not to grant his petition till she was compelled by circumstances to do so, in the hope always, that such circumstances would never arise.

Cumberland had to appeal to Sir Robert Cecil and did so in pathetic fashion in the following letter:

1600 July 14. Urged by grievous necessities I took time yesterday after dinner to move her Majesty, whose answer was, as long as it has been, that her own weighty affairs will not yet afford leisure to have consideration of mine. Then I alleging, as true it is, that I so

¹ Cecil MSS. x. 113.

much follow this to satisfy my creditors that Her Highness has some respect of me, as for the profit, I was answered with the old objection of her gracious dealing when the carrack was taken, to which I forebore to reply resolved rather to lose the hope of it than, pleading truth, to displease.

I have spent in sea journeys, I protest, £100,000. How that carrack was taken, the world knows and upon what direction, but the pleading of all this, or what soever, I forbear, and rather become a country clown with husbandly care to work out of my own in long time what shall pay my debts, than with speaking truth urge her Majesty's consideration and so displease. Yesternight in the garden, I again attended and there had such gracious usage as I forebore to speak one word touching my business fearing it would have altered the course I take most comfort in. But alas! my mean to maintain me here, and my mind, are so differing, as, forced to fly to your favour, I beg that as ever you will do for me who for dutiful affection to his prince, desire to serve his country, true love to yourself, may be equalled but not gone before, that you will relieve mee out of this distraction and either draw my suit to consideration or getting me her Majesty's other answer despatch me into the country where I will end my days in toil and prayers¹.

Shortly after this we hear of Cumberland presenting to the Queen a petition from one Francis Dacre for a pension, which Her Majesty said she was willing to grant if he would go to live in Germany. He preferred, however, so Cumberland says in a letter to Sir R. Cecil, to go to Venice, and he had begged Lord Cumberland to help him to arrange this, and as he was "in great debt," to obtain for him the first allowance of his pension before he left².

Then Cumberland left London for hunting, but as by that time the Court was at Oxford he was not very far distant, and was able to write to Cecil on August 2nd as follows:

1600. Aug: 2. I purposed tomorrow to have given you my attendance at the Court but galloping after my hounds I have got a blow upon my leg which makes me too lame; and hearing that her Majesty holds her purpose to proceed in her progress, I beseech you remember me, for if there be nothing done before she remove, all my protestations will get me no more credit³.

¹ Cecil MSS. x. 234.

² *Ibid.* 291.

³ *Ibid.* 261.

He arrived at Court, however, later on, and took part in a masque, under the character of a "pensive and discontented knight." For this performance we have in the papers at one time preserved at Bolton Abbey, the third of his speeches delivered before the Queen, and the only one, we believe, of the three that had ever been in print before the issue of this book. It should be preceded by a letter which Lord Cumberland wrote to Lord Burghley in April 1597, and which was fastened to it when Whitaker discovered them both at Bolton Abbey¹, because it would appear as though it was the disappointment caused by Cumberland's being refused the Governorship of the Isle of Wight that gave rise to this display of pensive grief. Lord Cumberland certainly had been badly treated. He had spent his own estate lavishly in the service of the Crown, and had reduced his personal income enormously in so doing, while almost all his efforts to obtain some response had been treated with disdain. In this speech he makes one more effort to present his case to the Queen's attention, and clothing his words in the rhetorical phrase and flattering conceit of which he was so able a master, he appeals once again to "Cynthia's brightness" to obtain his well-merited deserts. It may be remarked in passing that "Cynthia," so highly flattered in this speech, was at that time a lady of sixty-seven years of age.

The letter to Lord Burghley reads thus :

To my very good Lord the Lord Tresorer of England.

My good Lo.

26 April 1597.

As ever I have found your lordship willyng to dooe me kindness, soe I besiche you (nowe in the tyme when muche it may pleasure me, bothe in my reputation and estate) to geve me your best furtherance. I here hir majestie will bestowe the Ile of Wyght upon sum suche as shall ther be resident. To w'ch condicion willyngly

¹ This letter and the document were certainly at Bolton Abbey in 1872, but cannot now be found.

I woulde, as is fittyng, tye myself; not w'th such eumerrs [humours] to sea-journeys as heretofore have caried mee; but, by just discourge, tell myselfe to what shall neither gett envi, nor geve color for falce informations I protest to your lordships desier of inablyng myselfe for hir majesties servise cheeflyest drew me w'th greedyness to follow thos cources all this yeare, as your lordship knowes ther hath bene lycklyhoud of my employment, and generawly spoken of. Now I here it is otherwyse determyned, to w'ch I willingly submitte meselfe, but soe sensible of the disgrace, as if hir majestie dooe not showe me sum other token of hir favor, I shall as often wyshe myselfe dead as I have houres to lyve. For my fittnes to govern that island I leave to your lordships judgment; but this I vooe, he lyves not that w'th more duty and care shall kepe and defend it then I will; and if by your lordships good meane it may be obtayned I shall thyncke hir majestie deales most gratiusly with me, and ever acknowledge myselfe most bound to your lordship whom I com'tte to God, and rest your lordships to command,

GEORGE CUMBERLAND.

Then follows the speech which is headed :

A Copie of my Lord of Comberlande's Speche to ye Queene, upon ye 17 day of November, 1600.

This knight (Fairest and Happiest of all Ladies) removng from castell to castell, now rowleth up, and downe in open feild, a field of shadow, having no other m'rs but night-shade, nor gathering anie mosse but about his own harte. This mellancholly, or rather desperat retirdness, sommons his memorie to a repetition of all his accions, thoughtes, misfortunes, in the depth of which discontented contentedness upon one leaf he writes, *utiliter consenesco*, and musters up all his spirite to its wonted corradge; but in the same minut he kisseth night-shade, and imbraceth it, saying, *Solanum Solamen*. Then, having no companie but himselfe, thus he talkes w'th himselfe: that he hath made ladders for others to clymbe, and his feet nayled to the ground not to stirr. That he is lyke him that built ye ancker to save others, and themselves to be drowned. That when he hath outstript manie in desert, he is tript upp by Envy, until, thos overtake him that undertooke nothing. He, on the confidence of unspotted honour, leveld all his accions to nurse these twinnes, Labor and Dutie, not knowinge which of these was eldest, both running fast, but neither formost. Then casting his eyes to heaven, to wonder at Cynthia's brightness, and to looke out his owne unfortunate starr: with deepe syghes he breathes out a twofold wishe, that the one may never waine while the world waxeth; that the other may be erring, not fixed. Howe the two haith troubled ye sacred eares, mine with glowing and tingling, are witnesses; but they shall confess that their eyes shall

prove their being lyers, being as farr from judgment as they are from honor. There is no such thing as night-shade; for wher can there be miste or darknes where you are, whose beames wrappes up cloudes as whirlwindes dust? Night-shade is falne off, shrinking into ye center of the earth, as not daring to showe blackenes before your brightnes. I cannot excuse my knightes error, nor care that he knows it, to thinke he could cover himselfe obscurely in anie desolate retirdness wher your highnes beautie and vertue could not find him out. These Northeren thoughtes, that measures honor by the acre, and would have his crest a plase, he controwles so far in his truer honor, that [he?] contempes them. He now grounds all his accions neither upon hopes, counsell, nor experience, he disdaines envy, and scornes ingratitude. Judgement shall arme his patience; patience confirme his knowledge, which is that, yourselfe being perfection, knaves measures number and tyme to cause favour wher it shold, and when you please, being onely constant and wyse in waiging with true stediness both the thoughtes of all men, and their affections; upon which he soe relies that whatsoever happen to him you are still yourselfe (wonder and happyness) to which his eyes, thoughts, and actions are tyed, with such an indissolvable knott, that neather death, nor tyme, that triumphs after death, shall or can unloose it. Is it not, as I have often tould ye, that, after he had throwne his land into ye sea, ye sea would cast him on the lande for a wanderer? He that spines nothing but hopes shall weave up nothing but repentance. Let him cast his accompts sinc he was first wheeld about withhis will wheele; and what cann he reckon, save only he is so manie years elder? Haith not he taken his fall, wher others take their rysing, he having ye Spanish proverbe at his backe that should be sticked to his harte, "*Adelante los Abenstados.*" "Let then hold the purses with ye mouth downeward that hath filled them with mouth upwards." He may well entertaine a shade for his manners that walkes in the world himselfe like a shadow, embracing names instead of thinges, dreames for trouthes, blind prophesais for seeing verities. It becomes not me to dispute of his courses; but yet none shall hinder me from wondring to see him that is not to be, and yet to be that never was. If ye thinke his body too straighte for his hearte, ye shall find ye worlde wyde enoughe for his body.

Of the year 1601 we have but few facts to chronicle. Where Lord Cumberland was in the early part of the year save in London we do not know, but we meet with his name in the autumn. The Duc de Biron had come over from the French King as a special Ambassador

and Elizabeth was to receive him and his suite at Basing House.

He had brought with him the Count d'Auvergne formerly Grand Prior of France, and a great troop of attendants and servants, and as he was travelling with so vast a suite, it was not easy to arrange for horses and equipages to convey them all into Hampshire. Meantime, they had landed in London and Lord Cumberland seems to have been given charge of the Embassy and instructed to make all arrangements for the entertainment and conveyance of the special Ambassador and those who were with him. He was probably on his way up from Basing House to London, when the Ambassador and his suite arrived, and, busying himself, as he had to do, with the duties of a Master of the Horse, and with arranging for the conveyance of a number of persons into a remote country district, he was quite unable to arrange for the entertainment of the Ambassador or for hospitality. This apparently he had left to others and they were probably indifferent and had neglected to perform their duties so much so that under date September 7th, 1601, Sir Walter Raleigh thus wrote to Sir R. Cecil from Crosby House concerning the matter:

I am glad I came hither for I never saw so great a person so neglected. Not one nobleman or gentleman to accompany them nor to guide them and it is so long ere they heard of my L[ord] of Cumberland as they thought they were neglected. We have carried them to Westminster to see the monuments and this Monday we entertained them at the Bear Garden which they took great pleasure to see. Hath been with them Sir A. Savage¹, and Sir Arthur Gorges² who hath been their guides without whom they had been left alone. Their horses will not be provided till Wednesday morning. The posts say they cannot take up horses without commission from the Council. I sent

¹ Knighted at Cadiz, 1596, by the Lord High Admiral and the Earl of Essex, acting under Royal commission.

² Sir A. Gorges (*ob.* 1625), poet and translator, made a version in French of Bacon's Essays, and also rendered into the same language several of Spenser's Poems.

to and fro and have laboured like a mule to fashion all things so as on Wednesday night they will be at Bagshoot and Thursday at the Vine. It were good that A. Gorges¹ and A. Savage were commanded to come with them. They speak French well and are familiar with them².

On the same day, however, Lord Cumberland was writing himself to Cecil an urgent letter explaining the difficulties. He wrote thus:

I hear you are advertised already of the Marshalls stay here till Wednesday but I thought good to let you know the cause.

Himself was very willing but by no means could so many horses be got as he desired.

As I came through Bagshott this day, I was in all the inns, and I assure you it is impossible to lodge his train there. If you would direct that he might lie the first night at Staines there is better convenience for all things and it is better to make the first day's journey the shortest.

This letter was endorsed:

For her Mäties Service, Hast, hast, post hast. Clerkenwell the 7 of Sept. at night. Stanes XII at night³.

All we can say, in conclusion, is that the Ambassador *was* duly received by the Queen and that Lord Cumberland was amongst those who were duly in attendance when he paid his respects to Her Majesty.

We also happen to know that when Lord Cumberland was at Court he took part in running at the Tilt⁴, because he is mentioned in one of the Cecil letters as having, "although feeble," come off first of the runners, showing that the prowess which distinguished him in early days still marked him in this, his favourite sport. We further hear in incidental fashion of his having a long interview with the Lord Treasurer on September 4th of that same year⁵.

Our history of the following year is taken almost exclusively from the Cecil papers.

It commences with a letter written by Lord Cumberland to Sir Robert Cecil in, it is believed, the early part

¹ See p. 244, n. 2.

³ *Ibid.* 384.

⁴ *Ibid.* 540.

² Cecil MSS. xi. 382.

⁵ *Ibid.* 381.

of the year, concerning a park belonging to Sir Arthur Savage¹ over which it would appear Lord Cumberland claimed certain rights, but the State Papers, while just alluding to the difficulty as though it were well known, give us no details concerning it.

On February 22nd, however, Savage himself writes to Cecil in the following terms:

Although I long have had cause to fear your hard conceit of me yet could I never find the reason wherefore I will not despair of your favour till some more evident testimony be shown which I hope never to deserve. In my petition to you touching my park, I found your Honour estranged; and therefore addressed the Queen who first promised me a letter to my Lord of Cumberland to order him to suffer me to enjoy the park or repay the money it stood me in. But being importuned to the contrary she refused to write, but sent me word that he would deal well with me. Yet his man Taylor told a brother-in-law of mine that he would enter upon the park presently without any manner of satisfaction. I know not how I stand reputed by you, but I think not you will deem the course taken with me to be *summum jus*. I therefore refer myself to your honourable censure².

To this Sir Robert appears to have replied somewhat formally, that he was not disposed to take Sir Arthur's part.

Whether the controversy had arisen in connection with the Duc de Biron's embassy may perhaps be surmised as the names of Savage and Lord Cumberland are there brought together (see p. 244).

Cecil's letter reads thus, and is termed a minute of expostulation:

If you have cause to doubt my favour, tell me why you doe soe for it is the fashyon I like and to such a question I will make you an honest answeare fitt for my profession which is nether to flatter nor doe injurje.

If you cannot tell why you doubt me, you will not like my answeare for to surmises I am domb. If it be because I would not in your perticular cross my Lord of Cumberland then I answeare that you must ever looke for a great difference when your perticulers are in balance³.

¹ See above p. 244, n. 1.

² Cecil MSS. XII. 648.

³ *Ibid.* 539, 573 and 674.

Later on in the year Cumberland was evidently not in London. He was distracted by his financial difficulties, which were becoming more and more serious and it seems clear that he went down to Skipton to raise some money from his tenantry or to dispose of some more of his land. There he amused himself with hunting, and kept up a frequent correspondence with Sir Robert Cecil, who seems, with the most praiseworthy consideration, to have retained all his letters, however slight their interest may have been. Thus on June 10th he writes that he has sent a stag and buck to Sir Robert "such as Craven now affords," and continues "If he were at the eating of a piece of them he would compare either with Elham or Chesterford though he is far from the sun and the poorness of his last brought up stags, much discredited him."

"How I shall come contented to you," he adds, "for the despatch of my business here, I know not: but for a horse, a setting dog, and a farcell for the field, I will return so proud that Flint had need to look about him¹."

A little later, on July 16th, he writes to say that his return is delayed by business at Skipton and continues that "The encumbrance of his debts has so long distracted his mind that he has not attended as he should, nor done her Majesty the service he would." He doubts not "a small time will clear these mischiefs" and begs Cecil to procure him "liberty to tarry there till it be effected²."

Still, he does not return to Court nor show any sign of doing so, and on August 26th writes again:

"How I am busied this bearer can inform you; most days doing nothing but making bargains with my tenants, who now (though it were long ere I could draw them to it) are yielding to so good a course as I hope will effect the purpose I came down for and clear my debts."

"But I fear," he adds, "it will hold me here till after Michaelmas

¹ Cecil MSS. XII. 190.

² *Ibid.* 227.

so as I shall not bring you up the hawk I promised, but my man shall, as soon as he is ready, and I hope he is as good as any that ever you had. My Lord President doth use me exceeding kindly, I pray you thank him for it¹."

Michaelmas, however, came and passed, and Lord Cumberland lingered in Yorkshire writing to explain his absence in four more letters, one dated September 30th, one in October and one October 12th, and one, written on some unknown date in the same month.

The September letter concerning the hawk and horse he was presenting to Cecil reads thus:

Sept. 30. That I sent not your hawk till now I hope you will excuse, since he was so slow in mewing it was not possible to get him sooner flying.

This morning was the first time he was cast off this year, and though it was not possible he should shew any flying, yet his stirring so well, pleased me that I hope you will like him. And for the horse, I promised you, he is in my stable, but I forbear to send him till my own coming not willing to trust anybody with his carriage out of my sight till you have him delivered, for I persuade myself you never had his like for ease, shape, colour, mettle and gentleness².

The October letters announce his return to Court, but they speak of an accident which had befallen him and of his regret, that by reason of it, his arm was incapacitated from bearing a weapon and he would have to be but "a tame spectator" on the occasion of the next tilting display. His success in hunting had, however, allowed him the privilege of sending another stag to his good and constant friend. He thus writes:

Oct. Till now I have not answered your letters, being loth to write upon uncertainty, before this day, not seeing what day certainly to be in London which now shall be the 7 of November without fail.

Then shall you see how my arm is, if it will perform what I desire, there shall be no want, if not, I will honour the day with my purse and sitting on horseback though I entreat another to perform my courses. My last letter will satisfy you what my fear was though necessity of business made me make a rash request³.

¹ Cecil MSS. XII. 321.

² *Ibid.* 407.

³ *Ibid.* 459.

Yet another letter on the same subject reads thus :

1602 [perhaps Oct. 3]. I heartily thank you for the news of the galleys overthrow, which is more pleasing to me for the good which I hope will grow out of this fortune than for the service itself, though it be a very great one. Her Majesty will clearly see by this year's success how easily the great eagle's feathers may be pulled if their counsels be followed, who only respect herself and the general good.

I have had this summer a miserable fortune so as to lame my right arm with the fall of a horse, as I fear I shall never [have] the perfect use of it, and sure I am it will not [be] possible for me to run at tilt so that if you could get me this year freed, I were very happy, for my business here are much more tedious than I expected, and I leave the weightiest of them unfinished if now I come away, but I pray you if the motion will be any way ill taken forbear it. Her Majesty's contentment shall ever be my chiefest study, as, when this country business (which I hope will make me a free man, though with sale of some land) are ended, my daily courses shall clearly manifest¹.

And then again on the 12th of the month :

I do imagine my last letter makes you much wonder that I who was so long in coming into the north should now be so slow to come out of it. The remembrance of my late miseries and clear knowledge to raise as much as will free them, is the true cause. But though it would fit with my occasions here to be at this time spared, and besides, I shall not be able to carry a staff, yet if you find it will draw any hard conceit of me, forbear to urge it, and upon word from you I will be ready to ride amongst the tilt though I can do no more. It was my hap to kill a stag very lately, which was so good at this time of the year that I resolved to send him to you for a dainty; but there came such a misfortune to some part of him, as I have but some pasties which I presume out of your love to me, you will accept².

All again that we can say, is that his name appears in the lists of those who were at Court in November of that year, and the only other fact that we have discovered relates to a claim that he made for some money in connection with a West Indian adventure.

He claimed the greater part in the adventure of the ship called the *Watt*, but it was pointed out that strictly he had not a penny adventured in that voyage

¹ Cecil MSS. XII. 574.

² *Ibid.* 439.

(1602), as the bark belonged to one Jennings of Portsmouth, the victualling was defrayed by Captain Middelton (*sic*), "my uncle Renegar," so Sir John Gilbert says, and others.

In the previous voyage of the *Watt*, Lord Cumberland had been an adventurer, but all the victuals he put into the bark were used in that voyage and did not form part of what was consumed this time.

Middelton¹, however, was Cumberland's servant, and Cumberland was claiming on his behalf and had arranged to settle up with him².

The stock was of pearl and pepper. The negotiation was carried on with a Mr Oglethorpe, "Lord Cumberland's servant," and the claim on October 7th, 1602, was for a third of the value £141. 17s. 11d. and the cost of a pinnace £60³.

It appears to have been settled in his favour and the money and goods delivered on October 17th⁴.

To complete the story so far as the reign of Elizabeth is concerned we have little to add.

There is a letter from Lord Cumberland to Sir Robert Cecil under date March 14th, 1603, which alludes, once more, to the difficulty with Sir Arthur Savage and conveys some intelligence concerning him which it was hardly safe to put in writing and which Cumberland's servant was to convey by word of mouth only, and then finally there is a letter from Lord Cumberland to the Lords of the Privy Council in reply to one which had been sent to him when the Queen was seriously ill, instructing him to see that there were no riots in the event of her decease.

He was at the time at Skipton⁵, and his reply is a very wise and discreet one.

He refrained from taking any active steps in the

¹ See persons of the same name mentioned on p. 126 and p. 166.

² Cecil MSS. XII. 114.

³ *Ibid.* 425.

⁴ *Ibid.* 445.

⁵ *Ibid.* 698.

direction of preventing a possible disturbance but was fully on the alert in case difficulties arose.

So we leave him as we enter the new reign in which unfortunately he had but a couple of years to live.

The two final letters read thus:

March 14. To Sir Robert Cecil. I received your letter the 12 of this month but forbore writing till this bearer—who I knew would safely deliver my letters—returned home. I am infinitely bound to you and for your favour to me, be assured that if any friend of yours have any suit in these parts I will find him an honest and kind jury. I miss exceedingly, my Lord, your brother, at York for I never saw so many good hawks fly together as I have now and it troubles me that there are none in this country worthy to look upon them.

Sir Art Savadge dealeth very strangely with me as this bearer can tell you.

I pray you give him leave to speak with you and then give him your directions and help. Except I now get Sir Ar avoided I cannot tell where to settle my brother and his wife who of purpose I brought out of Yorkshire to dwell there that I might have a resting place with them, my own home being as you know it is¹.

March 15. To the Privy Council.

I received the 15 of this month your letter wherein I understand the ill disposition of her Majesty's body upon whose health our happiness consisteth. Where your Lordships wrote me to take extraordinary care to prevent any disorders upon such occasions, my fear is, that if the country (which as yet is all quiet) should see me, that never dealt in any country causes, now intermeddle in them, it would cause many idle conjectures amongst them. So I forebore to do anything more than watchfully to listen till I have further directions from your Lordships².

Skipton.

There remain for mention two reports from him still preserved in the Record Office relative to the condition of the people on the borders of Cumberland, and made in view of any political change. They are dated November 1604.

At the very end of the year 1600, however, occurred

¹ Cecil MSS. XII. 674.

² *Ibid.* 675.

an event connected with Lord Cumberland's name that was to have a far-reaching effect and was concerned with the events which made England become the greatest colonizing country of the world.

It was nothing less than the establishment of the East India Company, and if Lord Cumberland had no other claim to remembrance, and had made no other mark upon English history, his claim was set out and his mark was made, when on the 30th of December 1600 Queen Elizabeth granted the first Charter of the "English East India Company" to this adventurous nobleman incorporating George, Earl of Cumberland, and 215 Knights, Aldermen and Merchants "into one body politic and corporate by the name of the Governor and Company of Merchants trading to the East Indies."

The Charter was granted for 15 years with exclusive powers and contained a clause stating that if it was to the advantage of the Crown it might be renewed at the expiration of that term. The first voyage made by the Company was in the very next year, 1601¹.

The two final letters written by Lord Cumberland to his old friend Sir Julius Caesar come into the narrative at this point. In the first, dated April 1601, he alludes to a suit then in hearing before the judges of the Admiralty, concerning a man named Richard Manning, who had sailed with him to Porto Rico, and had died at sea. There was, it is clear, some difficulty respecting his affairs, and Lord Cumberland sets out definitely in this letter his desire that justice should be done to the heirs of the deceased sailor.

The second letter, dated February 23rd, 1602, concerned quite another matter, and it is evident from it that some man to whom Lord Cumberland owed a sum of money, and who had agreed to take £150 in discharge of his debt, was becoming impatient at the delay in payment, and had at length presented what he

See History of The East India Co., by Robert Grant, 1813.

considered as his hard case in a petition to the Queen herself. Lord Cumberland had already paid him £50 on account of his debt, and was quite unable to pay the remainder until his own rents had been received, but he was greatly annoyed that application had been made to Her Majesty, and begged Caesar to intervene on his behalf, and to see that neither the Queen nor himself were bothered in this fashion again. These are the letters:

Sr. I have by this Bearer Willm Priest Chirurgeon my servannt been made acquainted with a suyte now prosecuted against him before yow in your Court of Admiralty by one James Manning about his Brother Richard Manninges will, who dyed in my jorney to Porto Rico and certein tryfling Legacies by him then bequeathed, which at his spetiall apointment were all or the most parte of them then at Sea delivered and disposed accordingly as he hath sett down in his answer upon his Othe and the said James Manning when first he understood thereof was (as I parceive) no whitt displeased but gave allowance therto as I think will appeare yf he be examined upon his Othe, But now it seames he is otherwise mynded rather to take the whole Benefitt of his goodes, then any was carefull for the performance of his will, and so possesseth himself of them by way of Administration and so would overthrow the will. I have known many dye at Sea, that have in like sorte bequeathed their apparell, instrumentes or what els they had to some their frendes their, which being things then Needfull for present use were allwaies as the manner is at Sea delivered forthwith. You know thinges done at sea are, nor can be allwaies done, in that order, or dew form, that the lawe Requireth. And besides he makes demand of some sugar and other comodities whereto his Brother himself yf he had Lyved could not have had any interest in his own Right but for the generall account and that might well appeare at the Retorn of the Voiadge, for then was all suche thinges taken from Priest himself as he had any way gott together in the jorney, untill by my order they were delivered him again, and the like course was taken with all others. I howld Priest to be an honest man and I persuade my self howsoever his doinges therin may be warranted in strictnes of lawe yet hath he done nothing contrarie to the Testators trew intent and meaning My desire therefore is That you will call bothe the parties before yow and first lett Manning be enjoyed to shew you the will, and then upon examination of the matter so order it as may be moste agreable to equitye and conscyence, for which I will hartely thank you, and take it as a kindnes from yow done the rather for

my sake and so with my right hartie comendations I Bidd you farewell
from ye Co^{rt} this of Aprill 1601.

Yo^r verie loving frend

GEORGE CUMBERLAND.

Address—To my verie Loving frend
Mr Doctor Ceesar one of the
Maisters of the Requests to her Ma^{ties}
And judge of the heigh Co^{rt} of Admiralty
these dd.¹

Good Mr Doctor Ceesar Your letter was delivered me as I was
Riding towards Grafton and so Northwardes, Neither had I anie
menne to Return yow answer till now I ame verie sorie her Mat^{ie}
hathe been trobled wth that matter. But suche is his importunitie
as he will receive no answer, but suche satisfaccon as partly his
willfullnes and partly his Necessitie enforceth. It is needles for me
to speake of the matter itself is my own excuse. The order and end
was made, that he should have a hundreth and fiftie Poundes. Yow
cannot but understand, that hitherto, (my Busynesses not being
settled) money hathe been skant with me I have alredie paied him
50^l. parte of the 150^l. And I did assuredly Promis him, which I
will perform, to pay all the rest at Whittsontide for then and not
before shall I have money coming in and dew unto me. He then
seamed contented with this otherwise would I have paied him none
till I had paied him all together I do therefore hartely pray you call the
fellow before yow and Lett him know my answer, and that if he will
not desyste from trobling her Mat^{ie} he will geve me cause to deale
more strictly with him then otherwise I mean to do, as he shall fynde.
I know the man is poore, and do therfore more pittie his case, and
will have regard therof. And so Lothe her Mat^{ie} should be any
more trobled with this tryfling cause which I pray yow prevent,
as I putt no doubt yow may upon this my so reasonable offer for
which I will thank yow I do with my verie hartie Comendations
Bidd yow farewell from Grafton this 23 of Febr 1602

Yo^r verie Loving Frend

GEORGE CUMBERLAND.

Address—To my verie Loving frend
Mr Doctor Ceesar Judge of
the Admiralltie And one of
the Maisters of the Requests
to her Maty^e

Note—Mr Oglethorp my Lord of Cumberlandes man lyeth at
the Doges hed in the pot within Ludgate².

¹ Brit. Mus. Add. MSS. 12507, fol. 158.

² *Ibid.* 12506, fol. 147.

Finally there is a group of letters from Lord Cumberland to his wife, seven in number, which it seems impossible to date, and which have no special importance from a historical point of view. We may perhaps refer to them here.

One of them is very early, as it is dated from Channel Row, and seems to be of a jocular character.

It is possible that it was a birthday letter written soon after marriage, as it accompanies a necklace of two rows of pearls sent to Lady Cumberland by her husband, and a silver lock from her brother, besides alluding to a jewel of greater value which was perchance being prepared for her.

The others are merely agreeable and affectionate letters, breathing a goodly love for Lady Cumberland, an affection which was never lost, although unfortunately often tarnished, by her careless and over indulgent husband.

Throughout his long and adventurous life this affection for his wife was a passion with him. Many times he must have fallen, but many times he returned to her, and, as we shall see in his last pathetic letter, he expressed his sorrow for all his misdeeds and explained that in all, her image had been ever before him and he had never lost the affection for her that in early days he poured out at her feet.

The early jocular letter reads thus:

Good Ticke,

If thou knowest how true I am, thou wouldest thyself here to [tease him, Bubbly, tease him¹] I am merry when I trust to thy truth, which shall be requested when I by trial I know, else God condemn me. I have sent by Watty two rows of pearls, which I wish may please thee. Your Francis hath sent you a lock of silver. It opens with this word Jacobus. Thus for want of time I cease,

¹ This is the nearest which can be made of the words that are damaged.

desiring you, that, as occasion will serve, I may hear from you and be rewarded with truth, as I do deserve.

From Channel Row.

Yours from all others,

GEORGE CUMBERLAND.

I am put in some good haste to have your jewel, being xxx pounds.

The others are thus:

My sweet Meg,

If my leisure had served, you should before this have had some of my scribbled lines, whereof, though now the time be very short, you shall have some. I can at this time say no more, but assure you that I will continue me as constant in everything as I have professed. Sweet Meg, think not anything that I say no more at this time, and hereafter I shall make amends for I assure thee, there shall no messenger pass with whom you shall not hear from me, and, good Meg, let me require the like of thee, which I assure you myself shall not be denied till to see you. The hearing of thy well doing shall only content me, and thus wishing thee as many good haps as ever had creature, and myself to be soon with thee,

I end, thine never to be removed,

GEORGE CUMBERLAND.

To my only beloved wife the Countess of Cumberland.

And

Dear Meg,

Let the earnest entreaty of a troubled heart obtain the comfort to be beloved, comforting thyself with the assurance of my wonted and unfeigned whole love and me, on the happy fortune of a contented heart, which only thy thoughts can bring me. If my courses have given cause to think the contrary, assure thyself my continuing fortune, and not will, hath caused it, which proof shall manifest, if God send my return. Thus, hoping you will satisfy my desire willingly, pleased to leave all fortunes (this course ended) for thy love, I commit you to God.

Yours only and ever,

GEORGE CUMBERLAND.

To my only beloved wife the Countess of Cumberland.

And again :

Sweet Meg,

I have heard from Margaret, and our business goeth effectually well forward. I thank God I have made the Queen acquainted with it, who hath despatched me to mine own content, so as I doubt not by God's [will] but to have a happy end of it. I think to be with thee this night, if not to-morrow, when thou shalt know all the proceedings.

Thine only,

GEORGE CUMBERLAND.

To my loving wife the Countess of Cumberland.

Yet again :

My sweet Meg,

Blame me not though I be not very sorry for the disease which the infectious Cockles hath bred their sting. I have thereby to obtain that favour as to 'scape me, laughed at for my ill diet being rewarded which the like punish your servant truly in worth of great good liking, for truly he hath discharged his business he was credited in very carefully thus with his commendations, who is ever pleased when he heareth of thy well doing yet never satisfied till he see thee.

I end, as I have vowed,

GEORGE CUMBERLAND.

To my loving wife, the Countess of Cumberland.

And thus :

I fear me, my sweet Meg, lest my many letters of so small substance might much trouble you. If it be so (though I mistrust it not) I pray thee excuse me, seeing it is that which doth and shall content me till I see thee. I have not anything now at this time worth writing but to give thee ten thousand thanks for all thy kind letters, which I assure thee are the only companions that any way contented me in thy absence. Good, sweet Meg, though I be absent, and words everybody can say are but wind, yet think, at my request, and I profess before God thou shalt never be deceived that what at any time I have spoken or written shall, in every point, be performed, yet, I must needs confess, it is too little to requite thy deserts, although it be, I know, thou wilt be pleased, seeing it is all, and thus farewell to thee, whom I wish, as many good haps as any ever had.

This present Sunday, thine till death, whatsoever happens,

GEORGE CUMBERLAND.

To my loving wife the Countess of Cumberland at Skipton in York.

And finally thus:

Sweet Meg,

This bearer, coming to my Lord of Kent's, I cannot leave thee unremembered with my kindest commendations, and in the earnestness of a settled kind heart, desire the requital of my whole given love, which, howsoever heretofore thought of, shall by proof make known. I am and will be only thine, wherefore I pray thee, banish all other thoughts, and no longer torment him, whose burden hath long been heavy for so shalt thou bring best fortune to thyself, and to me my chiefest desire, God knows.

Dear, trouble not thyself with care to satisfy my request, in carrying the party with thee, for I desire it should be both with thy heart's quiet and easy suit; else not; and if not, assure thyself there shall no unkind thought be drawn out of it.

Thus desiring thy love and quiet as my chiefest happiness in this troublesome hold I commit thee to God.

This xx May,

Yours ever and only,

GEORGE CUMBERLAND.

To my very loving wife the Countess of Cumberland.

CHAPTER XIX

LORD CUMBERLAND IN THE REIGN OF KING JAMES

WHEN James ascended the throne Lord Cumberland was in London, and was one of those who signed the proclamation of the new sovereign.

Shortly afterwards there came a letter from the King commanding that certain persons should be sworn of the Privy Council, and Cumberland was amongst those who received this honour. The order was dated 16th April, 1603, and is given by Wright¹. Of this Lady Anne writes, saying that King James made him "one of the privy Councill.^{rs} and conferr'd some gifts of profits upon him in part of recompense for the great services he had done for England in his many sea voyages."

Then we hear of him in April in attendance upon the King in York and demanding as his right the privilege of bearing the Sword of State before the sovereign. He was supported in his claim by the King who pronounced that he was right in his contention, and Lord Cumberland triumphantly carried the Sword in front of his discomfited opponents.

The controversy is alluded to, very fully, in the books of the York Corporation. Lord Cumberland having proved his contention (arguing before the King upon ancient prescriptive right, say the documents), carried the Sword of the City before the King, "the Lord Mayor with the City Mace, riding on the left of the Earle."

When the King took his seat upon the temporary throne, the Sergeants at Mace with their Maces, pressed

¹ Wright's *Original Letters*, II. 495.

forward and claimed to stand by His Majesty but again Lord Cumberland insisted upon his privilege, and it was the Earl with the City Sword, the record expressly states, "who stood nearest the throne¹."

On this occasion Lord Cumberland is said to have had so many followers with him, who were so magnificently attired; that the chronicle states "for numbers and habit, he seemed himself a King."

On the 8th of the following June, King James appointed him Governor of the Scottish Marches, a post which he only held for a year however, as the office became unnecessary, owing to the Union of the two crowns; and accordingly, by a further deed, dated August 16th, 1604, the grant was revoked². At the same time, however, he was created Lord Lieutenant of the Counties of Westmoreland and Northumberland, and of the free town and county of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, and these positions he held till his death³.

As the King journeyed southward towards London, he stopped at many of the great houses, where he was entertained, coming presently to Althorp, where the entertainment took the form of a masque set out in sumptuous fashion. Thence he proceeded to stay with Sir George Fermor, and then to Grafton Regis in Derbyshire, where Lord Cumberland had a house, and here, so Lady Anne tells us, the King and Queen were "banqueted with great Royaltie by my Father, and entertained with speeches and delicate Presents, at which tyme my lord and the Alexanders (Robert and Henry) did runne a course at ye field, wher he hurt Henry Alexander verie dangerouslie." "Wher the Court lay this night," Lady Anne goes on to say, "I am uncertain," and then she adds, "At this tyme of the King's being at Grafton, my mother was ther, but not

¹ Drake's *Eboracum*, 131, 132, and app. L and LI, and the York Records.

² Ridpath's *Border History*.

³ Winwood, p. 44.

held as mistress of the house, by reason of ye difference between my lord and her, which was growen to a great height¹."

In connection with the King's visit to Worksop Manor, a little later on, Lord Cumberland wrote thus to the Countess Dowager of Shrewsbury², and in the letter alludes to some negociation, then in progress, concerning the marriage of his daughter Lady Anne. This came to nothing and a similar issue befel correspondence with regard to her marriage to Sir Robert Carr. Eventually, as is well known, she married, first, the Earl of Dorset and, then, the Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery. His letter reads:

Good Madam, Pardon this very long silence having been since my coming from you so troubled with preparing for His Majesty coming to this ruined place that I have had neither leisure nor fit mean till now, when I do as I will ever acknowledge myself so much bound to you for your many favours that I protest you shall ever command me and would be as glad of any cause wherein I might shew it as of any fortune that could happen to me which I pray you hold yourself assured of.

I will not now trouble your Ladyship with writing answer to the spech that passed betwixt us concerning my daughter nor with a further suit that I am forced to make to you but refer all to this bearer whom I pray your Ladyship trust. He is the man that I most do.

So wishing your Ladyship all happiness I rest ever to be commanded by you³.

GEORGE CUMBERLAND.

Lord Cumberland came on with the Royal party to London, and on July 25th we find that he and Lady Cumberland were both present at the coronation in Westminster Abbey. They also took part in the grand procession from the Tower to Whitehall on February 12th, 1603/4.

Of the following year we have not much to tell.

¹ Nichols's *Progresses*, *Jac. I.*, i. 189.

² The celebrated Bess of Hardwick, who died in 1607.

³ See Hunter's *Hallamshire*, 93; and the Talbot Papers, m. 308.

He obtained a grant on February 19th, 1603/4, from the Crown, of Nichol Forest in Cumberland, and of three manors, those of Arthuret, Lyddall and Radlington, together with the sole privilege of the fishing in the Esk and "being sore pressed for money," he proceeded to farm these out.

He assisted at the ceremony when Prince Charles was created a Knight of the Bath, and on Twelfth Day in 1604/5 he carried the Golden Rod before the Prince when he was created Duke of York.

We also hear of his presence at Court at the Savoy in 1604, when a meeting of the Privy Council was called, and his name occurs in the same year in connection with a warrant issued at the instance of Richard Lowther, in order that a sum of £120 might be paid to a certain Sir C. Hailes for services in the borders, while there are allusions to his being in York¹ in the same year and at Carlisle; but our main interest in these last two years centres round the man himself and his personal character rather than his public life or his political work.

On the following May 6th he obtained a grant from the King for a weekly market and two annual fairs at Kirkby Stephen, and the assurance that all the dues therefrom were to go into his own pocket, and lastly we have to chronicle the facts that from August 16th to August 20th he again entertained, so his daughter tells us, "King James and Queen Anne with great magnificence in the old house, at Grafton, in Northamptonshire, where," she adds, "my father then lived by reason of some unhappy unkindnesses towards my mother²." This entertainment Lady Anne remarks "was a time of great sorrow to my saintlike mother." She was herself, although only a child of fifteen, present in the house with her father and a witness of all the gay festivities.

¹ S. P. Dom. Eliz. 441.

² Nichols's *Progresses*, Jac. I, i. 527.

PLATE XIV



Photo Lewis

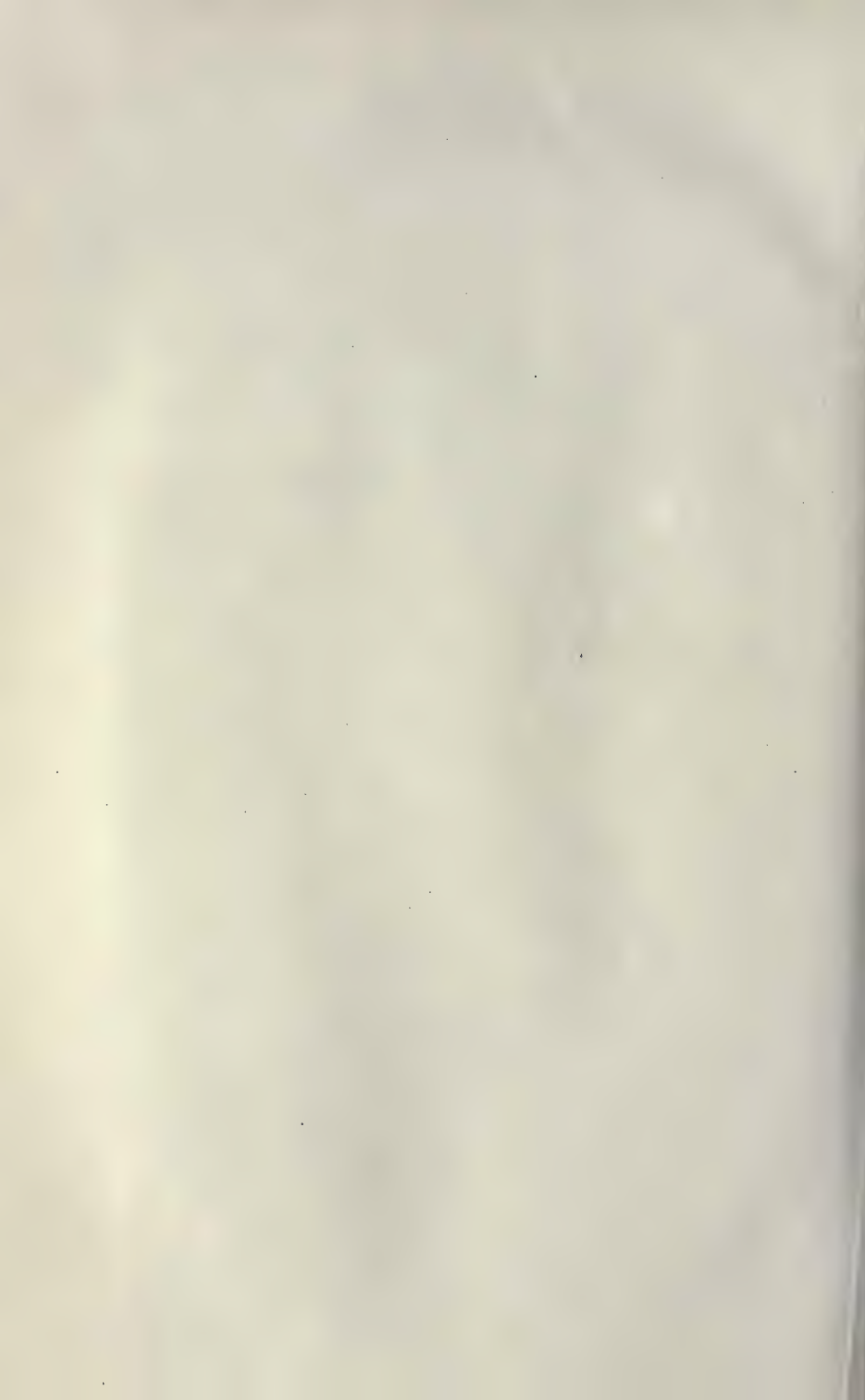
Portrait of George, Earl of Cumberland, from an engraving by De Passe in *Herwlogia*

PLATE XV



Photo Lewis

Portrait of George, Earl of Cumberland, from an engraving by Robert Vaughan



At the end of the same month (August 30th), Lord Cumberland was with the King at Oxford, where he was in correspondence with Sir W. Lawson about some troubles in Scotland, and was also preparing for a tilting match. In September he was in the North, for, on the 29th of that month, the King wrote requiring him to see Sir R. Musgrave, Sir R. Gray, Sir R. Delaval, Sir H. Wodrington and Sir N. Foster, and to decide with them concerning the condition of the garrison at Berwick. The letter was an important document, for which a careful draft was prepared and Cecil's corrections appear upon it¹.

There are three other allusions to him in the State Papers printed by Rymer. On September 5th, 1604, he was placed on a Royal Commission against schismatics, specially aimed at the Jesuits, and very similar to the work set him in a Commission on which he had served in 1599.

In 1605, on the 6th of January, he is alluded to in the proclamation concerning the bestowal of the Dukedom of York upon the King's son, and then, finally, his name appears as one of the Lords Commissioners in the indenture the King signed, giving security concerning the Crown jewels; but this last document was sealed on March 27th, 1606, when Lord Cumberland was no longer living, having died in the previous October².

Things had become very difficult for both husband and wife during these last two years of Lord Cumberland's life, and there were many reasons for the trouble between them.

He was heavily in debt, and had encumbered his estates to a considerable extent and, it is clear, was being pressed by his creditors.

¹ S. P. Dom. Eliz. III. 530, 86 *a* and *b*, and 87.

² Rymer's *Fœdera*, XVI. 597, 609, 641.

Lady Anne writes :

He sold much land at Rotherham and Malton to the Earl of Shrewsbury and others so that he consumed more of his estate than any of his ancestors did by much.

His Royal Mistress, to whom he had certainly been a faithful servant and a very loyal supporter, was dead; and her place on the throne had been taken by a King of whom few people knew anything, and who was certainly in almost every respect, the opposite to the great Queen his predecessor.

James was hardly the man to inspire affection and scarcely deep respect, and he had no special interest in the life of adventure and sport that had appealed to Lord Cumberland.

Moreover, there had been a woman in the case, perhaps, indeed, more than one, but one certainly whose identity was well known, but whose name his daughter never mentions.

Her words are as follows :

But as good natures thro' human frailty are oftentimes misled: so he fell to love a Lady of Quality; which did by degrees draw and alienate his love and affection from his so virtuous and well deserving wife, it being the cause of many discontents between 'em for many years together.

Common report had it that she was a Stanley and was young, comely and ambitious.

Her existence had tended, very naturally to embitter the heart of Lady Cumberland against her husband and their correspondence had grown more and more cold and severe.

Furthermore Lady Cumberland was also straitened for money, her own dowry was heavily in arrear and she had not means sufficient for her household requirements, while her husband was still indulging in costly and extravagant sports.

The mysterious lady does not, so far as we can

ascertain, appear to have been with Lord Cumberland during the two final years of his life, indeed there is a hint in the family papers that she died in the same year as the Queen, but her memory still remained, and although the proprieties were again observed and Lord and Lady Cumberland kept house together, there was a restraint between husband and wife.

The letter Lady Cumberland wrote to her lord in 1603 concerning the Coronation is formal, and more concerns the money that was at issue, than the ceremonies of the Coronation, but there is a pathos in its allusion to the "table talk of the world" concerning itself with their differences and to the desire Lady Cumberland had for peace and quiet.

The next letter is even more formal, and implies that already the influence of the King had been sought to terminate the estrangement.

It is followed by a third which is not addressed to Lord Cumberland at all but to another person, probably to Robert Cecil, who had just been created a peer and thus in 1605 became Earl of Salisbury.

The original of this letter has not been found, the one at Appleby Castle being only a copy in Lady Cumberland's handwriting, but evidently regarded as an important document.

In it she congratulates the person to whom it is addressed, on his new distinction and asks for his intervention on her behalf.

The three letters read thus :

The first, dated July 15th, 1602.

Understanding his majestie hath written to your lordship as to the rest of the lords for both our attendances and furnishing at this Coronation, let me entreat that if ever there be hope after so many proffers, promises and aggrements you would be pleased to make certain what you have protested, since God in your abilities hath now made you of power to do it. And blame me not, considering my extremities to seek all the means I may to relieve myself and

raise my friends who after so many years of delay could do no less than to address them to his Majesty to procure his gracious letters to your lordship for the £500. Impute it not to my will, nor say not that I seek to wrest your lordship to any things than what your lordship and vows bind you unto, nor suffer I beseech our differences any longer to be the table talk of the world, nor drive me by extremities to have recourse to his majesties gracious goodness by petition to have redress by his help and the Law, which since I never transgressed will I know allow me the benefit of a portion fit for my estate. I never dissented from any course that was yet agreed on but constantly embraced it, nor ever thought I but by direct and good means of entreaty to draw your Lordship to anything and herein I continue to beseech you to take some present course with us for our wants that our family and your daughter may have some place to resort unto, in this time of sickness which drives us from London, so expecting your lordship's speedy answer and remain as ever to be directed by you, Beseeching God in mercy to dispose your heart towards me and that am, will be ever, to your Lordship as I proffess

M. CUMBERLAND¹.

July 15.
1603.

The second dated November 10th in the same year begins, abruptly, thus:

I hoped to have heard from your Lordship as you pleased to write and have stayed in that expectation from following your lordship with my further entreaties in so many years and so great a time of changes as these new changes have been. Your lordship may judge of my expenses that if my friends had not been honorable to me I might have been sunk with my own distress which they have supported till now, and I assure myself you will supply according to the last word of your promise and be pleased to answer my brothers request for the rest of the payments both for the arrearages, and the annuity, which for these many years you have given assurances to divers should be set down in certainty, when your lordship had been in the north which good my lord defer not, but let me receive them together that though I have not your happiness to be pleasing to your lordship yet that I be not so unhappy as to be a continual trouble to you and so of his majesty which on earth is your redressor of wrongs, Referring the rest to God and your lordship's own knowledge wishing I had been as happy as I have

¹ Endorsed in Lady Anne's handwriting:

"This is nott written into the Booke of Letters."

been desirous to content your lordship then should not my lines have followed you thus long for these things of necessity, but for my affection which hath been and is true to your lordship.

M. CUMBERLAND¹.

November 10 day 1603
from Whitehall.

The third is dated May 31st, in, it is pretty clear, the following year, and reads thus:

Give me leave to be one of the first Ladies to salute you in this invested title of honour by my lines and to continue to entreat often since it hath pleased you to advise me to send or go to my Lord which is 5 or 6 weeks since in which time I have sent and written but find myself more rejected now I must appeal to your lordship that promised me not to look on persons but on the cause what his offers and promises were I know is not forgotten how he performs with yourself as with many other honourable persons the world seeth and I with my poor family find but if my virtues could second our blessed virgin Mary my fortunes would be alike with him having made so many years trials of my own friends and his but to take away occasion of extreme wants that enforces many to speak besides myself praying that you would please to let me know his answer and whether I may by my necessities oftener trouble you than I have done you being pleased to take this into your own hand that I may receive a conclusion wishing myself so happy that I may not give you thanks only for your pains which is due to your honourable self but for effects which may cease my pen and enlarge my heart to confess them in some other degree I having stayed all this time in hope of promises do but desire to know my certain ill to make my better resolution none being more desirous to confess the good they find than

M. CUMBERL^{..}

if it please your lordship write that my lord would see discharged £400 then taking up part of the £2400 owing in the year of our lord 1602, £200 of which is due to Mr Hicks ever since which I pray earnestly may now presently be paid².

We have three letters in return, but whether they are actual replies we cannot tell.

¹ Endorsement. In Lady Anne's handwriting:

"This Letter was written most of itt into the Book of my Mothers Letters the 22 of May 1655."

² Endorsed, 31st May in Lady Anne's handwriting:

"This is not written in the Book of Letters."

None of them commences with any word of affection, not even the bare word Meg, such as he had used in previous correspondence, and they are cold in manner and full of constraint.

The second is not even in Lord Cumberland's own hand, but in a legal court hand and had probably been written by a secretary or lawyer, and only signed by Lord Cumberland himself.

The third is the coldest of all.

In the first he says:

I have received your letter, and am heartily sorry that you are not paid the £200 which I myself appointed you from Wodde (Wood?) and put no doubt to have here performed, but sooth it is not, I will get it done upon my coming up, which shall be within a very few days after your receipt of this, for, God willing, I will begin my journey from Skipton some time this next week, and will be so careful to perform all my promises made to the King as that you shall have no cause either to grieve or complain for it, and so in haste,

Your husband,

CUMBERLAND.

To my loving Wife the Countess of Cumberland.

The second, the legal one, reads:

When I did see, it would not be possible for me to go down myself into the North to make and conclude such bargains as I might with my tenants, whereupon money should arise especially to give you satisfaction for the money I promised you at Our Lady Day, I thought good to send down my Brother with other my officers and servants to effect that business so well as in my absence they could which (though to my loss) I was well pleased to do chiefly to make payment of your sum in discharge of my word. It is true that they have accordingly compounded with such persons as I sent you word of by Mr John Tailor for that and a more sum, to be paid presently in London, out of which I intend first to pay your money. The cause that breeds little delay in their payment is to have their assurances agreed upon and perfected by advise of Counsel on both sides, which cannot be done until the term now at hand. I know you have much occasion to use it and therefore it shall be hastened and dispatched so shortly after the beginning of the term as possibly may be. Where with (sooth this is truth and no excuse

to breed delay) I put no doubt but those to whom you are to pay it will for a few days be contented to forbear you. Hereafter (having once set down the course where your money shall arise) the days shall be more precisely observed with you. And so commending me right heartily unto you, do bid you heartily farewell from my lodging this xvi of April 1604.

Your loving husband,

CUMBERLAND¹.

To my very loving wife the Countess of Cumberland.

While the third dated July 20th, 1605, runs thus:

I have not now given you cause to write for the money, which was promised to be paid to you about Midsummer, if things here had not fallen out much otherways than I expected. However, believe me, it should have been without fail sent you, if it had been in my power. God willing, I will see you before the end of this month, and then, I trust, give you satisfaction.

Resting your husband,

The xx July 1605.

CUMBERLAND.

To my loving wife the Countess of Cumberland.

Then suddenly the whole scene changes. Lord Cumberland became seriously ill at Oxford, and returned at once to London where the doctors¹ gave but little hope of his recovery, and in haste he sent off for his lawyers to sign his will and carry out his final wishes; and then wrote with his own hand, feeble, trembling and differing greatly from the strong, firm handwriting of the past, a letter to his wife in the old manner, full of deep and true affection, repenting him of what he had done, praying for forgiveness and explaining that the course he had taken in the disposal of his property was according to what he deemed right,

¹ N.B. Only the signature and sentence above it are in Lord Cumberland's handwriting. The rest is in a legal court hand.

² One of the doctors who had been *previously* in attendance upon him, in the country, is then named. He was the celebrated William Gilbert of Colchester (1540-1603), who had been Court Physician and was the author of the first great scientific book, *De Magnete*, published in England.

and commending his brother and heir to his wife's consideration.

Here is the wonderful letter¹:

Sweet and dear Meg,

Bear with, I pray thee, the short and unapt setting together of these my last lines, a token of true kindness, which I protest cometh out of an unfeigned heart of love to thee, for whose content, and to make satisfaction for the wrongs done to thee, I have, since I saw thee, more desired to return than for any other earthly cause, but being so low brought as that, without God's miraculous favour, there is no great likelihood of it, I, by this, if so it please God, that I shall not in earnestness make my last requests, which, as ever thou lovest me, lying so, I pray thee performe for me being dead first. In greedy earnestness I desire thee not to offend God in grieving too much at this His disposing of me, but let thy assured hope that He hath done it for the saving of my soul rather comfort thee, considering, that we ought most rejoice, when we see a thing, that it is either for the good of our souls, or of our friends, and further, I beg of thee, that thou wilt take as I have meant in kindness the course I have set down for disposing of my estate and things left behind, which truly, if I have not dealt most kindly with thee in, I am mistaken, and, as ever thou lovest (which I know thou hast done faithfully and truly) sweet Meg, let neither Old conceit New Opinion, nor false lying tale, make thee fall to hard opinion nor suit with my brother. For this I protest now, when I tremble to speak, that which upon any just colour may be turned to a lie, thou hast conceived wrong of him, for his nature is sweet, and though wrong conceit might well have urged him, yet hath he never to my knowledge said or done anything to harm thee or thine, but with tears hath often bemoaned himself to me that he could not devise how to make thee conceive rightly of him, and lastly, before the presence of God, I command thee, and in the nearest love of my heart I desire thee, to take great care that sweet Nan, whom God bless, may be carefully brought up in the fear of God, not to delight in worldly vanities, which I too well know be but baits to draw her out of the heavenly kingdom, and I pray thee, thank thy kind uncle and aunt for her and their many kindnesses to me.

¹ N.B. This letter is endorsed *not* in Lady Anne's handwriting but probably at her dictation:

"A very kind letter of his Lordship, written in the time of great sickness, wherein he offereth satisfaction for wrongs, comforteth his Lady against his death, entreateth her to think well of his will, and requesteth her to conceive rightly of his brother, etc."

as in my life I did thee I comed
 the on the ration ~~in my~~ body to
 goas freely as ever man was womans
 George Cumberland

wronge of him for his nature is
 that he is a creature of a
 different nature from
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 subject to the same
 passions as man is.
 He is a creature of
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 such that he is not
 subject to the same
 passions as man is.
 He is a creature of
 a different nature from
 man, and his nature is
 such that he is not
 subject to the same
 passions as man is.

Facsimile of Lord Cumberland's last pathetic letter to his wife, written shortly before his death

... ..

[Extremely faint and illegible handwritten text, likely bleed-through from the reverse side of the page.]

Thus, out of the bitter and greedy desire of a repentant heart begging thy pardon for any wrong that ever in my life I did thee, I commend these my requests to thy wonted and undeserved kind wifely and lovely consideration, my body to God's disposing, and my love to His merciful commiseration.

Thine as wholly as ever man was woman's

GEORGE CUMBERLAND.

To my dear wife, the Countess of Cumberland, give this, of whom, from the bottom of my heart, in the presence of God, I ask forgiveness for all the wrongs I have done her.

This letter brought his wife and daughter at once to him, as evidently at that moment they were not in the same house with Lord Cumberland, but they arrived with all haste and then the old difficulties were solved and the explanations that might have been made years before were made and understood and accepted, and with his wife and daughter (aged fifteen) about him, Cumberland made his peace with God and man, explaining his failures and offences and assuring them of his real and continual affection for them, and so passed away on October 30th, 1605, as his daughter records "penitently and willingly, in his own house and at peace with all¹."

Her fuller record of her father's death reads thus:

This Earl dy'd in the Dutchy house called the Savoy the 30 October 1605 of a Bloody flux whereof he had layne extreamly sick about a month, his wife and his onely childe being then present. A few hours before his death he told them two and the company there present, that he was confident all his lands would come to his daughter and heir for want of heirs male of his brother. His bowells were buried in the Savoy chappell and his body the 30 of March following in the vault of Skipton Church.

Lord Cumberland was buried in Skipton Parish Church, where was the tomb of his eldest son; the younger, who like his brother died in infancy, lying at Chenies with various members of his mother's family.

¹ "Aged 47 years, 2 months and eleven days and having been Earle of Cumberland 35 years 9 months and 22 days." He was, his daughter adds, "the only one borne Lord Clifford who became Earle of Cumberland."

The monument which Lady Anne erected to the memory of her father is a magnificent altar structure of black marble, and adorned with a superb series of armorial achievements.

Whitaker in his history of Craven writes, "I much doubt whether such an assemblage of noble bearings can be found on the tomb of any other Englishman."

The arms (fully described in my work on Lady Anne Clifford) include those of Veteripont, Berkeley, Neville, Clifford, Russell¹, Beauchamp, Percy, Lucy, Dacre, St John, Vescy, Ferrers, Fitzjohn, Clare and Roos. The tomb was not erected till 1654, and the original bills for it are still in existence. Lord Cumberland's body was embalmed immediately after his decease, and then conveyed to Skipton where it was buried on December 29th, but the actual funeral with all its needful state did not take place till the 13th of March² in the following year.

This is not the place in which to make any more detailed reference concerning the issues that arose out of Lord Cumberland's will, because the details of the controversy are in the Memoir of his daughter Lady Anne, but some allusion must be made to the legal position.

The entail of the estates in the North had been settled in the fourth year of Edward II (1310-11), and the succession was upon "the heirs of the body lawfully begotten of Robert de Clifford" to whom Skipton Castle had originally been granted.

¹ There is an error in the Russell coat. It is *or* where it should be *argent*.

² The Parish Register of Skipton thus records his death:
"1605, Oct. 29, departed this lyf George earle of Cumbreland, lord Clifforde, Vipounte, and Vessie, lord of the honor of Skipton, in Craven, knyght of the most noble order of the Garter, one of his highness privie counsell, lord warden of the citie of Carlell and the West Marches, and was honorably buried at Skipton, the xxix of December, and his funerall was solemnized the xiiith day of Marche next then following."

PLATE XVII



The Tomb of Lord Cumberland in Skipton Church

PLATE XVIII



The Tomb of Lady Cumberland in Appleby Church

According to this settlement, which had never been changed or revoked, and under which Lord Cumberland himself held the estates, they passed at his decease to the heir of his body who was his only child, Lady Anne.

Lord Cumberland had, however, raised money upon them and charged them with a fine for recovery in favour of his brother, who had come to his assistance when he was in difficulties; and knowing that his Earldom would descend to this brother and thereafter to his son, he passed over his daughter in his will, ignoring the old entail, and also the fact that the barony of Clifford descended with the estates to Lady Anne. He thus bequeathed the property to his brother Francis and settled it upon the heirs male of his body, with remainder to his own daughter, should there be no heirs male to his brother or nephew.

This, he had actually no power to do and his widow resented the course he had taken in cutting out his daughter, and determined to fight the case.

Lord Cumberland was greatly attached to his brother Francis, and speaks in his will of the "natural love and affection" that he bore him, explaining that it was for that reason that he had so re-settled the estates; but he had not recognised that in Lady Cumberland and his daughter herself he would have two very determined opponents, who were prepared to spare no labour or trouble to upset the will, and to revert to the ancient entail against the terms of which he had carried out the new arrangement to "the manifest wrong and disherison of the Lady Anne his daughter," as she says in her diary.

It seems possible that the will had been prepared some time before it was signed, or at least that the terms of it had been settled¹.

¹ Coke in his Reports sets out the information respecting a case that was at once entered against the Trustees concerning a claim made by King James for a portion of the estate. This was however ruled against the Crown. See *Coke's Reports*, XIII. 49, vol. VI. 458.

It was signed on April 27th, 1605, and Lord Cumberland died in the following October¹.

Whether before his death Lord Cumberland repented him of his action cannot of course be stated, but Lady Anne rather implies that he did so. He commended his brother, in his last pathetic letter (given on p. 270) to the kindly consideration of Lady Cumberland, and at the time he wrote it was evidently satisfied that in his will he had acted wisely, but Lady Anne, in describing his last hours, says that

a little before his death Hee expressed with much affection to my mother and mee, and a great Beliefe That hee had, that his Brother's sonne would dye without issue male and thereby all his Landes would come to be myne.

Sir Francis Clifford was already a rich man, and Lord Cumberland may have surmised that some of the mortgages on the northern estate would be cleared by him, and a portion thus liberated from the charges with which he had so deeply involved it; but in any case—whatever his opinions—he acted *ultra vires* in thus re-settling the estates of which (strictly speaking) he was no more than a life tenant, and his action kept his daughter from possessing them for thirty-eight years.

The will was not the first that Lord Cumberland had made, for in it he refers to one he had made in the previous October, and which he says he had cancelled “having great and good reason to alter the previous disposition of his property seeing that his debts had become much greater since he had made his first will.”

It seems clear therefore that he thought it was in the interests of the estate to make this re-settlement and also that he was compelled, by reason of his brother's

¹ The will contains one or two bequests that are of some interest. To Lord Salisbury, for example, Lord Cumberland left a special diamond ring and a silver basin and ewer, and he bequeathed one of his favourite horses each to Lord Wotton, Lord Wharton and Sir William Ingleby; see p. 275.

assistance, to bequeath the property to him; but he acted with great unfairness towards his only daughter, and started by his action tedious and expensive lawsuits which lasted for the whole time during which Francis, the fourth Earl and his son Henry, the fifth and last Earl, held the northern estates. Then at last owing to the death of Henry, Lord Cumberland, without male issue the whole property, with the exception of the Barden Tower estate, fell into the hands of Lady Anne, who moreover claimed and obtained the Barden Tower property which was not lawfully hers, possessed it during her life, rebuilt and restored it, and actually bequeathed it to her children from whom it was eventually regained by its legal possessors.

The narrative of the contest for the northern estates and of the manner in which during those thirty-eight years Lady Anne refused to compromise against her rights, is set forth in the Memoir of that redoubtable lady already alluded to.

Furthermore the same volume contains full details concerning the burial of Lord Cumberland and his stately tomb in Skipton Parish Church.

The Trustees for the will were Edward, first Lord Wotton, who had been made a Peer in 1603, Philip, third Lord Wharton, who had married Lord Cumberland's sister, and Sir William Ingleby, of Ripley, whose father had been one of Lord Cumberland's father's executors.

The man of business and legal adviser was Sergeant Richard Hutton, second son of Anthony Hutton, of Penrith, who in 1617 was made a Justice of Common Pleas and died in 1638.

CHAPTER XX

LORD CUMBERLAND HIMSELF

LADY ANNE had a high opinion of her father and despite all his faults, which she clearly recognised, always spoke in favourable terms of his character. Thus she wrote:

He was one of the bravest, noblest, men in his time. He was endu'd with many perfections of Nature befitting so noble a personage as an excellent quicknesse of wit and apprehension, an active and strong body and an affable disposition and behaviour.

He was much belov'd generally in the whole Kingdome so as he went to sea voyages he had persons of great quality and many of the Gentry that came voluntarily to tender their services to him and attend to him in those voyages.

His portraits bear out this character in many ways.

They represent him undeniably handsome, dignified, gracious and kindly but a man of great determination withal, if not of obstinacy; proud, resolute and not easily to be moved.

His best known portrait is the full length miniature (*Frontispiece*) by Nicholas Hilliard (*circa* 1590) which is now in the possession of the Duke of Buccleuch and was the subject of an engraving by R. White.

Here he is represented standing by a rock wearing full armour of blued steel decorated with stars of eight points in gold, with an ornamental coat with full short skirt richly adorned with pearl ornaments with precious stones of various colours.

On his head is a jewelled and feathered cap, in the front of which appears Queen Elizabeth's glove, set with an ornament of rubies and pearls.

He grasps a long tilting spear in his hand, his shield is suspended on a tree close by while at the base are



Portrait of George, Earl of Cumberland, painted in miniature, probably by Isaac Oliver, and representing him in the actual armour now at Appleby Castle. From the original in the collection of Mrs Sotheby at Ecton

his tilting helmet, adorned with ostrich plumes, and one gauntlet, the other lying on the ground to the left.

The armour is richly ornamented with stars and is the same suit as depicted in the painted group at Appleby Castle in which Lord Cumberland is represented with Lady Cumberland and their two sons.

Very similar is the oil painting, head and bust only, by an unknown artist, at the National Portrait Gallery (see p. 106) and there is one like it at Bill Hill, Wokingham, belonging to Mrs Leveson-Gower, and others at Appleby Castle belonging to Lord Hothfield.

More interesting, however, than any of these is the fine Hilliard miniature at Ecton belonging to Mrs Sotheby, because this shows him wearing the actual suit of tilting armour which is still preserved in Appleby Castle. He is bareheaded and has a broad white collar over his armour. The miniature is inscribed *Fulmen aquasque fero*, a very suitable motto for it.

Other portraits are the engravings by Rogers for Hakluyt's and Wright's works, and those representing him in later life by R. Vaughan and De Passe, the latter for *Herologia* (1620) bearing upon it the famous Clifford motto which appears over the entrance to Skipton Castle, the single word *Desormais* (Henceforth). (See pp. 40 and 262.) He is also represented on horseback at Porto Rico in an engraving by T. Cockson, and in Lodge's Portraits is a print from his portrait in the Bodleian engraved by C. Picart.

His character is one of some complexity and not to be considered lightly.

His voyages have too often been regarded merely as privateering but must not be dismissed in so airy a fashion. The closer that his letters and speeches are examined the firmer we believe will be the impression that his first purpose in his voyages was to damage the enemies of his country, "pluck feathers from the

wings of the Spanish eagles," and by disabling that nation, prevent further mischief to his own country.

Patriotism was the aim, if privateering was the means.

Doubtless, as Froude pointed out, the religious element entered largely into his calculations. England had thrown off a burden which was to many of the finer minds in the country heavy to bear, galling to the shoulders and needlessly weighty, and the nation was eager to prove its independence and make use of its newly acquired freedom.

Spain, in its eyes, stood for intolerance and for a restoration of the burden which had been cast off. Spain, therefore, was to be regarded as the arch-enemy by all who were whole-hearted supporters of the new regime.

Moreover, quite apart from the religious aspect of the controversy, Spain was at that time a great, influential and wealthy power, steadily increasing in possessions and in riches, and having serious aims upon England, not only with the view of restoring the old faith, but also for the sake of national aggrandisement. England and Spain were in each other's way. Spain had a determined hold upon Flanders and was increasing her control over France. England was a rich and growing country, and if England could be beaten, Spain would have a free hand in the East, where her wealth was, and where the opportunities for trade were boundless.

All this Lord Cumberland saw, and with the instinct of the Elizabethan patriot he determined "to singe the Spaniard's beard."

That the wealth of Spain was an attraction, goes without saying, but it is untrue that the desire for plunder was the chief end of Cumberland's adventure.

Furthermore, not only was it Cumberland's desire to prevent the aggrandisement of Spain, to curb its ambition, to set bounds to its empire and its wealth,



Lord Cumberland's armour at Appleby Castle

in order to baulk its designs upon England; but it was his clear intention to increase the strength, power and wealth of his own country at the same time: he had a positive as well as a negative aim.

Whether the Queen fully realised the intentions and desires of her statesmen and of men like Raleigh, Hawkins, Gilbert and Cumberland is not clear. Probably she did and was as fully alive as they were to the vast importance of foreign possessions, foreign trade and all the advantages that come in their train; but she inherited the Tudor caution, the miserly habits of Henry VII, the secretive ways of Henry VIII, and withal the fear, lest by trusting men too intimately and giving them too much liberty in carrying out their ideas, she might lose that autocratic power over them in which she delighted, and her claim to be considered the "Fountain of Wisdom" as she liked to be called.

Moreover she was not only greedy for power, but greedy for money, and her ambitions and hopes for England were oftentimes measured by what she was herself to receive, so that new enterprises were often discouraged or sometimes crushed altogether, if no personal advantage, for herself, was in sight.

She loved the flattery of men like Cumberland, she delighted to have them in her hands to let them fly as one would a bird and then to recall them by string or tether to her side. She exulted in her power over them and they also, strangely enough, in their bondage to her.

Hence we see reasons for her vacillation and for the inconstancy of her treatment of her favourites.

There is plenty of evidence, especially in his letter to Lady Warwick, that the prime springs of action in Lord Cumberland's heart were not from a love of plunder for plunder's sake, nor wholly an antagonism to Spain, national or religious, nor entirely a loyal service to his Queen, but largely an intense love

for England, a great desire to strengthen her against her enemies, and to make her a powerful nation, secure in trade, in possessions and in wealth.

This is what rendered him so sensitive to Elizabeth's taunts, contradictions and procrastination, and we believe that here were the seeds from which grew the desires and ambitions which prompted him to set forth upon his voyages and adventures.

In these adventures, Cumberland proved himself to be a born leader of men. He was thoughtful for others, unselfish and ever ready to share with those about him the discomforts, dangers and risks incidental to the voyages.

Lady Anne expressly tells us that he was a man "of good temper and good presence of mind, and avoided no part of distress that others, even the meanest seaman, endured."

He was the first amongst English seamen of his time to give special attention to the commissariat department, refusing to deal with the Government contractors when they had been found guilty of supplying bad food, but determined to see to such matters personally and thus to ensure that his men had good and proper sustenance.

Alone also, or almost so, he commanded not merely the respect but the actual affection of his men, who saw that he shared their difficulties and did not mind, great nobleman as he was, mending his own main mast, helping to reef in a sail, dividing his share of food and water with others, and risking his own life that his people might be fed.

He was, too, an able and judicious administrator, a wise and cautious seaman, a clever tactician and a master of stratagems and plots, just the very man to make a success of an adventure and not to be daunted by failure.

Again he was a man of great perseverance and determination.

No failure could dismay him. Want of success one year did not deter him from an attempt the next, one

voyage did not tire his patience nor even ten, and it was only when he had really exhausted his own means without receiving any help or encouragement to go on, that he was compelled to relinquish his efforts. Gay, insouciant, buoyant, light-hearted, he certainly was, fond of all sport, proficient also in all, witty and clever in speech, good humoured, not easily cast down, a boon companion, albeit a man proud of his birth, rank and position, not one to put up with any insult or to be treated lightly by an inferior.

There is one allusion to him in connection with prize goods which should here be mentioned.

It is merely a notice that appears in the State Papers of a claim that he made and sent in to Lord Burghley, for the value of certain things, taken in some ships of his company, which belonged to other individuals. He says it amounted to £7000 in value, but he adds that as *he* had guaranteed it, by verbal promises he had made, it was the more important that he should receive the money and pay it over. This scrupulous adherence to his word is worthy of special notice. It distinguished him from many others, but it was rather a notable characteristic amongst the finer flower of Elizabeth's courtiers, who were above all, men of their word.

As illustrative of his religious ideas, and also of his sense of discipline, Dr Layfield records the fact that upon one occasion, on one of his voyages, while all the rest were "at morning prayers" he perceived one "young gallant" sitting apart "reading Orlando Furioso."

"Purposely I name him not," says Layfield, but he goes on to say concerning Lord Cumberland's action

to whom himself in person went presently, after service, all the company being by, and having told him we might look that God would serve us accordingly if we served him not better, bade him be sure that if again he took him in the like manner he would cast his book overboard and turn himself out of the ship¹.

¹ Quoted by Anderson in his *Colonial Church*, I. 41, from Layfield's narrative of 8th February, 1596.

Lloyd in his *Worthies*, quoting Fuller, who in his turn appears to quote from Stowe; speaking of Lord Cumberland, says that he knew that "the way to humble the Spanish greatness was...to make it a cripple for ever by cutting off the Spanish sinews of war—her monies from the West Indies (the back door robs the house)." He refers to him as the "best born Englishman that ever hazarded himself in that kinde," and goes on, in Fuller's delightful phrase, to say "that his fleet may be said to be bound for no other harbour but the Port of Honour though touching at the Port of Profit in passage thereunto, I say, touching, whose design was not to enrich himself but empoverish the enemy." He adds in an equally charming passage, "He was as merciful as valiant, the best metal bends best¹."

Wonderful men were these Elizabethan seamen, gay as parrots in their brilliant silk, satin, feathers and jewels, almost feminine in their love of fine clothes, of dainty conceits, and of sparkling repartee; but hard and stern, enduring and brave, when put to the test, and ready to go through fire and water, nay to Hell itself, for the sake of that England they loved so well.

To them all foreigners were dogs, all Spaniards especially beneath contempt, save as adversaries, and then it was a conflict of plot and stratagem, of hard fighting and of clever scheming, of witty repartee and of wily trap, in order that the discomfiture of the opponent might be complete, but all was done in the grand manner, with high bred courtesy, stern dignity, and bull dog pertinacity, nothing giving in, because it was for the credit of England, that England must always win.

Finally we should not refuse to Lord Cumberland the title of statesman.

From his adventures sprang the East India Company whose first Charter was granted in his name; from him

¹ David Lloyd's *Worthies*, 1670, 722.

originated wise plans against a possible Spanish invasion, and for the arming and guarding of the City of London in case of danger.

His was the first warship built on a private commission, his the first victualled on a new and excellent system, irrespective of contracts and contractors.

His project it was to capture Porto Rico and then to hold it as the key of the Indies, and his, again, to hold Cadiz and so have "a knife at the throat of Spain."

That in personal life he had many faults must be admitted, but may not the love for his wife, which marks his letters and which shines out, triumphant, at the end of his life, atone for faults and failures. And so let us leave him as a man of much nobility of character, a brave, true, Englishman, whose career is worthy of consideration and who made a mark upon the history of that country, whose sons have made her greatness secure.

CHAPTER XXI

THE COUNTESS OF CUMBERLAND

IN giving some account of Lady Cumberland we would cite certain letters from her to various correspondents which rewarded our search at Skipton, but which for many reasons it was impossible to weave into the preceding narrative.

As regards Lady Cumberland's early life, we are fortunate in being able to quote a newly discovered document hitherto unpublished.

This is no less than Lady Cumberland's own account of her early years contained in a letter she wrote to Dr Layfield (see p. 176) which has been placed at our disposal by its owner, Earl Spencer.

It forms part of the famous series of papers at Althorp which came to the family through the Countess of Cork and Burlington.

Unfortunately the story is but brief and incomplete as it only goes down to 1589 and then breaks off in tantalizing fashion.

There were other pages with it which were believed to bring it to a conclusion, but on examination it was found that such was not the case and that these concluding pages belonged to another and far less important document.

Fragmentary though it is, this part of an autobiography will be found of interest and moment.

It gives us Lady Cumberland's own story with special reference to her family, her husband and her children and is in many ways a pathetic document full of tender affection and feeling.



Photo Gray

Portrait of Lady Cumberland, from an oil painting by an unknown artist,
in the possession of Lord Hothfield at Hothfield Place

It reads thus and the notes form part of it:

A letter from Margaret Countess of Cumberland to Dr Leyfield [*sic*], the Mother to the Countess of Dorset, Pem and Mon.

For your comforts given to me in all my sorrows, there is much more due to you, than thanks from me, which is ordinary for all common goods, but it stands so with my present condition as I can yield no other fruit than that my toil of sorrow will give, hear my complaint and tho' you cannot help, yet grief hath care, to find the like affections so strong a nature hath this forcible passion.

Men commonly divide their life by sevens, observing therein their great observations, so mean I, to divide mine well known most of them to thee, four sevens, and well catering a good part of the fifth hath my miserable self seen, still running one course with changing sometimes, comparing though unfitly matching the name of a Dance to the Pilgrimage of Grief, because it holds in nothing more like, for still I change and yet the Dance, or thing that makes the sound is sorrow still to me.

The first of my breathing in this world¹, I came as unlooked for, and since have entertainment, as one unwelcome before I could discern the right hand from the left, the Nurse of Nature, and she that had the greatest care of me, my natural Mother² deceased so we were scattered and put to the disposal of friends, which kindness of friends hath continued more happiness to me than all the things of this present life, yet many accidents follows frail friendships, but these sweet friends I still found more comfortable than all worldly things, let this stand as the chiefest of my happiness.

My sicknesses were strange and of divers kinds hardly escaping with life, that is oftentimes reserved to a continual dying. Thus in this manner I pass'd over the first seven.

Now discerning some little deal better of life, home I came to my father's house to live under my Mother in law³, his new married wife, where according to the course of times there was changes of manner from my child's life and not long there afore death took a Brother from us, of great love to us all, Edward Lord Russell who was my mother's first child, and then my brother John to whom the Lordship fell to, dealt more unkindly with my childish tender deeds, than I expected, and to my father, whom I loved, and my Mother in law whom I fear'd, dealt more hardly than I looked for, but this unbrotherly dealing pierced my thoughts so much as I fell into the disease of the Green Sickness for two or three years after⁴.

¹ She was born in 1560 at Exeter.

² Margaret daughter of Sir Jn St John of Bletsoe.

³ Bridget daughter of Ld Hussey and widow of Sir Richard Morrison and of Henry Earl of Rutland.

⁴ This John was father to the Mrs Russell who married Lord Herbert.

In this time there appear'd some liking of my lord to me which was disliked of my father, whose Ward he then was, because he would have him marry my sister Elizabeth¹ who was two years older than my self.

Now enter I into the third of my seventh where still sorrow passed, Dance what I would, as years increased to my father wisely providing, foresaw a match for mee of worthyness to stay my life with honour by contentment to him and his house. My mind not foreseeing my own good, was not desirous I thought honour good, so rather going on the ground of common good than any particular liking, which by chance met with the like mind in him, but God that in his holy decree governs all things to that end, hee hath appointed, matched us in lawful manner in one, though our minds met not, but in contraries and thought of discontentment. Oh! how large a place am I in what pass'd to [undecipherable] and contrary hopes, with what wyles I met, with what bates, with how many unknown evils! which the God of heaven delivered me from. I yet know not myself, in this time, I was separated from all I knew, one servant rather for trust, than wit, about me, only acquainted with mee, in a country contrary to my religion, his mother and friends all separate in that opinion, himself not settled but carried away, with young mens opinions, Oh! God where was I then, Not one to comfort me, but the favour of the time, that might come in the ways of a religious course placed with me, more than by ways what contrarietys, must needs arise from hence, time made me haste, and I with thought grew almost continually sick, looking as a ghost that wanted the soul of comfort, and at last without hope of Life's often recovering, being forc'd to change the air.

I came to see my friends at Buxton Well, where they say my evils but rather persuaded patience than sought help, better knowing that it was helpless than I did, which contrary to my expectation rubb'd my wounded heart with sorrow upon sorrow. Thus with cross on cross I went with a barren desire for children which my Lords sister the Lady Wharton had who was married on the same day and place that I was, but my desires prevailed not then with the living God, so I linger'd in this, and other wants this third seventh. Now I come to the fourth seventh, where it seemed all would turn with a contrary note of joy. Time took and brought many things of trouble away. My Lords affections turn'd from a strange manner and carriage to much and very much love and kindness known to all and most comfortable found to mee. I had a son most strong as a seal of Gods blessing to us, but in this time least I should turn from that ever my dear father had his great extremity which though it was off yet was it his death, which not long after he found, and as in a dance, ther are both and forward, so now I go

¹ Married to William Bouchier Earl of Bath.

forwards to London with hope of him and joy of my son, but streight I went aside with my old note of sorrow. My son grew weake and sickly and not well in his legs, contrary to the course of nature, they grew, yet the foul evil not known to me. In this time died my dear father, not so full of years, but many more days he might have seen, but yet not all the evil, my best beloved brother Francis Lord Russell cruelly slain by treachery on the borders of Scotland, the same day some ten hours before his fathers death; leaving a son the hope of our house then but a child, and but one only brother left of four able men, who as my brother William Russell, In this time of going back so far, God sent me another son, helping my weakness with some comfort; which grew to me more joy than I possessed by my child. In this mean time my Lord grew he acquaint himself with pleasant delights of court and exchang'd his country pleasures, with new thoughts of greater worlds. So home I came alone with my two sons, to Skipton, leaving my Lord at Court, where interchangeably he lost with many goings back and forwards and turnings many for the worse, but few for the better, till we had wasted our land and substance, which in hope of better fortune of the sea, than we had of the land, he ventur'd many thousands, which we saw come empty home, this drove my thoughts to work of many griefs for my poor babes, fearing that shortly, that having lov'd so many changes, that my Lord would to the sea himself but it was differd of many removes of me and the poor babes after my coming into the south again, till the fifth seventh begun. Let me cry to God for the mercy of his sons blood to spare me from farther plagues and turn me from my sins by the hands of mercy, that I may recover my strength before I go hence and show his judgment and mercy to the generation of my lady, for I fear to speak of my griefs that follow the fifth seventh. In the beginning I pray for the name of Jesus Christ and the comfort of the Holy Ghost that the father of mercy will turn my sorrow into joy in the end long to continue in this world and in the world to come¹. In this fifth seventh my Lord went and adventurd his Person in the greatest conflict on the seas against the Spaniards then enemies to England in which Gods mercifull providence defended and deliverd him, his name be blessd. When this was pass'd his desires was still on great things and set forwards not many months after his conflict, but most dangerous winds brought him back, with delivering him from dangers marvellous, that a mind not alterd with cross fortunes wrought still for means to go,

¹ Which she lived to do according to this prayer of hers, for she did insure the thought of her heart into her only daughter Lady Anne Clifford so firmly that it begot a constancy and obedience in her said child to her precepts ever after.

and made me contrary to self (as men that go to sea go for wards by the ship) though they go back in the ship both with body and will, so the strength of his desire made me will contrary to my own will, thus he got forth to the sea, and about three days before his going I did conceive with child by him of my only Daughter, who provd to be after, his sole Daughter and Heir, and was begot on me the first day of May in the year of one thousand five hundred and eighty nine, in Channel Row House at Westminster hard by the River Thames and I with hope to do good went as fast Northwards as he did Southwards, and there in Skipton Castle, in Bardon Tower I felt a child stir in my belly, and then I had in my right hand and my left two fair and sweet sons, this made me care the less for the present fear, but all my doubt was for my dear Lord, thus did I doubt with fear for him that was well, Gods name be prais'd, in this time in the North many doubtfull thoughts arose and fearfull crys.

Of the three children Lady Cumberland had, Lady Anne, her daughter, writes thus:

This Earl and Countesse had onely three children that liv'd to be christned and she was five years and nine months and fourteen dayes marry'd before she had her first childe.

Her first childe was Ffrancis Lord Clifford born the 10th day of Aprill 1584 in Skipton Castle where he dy'd the 10 or 11th of December 1589 and was buried in the vault in Skipton Church. he was a childe of as much goodnesse as was possible to be in such tender years. When he dy'd his father was in the North parts of Ireland where his shipp was driven in by tempest in his return from the Isles of Azores in West Indies his Lady being then great with childe of the Lady Anne.

It is to the death of this boy that allusion has already been made (see p. 60) in the statement appended to page 40 of Lady Anne's narrative of her father's voyages, in which it is stated that on Lord Cumberland's arrival in London he heard the sad news of his eldest son's death but "was comforted againe" by the intelligence of the birth of his daughter.

This is the statement that Lady Anne corrected in the manuscript in her own hand (see Plate opposite p. 60), a proof that the document in question was the actual one prepared for her and delivered to her, when she was at Knole.

To the second boy who also died in infancy Lady Anne refers thus:

“Their second son was Robert who was born in Northhall house in Hartfordshire the 21 September 1585 and dy’d in the same house the 14th of May 1591 his bowells were buried in the Church at Northhall and his body at Cheyneys in Buckinghamshire amongst his mothers ancestors.

Their third and youngest childe,” she adds, “was the Lady Anne Clifford who was born in the Castle of Skipton the 30th of January in the year 1589/90.”

To the death of the second son, there is also an allusion in the Voyages Manuscript, under date 1591, in the following terms.

Att his Lordshippes retorne of this voyadge he found his second sonne the Lo Robert Clifford¹ dead, whoe for the extraordinarye spiritt he shewed (even from his infancye) his Lordshipp thought to have trayned upp in the practice of Marshall affayres whoe died the fourteenth of Maye 1591 of the age of yeares leavinge one onlie daughter to succede him, the Lady Anne Clifford wife to the right honourable Richard Earle of Dorsett.

To the memory of the elder son there is an important tomb in Skipton Parish Church, but the younger is practically uncommemorated in the wonderful tomb-house at Chenies, where amongst the stately tombs of his mother’s people the young boy lies buried.

Of Lady Cumberland’s life apart from that of her husband we have little to narrate.

Her outstanding characteristics were affection, generosity and determination.

Of her generosity we have ample evidence in the foundation of the almshouses at Beamsley near to Skipton Castle which commemorate her name for all time. Of them her daughter thus writes:

¹ Lady Anne expressly states in her diary that her father left “but one legitimate child behind him which was his daughter and sole heir Lady Anne Clifford” thus implying that there were also natural children. Two families in Westmoreland at the present day claim to be descended from Lord Cumberland’s illegitimate offspring and to bear his name.

Queen Elizabeth by her Letters patents bearing date the 35th of her reign recited that whereas this Lady Margaret, Countesse of Cumberland had often given her to understand that in the Northerne parts especially near Skipton, Craven in the County of York there were many old decrepit women that were beggars without any habitation and the said Countesse desireing and intending some way to provide for such poor women and had often humbly besought her that she would vouchsafe to give her leave to build and erect an Hospitall at Beamsley for 13 such poor women consisting of a Mother and 12 women The said Queen did therefore give leave to the said Lady to build the said Hospital wth accordingly she did and endow'd the same.

In this foundation, the quaint and delightful buildings for which still exist as she left them, her daughter took a keen interest and modelled her own foundation at Appleby on the excellent lines laid down by her mother many years before at Skipton, while in her will Lady Anne made specific allusion to her mother's "noble" endowment and required that it should suffer no interference or change.

It is still managed on the original lines, as ordained by Lady Cumberland in Elizabeth's time.

Of her determination we have rich evidence in the way in which, after her husband's death, she took up, in valiant fashion, the cause of her daughter, initiated the legal proceedings to put Lady Anne in possession of the estates unjustly bequeathed away from her, and set to work to prepare vast books of reference into which were copied all the family deeds that could help to establish her daughter's right, under the ancient entail, to all these great estates.

This story however, supported by numbers of her letters, belongs rather more to the narrative concerning Lady Anne and will be found set forth in the volume devoted to her.

There are, however, a few important connections with literature on the part of Lady Cumberland to which reference must be made.

Lowndes and Herbert¹ refer in their works to "A Sermon upon the last three verses of the first chapter of Job: tending to the consideration of God's providence, planting of patience, and applieing of Consolation," by Henry Peacham², having upon its title a device of a wyvern rising out of a ducal coronet; the crest of Lord Clifford. Printed with Edward Aggas. Dedicated to... Lady Margaret, Countesse of Cumberland and Lady Anne, Countesse of Warwick³.

This sermon was certainly printed, as the following entry at Stationers' Hall concerning it, proves:

iiij January 1591. Richard Jones.

Entred unto him for his Copie under the handes of the Bishop of London and the Wardens a Sermon preached by Henrie Peacham uppon the 3 laste verses of the ffirste chapter of Jobe vjii d

but no copy of the Sermon can be traced although diligent search has been made in all the chief libraries of England and America.

It cannot be found in the British Museum, Bodleian Library, Cambridge University Library, Advocates Library or in Dublin, nor is it at Britwell Court, at Lambeth Palace, at Sion College, in the Chetham Library, in the Rylands Library or in Dr Williams' Library.

Moreover it is not in either the Devonshire House, Bridgewater House or Huth Collections and neither of the great dealers Quaritch or G. D. Smith of New York have had it, and finally there is no trace of it to

¹ *Typographical Antiquities: or the History of Printing in England Scotland and Ireland: containing Memoirs of our Ancient Printers and a Register of the Books printed by them.* Begun by the late Joseph Ames, considerably augmented by William Herbert, and now greatly enlarged, with copious notes comprehending the History of English Literature, and a View of the Progress of the Art of Engraving in Great Britain; by the Rev. Thomas Frognall Dibdin. 4 vols. 1810-19.

² *Vide* 1786 edit., vol. II. 1047-8.

³ Henry Peacham (1576?-1643?), M.A., Trin. Coll. Camb., Master of the Free School at Wymondham, Tutor to the two sons of Thomas, second Earl of Arundel, the great art collector; author of the *Gentleman's Exercise*, 1607, and *The Compleat Gentleman*, 1622.

be found in the Huntington Library in California, in the J. P. Morgan Library in New York, nor in the White, Wallace, Widener, Folger or Chew Libraries in the same city.

The search for it has been a diligent one, but the result wholly barren¹.

One of Lady Cumberland's books has, however, come into the market.

She employed Thomas Tymme², an able translator of the time and the author of a popular book of devotion known as *A Silver Watch Bell*, to translate for her from the Latin a work by Dudley Fenner entitled "Sacred Divinitie or the Truth which is according to Pietie, Described after the lawes of the onely and true methode and digested into ten bookes."

The original manuscript of the translation, which was never published as the author was at the time unpopular with the authorities on account of his puritanical tendencies and in consequence of these and other faults had been expelled from Peterhouse, is still in existence and is most beautifully written on 270 pages, within hand ruled border lines in red³.

It bears at the foot of the title page, in Tymme's handwriting, this inscription: "This booke belongeth to the Countess of Cumberland," and on the next page is an address to her commencing "I have sente you good Mistress Clifford, your booke translated and written in the best manner I can."

He then comments on the author and on the work of translation and closes thus:

And so committenge my labours to your censure and you in my prayer to god, that it will please him in his good tyme to release

¹ The Cathedral Libraries with their bundles of old sermons seem to be the only likely sources we have not investigated.

² Thomas Tymme (ob. 1620), Rector of St Antholin, Budge Row, once of Hasketon.

³ Tregaskis' List, 1918, item 162, p. 33.

you from your longe endured affliction, I rest, An. D. 1590. Julie 24.
Your lovinge friende T. T.

The translation is still in its original binding of calf with gold line borders, gilt centre, ornaments and gilt edges and has green silk ties on its fore-edge.

The existence of this translation and the dedication of the lost sermon go to show that Lady Cumberland took an interest in the literary questions of the day, and that she was a person of some bookish instinct herself. Moreover she is believed to have herself written the epitaph on the tomb of Richard Cavendish¹ of Suffolk which was at one time in Hornsey Church, in the south aisle.

It is alluded to as "promised and made by Margaret Countess of Cumberland, 1601²." It runs thus:

Candish derived from noble parentage
Adorn^d with vertuous and heroicke partes
Most learned, bountifull, devout and sage
Grac^d with the graces, muses and the artes
Deer to his prince, in English court admir^d
Belov^d of great and honourable peeres
Of all esteem^d embraced and desir^d
Till Death cut off his well employed yeeres
Within this earth, his earth entombed lies
Whose heavenly part, surmounted, hath the skies.

To her also Samuel Daniel³ addressed an epistle, and he inscribed his Ovidian letter, from Octavia to Antony, to her.

He says that "she lent ear to his notes and comfort unto him."

Henry Constable⁴ addressed the following sonnet to

¹ Richard Cavendish (*ob.* 1601?), M.P. for Denbigh 1572 and 1585, politician and author, son of Sir Richard Gernon (*alias* Cavendish) and for some time a member of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.

² See Add. MSS. 5825/223b, 5836/83, 5861/195b, and Walpole's *Royal and Noble Authors*, 169.

³ Samuel Daniel (1562-1619), poet and tutor to Lady Cumberland's only daughter, Anne.

⁴ Henry Constable (1562-1613), poet, son of Sir Robert Constable and a staunch Catholic.

Lady Cumberland and to her sister Lady Warwick, in which he praised their learning and their virtue:

You sister muses doe not ye repine
 That I two sisters doe with nyne compare
 For eyther of these sacred two, more rare
 In vertue is, then all the heavenly nyne
 But if ye aske which one is more devine
 I say—like to theyre own twin eyes they are
 Where eyther is as clear as clearest star
 Yet neyther doth more cleare than other's shine
 Sisters of spotless fame! Of whom alone
 Malitiose tongues take pleasure to speake well
 How should I you commend when eyther one
 All things in heaven and earth so far excell
 The highest praise that I can give is this
 That one of you like to the other is¹.

Her daughter does not make any special reference to these characteristics of learning, simply stating that she “was endow'd with very many Excellent perfections both of Body and minde and from her infancy very devout, religious and consciencious.”

Some allusions to her in the Duke of Rutland's Family Papers show us moreover that she was considered a person of acumen and discretion.

For example, writing on January 26th, 1587/8 from Chelsea to the Earl of Rutland she says:

The Queen has appointed me to search for the accusations had against the Scots, before your brother in his embassy to Scotland and my Lord Bothwell, for the staying of my Lord my brother.

I understand that your brother had the same, so I beg you to send them to me.

The Queen spoke graciously of you the other day. She asked for my Lady Bridget and remembers her promise. She wishes for agreement between your sister [in law] and you².

With this exception, however, her letters concern her own domestic affairs or those of her husband, and there

¹ See Constable's *Poems*, Hazlitt edit. 37, and Davison's *Rhapsodie*, 1611.

² Belvoir MSS. 1. 238.

are but few of them to refer to until we arrive at the later years of Lord Cumberland's life.

In 1583/4 we come upon a reference to her. Writing to Lord Burghley on the 13th of an unknown month a letter which appears to belong to February she says:

I am ashamed of not having returned your horse before, but we have been daily expecting the resolution of the Queen and Council, whether my Lord should go to sea. It is now settled that he will not go this time. My Lord of Warwick sends his thanks and congratulations to you¹.

One allusion to her appears in 1585 when John Stanhope writing on September 12th to the Earl of Rutland says that Lady Cumberland has only just become "acquainted with the death of her father" and "has as great a burden of grief on her mind as she has in her body" for, he adds "she expects her delivery daily²."

In 1587 we find one more allusion to her and it occurs in a letter from Sir Gervase Clifton to John Manners in which, writing on the 16th December he says "My Lady of Cumberland was godmother to young Gervase Clifton³."

Then we have nothing further to record until we come to 1594 in which year two letters from her appear. It would seem from the former of them that she had some business instincts and had secured with others a patent from the Crown for obtaining "sea coal" and using it in smelting "ierne," but that understanding that she was by this patent infringing certain privileges belonging to Lord Burghley she preferred, with great worldly wisdom, to relinquish her course of action rather than make an enemy of the great statesman and suggested some sort of partnership in the adventure.

¹ Rutland MSS. I. 161.

² *Ibid.* I. 178.

³ *Ibid.* I. 233.

Thus, on some unknown day in March 1594 she wrote to him thus:

Finding by unlooked for accident a great change and hearing that yourself is a principal actor to effect this at her Majesty's hand, a license to work with peat and sea coal all ierne and so to prohibit all others, myself and my partners have adventured much to find out some certainty and so might claim some privilege; but I make resinacion rather to your favour, so that I and they be a party in the adventure with yourself¹.

What came of the project we know not, but it certainly looks as though the spirit of adventure that ruled so strongly in Lord Cumberland had found a kindred sympathy in his own wife.

Again a casual allusion is all that rewards us in 1600, where we find just the mention in a letter that Elizabeth, Dowager Lady Russell wrote to Sir R. Cecil *circa* June 9 that Lord and Lady Cumberland were to be at Lady Russell's daughter's wedding.

The daughter in question was Anne, one of Queen Elizabeth's Ladies in waiting and she was to marry Henry, Lord Herbert, son of the Earl of Worcester, on the following Monday, June 16th. Lord and Lady Cumberland were to be amongst those invited to witness the arrival of the bride².

Beyond this we only know that she was often at Court, was in close attendance on the Queen, resided frequently at Bedford House with her brother, interested herself in prisoners in the Fleet, notably in one a Mr Ryther³ and was on sufficient terms of intimacy with Queen Elizabeth to be able to intercede with the Queen on the man's behalf "when she was at Court upon Sunday was sevenight⁴."

In 1602 and 1603 however, when Lord Cumberland's financial difficulties had become acute, we find her appealing for assistance to Lord Burghley and trying to arrange—by the aid of her sister and some of her

¹ Cecil MSS. v. 159.

³ See p. 150.

² *Ibid.* iv. 178, and 176.

⁴ Cecil MSS. iv. 563.

friends—for the payment of a necessary allowance and the expenses of keeping up her residence.

There are allusions in the letters which cannot now be explained and it is not even certain that we have arranged the letters in proper order, as they are not dated, but from internal evidence it would seem that the following which passed between husband and wife belong to this critical period in their married life.

Lady Cumberland writes :

My own dear Lord, I have according to your direction sent into Craven but how to despatch young Dunbell with those three stacks of hay I cannot till I hear from Farrant for their horses will be too much for them and I would fain speak with him myself because he can do more by my direction than I can do by writing. I fear your lordship's stay will be longer than you thought when you went hence as I hear Saturday will be the soonest you can return. If it please you I might go upon Tuesday on my way thitherward and despatch many things but I rest till I hear from yourself what your pleasure is and so I leave your Lordship to God in Jesus Christ who keep you now and ever safe.

Your lordship's only

MAR CUMBERLAND.

Good lord commend to my brother and so does my sister Warwick to you.

The agreeable tone of this letter is kept up in the one we place next to it, in which again allusion is made to Lord Cumberland's absence from home.

In it she writes :

My dear Lord—though sloth together with the company of the gentlewomen would not suffer me to write by your man this morning, I must needs salute my best lord with my late lines as the messenger of thy mind which is satisfied most in answering your most welcome letter and desire your happy presence as soon as leisure will licence you. I have so great store of company since your lordship went as the house will hold the Bishop and his wife sent word they would come that makes me tarry longer here than my first determination I hope to hear some news from your lordship of my lord of Northumberland that may glad my cousin Slingsby, for her husband tells me he means to acquaint her with the matter. I trust your lordship will remember my suit for Bennet and a horse for my lady of Derby

or else I may not send to her considering my long promise and thus committing you to God whose protection is your only safety therefore good my lord call on him by prayer and forget not to get a preacher now at London and so I say not forgetting to desire your blessing to the lord on the 22 day of this

Your lord's and not my own

MARGARET CUMBERLAND.

More pathetic is the letter that appears to follow it:

My dear Lord, I receive on every side your cost for this time and I fear much you measure not my bills by your powers which I desire may ever govern. I cannot hear anything of your suit and enquire I dare not, but many fair and favourable words her Majesty gives which still is told me of all that comes from thence it is a thing so usual as I assure myself it shall not allure your Lordship to linger longer than likely of some certainty shall be the cause from thence where your Lordship is most missed and greatly desired yet I wish not sooner despatch than your Lordship's occasions shall give leave then how welcome you shall be I can set down, my sister Wharton hath been in great extremity and danger but is passed all I thank God. Master Leman is with her. I stay the copy of my Lady of Derby's till your Lordship comes which you write you would send I hope in assurance your Lordship hath discharged my promise to my Lady of Derby for the horse I have got by your Lordship's men and my Lord my Father Bennets pardon suit at York I beseech you to deal earnestly for it that I may know what to make the man to trust to against the assizes, by this messenger I have written to my Lord my Father and my sister of Warwick very earnestly and so much as I am most weary desiring pardon, of my dear Lord for my shortness, but your Lordship tied by duty, but your late hour is the cause which is weary by desire.

MAR CUMBER.

Endorsed—To my very good Lord and husband the Earl of Cumberland.

these dd

There are two of Lord Cumberland's letters that surely belong to this correspondence, one to his wife, formal, hard and stiff, without even the usual agreeable and kindly opening sentence and one to her sister, his old correspondent, somewhat easier in tone.

To Lady Cumberland he writes thus:

I received by Machell the counter bonds, which you would have had me to have signed to such as Mr Secretary had before shown me. The names of the Commissioners was very strange that I should sign them before the principal specially seeth. Before, I had told you that I neither would nor in reason might, urge any of my friends to enter me, sooth most of them were already engaged further than was reason for me. Time will make you leave those concerns for they will do no good with me. When I have of my own, you shall not want. Till then, reason would you should have patience, and not run courses to my discredit. For the chartel you sent me, I returned no answer, sooth it was needless to appoint who should tarry till I had money to despatch them that should go away; for the doing of which and all other necessaries concerning you, I hope to come furnished at Easter, till then, have patience and do as you should. There shall be wanting nothing reasonable in my power, so I rest to you, as you will give me cause,

GEORGE CUMBERLAND.

To my loving wife the Countess of Cumberland.

To Lady Warwick in these terms:

Madam,

I attended all yesterday to have my cause heard, but though my Lord Treasurer was there, he was so busied as it was put off, and no other time appointed, so as I resolved to have been this day at Sir Dru Drury's and therefore sent your Ladyship no word to the contrary, but anon, now, there is one come to me from my Lord, to let me know that he hath warned all parties to be this afternoon at the Court, and that now, without fail, he will there hear it, so as by no means I can this day come thence, but must put the other meeting off till to-morrow, before which, this cause will I hope be heard, and then no cause shall stay me from satisfying your Ladyship's desire, whom God ever bless, and so I rest,

Your Ladyship's to command,

GEORGE CUMBERLAND.

To the most Honourable Lady the Countess of Warwick.

The allusion to Sir Drew Drury¹ is borne out by a letter from him and his co-trustee, Sir John Peyton² which appears in the Cecil Papers.

¹ Sir Dru (or Drue or Drew) Drury (1531?-1617), Courtier, Gentleman Usher to Elizabeth and to James I.

² Sir John Peyton (1544-1630), Governor of Jersey, Lieutenant of the Tower of London.

Sir Drew Drury and Sir John Peyton writing to Sir R. Cecil under date January 27th, 1602/3, say that "Relative to the manner and time at which the Earl of Cumberland promised to supply such necessaries as were wanting in his house we send you that part of the article verbatim viz.: 'That there may be a supply made of all necessaries of all household provision that may or shall be needful as linen of all sorts, brass pewter, bedding, etc.'"

"Which article amongst others the Earl did subscribe, viz.: 'I do willingly yield unto all this above written,' dated the 8th of April, 1601, attested under our hands and Mr Beale's. And this promise we have always thought he meant to perform as appears by his recent speech to my Lady of Warwick and me Sir Drew Drury which I am sure he must remember¹."

Now come in the two letters which Lady Cumberland sent to Lord Burghley with reference to these friends of hers who appear to have acted as her trustees.

In the first she says:

1602. I entreat your favour to excuse these cumpers of mine, enforced by constraint, that rather ought to be lines of confessing your nobleness in what you have done and promised to continue it till you have made a perfect work; than to entreat further.

These gentlemen are contented to enter bond for this £900 odd money being part of my allowances which is in a "ewugnes" [hugeness] behind.

There are some of them to go out of town and the end of the term will be here before my Lord's return with his niece Warton out of the country. If it might please you either to write to Master "lieutend" [probably Peyton] and Sir Drew Drury as it seemed you liked, for these debts to refer them over to Master "lieutend" and so they to write to my Lord in your name, or else your own letter to my Lord that these gentlemen may see my Lord is desirous they should be bound and so money and bonds might be ready against my Lord's coming thus confessing myself to be one of the beggarly ladies I conclude².

¹ Cecil MSS. XII. 617.

² *Ibid.* 542.

and in the second :

1602-3. Jan. I blush to deliver these things to your honourable hands ever full of weighty business; this was that which stayed me from entreating your favour till it pleased you to make offer not to be weary "of this, cores never harte on afore" to trouble a councillor of your state; but since you will be pleased, I beseech you make such an end as I may not incur by necessity the "man of cumber" till the half year come.

My hope is and was, out of your most Christian and wise discourse that whatsoever error you did find or might in my manner towards my Lord you would please to temper them so with your grace, as the severe name of the great authority of a husband might not prevail, in a dislike, but to yield to make good those desires framed by my friends or myself upon necessity, that your affection would have so much power with my Lord as to put in practice that which was before in part promised; that I might have hope to win his heart by time, when it was made soft by entreaty of so honourable a person as yourself. This was my end and let it thus be your trouble since you have begun which I humbly thank you for¹.

While to her husband she writes in wonderful and stately courtesy, without however any formal or affectionate opening sentence :

There are none that live so much in the height of their spirits but sometimes they descend into their hearts and retire themselves into their conscience though it abide not within them. In those descending thoughts of yours when it shall please God I and my innocent cause shall plead guiltless more than my honourable friends and Sir Drew Drury or the just part of the world can or do speak for me. To which time I do refer myself having, leaving my sacrifice at God's altar seeking a Christian reconciliation with you praying to God to forgive you these offences and give you his Holy Spirit to see your sins and amend them, which prayers I also make for myself being reconciled in heart to God not determining to alter my resolution for your lordship's neglect of me and my letters at the last time of my receiving. And thus praying for the eternal comforts of happiness in Jesus Christ at this time as seals of his mercy to me I rest a faithful Christian and assured wife to your lordship. M. C.

This appears to us to be the latest letter written before the final reconciliation took place between husband and wife on Lord Cumberland's death-bed.

¹ Cecil MSS. XII. 625.

There is, however, preserved at Lambeth Palace an interesting letter, written by the hand of an amanuensis on behalf of Lady Cumberland, and containing a postscript in the Countess's own hand. It is addressed to the famous Countess of Shrewsbury, and concerns the illness of Lady Bath, Lady Cumberland's sister, which illness became fatal in the following year.

It seems impossible to determine who are the persons known as Sir Charles and Lady Chandos named in the letter, for no such persons can be identified. Indeed it is not certain that the word in the letter is actually "Chandos" although that is the nearest we can get to the word, which is almost indecipherable.

Madam^a

I hope your ladyship will excuse that I answer not your letter with my own hand, but your ladyship knows how bad a Secretary I am which in these many lines would so much trouble you, but all I can write, Madam, is but a sad relation of a weary sickness of my dear sister, who about Michaelmas began to feel herself not well, but with a great heaviness of her spirits and a burning and panting or beating at her heart, which continued some month or six weeks, and little sleep, and when she had rest, by the help of her physicians, she ever found herself much worse after it, and since by little and little her stomach grows much worse, and all this time of her sickness she hath had little benefit of her body by nature, but what physic did, by which she found ease for the present, but rather worse after. So that she hath not had any physic this month and more, in which time she hath not eat any meat or bread at all, but some broths and almond milk and such things of nourishment, which now she altogether mislikes, and only takes drink, and sometimes a draught of Rhenish wine, which in this fortnight she fell of herself to take her rest very well, and would sleep both in the daytime and in the night marvellous well, which now she doth not altogether so much nor so quietly as she did, which I gather is her great weakness and hath [two words indecipherable here] every day and commonly in the night the very grievous fits when we have thought she then had been almost quite gone, yet she cometh to herself again with such quietness and mildness of spirit and so good resolutions to God, as giveth comfort to all about her. I fear I have so much troubled your ladyship with this long and weary discourse, coming from a mind fired with many miseries,

that wishes your ladyship may find and enjoy all true happiness both in yourself and yours.

I am exceedingly glad to hear of my lord's recovery, to whom I pray your ladyship I may be very kindly remembered. Again wishing you both many days of comfort, I desire to be made partaker of your good prayers, and held in the continuance of your love and I recommend you to God's protection,

MARGARET CUMBERLAND.

North Hall,

8 January, 1603.

(Postscript in her own hand):

I remembered your ladyship's true noble care to my dear sister, which does most thankfully return her love to your ladyship and my lord, with my own remembrances to Sir Charles and Lady Chandos being once in hope that the King's word had made an end, and that I should have a thousand a year and all my debts paid, that I might have returned Sir Charles' bounty, but all is broken with excuses of the King's business¹.

After her husband's death Lady Cumberland's energies were wholly devoted to the restitution of her daughter in her estates, and her later letters, a bundle of which yet remain, are entirely concerned with that struggle, valiantly and determinately carried on.

All this, however, concerns Lady Anne, who repaid such devotion with enthusiastic attachment and affection, erecting a monument near to Brougham Castle to mark the place where last she parted—on her way home to Knole—from the one whom she ever termed her "saintly and beloved mother."

Of her mother's death Lady Anne thus wrote:

She dy'd on the 24 May 1616 in the same Chamber in Brougham Castle wherein her husband was born. Her dead body was open'd and her bowells were buried in the Nine Kirks in Westmoreland and her body on the 11 day of July following in Appleby Church where her onely childe the Lady Anne Clifford then Countesse of Dorset was present at her buriall tho' not at the death ffor she was then at Knowle in Kent.

¹ Lambeth Palace MSS.; Shrewsbury Correspondence, 708, f. 1, 134.

The tomb erected to her memory was a magnificent edifice and to its preparation Lady Anne devoted infinite care and much money, never ceasing to praise the determination of her mother, through whose exertions she had won her position as the great lady of the County.

Lady Cumberland's will was a lengthy and elaborate document and contained a number of bequests to her relations and friends, including rings, silver plate, furniture, buttons, cloth of gold, basons and ewers, embroidered petticoats, velvet gowns, cabinets of glass, costumes, gold coins, tapestry and money.

It also made provision for her burial.

A previous will in which some strong statements were made concerning her husband was cancelled, and this still rests in the muniments room at Appleby Castle.

The final will is given in full in *Archæologia Æliana*¹.

It is also referred to, in detail, in the Memoir of Lady Anne Clifford her daughter.

¹ *R. Ac.* 5675, 1856, N.S. I. 22.

APPENDIX I

INVENTORY OF THE EFFECTS OF GEORGE, THIRD EARL OF CUMBERLAND, AT SKIPTON CASTLE, YORKSHIRE. TAKEN IN 1605.

FROM A MANUSCRIPT AT BOLTON ABBEY VERY
SLIGHTLY ABRIDGED, IN A FEW PLACES¹.

The Chamber over the
"Tresorie House."

One feather bed [etc.] five green taffatie
curtains fringed with green silk and gold.
Two little low stools covered with green
silk & silver, one chair of estate covered
with cloth green silk and silver striped,
two long cushions, another bed etc.
stools and cupboards.

In the cloytt wher
the growmes lay.

One feather bed [etc.] a black and yellow
mat.

In the Hye drawing
chaymber.

Three hangings of "Acris work" bought
of Mr. York. One hanging or counter-
point annexed to the same of "forrest
worck" with Clifford Arms on two long
table chairs of green cloth, fringed about
with green silk fringe, two chairs of
estate of cloth of silver, three long
cushions suitable to same, one low stool,
two cupboard clothes, green cloth with
green fringe. A little chair of estate,
covered with black velvet, embroidered
with a silver twist, one long cushion of
cloth, one low chair covered with cloth,
five buffets cover'd with crimson velvet
and five others of green velvet, one of
cloth of gold, one low stool of . . . work,
three square cushions of Turkey work.
One pair of bellows, one pair of great
copper andirons, one sconce of wicker,
one chimney cloth, three buffets, one
long table, two "bissils," two square
cupboards.

¹ See page 310.

In my la. bedd
chaymber.

One feather bed, one bolster, four pillows of geanes fustian, one pair fustian blankets, four "breads," one cushion of Turkey work, one of Tapestry, one mattress, two white rugs, three new carpets for foot cloths, one blue "serge" striped, with five curtains of "watchet" "taffastie," five quilt knobs for bed, quilt of watchet satin embroidered, one chair suitable with two low stools, two long cushions striped watchet satin, one little low chair of white satin striped with silver, one little low footstool blue velvet & yellow gardeo, two window cloths fringed with green silk, one feather bed, etc. one little map, four hangings of "Isacke and Rabeeky" one of "watter flowers" one pan of iron for perfume one pair of bellows, tables, cupboards, etc.

The Chaymber of
Estaytt.

One feather bed, [etc.] one quilt of purple satin embrodered with gold and silver twist with "Clyfford and Bedforde Armes" on. One sparver embrodered with grapes and cloth of gold with vallence, four curtains of changeable taffatie chairs, tables, [etc.] Hangings with the story of "Isacke and Rabeeky" one chimney cloth with arms set in a frame of wood.

In the gentellwomes
chaymber or nurssie.

Two feather beds, [etc.] two long cushions of crimson velvet with Clyfford and Percie Arms, chairs, stools, tables, [etc.].

Bellingame chamber.

Three feather beds, [etc.].

In the Helmytt
chaymber.

Two feather beds, [etc.] chair covered with leather printed with gold, one picture of "Captayne Morgan."

In my Lo. Clyfford
chaymber.

One feather bed, one new coverlid colour black & white with a border of red and yellow, [etc.] one cradle of wicker with arms.

- Mr. Newton. One feather bed, [etc.] one quiver with a bow of my Lo. Clyfford's, one little drum, [etc.].
- In the warderoopp. One white taffatie quilt stitched with diamonds, one red crimson taffatie quilt stitched with white silk, one powder "dormans" sheet, [etc.] one case of black velvet for covering a mattress for my Lady Countess's bed, various Canopies curtains [etc.] One picture of my Lady Warweck, one picture of my Lady Whartton. One little purple velvet cushion embroidered for my Lord Clyfford. Sir Wm. Russell picture, two Lords of Bedford pictures. My Lady Baths picture, a picture of my Lady Darbye. One picture of Mr. Manners, one picture of my Lady Bedford, one picture of Charles and Phillip of Spain. Six pair of arms embrodered whereof two of Clyffords and four of Clyffords and Bedfords. One old feather bed tick, the feathers taken out of it for filling pillows in Jan. 1539.
- The Chaymber or stayer fowtt. Four hangings, three feather beds, one counterpoint of the picture of the blessed Virgin Mary of Arras work. One "sparver" of green and tawny velvet with Clyfford and Percy Arms on it. Stools, cupboard, [etc.].
- In the Hall. Eight pairs of red hangings, [etc.].
- Dressar. One board & tressel, [etc.].
- Clock Howse. One little bell, which came from Embsay, two little cages, [etc.].
- In the lords great chaymber. Two long carpets, one green cupboard cloth, [etc.].
- Growmes chaymber under the tresory. Two feather beds, tables, [etc.].

The chaymber the
gallary end.

One feather bed [etc.]. One feild bed teaster of crimson satin embroidered with white cloth of silver with Clifford and Bedford arms on it, curtains, one chair of estaytt of crimson satin embroidered with white cloth of silver fringed with white, blue & crimson silk, cushions, stools, bellows, fire-irons.

In the gallary end or
stillyng house.

Armorer chaymber.

One mattress, bolster, blankets [etc.].

In the gallarye.

Three chymney cloths in frames one table, three tressels, one old churn, one skonce.

Mr. Leighe clossett.

One bundle of troye weights, one coffer, one buffet, one still head of glass, one book of Bocas, one great old book, one trunk of wicker covered with leather with books & scrolls in it.

In the low drawyng
chaymber.

Four pieces of hangings, one chair of estate of yellow satin embroidered with black velvet & white twist, cushions stools of needle-work, one short table cloth of green cloth fringed with green silk fringe newly made 1590, carpet, cupboards, tables, [etc.].

Mr. Lyeghe chamber.

Three feather beds, pillows, blankets [etc.], hanging tables, stools.

The chaymber above
that.

Two feather beds etc. one chair of estate of old purple velvet & cloth of gold, tables, stools, [etc.].

My Lord Wharttons
Chaymber.

One feather bed, mattress, etc. quilt, curtains, chair of estate, cushions, carpet, [etc.].

The old hye nurssie.

Two feather beds, etc. coverlets, chair of estate, one hanging of the Creation, one hanging with water flowers, one great chest, one coffer of my lady, [etc.]

The lowe nurssie.	Stools, baskets, cupboard, bowles, [etc.]. One feather bed [etc.] one comb case parcel gilt, three ivory combs, one little brush embrodered, one large glass the case mother of pearl parcel gilt, buffetts, candlesticks.
Buttre and pantree.	Six silver spoons, two knives in case & four odd whereof three are broken, glasses, four dozen trenchers, cans, jacks, [etc.].
Sellar.	Glasses, flagons, hogsheads.
The great well chaymber.	One fether bed & bedding, mats.
The little well chaymber.	One feather bed, bedding, cupboards, chests.
The chaymber beyond that.	One feather bed, bedding, cushions, [etc.].
The chaymber.	One feather bed, bedding, basket of straw.
Clarck chaymber.	Two feather beds, bedding, [etc.].
Cowkes chaymber.	One feather bed, bedding, [etc.].
The chaymber over the gaytes.	Two feather beds, bedding, curtains, five water flower hangings, cushions, stools, cupboard.
Portter Lodge.	One feather bed, bedding, [etc.].
In the kitchen.	Seven chargers, chafing dishes, pots, pans & all kinds of cokking utensils.
Mr. Farrands chaymber.	Feather bed & bedding, hangings, one counter point with Clifford Arms and naked boys, an old Flaunders chest, one great chest.
Awditors chaymber.	Two feather beds, [etc.].
Mr. Denham chaymber.	
Mr. Wrecht chamber the chaple end.	Cupboard, shelves, an old sparvell.
Backhouse & Brewhouse.	Feather bed etc. hangings, long trough, tubs, hogsheads [etc.].

Brewhouse.	Hogsheads, coolers "Sex sackes doen to Thomas Ivesey wyffe." "Not that ther was iiij off thoes hogsheads delivered to Mr. Candyshe as his owne and carried to Gybb the viij of September 1590."
Laundrie hoose.	Feather bed, tubs, bowls, two battle-dowres lent by Izabell Dawtrie [etc.].
Caytter chamber.	Feather bed & hangings.
Slaughter House.	
Christofer Pettie chamber.	Feather bed etc. stools [etc.].
Worckhouse.	Feather bed [etc.].
Stables.	Feather bed [etc.].
Kilne.	
Pullayne there.	Hens, capons two whereof one speatt when Mr. Clyfford was at Skipton about Easter 1590, the other lent to John Wardman's wife. Turkies whereof Mr. Clapham had two peacocks, ducks etc.

ANTHONY SMYTH.

N.B. A few words, of no special importance, details as a rule concerning bedding, blankets and sheets, appear where [etc.] has been given.

APPENDIX II

WHILST these pages were passing through the press we have met with a local ballad concerning the doings of Lord Cumberland which is still sung in the cottages in Skipton, close to his ancient family seat. It professes to be contemporary but this is clearly not the case, although perchance it may be founded upon an old ballad or may enshrine part of it, in its rhymes. In any case it is surely not a modern work and it seems to be worth printing as evidence that the exploits of Lord Cumberland in the Bonaventure are not forgotten in the town where he dwelt and where his splendid old fortress still stands.

The Good Ship Bonaventure.

When cockle shell met galleon
Outside of Calais bay.
And all the pride of old Castile
Was shatter'd in a day;
Of all the ships of Howard's line
That mock'd at praise or censure,
None wrought such mischief on the Dons
As did the Bonaventure.

For eight-and-twenty glorious years
She sail'd the Spanish Main,
And many a Pedro-this-and-that
Remember'd her with pain;
While such sea-roving blades as Drake,
And Frobisher and Raleigh,
Had oft upon her stout old decks
Gather'd in friendly parley.

And when off Calais loom'd at last
The "Invincible Armada,"
Intent on humbling Britain's pride
And sinking it to nadir,
Lord Howard knew if any ship
Could make proud Philip rue it,
"Twould be the good old "Bonny Ven,"
And nobly did she do it.

She sprang as supple greyhound might
 Upon a crowd of stallions,
 And pour'd her cannon, broadside on,
 Into the staggering galleons;
 She luff'd and tack'd and swung around,
 And drew to hailing distance,
 And nothing Philip's ships might do
 Could balk her wild insistence.

The more they tried to cut her off,
 The more did she elude them,
 But not before their splinter'd decks
 She had with blood imbrued them;
 Hour on long hour she kept it up,
 None wrought the Dons such evil,
 Till sick of swearing by the saints,
 They wish'd her at the devil.

And when the Dons had had enough,
 And fain would homeward go,
 Then God Almighty did the rest,
 As all the world doth know;
 And when the last shot had been fired
 That saved our sea-won honour,
 The "Bonny Ven" drew out the fray
 With scarce a wound upon her.

But when the Lord High Admiral
 Signalled his ships together,
 He found the saucy "Bonny Ven"
 Had "hook'd it" hell-for-leather;
 She'd flung out ev'ry rag of sail,
 And tightened all her thews,
 Resolv'd on being the first to bring
 The Queen the glorious news.

And, bet your life! she did it too;
 Ah! "Bonny" was a clipper;
 And when at last at Tilbury
 The Queen received her skipper
 Who bade her Philip fear no more
 Since British guns had plugg'd him,
 'Sdeath! had the two but been alone,
 I think she would have hugg'd him.

His name? Here stow it! that's enough;
It's time you got a lift on;
Such ignorance's enough to wake
The very dead in Skipton;
That skipper sir, a Clifford was,
A braver man than he sir,
Ne'er led an army on the field,
Or sail'd a ship at sea, sir.

And long as Skipton Castle stands,
Or Britain's pride shall flourish,
The name of Clifford's Sailor Earl
Heroic hearts will cherish.
"Désormais" was his motto proud
And still it stands up yonder,
Above old Skipton's Castle gate,
For all the world to ponder.

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INDEX

- ADAMS, Robert, Queen's Surveyor, 87, 151
- Affection*, the, 179, 181
- Aggas, Edward, printer, 291
- Agilla, Augustin Demora, 226
- Alberto, Archduke, Viceroy of Portugal, 53, 73
- Alcassar, Battle of, 27
- Alcedo*, the, 102, 142, 147, 178
- Aldborough, 38
- Aldersgate Ward, 200 n. 3, 210 n. 1
- Alexander, Henry, 260
- Alexander, Robert, 260
- Algiers, 54
- Allabaster, Thomas, 201, 202, 211, 212
- Allagarta*, the, 71
- Almain Album*, the, 106
- Althorp, 260, 284
- Amadis de Gaule, 18 & n. 3
- Amdunnegar, King of, 222
- America, 194
- Ames, Joseph, 291 n. 1
- Amherst, Earl, 18
- Amyntas, 121 n.
- Andalusia, 163
- Andover, 155
- Andrewes, Captain Andrew, 178, 179
- Angola, 128, 136, 183
- Angra, 54
- Anne of Denmark, Queen, 232, 260, 262
- Anthony, John, shipmaster, 27
- Anthony, William, shipmaster, later Captain, 27, 50, 128, 135
- Anthony*, the, 113, 118, 120, 142, 147, 179
- Antwerp, 227
- Appleby, 68
- Appleby Castle, 5 n. 1, 12, 22, 23, 24, 61, 106, 121, 265, 277, 304
- Appleby Church, 303
- Arber, Edward, 52
- Aribe, Juan, 58
- Ark Raleigh*, the, 85
- Ark Royal*, the, Royal ship, 42, 43
- Arthuret, manor of, 262
- Arundel, Thomas, 2nd Earl of, 138, 291 n. 3
- Ascension*, the, 171, 178, 179, 196, 216, 217
- Ashburton, 155
- Assention*, or *Ascension*, the, see *Ascension*
- Atkins, Thomas, M.A., 209
- Azores, the, 45, 54, 56, 75-6, 84, 101, 104, 115, 145, 147, 196, 198 288
- BACON, Sir Francis, Lord Verulam, and the Red Cross, 105 & n.
- Bagshot, 245
- Baker, Mathew, shipwright, 169
- Baker, Thomas, 135
- Balliol, John, King of Scotland, 107 n.
- Balliol College, Oxford, 52
- Banks, Timothy, 22
- Banning, Alderman Paul, 103, 200 & n. 1, 202, 211, 212
- Bannockburn, Battle of, 2
- Bantry Bay, 50
- Barbary, 27, 28, 141
- Barckley, Sir John, see Berkeley, Sir John
- Barke Chalden*, the, 113
- Barke of Lyme*, the, 46
- Barden Tower Estate, 275
- Bardon Tower, 288
- Barnes, Alderman Edward, 201 n. 3
- Barnes, Thomas, 61, 77, 96
- Barnes, Alderman Thomas, 201 & n. 4
- Barnstaple, Mayor of, 104
- Barrow, Dr Philip, 8 & n.
- Basing House, 244
- Basingstoke, 155
- Bassishaw Ward, 200 n. 2
- Bath, Countess of, *née* Lady Elizabeth Russell, 286 & n., 302
- Bath, Marquis of, 24
- Bath, William Bourchier, Earl of, 286 n.
- Bath, 153, 154
- Bath, Order of the, 262
- Battle, 3
- Baxter, Thomas, 201
- Baya, 30
- Bayley, Richard, 206
- Bayly, or Bayly, Captain, 71, 73

- Beale, —, 300
 Beamsley Almshouses, 289, 290
 Bear Garden, the, 244
 Beauchamp family, arms of, 272
 Bedford, Countess of, *née* Bridget
 Hussey, widow of Sir R.
 Morrison and of Henry,
 Earl of Rutland, 285 & n. 3
 Bedford, Francis, 2nd Earl of, father
 of Lady Cumberland, 3, 4,
 5, 6 & n., 12 & n. 2, 125,
 258, 286, 287, 295, 298
 Bedford, Francis, 3rd Earl of, 16, 32,
 62, 63, 255
 Bedford House, 62 n., 296
 Bellarmine, Cardinal, 7
 Belle Isle, 226
 Bend Or controversy, the, 2 n. 1
 Bennet, —, 297, 298
 Bergavenny House, 230
 Bergen of Soame (Bergenopzoom),
 36
 Berkeley, or Barckley, Captain Sir
 John, 178, 189, 195, 205
 Berkeley family, arms of, 272
 Berkeley Castle, ornaments pre-
 served at, 92 n.
 Bermuda, Island of, 185
 Berwick, 263
 "Bess of Hardwick," *see* Shrews-
 bury, Countess Dowager of
 Bethlem and Bridewell Hospitals,
 200 n. 2
 Bezoar Stones, 238 & n. 2
 Bideford, Mayor of, 104
 Bill Hill, 21, 22, 23, 277
 Billingsley, Alderman Henry, later
 knighted, 103 & n. 1
 Birch, —, 26
 Birch, Abraham, 172-3
 Birdwood, Sir George, 218
 Biron, Duc de, 243, 245, 246
 Bishop and Clerks Rocks, 48, 51
 Bishopric Lands, the, 33
 Bishopsgate Ward, 164
 Bishops Waltham, 79
 Bismarck, Prince, 193
 Bissoppoore, King of, 222
 Blackwall, 228
 Blount, —, 93
 Bodleian Library, the, 227 n. 3, 277,
 291
 Bolton, —, 233
Bonaventure, the, 36, 42, 76, 113, 114
 Boswell, Captain Ralph, 44
 Bothwell, James Hepburn, Earl of,
 294
 Bowes, —, 79
 Bradbank, —, of Gravesend, 101
 Bradbent, —, 99
 Brandon, Lady Eleanor, 1st wife of
 Henry, 2nd Earl of Cum-
 berland, 4 & n.
 Brasilia (Brazil), 194
 Brassis, 226
 Brazil, 27, 29, 30, 47, 48, 194
 Bread Street Ward, 200 n. 2
 Bredgate, Admiral, 174
 Bridge Without Ward, 201
 Bridgewater, Mayor of, 104
 Bristol, 38
 Bristol, Mayor of, 104
 British Museum, the, 18, 40 n. 1, 68,
 69, 110, 111, 291
 British Trade, and Mercantile
 Marine, 219
 Brittany, 206, 226
 Broadbent, —, shipmaster, 216
 Brocke, Robert, jeweller, 101
 Bromflett, 24
 Bromley, Captain Henry, 179
 Brough, Thomas, 173
 Brougham Castle, 2, 4, 12, 13, 303
 Brown, Sir Anthony, *see* Montague,
 1st Viscount
 Buccleugh, Duke of, 276
 Buckle, Sir Thomas, Vintner, Lord
 Mayor of London, 138
 & n. 2
 Budge Row, 292 n. 2
 Buenos Ayres, 29
 Burgh, Thomas, 5th Lord, 84 n.
 Burgh, William, 4th Lord, 84 n.
 Burghley, William, 1st Lord, (the
 Lord Treasurer, &c.), 5-6,
 8 n., 16, 17, 33, 34, 35, 45 n.,
 80, 89, 90, 97, 102, 103,
 106, 111 & n. 2, 112, 138,
 150-1, 155, 158, 160 n., 165,
 168, 173, 203, 208, 219,
 231, 239, 241 & n., 248, 281,
 295, 296, 299, 300
 Burke, Lord, 226
 Burling Islands, the, 128, 180
 Burrage, William, boatswain, 212
 Burrell, —, 210
 Burroughs, Burrough, or Burgh, Sir
 John, 84 & n., 85, 86, 87,
 88, 93 & n., 95, 98, 100,
 146
 Busley, Idonea de, 1
 Busley (or Builli), John de, 1
 Butler, —, 238, 239
 Butler, Dr M., 238
 Buxton Well, 286
 Bynneman, Henry, 10 n.

- CADIZ, 26, 157, 159 *sqq.*, 162, 244
n. 1, 283
- Caesar, Sir Julius, Judge, 61, 63,
 67-9, 81, 82, 151, 152
- Caesar, Sir Thomas, M.P., 68, 81
- Caius (Kayus), Dr John, 8
- Calais, 157, 160, 203
- Calais, Cape, 128
- Camán, Hannibal, jeweller, 101
- Cambridge, 6 *sqq.*, 206 *sqq.*
- Campden, Baptist Hicks, 1st Vis-
 count, III *n.* 2
- Campion, the Jesuit, 117 *n.*
- Canary Islands, the, 28, 145, 172,
 173, 181, 182, 223
- Canary wine, 182, 216
- Canterbury, Archbishop of, *see*
 Whitgift
- Cape of Good Hope, 127
- Cape Roca, 145
- Cape St Vincent, 162
- Capticher, 181
- Careles, Captain Robert, 179
- Carelesse, Captain Edward, *alias*
 Wright, 43, 44
- Carew, Sir George, 93, 200
- Carey, Robert, later Earl of Mon-
 mouth, 36 & *n.*, 37
- Carleton, Dudley, 204, 205, 227
- Carlisle, Bishop of, 13
- Carlisle Castle, 105
- Carlisle, City of, 105, 262
- Carlton, Long Gallery in, 148, 149
- Carmarden, Richard, 97, 102
- Carr, R., shipmaster, 179
- Carr, Sir Robert, 261
- Carrett, Captain George, 178
- Carter Lane, 230
- Carthagená, 43, 184, 193
- Carvyn, —, 44
- Carye, Sir Edward, 231
- Castiliano, Dom Rodrigo, 130
- Cave, Captain George, 83, 127, 129,
 132, 133
- Cavendish, Master, 17, 32
- Cavendish, Richard, M.P., 293 & *n.* 1
- Cavendish, Sir Richard, 293 *n.* 1
- Cecil, Robert, later Sir Robert, and
 1st Earl of Salisbury, 89,
 91, 92, 96, 97, III *n.* 2, 115,
 137, 138, 140, 144, 153, 154,
 156, 157, 161, 162, 167,
 172, 173, 174, 187, 195 *n.*,
 198, 203, 205, 228, 231,
 234, 238, 239, 240, 245, 246,
 247, 248, 249, 250, 251,
 265, 266, 267, 274 *n.*, 296,
 300
- Centurion, the, 175, 178
- Ceylon (Sylon), 222
- Chamberlain, John, 204, 205
- Chambers, —, 210
- Chandos, Lady, 302, 303
- Chandos, Sir Charles, 302, 303
- Channel, the, *see* Sleeve
- Channel Row House, 33, 255, 256,
 258
- Chapman, Richard, master ship-
 wright, 71
- Charles I, 19
- Charles, Prince (Charles I), 262, 263
- Charles, the, Royal ship, 52, 76
- Charterhouse, the, 132
- Chatham, 213
- Cheap Ward, 201 *n.* 4
- Chelsea, 294
- Chenies, 6, 271, 289
- Chesterford, 247
- Chesterton, 206
- China, 222
- Chichester, 38
- Cholmley, Thomas, 119
- Christchurch College, Oxford, 67 *n.* x
- Christ's Hospital, 67 *n.* 1
- Churchyard, Thomas, 25
- Cinque Llagas* (or *Chagas*), the, 127,
 128, 134, 136
- Clare family, arms of, 272
- Clerkenwell, 156, 245
- Clifford, Captain Henry, gent., 178
- Clifford of Chudleigh, Lord, 1
- Clifford families in Westmoreland,
 289 *n.*
- Clifford family of Tixall, 1
- Clifford, Isabella, *née* Veteripont, 1
- Clifford, Lady, wife of Francis, later
 4th Earl of Cumberland,
 251
- Clifford, Lady Anne, Countess of
 Dorset, Pembroke, and
 Montgomery, 2, 21, 23, 60,
 61, 62, 80, 107, 118 *n.*, 167,
 261, 262, 271, 272, 273 *sqq.*,
 287 *n.*, 288, 289 & *n.*, 290,
 293, 303, 304
- Cited*, 2, 5, 11, 17, 21, 22, 23, 53,
 62 *n.*, 70, 71, 76, 113, 124
n. 1, 166, 167 *n.*, 176, 177,
 198, 201, 229, 231, 259, 262,
 264, 266 *n.*, 267 *nn.*, 270 *n.*,
 271 & *n.*, 272, 274, 276,
 280, 287 *n.*, 289, 303
- Clifford, Lady Frances, *see* Wharton,
 Lady
- Clifford, Lady Margaret, 4th Coun-
 tress of Derby, 4 & *n.*, 5

- Clifford, Lord, crest of, 291
 Clifford, Lord Francis, elder son of
 3rd Earl of Cumberland,
 16, 31, 32, 33, 60, 80, 271,
 287, 288, 289
 Clifford, Lord Robert, second son of
 3rd Earl of Cumberland, 31,
 32, 33, 60, 80, 271, 287, 288,
 289
 Clifford, Sir Alexander, 163, 164
 Clifford, Sir Conyers, 163
 Clifford, Sir Francis, later 4th Earl
 of Cumberland, 14 n., 251,
 270, 273-5
 Clifford, Sir Ingram, 14 n.
 Clifford, the Castle of, 1
 Clifford, Estates, 12, 232 n.
 Clifford motto, the, 277
 Clifford, the, 27
 Clifford's Inn, 18, 103 n. 3.
 Clifton, Gervase, 295
 Clifton, Sir Gervase, 295
 Clothworkers' Company, the, 200 n. 3,
 210 n. 1, 237
 Coche, Captain Thomas, 178
 Cockayne, G. E., 3
 Cocke, or Cook, Abraham, pilot,
 later Captain, 29, 86
 Cockson, T., 277
 Coke, Sir Edward, 273 n.
 Colchester, 217, 269 n. 2
 Coltes, Captain, *see* Colthurste,
 Captain
 Colthurste (Coltes), Captain Chris-
 topher, 83, 175, 178, 179
 Coltrope, 149
 Columbello, Roger, 232 n.
 Conquet, 228
 Consent, the, 178, 196
 Constable, Sir Henry, poet, 16, 31,
 32, 293 & n. 4, 294
 Constable Sir Robert, 293 n. 4
 Constant, the, 178
 Conywayes, —, jeweller, 101
 Cooper, —, 177 n.
 Copley, —, 123 n.
 Cordell, Alderman Thomas, 201
 & n. 2, 212
 Cordwainer Ward, 201 n. 3
 Corea, Bras, 130, 131, 134
 Cork and Burlington, Countess of, 284
 Cork, and Orrery, 5th Earl of, 36
 Cornhill Ward, 202 n.
 Corpus Christi College, Cambridge,
 293 n. 1
 Coruña, 72
 Corvo, Island of, 116
 Council, the, of the North (1582), 13
 Cowes, 160 n.
 Cox, Walter, 174, 175
 Crane, the, 76, 141
 Craven, 12, 247, 272, 290, 297
 Crewkerne, 155
 Crosse, Captain Sir Robert, 86, 140,
 146
 Cuba, 119
 Culcando, 222
 Cumberland, Anne, Countess of, *née*
 Dacre, 3, 5, 9, 12-13
 Cumberland, Francis, 4th Earl of (*see*
 also Clifford, Sir Francis),
 275
 Cumberland, George de Clifford, 3rd
 Earl of, 1, 2 *sqq.*, 6 *sqq.*, 13,
 14, 31, 32, 33, 34-5, 37,
 39-40, 48, 59, 61-3, 63-4,
 65, 66, 67, 79, 80, 81, 82,
 94, 105, 110, 111, 112, 113,
 115, 116, 120-1, 124, 125,
 132, 136, 137, 138 & n. 2,
 141, 144, 145-6, 148-9, 150,
 151-2, 153, 154, 155, 156-7,
 158, 160 n., 161, 162, 165,
 166, 167, 172, 173 & n. 2,
 179 n., 186-7, 206-8, 209,
 210 *sqq.*, 225, 226 *sqq.*, 228,
 231, 233, 234-6, 238-9,
 240, 241 & n. 1, 245, 247-9,
 250, 251, 252-4, 255-8,
 261 & n., 268-9, 270 & n.,
 271, 279, 288, 299, 300,
 301, 304
 Account by of the 11th and Later
 Voyage, 177 *sqq.*
 Agreements made by with persons
 representing the City of
 London, 200-2 & *nn.*
 Ancestry, 1 *sqq.*
 Character, characteristics and
 tastes of, 17, 18, 19-20,
 187-8, 189-90, 196-7, 219,
 220 *sqq.*, 245, 247, 248, 249,
 260, 276 *sqq.*, 282-3
 Commissions, Mandates, Patents,
 Privileges and Warrants
 granted to, 31, 33-4, 38, 61,
 69, 103, 116-17, 142, 143,
 144, 148, 187, 198-9 *sqq.*,
 229, 230 & *nn.* 3, 4, 231,
 236-7, 262
 Charter incorporating the East
 India Company, 252, 282
 Early life and education, 2 *sqq.*
 Expedition against Cadiz, 161
 sqq.
 Full style of, 24

- Cumberland, George, 3rd Earl, *cont.*
 Honours and offices conferred on,
 and held by, 11 & n. 1, 67,
 106, 109-10, 121, 259, 260
 Later life, 233 *sqq.*, 255, 259 *sqq.*;
 Death, burial, funeral, and
 monument of, 237, 263,
 269-71 & n., 272 & n., 275
 Difficulties between, and his
 wife, 260, 262, 263 *sqq.*, 283,
 297
 Letter of reconciliation,
 269-70
 Letter to, from
 Elizabeth, 77-9
 James I, 263
 Marriage of, 11
 Petitions from, 236-7, 239, 240
 Portraits of, 44, 106, 276-7
 Speeches by, on great occasions,
 106, 107 *sqq.*, 121-3 & n.,
 241, 242-3
 Voyages of, 287-8
 Aims of, 277-9 *sqq.*,
 Authorities for, 21 *sqq.*,
 History of, in order of date,
 27 *sqq.*
 1586, the First, 27 *sqq.*
 1588, the Second, 36 *sqq.*
 1589, the Third, 41 *sqq.*
 1591, the Fourth, 70 *sqq.*
 1592, the Fifth, 83 *sqq.*, 136
 1593, the Sixth, 113 *sqq.*
 1593, the Seventh, 118 *sqq.*
 1594, the Eighth, 126 *sqq.*
 1595, the Ninth, 140 *sqq.*, 169
 1597, the Tenth, 168 *sqq.*
 1597, the Eleventh, 169,
 170 *sqq.*
 1598, the Twelfth, 174 *sqq.*
 Will of, 272 *sqq.*, 274 & n., 290
 Cumberland, Henry, 11th Lord de
 Clifford, 1st Earl of, 2 & n. 2
 Cumberland, Henry, 2nd Earl of, 2
 & n. 2, 3, 4, 5
 Cumberland, Henry, 5th and last
 Earl of, 1, 2, 275
 Cumberland, Lady Eleanor Brandon,
 Countess of, 4 & n.
 Cumberland, Margaret, Countess of,
née Russell, 11, 12 & n. 1,
 13, 14, 15-17, 32, 33, 39-40,
 61, 62-3, 64, 65, 66, 68,
 68, 78, 79, 80-1, 110, 111,
 124, 132, 148, 149, 150-1,
 154-5, 166, 167, 198, 220,
 233, 234, 238-9, 255-8,
 260, 261, 262, 263, 264,
 Cumberland, Margaret, Countess of,
cont.
 265-9, 270 & n., 271, 273,
 274, 294-5, 300-1, 303, 304
 Almshouses endowed by, 289-90
 Autobiography of, 284 *sqq.*
 Business venture of, 295
 Characteristics of, 289 *sqq.*
 Connections of, with literature,
 290 *sqq.*
 Death, monument and will of,
 303-4
 Portrait of, with husband and
 sons, 277
 Struggles of, for her daughter's
 inheritance, 273, 303
 Cumberland, 251, 262
 Cutts, Sir John, 207
 Cynthia, *Ode to*, 234
 DACRE, ANNE, *see* Cumberland,
 2nd Countess of (the second)
 Dacre Family, arms of, 272
 Dacre, Francis, 240
 Dacre, Hon. Magdalen, *see* Mon-
 tague, 1st Viscountess
 Dacre, William, Baron, of Gilles-
 land, 5
 Dainty, the, 86
 Daniel, Samuel, 293 & n. 3
 Danyell, Anthony, shipmaster, 179
 Darley Manor or Hall, 232 n.
 Dartmouth, 28, 38, 89, 90, 91, 92,
 95, 98, 156, 172, 198, 215
 d'Auvergne, Count, 244
 Davies, Captain, Pilot-Major E.I.C.
 fleet, 216
 Davis, Captain, 56
 Davison, —, 234
 Debtors Compter, the, 166 & n. 3
 De Clifford, Edward Southwell
 Russell, 26th Baron, 2
 De Clifford, Henry, 10th Lord, 1st
 Earl of Cumberland, 11
 De Clifford, Henry, 11th Lord,
 created Earl of Cumber-
 land, 2
 De Clifford, John, 18th Lord, *see*
 Thanet, 6th Earl of
 De Clifford, Robert, 272
 De Clifford, Robert, 1st Lord, 2,
 107 n.
 De Clifford, Robert, 3rd Lord, 2
 De Clifford, Robert, 4th Lord, 2
 De Clifford, Roger, 5th Lord, 2 & n.
 De Clifford, Roger, 1, 2
 De Clifford, Roger, 2nd Lord, 2
 de Costinio, Don Lewys, 134

- Defiance*, the, 75, 76
 Delaval, Sir R., 263
 de Melo, Don Francisco, 130
 de Mendoza, Don Fernando, Captain
 of the *Madre de Dios*, 87, 98
 de Mendoza, Captain Juan de Fraga,
 Governor of the Azores, 197
 Denham, Master, 149
 Denmark, King of, 19, 32
 Denny, Lady, 51 & n.
 Denny, or Dennie, Sir Edward, 51
 & n.
 De Passe, —, 277
 De Pons, Richard, *see* FitzPayne,
 Richard
 Deptford, 142, 169
 de Quiniones, Alvaro Flores, 59
 Derby, Countess of, 297, 298
 Derby, Countess of, wife of 4th Earl,
 4 n. 5
 Derby, Ferdinando, 5th Earl of, 121
 & n., 164 & n. 2
 Derby, Henry, 4th Earl of, 4 n., 5,
 121 n.
 Derby, William, 6th Earl of, 165
 Derbyshire, 231, 232
 de Sayas, Dom Duarte, 130
 Desmond, Earl of, 51
 Desborough, Lady, 24, 26
 de Sousa, Juan, 130
 Devonshire, 9th Duke of, 1, 24
 Devonshire, Earl of, *see* Mountjoy
 Dibdin, Rev. Thomas Froggnall,
 291 n. 1
 Dighton, Jane, *see* Monson, Lady
 Dillon, 17th Viscount, 106
 Dingenacush or Dingle, 50
Discovery, the, 71, 74, 83, 113, 118
 Dixson, Captain Edward, 179
 "Dog's Head in the Pot" Inn,
 Ludgate, 254
 Dominico, *see* San Domingo
Dorothy, the, 28
 Dorset, Pembroke and Montgomery,
 Anne, Countess of, *see*
 Clifford, Lady Anne
 Dorset, Richard, Earl of, 261, 289
 Downton, or Downton, Captain
 Nicholas, 86, 126, 127, 128,
 129, 132, 135
 Dover, 38
 Dowland, John, lutenist, 19
 Dowland, Robert, 19
 Downs, the, 160 n.
 Drake, Sir Francis, 6 n., 28, 31, 32,
 43, 105, 136, 141, 145, 146,
 159-61, 193
Dreadnought, the, Royalship, 169-70
 Drury, Sir Dru (or Drew), 299 & n. 1,
 300, 301
 Dunbell, —, 297
 Dunkirk, 38, 39
 Durham, Bishop of, 13
 EAST INDIA COMPANY, the, 142,
 200 n., 201 n., 202 n.,
 209, 210, 216, 217-18
 Establishment of, 252, 282
 East Indian Fleet (Spanish), 147,
 203
 East Indies, the, 136, 203, 221, 223,
 226
 Ecton, 277
 Eden, river, 107
 Edward I, 1
 Edward II, 272
 Effingham, Lord Howard of, later
 Earl of Nottingham, Lord
 High Admiral, *see* Howard
 of Effingham
 Elham, 247
 Elizabeth, Queen, 3, 4, 5, 7, 12 & n. 1,
 13, 18, 25, 32, 51 n., 65,
 66 & n., 67, 84-5, 88, 96,
 97, 106, 108-9, 111, 112,
 114, 115, 116, 120, 121-3
 & n. 1, 2, 124, 134, 138,
 142, 145, 146, 150, 151,
 156, 157, 158, 164, 165,
 166, 167, 169, 173, 174, 177,
 186, 191 n., 204, 205-6,
 212, 221, 222, 223, 224,
 225, 229, 230, 231, 234-7,
 239, 240, 241, 242, 244,
 245, 246, 247, 249, 254, 264,
 279, 290, 294, 296, 299 n. 1
 and the Attack on Cadiz, 159,
 161, 164
 Commissions, Mandates, Patents,
 Privilege and Warrants,
 granted by, to Cumber-
 land, 31, 33-4, 38, 61, 69,
 116-17, 142-3, 144, 148,
 159 *sqq.*, 163, 198 *sqq.*, 230,
 236-7
 First Charter of the East India
 Company granted by, to
 Cumberland, 250, 282
 Garter conferred by, on George,
 3rd Earl of Cumberland,
 11 n. 1, 109-10
 Gifts received from, and given to,
 Lord and Lady Cumber-
 land, 12 n. 1, 40, 233-4
 Glove of, in portrait of Cumber-
 land, 106, 276

- Elizabeth, Queen, *cont.*
 Last illness of, 250, 251, 253
 Letter from, to Cumberland, 77-9
 and the *Madre de Dios*, 88, 89,
 90 *sqq.*, 136-7
 and the Soldiers broken in the
 war, 105
Elizabeth, the, Royal ship, 42, 43,
 195
Elizabeth Bonaventure, the, *see*
Bonaventure, the
 Elizabethan seamen, the, 281, 282
 Ellyot, John, shipmaster, 178
 Ely Cathedral, 6
 England, 132, 162, 259, 278, 279-80,
 282
 Escorial, the, 185
 Esk, the, fishing rights in, 262
 Essex, Robert, Earl of, 17, 18, 37,
 39, 147, 159, 160 *n.*, 168,
 172, 173, 174, 203, 209,
 226, 244 *n.* 1
 Plot, trial, and execution of, 229,
 230 & *n.* 4
 Eure, Lord, 14
 Evans, Captain, 173, 209
 Evans, Capt. James, 178
 Exeter, 6, 91, 92, 155, 285 *n.* 1
 Exmouth, 215
 FAJARDO, Don Luis, 163
 Falcon Inn, the, 207
 Falmouth, 51
 Farley, the Knight of, 39 *n.*
 Farrand, —, 154
 Farrand, William, 201
 Farrant, —, 297
 Farringdon Ward Without, 200 *n.* 1,
 202 *n.*
 Fayal, 44, 46, 57, 128, 129
 Fenner, Dudley, 292
 Fermor, Sir George, 260
 Ferrers family, arms of, 272
 Finisterre, Cape, 84, 85, 128
 Fitzherbert, Thomas, 95
 Fitzjohn family, arms of, 272
 FitzPayne (or De Pons), Richard, 1
 Flanders, 32, 278
 Fleet Prison, the, 296
 Fleming, Captain William, 179
 Flick, Captain Robert, 178
 Flint, —, 247
 Flores (Flowers), Island of, 45, 84,
 86, 133, 205
 Flushing, 36
 Fo: Lord, 120-1
 Foljambe, Hercules, Sergeant-Major
 General of the Army, also
 Captain of the *Constant*,
 178, 191 & *n.*
 Foreman, Thomas, 204
Foresight, the, 76, 84, 85
 Fort del Ore, Kerry, 51 *n.* 1
 Fortescue, or Forteskew, Sir John,
 94, 97, 138
 Fontey Venture, Forteventura, *see*
 Fuerteventura
 Fort San Antonio, Porto Rico, 191
 Foster, Sir N., 263
 France, 45, 157, 160 *n.*, 172, 228
 Franch, Isle of, 133
 Francis and Scott, jewellers, 101
 Franco-German War, 1870, 193
 Frankfort, 99
 Freshwater Bay, 39
Frigate, the, or the *Olde Fregotte*,
 142, 147, 179, 185, 195,
 196
 Frobisher, Sir Martin, 51, 61, 85,
 100, 105
 Froude, J. A., 278
 Fuerteventura Island, 28, 182
 Fulgeam, *see* Foljambe
 GALLEON RALEGH, the, 84
Garland, the, Royal ship, 70, 71, 74,
 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 84
 Garraway, Alderman William, 201,
 211, 212
 Garraway, Sir Henry, 102 & *n.* 2
 Garter, conferred by Elizabeth on
 Cumberland, 11 *n.* 1, 109-10
 Gawdy, Ann, *née* Wotton, 17 *n.* 3
 Gawdy, Bassingbourne (I), 17 *n.* 3
 Gawdy, Philip, 17 & *n.* 3, 103 *n.* 3
 Gawdy, Sir Francis, 17 *n.* 3
 Gerard, Sir Thomas, 227
 Germany, 172, 240
 Gernon, Sir Richard (*alias* Caven-
 dish), 293 *n.* 1
 Gerratt, or Garratt, Daniel, 79
 Gifford, Nicolas, M.A., 209
Gift, the, E.I.C. ship, 216
Gift of God, The, ship, 104
 Gilbert, Dr William, physician, 123
n. 2, 269 *n.* 2
 Gilbert, John, 84 *n.*
 Gilbert, Sir John, 93, 250, 279
 Gill, Captain Henry, 178
 Gillesland, the Dacres of, 5
 Gimber, Fabian, 201
 Gisburne, 44 *n.*
 Glassier, G., 203
 Goddard, Captain, 145
 Godderd, Edward, shipmaster, 179
 Godolphin, Sir Francis, 51

- Golden Dragon*, the, 76, 86, 98
Golden Lion, or *Lion*, the, Royal ship, 38, 39, 40, 76, 113 & n., 114, 117
Golden Noble, the, 71, 73, 83, 84
 Gomera Island, 182
 Gomez, Diego, Governor of Fayal, 47
 Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge, 43-4, 238
 Gonville Hall, 8
 Goodwin Sands, the, 113 n., 171, 185
 Goodwyn, Captain Edward, 179
 Gorge, Sir Thomas, 18 & n. 2
 Gorges, Sir Arthur, 244 & n. 2, 245
 Gower, Mary, Countess, 21
 Graciosa, 47, 56
 Grafton, Honour of, 231
 Grafton Regis, 231, 232, 233, 254, 260-1, 262
 Grand Canary Island, 182
 Graunt, Captain John, 178
 Gravelines, 37
 Gravesend, 28, 99, 227
 Gray, Sir R., 263
Great Christopher, the, 41
Great Phillipp, the, 133, 134
 Great St Helen's Church, Bishopsgate, 69
Great Susan, or *Susan*, the, E.I.C. ship, 216
Great Teigre, see *Tiger*
 Great War, the, 1914-18, 105
 Greene, Goodwife, 9
 Greenland Company, the, 102 n.
 Greenwell, Captain Thomas, 26, 126, 135, 180
 Greenwich, 150
 Grenville, Sir Richard, and the *Revenge*, 17 n. 3, 75 & n. 2, 76
 Greville, Fulke, 112, 227
 Grosvenor, see *Bend Or*
 Groyne, the, 226
 Guiana, 159
Guiana, the, 175, 179, 195
 Gussarate, 222
- HABERDASHERS' COMPANY,**
 103 n. 1, 201 n. 4
 Hackney, 117 n.
 Hailes, Sir C., 262
 Hakluyt, Richard, 44, 87, 127, 277
 Hamburg, 28, 144, 152, 156, 181, 204
 Hampshire, 155, 244
- Hanger, George, 172, 173
 Harding, Thomas, shipmaster, 179
 Hardly, Renolde, 149
Have, the, 38
 Harold, Mary, Countess of, 22
 Harp Alley, 25
 Harper, Captain William, 179
 Harris, —, 37
 Harrowden, 117 n.
 Harry, 17
 Harryson, —, 210
 Hart, Sir John, knt., 202 & n.
 Harvey, Gabriel, 123 n. 3
 Harward, Simon, 7 n.
 Hasketon, 292 n. 2
 Hatfield, 28 n.
 Havana, 223, 224
 Hawes, Captain, 27, 28
 Hawkins, —, 42
 Hawkins, Sir John, 86, 90, 93, 94, 96-7, 103, 105, 141, 145, 146, 159, 160, 279
 Hawkins, Thomas, 225-6
 Hawksworthe, Walter, 209
Hector, the, 216
 Hemden, Edward, 103
 Heneage, Sir Thomas, 93
 Henor (Hierro), 182
 Henry, 95
 Henry, Prince, son of James VI of Scotland, 123
 Henry III, 4
 Henry IV of France, 84 n., 243
 Henry VII, 4, 279
 Henry VIII, 2, 4, 10 n., 12, 279
 Herbert, Lady, *née* Anne Russell, 285 n. 4, 296
 Herbert, Henry, Lord, 285 n. 4, 296
 Herbert, William, 291 & n. 1
 Hertford Bridge, 155
 Hertford Castle, 13
 Heyburne, Peter, 174, 175
 Hicheman, Richard, 147
 Hickman, Robert, 174
 Hicks, Mr, 166, 267
 Hicks, Baptist, 1st Viscount Campden, 111 & n. 2
 Hicks, Sir Michael, 111 & n. 2, 112
 Hilles, Phillip, shipmaster, 179
 Hilliard, Nicholas, miniatures by, of Lord Cumberland, 106, 276, 277
 Hilton, Robert, of Murton, 108 & n.
 Holborne, Anthony, composer, 19
 Holland, Hugh, 209
 Holland, 69, 72, 172
 Hollanders, 182, 218

- Holliday, Alderman, Leonard, later knighted, 200 & n. 2, 212
- Honduras, Bay of, 120
- Honiton, 155
- Hope, 37
- Hope*, the, 43, 44
- Hornsey Church, 293
- Hothfield, Henry, 1st Baron, 2, 22, 24 n., 277
- House of Lords, Armada Tapestry in, 151
- Howard of Effingham, Lord, later Earl of Nottingham, the Lord Admiral or Lord High Admiral, 26, 137, 139, 151, 152, 168, 203, 227, 228, 239, 244 n. 1
- Howard, Lord Thomas, later Lord Howard de Walden, K.G., and Earl of Suffolk, 75 & n. 1, 76, 77, 94, 156-7, 159, 227, 237
- Howe, —, goldsmith, 101 & n. 3
- Huggens, 112
- Hungerford, Mr, 39
- Hungerford, Sir Walter, 39 n.
- Hunsdon, Henry, Lord, *see* Monmouth, 1st Earl of
- Huntingdon, Countess of, 16
- Huntingdon, Earl of, 13, 14, 15
- Hussey, Lord, 285 n. 3
- Hussey, Vincent, 229
- Hutton, Anthony, 275
- Hutton, Matthew, Archbishop of York, 179 n., 230 n. 4
- Hutton, Sergeant Richard, 275
- Hynde, Mr, 9
- IBBS, MISS, 22
- Indian Fleet, the, escape of, 54
- Indies, the (*see also* East, and West Indies), 143
- Ingleby, Sir William, 154, 274 n., 275
- Ingoldby, William, 201
- Ireland, Mr, 165
- Ireland, 48, 50, 60, 227 n. 1, 288
- "I saw my Ladye weepe," song by Dowland, 19
- Isle of Man, 121 n., 165
- Isle of Wight, 38, 152, 173, 228, 241
- Italy, 172
- Ivry, Battle of, 84 n.
- JAMAICA, 119
- James I, 191 n., 232, 259, 260-1, 262, 263, 266, 273 n., 299 n. 1
- Coronation of, 261, 265
- Japan, 222
- Jarrett, Captain Daniel, 147
- Jefforde, Captain Sir George, 98
- Jennings, —, of Portsmouth, 250
- Jersey, 299 n. 2
- John, —, 44
- John*, the, 102
- Jolliff, Captain Henry, 179, 182
- Jones, Richard, 291
- Justinian*, the, 8, 10 n.
- KEBLE, Bartholomew, shipmaster, 175, 178
- Kent, Earl of, 258
- Kent, 303
- Killigrew, William, 93
- Kingston-upon-Hull, Mayor of, 104
- Kirkby Stephen, 262
- Kirkoswald, the de Morsvilles of, 1
- Knarborough Castle, 16-17
- Knole, 21, 288, 303
- Knottsford, Richard, shipmaster, 178
- LAGOS BAY, 162
- Lambeth Palace Library, 26
- Lancaster, Captain James, 201 & n. 3, 210, 215, 216
- Lancerota, *see* Lanzerotte
- Langbourne Ward, 200 n. 3
- Langton, or Lancton, Captain James, 118, 146, 147, 175, 178
- Lansdowne, —, 111
- Lanzerotte or Lancerota, 28, 178, 181, 182, 188, 190, 204
- Lake, Henry, shipmaster, 179
- Las Palmas (Palmer), 182
- Lawson, Sir W., 263
- Layfield, Rev. John, D.D., *cited*, 176 & n., 189, 190, 196, 197, 198, 220, 281
- Letter of autobiography to, from the Countess of Cumberland, 284 *sqq.*
- Leathersellers Company, the, 25
- Lee, Dame Margaret, *née* Wyatt, 67 n.
- Lee, Robert, 80, 150
- Lee, Sir Anthony, his wife and son, 67 n. 2
- Lee, Sir Henry, Queen's Champion, later Master of Ordnance, 18, 67 & n. 3, 106
- Lee, 29
- Legh, Sir Piers, 164 n. 2
- Leicester, Robert Dudley, Earl of, 17, 36, 37, 78
- Leman, —, 298

- Leveson, Sir John, 229, 230
 Leveson-Gower, A. F. G., 22
 Leveson-Gower, Mrs, 21, 277
 Ley, Captain John, 175, 178
 Ley, the, 179
 Lime Street Ward, 202 n.
 Lincoln Cathedral, 7
 Linschoten, Jan Huyghen van, 56,
 57 *sqq.*
 Lisbon, 17 n. 3, 28, 45, 53, 59, 72, 73,
 81, 84, 145, 171, 181, 202,
 204, 205, 225
 Lisbon Castle, 73
 Lister, Captain Christopher, 27, 39,
 44, 48, 55-6, 57, 59.
 Lister, William, 44
 Lizard, the, 60
 Lloyd, —, 282
 London, 5 n. 2, 6, 21 n., 37, 69, 88,
 89, 100, 102, 132, 153, 172,
 181, 198, 204, 207, 227,
 240, 243, 247, 248, 259,
 260, 261, 269
 London, Bishop of
 (1591), 291
 (1599), 229, 230
 London, City of, 69, 84, 94, 95, 96,
 164, 200-2, 210 n. 2, 229,
 283
 London, Lord Mayors of, 138 & n. 2,
 200 n. 2, 210 n. 2, 228
 London Regiment, the, 229
 Long, Henry, 44
 Lopez, Roderigo, Jewish physician,
 123 & n. 3, 124
 Lord Admiral, or Lord High Admiral,
 see Howard of Effingham
 Lord Chamberlain, *see* Hunsdon
 Lord President of the North, *see*
 Huntingdon, Earl of
 Lord Treasurer, *see* Burghley
 Loundes and Herbert, *cited*, 291
 Low Countries, the, 31, 168
 Lowther, Richard, 262
 Lucy family, arms of, 272
 Ludgate, 229, 254
 Ludgate Hill, 229
 Lyddall, manor of, 262
 Lynche, Captain Nicholas, 71
 Lynn, 38
 Lyon, the, *see* Golden Lion, the

 MACHELL —, 299
 Madre de Dios carrack, capture of,
 83, 86 *sqq.*, 95, 97 *sqq.*, 105
 136, 137, 140, 239
 Madrid, 185, 226
 Magellan, Straits of, 29

 Malice Scourge, the, 142, 147, 148,
 151, 152, 169, 178, 179, 180,
 186, 188, 195, 199, 202,
 209, 210-18, 283
 Malton, 264
 Man, Captain John, 178
 Manners, John, 295
 Manning, James, 253
 Manning, Richard, 252, 253
 Margaret, the, 44, 48
 Margaret Ann, the, 102
 Margaret and John, the, 179
 Margarita, Island of, 118-19, 194,
 224
 Marksburie, Captain, 46
 Martin, Alderman Richard, 91 &
 n. 1
 Martino, Antonio, pilot, 118
 Mary, Queen Dowager of France,
 daughter of Henry VII,
 4
 Mary I, Queen, 5
 Mary, Queen of Scots, 28 n., 31
 Maryon-Wilson, Sir Spencer C.
 Maryon, Bart., 26
 Matthew, Tobie, 204
 May Day, 234
 Mayflower, the, 128, 129, 130, 131,
 132, 133, 134, 135
 Mazembico, Island of, 130, 131
 Medina Sidonia, the Duke of, 38
 Meg, the, 44
 Meier, G., 123 n. 3
 Mercator Charts, 43 n.
 Mercer's Company, the, 201 n. 2
 Merchant, the, 196
 Merchant Royall, the, 178
 Merhonour, the, Royal ship, 42,
 43
 Merionethshire, 210 n. 2
 Merlin, 107, 108, 109
 Merrow, 28 n.
 Mervin, —, 44
 Mexico, 195
 Mexico, Bay of, 224
 Meysey, Captain William, 174,
 178
 Middleton, Middelton, Mydelton,
 or Mydeltone, Captain
 William, 25, 26, 75, 126,
 136, 210 & n. 2, 250
 Middleton, Captain Gerard, 179
 Middleton, Henry, purser, 215
 Middleton, or Mydeltone, Mr, 112,
 166
 Middleton, Thomas, 89, 96
 Midhope, Ann (Mrs William Lister
 44

- Midhope, 44 & n.
 Milles, Captain Arthur, 178
 Mr Secretary, *see* Burghley
 Molocke, 222
 Monmouth, Henry Carey, Lord
 Hunsdon, 1st Earl of,
 36 n.
 Monmouth, Robert Carey, 2nd Earl
 of, 36 & n.
 Monson, Lady, wife of Sir John, *née*
 Jane Dighton, 52
 Monson, Lady, wife of Sir William,
 née Dorothy Wallop, 53
 Monson, Sir John, 52
 Monson, Sir William, 44, 52 *sqq.*,
 72-3, 74, 146-7, 239
 Cited, 27, 29, 55 *sqq.*, 60, 71, 113-14,
 140, 143, 171, 176, 186 *sqq.*
 Montague, Sir Anthony Brown, 1st
 Viscount, 3, 5-6
 Montague, Viscountess, *née* Mag-
 dalen Dacre, 3, 5, 149
Moonshine, the, 74, 76
 Moore, Alderman John, 200, 201
 & n. 1
 More, Captain, 101
 Morgan, Thomas, *cited*, 28 n.
 Morrison, Sir Richard, 285 n. 3
 Morsville, Hugh de, of Kirkoswald,
 1
 Morsville, Maud de, 1
 Morton, Captain John, 71
 Morville, Sir Hugh, 107 n.
 Mountjoy, Charles Blount, K.G.,
 8th Baron, Earl of Devon-
 shire, 227 & n. 2, 229
 Mounts Bay, 56, 60
 Mozambique, 127
 Murdin, Rev., —, 28 n.
 Murton, 108 & n.
 Musgrave, Richard, 9, 10
 Musgrave, Sir K., 263
 "My heavy sprite..." song by
 Lord Cumberland, 20
- NATIONAL PORTRAIT GAL-
 LERY, portrait in, of
 Lord Cumberland, 106,
 277
 Navy of Elizabeth, sizes and arma-
 ment of vessels in, 42-3
Nazarite, the, 131
 Neville family, arms of, 272
 Newark, 14
 Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 260
 Newcastle-upon-Tyne, Mayor of, 104
 Newfoundland, 45, 104
 Newman, John, shipmaster, 179
 Newport, Captain Christopher, 86
 New World, the, 219
 Nichol Forest, 262
 Nine Kirks, 303
Nonpareil, the, 76
 Norfolk, Thomas, 4th Duke of,
 75 n.
 Norfolk, Sheriff of, 17 n. 3
 Normandy, Richard, Duke of, 1
 Normandy, 198
 Norris, Lord, 17 n.
 Norris, Sir John, 17 & n.
 North, Lord, 9, 206, 207, 208, 209
 & n.
 Northall Church, 289
 North Hall, 63, 64
 Northamptonshire, 262
 N. Regt. Train Bands, 200 n. 3
 Northumberland, Earl of, 297
 Northumberland, Lord-Lieutenancy
 of, conferred on Lord Cum-
 berland, 260
 Norton, Captain John, 31, 44, 79,
 84, 86, 94
 Norway, 172
 Nottingham, Earl of, Charles
 Howard, *see* Howard of
 Effingham, Lord
 Nova Hispania, 224
 Nowell, —, 208
- OBJECTION*, the, 193
 Oglethorpe, —, 250, 254
 Oppenheim, *cited*, 41-2, 54, 55,
 70 *sqq.*, 74, 114, 115, 136,
 164, 176
 "Orlando Furioso," 281
 Orrell, Captain Lewys, 178
 Ostend, 36
 Ostend, Governor of, 204, 227
 Oxford, 154, 193, 240, 263, 269
 Oxford University, Honours con-
 ferred by, on Lord Cumber-
 land, 11 & n. 1, 110
- PAGET, C., 96
 Palmer, Captain Henry, 175, 178
 Palmer, Captain William, 175, 178
 Palmer, *see* Las Palmas
 Panama, 84, 85, 223
 Perfect, William, shipmaster, 178
 Parish, —, 207, 208, 209
 Parma, Duke of, 36
 Parma, Prince of, 17
 Partridge, —, 44
 Partridge, Captain Edward, 71
 "Passionate Pilgrim," the, dedica-
 tion of verses in, 19 n.

- Paulet, Sir Amias, 56
 Peacham, Henry, sermon by, 291
 & *nn.*, 292
 Peele, George, 67 & *n.*
Pegasus, the, 179, 185, 196
 Pembroke, William, Earl of, 26
 Pembroke and Montgomery, Countess of, *see* Clifford, Lady Anne
 Pembroke and Montgomery, Earl of, 261
 Pembroke Hall, Cambridge, 6
 Pendragon, Uther, 107
 Pendragon Castle, 12, 107 & *n.*, 108
 & *n.*, 109
 Penrith, 275
 Percy family, arms of, 272
 Percy, Thomas, 44
 Perez, Antonio, 124
 Pergu, 222
 Periera, or Perira, Don Nuñe or Nuño Velho or Velio, 127, 130, 131, 134
 Perryman, John, shipmaster, 175, 178
 Perryman, William, shipmaster, 175
 Peterhouse (St Peter's College), Cambridge, 292
 Petrus, Diego, pilot, 118
 Peyton, Sir John, 299 & *n.* 2, 300
 Phelippes, Thomas, 77, 96, 219
 Phelippes, William, 219
 Phial, *see* Fayal
 Philip II of Spain, 46, 103, 128, 134, 147, 158, 185, 199, 221, 224
Phillip, the, Spanish ship, 224
 "Philyda," a setter, 154
 Picart, C., 277
 Pigeon, —, 44
Pilgrim, the, 113, 118, 119, 120
 Plate, River, 29, 30
 Plymouth, 27, 28, 37, 38, 45, 51, 60, 83, 90, 91, 119, 120, 128, 141, 145, 146, 155, 158, 171, 180, 204, 213, 215
 Plymouth, Mayor of, 195 *n.*
 Pokham, John, shipmaster, 178
 Portallegra, Don John de Silva, Conde de, 226
 Porter, —, 226
 Porto, or Puerto Rico (*see also* San Juan de), 54, 140, 160, 161, 174 *sqq.*, 181, 182 *sqq.*, 193, 194, 196, 204, 219, 221, 222-3, 252, 253, 277, 283
 Portsmouth, 37, 79, 135, 155, 157, 179, 185, 193, 227 *n.* 3
 Portsoken Ward, 200 *n.* 2
 Portugal, 143
 Portuguese, the, 222
 Poure, Sir He., 160 *n.*
 Powell, Captain Arthure, 178
 Preston, Captain, 155
 Priest, William, chirurgeon, 253
 Privy Council, the, 14, 228, 250-1, 259
Prosperous, or *Prosperus*, the, 175, 178, 184, 193
 Pryse, Walter, shipmaster, 178
 Pulleyn, Thomas, preacher, 217
 Purchas, *cited*, 27, 36, 37, 41, 56, 58, 59, 71, 73, 83, 85, 88, 113, 114, 116, 118, 126, 127, 128, 140, 146, 169, 175-6, 177, 193, 202, 220
 Purfitt, —, 172
 Pynson, —, 10 *n.*
 QUEENHITHE WARD, 201 *n.* 1, 202 *n.*
 Queen's Champion; *see* Cumberland, *see also* Lee, Sir Henry
 RADCLIFFE, CHRISTOPHER, 201
 Radlington, manor of, 262
Rainbow, the, Royal ship, 42, 53
 Raleigh, Carew, 84
 Raleigh, Sir Walter, 17 *n.* 3, 28, 30, 46, 51 *n.*, 66 *n.*, 84, 85, 86, 90, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 105, 174 & *n.*, 227, 237, 279
 Raymond, Captain George, 36
 Red Cross, the, a forecast of, 105 & *n.*
Red Dragon, the, 27
Red Dragon, the, formerly the *Malice Scourge*, 216, 218
 Red Fort, the, Porto Rico, 183
Red Rox, the, 76
 Renegar, 250
Repulse, the, Royal ship, 42
 Resould, —, *cited*, 204, 205
Revenge, the, Grenville's ship, 75, 134
 Rio, River, 28
 Ripley, 275
 Riviere, 24 *n.*
 Robartes, Captain Thomas, 178
 Robinson, Richard, 24, 25, 26, 28, 39, 71, 76, 113, 118, 126, 128, 136, 146, 147, 169, 174, 176, 185, 198
 Rock, the, 181

- Roe*, the, 27
Roebuck, the, 84, 86, 100, 174
Roger Bonaventur, the, 104
 Rogers, —, 277
 Rookesby, Captain, 178
 Roos family, arms of, 272
 Rotherham, 264
 Roxburgh Club, the, 18
Royal Defence, the, 179
Royal Exchange, the, 128, 129, 130, 133, 135
 Rushton Hall, 117
 Russell, Anne, later Lady Herbert, 285 *n.* 4, 296
 Russell, Elizabeth, Dowager Lady, 296
 Russell family, arms of, 272
 Russell, Lady Elizabeth, later Countess of Bath, 286 & *n.*, 302
 Russell, Lady Margaret, *see* Cumberland, 3rd Countess of
 Russell, Lord Edward, 285
 Russell, Lord Francis, 287
 Russell, Lord John, 285
 Russell, Lord William, 287
 Russell Place, 4
 Russia, Company trading to, 102 *n.* 2
 Rutland, Duke of, 294
 Rutland, Edward, 3rd Earl of, 14, 18, 295
 Rutland, Elizabeth, Countess of, 40
 Rutland, Henry, 2nd Earl of, 285 *n.* 3
 Rutland, Earl of, 295
 Rymer, —, 123 *n.* 2, 263
 Rysbank Fort, 160
 Ryther, Augustin, engraver, 151
 Ryther, Mr, 150, 151, 296

 ST ANTHOLIN, Rector of, 292 *n.* 2
 St Bartholomew's Hospital, 124, 202 *n.*
 St Clement Danes, Strand, 176 *n.*
 St Gillens, 226
 St Gregory's Church, London, 135-6
 St James's, Palace of, 233
 St Jean de Luz, 206 *n.* 2
 St John family, arms of, 272
 St John of Bletsoe, Sir John, 11, 285 *n.* 2
 St John, Margaret, *see* Bedford, Countess of
 St John, Porto Rico, *see* San Juan
 St Lawrence, Abbey of, in the Escorial, 185
 St Lucar, *see* San Lucar
 Saint Main, H., 95
 St Malo, 113, 115
 St Mary's Isle, 47, 56, 59

 St Mary Overy's Church, Southwark, 11
 St Michael, Island of, 45, 128, 133
 St Paul's Cathedral, 229
St Phillip, the, 134
 St Thomas, Island, 72, 147
Saint Thomas, the, 147
 St Thomas's Hospital, 103 *n.*, 210 *n.* 1
 Salisbury, 1st Earl of, *see* Cecil, Sir Robert
 Salisbury, 155
 Salter, Ralph, senior, surgeon, 215
Sampson, or *Samson*, the, 28, 38, 71, 83, 98, 99, 102, 126, 128, 129, 132, 133, 135, 178, 195, 196
 San Domingo (Domenico), 31, 32, 43, 119, 179, 182, 194
 San Juan, Porto Rico, 177, 179, 184, 185, 192, 193, 204, 205
 San Lucar, 39, 59, 128, 159
San Philip, carrack, 127
 Santa Catalena, 226
Santa Croce, the, 84, 85
 Sarracoll, John, 27, 28, 30
 Saunders, Thomas, 158, 159
 Savage, Sir A., 244 & *n.* 1, 245, 246, 250, 251
 Savoy, the, 262, 271
 Savoy Chapel, the, 271
 Saxey, Captain William, 44, 46
 Schism, Commissions for suppressing, 230, 263
 Scilly Islands, the, 48, 89
 Scotland, 15, 156, 172, 263, 294
 Scottish Marches, Governorship of, 260
Scourge of Malice, the, *see* Malice
Scourge, the
Scout, the, 179, 180, 195
 Scrope, *see* Bend Or
 Scrope, Henry, Lord, 14, 105
 Seaton, 215 & *n.*
 Sebastian, King of Portugal, 27
 Segar, —, 66
 Seville, 226
 Shalford, 28 *n.*
 Shaxton, —, 208
 Shelburne, —, 111
 Shelford, 53
 Sherborne, 89, 94, 155
 Shilling, Andrew, shipmaster, 178
 Shrewsbury, Countess Dowager of, 261 & *n.* 2, 302-3
 Shrewsbury, Gilbert, 6th Earl of, 13, 66 *n.*, 110, 117, 236 *n.* 2, 264
 Shute, William, 201
 Shylock, and Roderigo Lopez, 124

- Sidney, Sir Philip, 26, 51 *n.*
 Sidney, Sir Robert, 19, 53
 Sierra Leone, 28-9
 Silva, Dom Aries de, 53
 Skinners' Company, the, 201 *nn.*
 Skipton, 247, 250, 257, 268, 272, 290
 Skipton Castle, 4, 12, 13, 24 *sqq.*, 44,
 55, 60, 61, 80, 148, 149, 272,
 277, 284, 287, 288, 289
 Skipton Church, 271, 275, 289
 Sleeve, the, 28
 Slingsby, Captain Sir Francis, 16,
 21, 118 & *n.*, 171, 178, 182,
 197, 297
 Sluys, siege of, 36, 37
 Smith, Richard, of Shelford, 53
 Smyth, Edward, shipmaster, 179
 Sofala, 127
 Some, Dr Robert, Vice-Chancellor
 of Cambridge University,
 209
 Somerset, Countess of, 54
 Sotheby, Mrs 277
 Southampton, 2nd Earl of, 229, 231
 Southampton, Mayor of, 104
 South Seas, the, 27, 29
 Southward Cape, the, 18
 Spain, 32, 38, 39, 45, 48, 54, 72, 77,
 94, 117, 127, 132, 136, 157,
 160, 161, 162, 168, 172, 178,
 199, 219, 223, 235, 277-8,
 282, 283
 Spanish Armada, the, 36, 37, 38, 52,
 151, 227 *n.* 2
 Spanish Fleet, the, 151, 227, 228
 Spencer, Samuel, shipmaster, 178
 Spencer, 6th Earl, 284
 Spenser, Edmund, 121 *n.*, poems of,
 244 *n.* 2
 Staines, 245
 Stallenge, William, 198
 Standen, Sir Anthonie, 156
 Stanhope family, the, 18
 Stanhope, John, 66 *n.*, 295
 Stanley, Colonel, Sir William, 206
 Staper, Alderman Richard, 210 & *n.* 1
 Starckey, Captain Hugh, 178
 States General, the, 31, 160 *n.*
 Stationers' Hall, 291
 Stebbing, —, 92
 Stendall, —, 16
 Stephens, Edward, chief carpenter,
 215
 Stevens, Edward, 142
 Stevens, Henry, of Vermont, U.S.A.,
 209
 Stowe, 282
 Strand, the, 176 *n.*
 Strange, Henry Lord, later 4th
 Earl of Derby (*q.v.*), 5,
 117
 Sturbridge Fair, 206
 Suffolk, Charles Brandon, Duke of,
 4
 Suffolk, Earl of, *see* Howard, Lord
 Thomas
 Suriagoe, —, 226
 Susan, the, or *Great Susan*, 102,
 216
 Sussex, Robert Radcliffe, 5th Earl
 of, 123 & *n.* 2
 Sutton, James, 235
Swiftsure, the, Royal ship, 142
 Swinnerton, —, 237
 Sylon, *see* Ceylon
 TAILOR, John, 268
 Tawestock, 146
 Tayler, Jo, 154
 Taylor, —, 246
 Tenbury (or Temedbury), manor of,
 4
 Teneriffe, Isle of, 173
 Tercera, 45, 46, 51, 54, 57-8, 84,
 128, 205
 Thames, the, 135, 227, 288
 Thanet, the Earls of, 2
 Thanet, Henry, 11th Earl of, 22
 Thanet, John, 6th Earl of, 18th Lord
 de Clifford, 22
 Thanet, Thomas, Earl of, 22
 Thornton, Robert, 174, 175, 178
 Thornton, 44
 Throckmorton, Elizabeth (Lady
 Raleigh), 85
 Tibbalds (Theobalds), 125
Tiger, the, 83, 98, 99
 Tilbury, 37, 227
 Tilford, 154
 Tilt Yard, Whitehall, 107
 Tixall, the Cliffords of, 1
 Toledo, Cardinal-Archbishop of,
 99 & *n.* 3, 100
 Tomas, Lord, 138 & *n.*
 Tomson, Captain, 86
 Tottenham, 228
 Tower of London, the, 54, 230, 261,
 299 *n.* 2
 Tower Ward, 200 *n.* 3
 Towns sending vessels against the
 Spanish Armada, 38
 Tralee, 51 *n.*
 Trelawny, —, Mayor of Plymouth,
 195 *n.*
 Trinity College, Cambridge, 6 *sqq.*,
 10 *n.*, 176 *n.*, 209, 291 *n.* 2

- Triumph*, the, Royal ship, 42, 43
True Love, the, 174
 Tudor Exhibition, the, 21 *n.*
 Tudors, the, characteristics of, 279
 Turkey, Company trading to, 102 *n.*
 Turner, Lancelot, 40
Twelve Apostles, the (Spanish fleet so-called), 226
 Tyburn, 124
 Tymme, Rev. Thomas, 292 & *n.* 2, 293
 Tyrwhitt, Captain Roger, 178
 UNION of England and Scotland, 260
 Ushant, 45 *n.*, 185, 198
VANGUARD, the, Royal ship, 42
 Vaughan, R., 277
 Vaux of Harrowden, William, 3rd Baron, 117 & *n.*
 Vaux estates, 117
 Velio, Nuño, or Nunez Velho, 162
 Venice, 99, 101 *n.* 3, 240
 Ventre Haven, 50
 Vere, Sir Francis, 227 & *n.* 3
 Vere, Sir Thomas, 159, 160 *n.*
 Verulam, Lord, 105
 Vesey family, arms of, 272
 Vesey, 24
 Veteripont family, arms of, 1, 272
 Veteripont, Idonea, 1, 107 *n.*
 Veteripont, Isabella, 1
 Veteripont, Robert, 1
 Veteripont, William, 1
Victory, the, Royal ship, 41, 42, 43, 44, 47, 71, 72
 Vine Inn, the, 245
 Vipont, 24
 Virgin Islands (Islands of Virginea), 182, 189
 WALBROOK, 200 *n.* 1
 Waldon, Robert, 201
 Wallop, Dorothy, *see* Monson, Lady
 Wallop family, 155
 Walpole, Horace, 66
 Walsingham, Sir Francis, 37, 38
 Walton, the Baron of, 166 & *n.*
 Walton, William, 173
 Warton, *see* Wharton
 Warwick, Anne, Countess of, 40, 66, 111, 124-5, 149, 177, 294, 296, 297, 299, 300
 Warwick, Earl of, 39, 65, 66, 111
 Warwick House, 65
 Wasnesse, John, 31
 Watt, —, of Greenwich, 220
Watt, the, 249, 250
 Wattes, Captain John, 178
 Watts, Alderman John, later knighted, 200 & *n.* 3
 Watty, 255
 West India, or Indies, Fleet, the, 141, 147, 203
 West Indies, the, 113, 118, 177, 178, 179, 184, 194, 220, 221, 223, 249 *sqq.*, 282, 288
 West Marches, the, Wardenship of, 105
 Westminster, 108, 122, 229, 288
 Westminster Abbey, 4 *n.*, 84 *n.*, 244, 261
 Westminster Almshouses, 25
 Westmoreland, 12, 108, 122, 260, 289 *n.*, 303
 Weymouth, 83, 101
 Wharton, —, niece of Lord Cumberland, 300
 Wharton, Lady, *née* Lady Frances Clifford, 11 & *n.* 2, 32, 149, 275, 286, 298
 Wharton, Philip, 3rd Lord, 11, 32, 274, *n.* 1, 275
 Wharton Hall, 13
 Whitaker, —, 34, 241, 272
 Whitaker, William, later Master of St John's College, Cambridge, 6, 7
 White, R., 276
White Bear, the, Royal ship, 42, 43
 Whitehall, 233, 261
 Whitgift, John, later Archbishop of Canterbury, 6, 7 & *n.*, 10 *n.*, 230 *n.* 4
 Whyte, Rowland, 53
 Widrington, Bernard, 31
 Widrington, Captain Robert, 27
 Widrington, William, 31
 Wilkes, Thomas, 31
 Williams, Basil, 105 *n.*
 Williams, Sir Roger, 36
 Windebank, —, Clerk of the Signet, 110, 159, 163
 Windsor Castle, 121, 122, 123 *n.* 1
 Woburn, 6
 Wodrington, Sir H., 263
 Wokingham, 21, 277
 Wolley, J., 31
 Wood Street, 166 & *n.*
 Woolwich, 142, 161, 214, 215
 Woosley, —, shipmaster, 181
 Worcester, Earl of, 296
 Worksop Manor, 261

- Wotton, Edward, 1st Lord, 274 *n.*,
275
- Wotton, John, 17 *n.* 3
- Wright, Edward, mathematician
and navigator, 43 & *n.*, 56,
57, 58, 71, 106, 259, 277
- Wyatt, Sir Henry, 67 *n.* 2
- Wymondham, 291 *n.* 3
- Wyseman, —, 210
- XERES, Standard of, 163
- YARMOUTH, 38
- York, Archbishop of (*see also*
Hutton), 13
- York, Duke of, *see* Charles, Prince
- York, City of, 251, 259, 262, 298
- Yorke, Captain Sir Edward, 114
- Yorkshire, 248, 251, 290
- ZEELAND, 69
- Zubiaur, Admiral Pedro de, 171

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