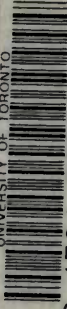
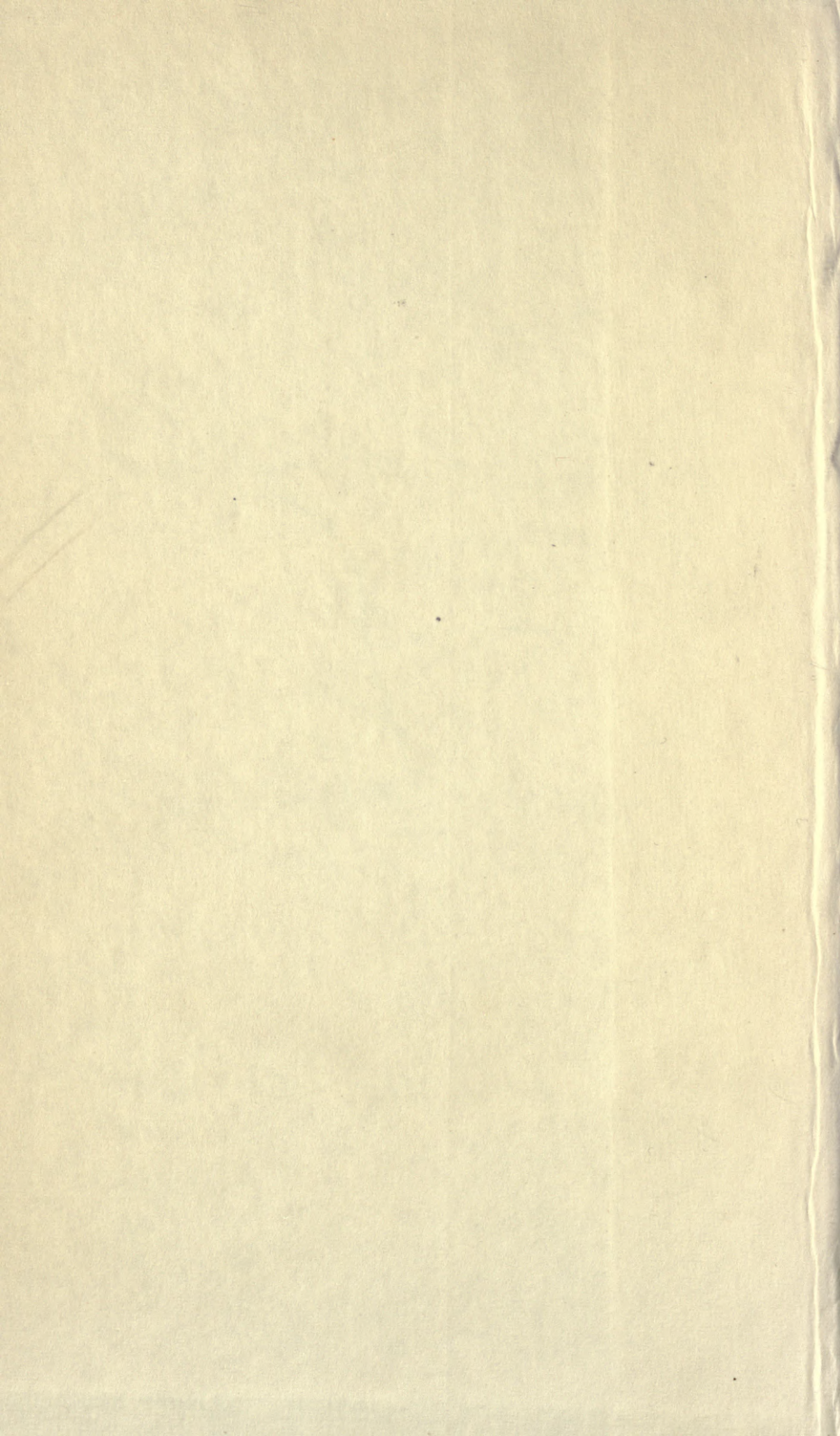


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Book 4. Vol. Gent. Mag. N. S. p. 419.

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This work is curious for its numerous
Archaical and uncommon Words in many
of the Documents





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11

The Loseley Manuscripts.

MANUSCRIPTS,

AND

OTHER RARE DOCUMENTS,

ILLUSTRATIVE OF

SOME OF THE MORE MINUTE PARTICULARS

OF

English History, Biography, and Manners,

FROM THE

REIGN OF HENRY VIII. TO THAT OF JAMES I.

PRESERVED IN THE

MUNIMENT ROOM OF JAMES MORE MOLYNEUX, ESQ.

AT LOSELEY HOUSE, IN SURREY.

“Now come tidings of weddings, maskings, mummeries, entertainments, jubilees. embassies, tilts and tournaments, trophies, triumphs, revels, sports, plays; then again, as in a new-shifted scene, treasons, cheating tricks, robberies, enormous villanies in all kinds, funerals, burials, deaths of princes, now comical then tragical matters.”
Democritus to the Reader, Burton’s Anatomy of Melancholy.

NOW FIRST EDITED, WITH NOTES,

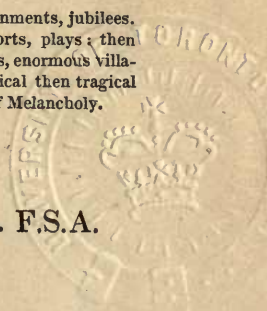
By ALFRED JOHN KEMPE, Esq. F.S.A.

LONDON:

JOHN MURRAY,

ALBEMARLE STREET.

1836.



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The Society's Manuscripts

MANUSCRIPTS

OTHER RARE DOCUMENTS

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J. B. NICHOLS AND SON, 25, PARLIAMENT STREET.

11

TO

JAMES MORE MOLYNEUX, ESQ.

AS THE REPRESENTATIVE

OF THE KNIGHTLY PROPRIETORS OF LOSELEY,

AND AS FULLY APPRECIATING

THE CURIOUS ANCIENT DOCUMENTS THERE PRESERVED,

THIS VOLUME IS DEDICATED,

WITH SINCERE AND FRIENDLY RESPECT,

BY HIS FAITHFUL AND OBEDIENT SERVANT,

THE AUTHOR.

New Kent Road, Sept. 8, 1835.

ADVERTISEMENT.

THE following Collection of MSS. has been preserved at the venerable old mansion, LOSELEY, near Guildford in Surrey. They will be found of a mixed character, connected with passages in history and biography, with the entertainments of the Court, with the internal regulations of the country under the Magistracy, and in some instances with the minor relations of domestic life. They cannot be expected, in a general point of view, to compete with the valuable historical collections of State Papers and Letters which have been derived from public depositories; yet it may truly be said that they contain many papers on subjects of interest, to which none parallel are to be found in those collections, and they will afford, as the Editor conceives, a very correct idea of the state of society and political government in the 16th and early part of the 17th centuries.

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INTRODUCTION.

THE reader of these Papers may imagine himself introduced to the Muniment Room of an ancient hall in Surrey, of which the key had been lost, and its existence disregarded during an interval of two hundred years. He has approached, through a grove of lofty forest trees, the extensive front of the venerable mansion of stone, of which that depository of Family Records is an appendage. He enters the lofty hall round which the portraits of its former owners are arranged, depicted "in their habits as they lived;" the sun-beams stream through the light shafts of the lofty embayed window, illumining the household coats of the family, emblazoned in the gorgeous tinctures of heraldry on the glass. He indulges perhaps in an antiquarian reverie, and beholds in his mind's eye those venerable personages, traversing the spacious floor to welcome with obsequious formality the Sovereign whose image still remains suspended on the walls, originally placed there as a compliment conspicuous to his own eye, on occasion of a personal visit.* How will our reader find

* In the Hall at Loseley are portraits of James the First and his Queen; and a very large picture of Sir William More Molyneux (who died in 1760) and his family. There are also in the house original portraits of Edward VI., the Chancellor

this vision of his fancy confirmed, when, gliding as it were unnoticed through the ideal scene, as an insignificant actor in the drama of another age, he enters by our guidance the little chamber before mentioned, now by chance accessible, explores the ponderous oaken coffers which it contains; paper after paper is taken out, inscribed in various and obsolete hands; the autographs of King, of Peer, of Statesman, or Divine. Some relating to the events of their day, which have survived to "fill up chronicles" in after times. Some to beings unnoticed in the roll of historic fame, but which incidentally illustrate the popular feelings and habits of the period. Such a discovery would stamp the picture sketched by fancy with something of reality; such a vision may be summoned up at Loseley; such are its manuscripts.

We add a few prefatory notes on the demesne of Loseley and its possessors.

The manor of Loseley, which became in the sixteenth century the seat of the Mores, bore its present appellation from the Saxon times. Osmund held it of King Edward the Confessor; the Conqueror gave it to Roger de Montgomery, Earl of Arundel and Shrewsbury, who had distinguished himself as one of the principal leaders of the Norman army at the battle of Hastings. The extent of the demesne at this period seems to have been about four hundred acres. The name is probably that of a Saxon proprietor, *Loth* or *Lot*, compounded with the term *ley* expressing a plain, a pasture, an inclosed tract of ground; indeed it was often written *Lothesly*, which so nearly expresses its pronunciation at this day, that a stranger

More, (perhaps a relative, although the arms do not agree with those of More of Loseley,) Ann Boleyn, and of the Mores from Sir William to Sir Poynings.

could scarcely err in the name; which he certainly would by giving the first syllable the sound of the neuter verb to *lose*.

Loseley is situate about two miles from Guildford, and from the left or west bank of the river Wey. That ancient town is supposed in the early period to have stood on the west side of the river, and by its castle and outworks to have occupied also the site of the present town on the east. This assertion is pretty well confirmed by the curious ancient vaultings still existing under the Angel Inn at Guildford, on the west side of the main street, and by the supposed site of the ancient town being still marked out as the *Bury fields*;* and there is great probability that this last-mentioned spot was occupied in the time of the Romans, of whose presence, at least in the neighbourhood, undoubted evidence has been discovered.

Loseley had, no doubt, from an early period, its manse or capital dwelling house fortified with a moat, according to the custom of the feudal age, some vestiges of which defence still remain.

The demesne of Loseley passed into the possession of various persons by inheritance or purchase until the reign of Henry VIII. when it was purchased by Christopher More, esq. whose grandfather was Thomas More of Norton, in the county of Derby, gent. with whom the pedigree

* At Albury, i. e. the old burgh or bury, (by the bye, a similar and frequent appellation for Roman sites,) we traced the foundations of the temple, or rather tomb, mentioned by Aubrey. At Broadstreet Green, on the open common, are vestiges of a Roman dwelling, the apartments of which have been paved with tesserae, formed from the ironstone with which the sandy soil of the country is interspersed, neatly squared into dies of various dimensions.

of More of Loseley, in the books of the Heralds' College, begins.*

The Historian of Surrey states that he was Sheriff of Surrey and Sussex in the 24th and 31st of Henry VIII.; that he was knighted on the first occasion, and in the 37th of the same reign, had the office of Remembrancer in the Exchequer. Sir Christopher died at Loseley, August 16, 1549, having had issue by Margaret, the first of two wives,† five sons and seven daughters.

There is an inscription in the Loseley chapel in the Church of St. Nicholas, Guildford, to his memory, where in all probability he was interred.

William, the eldest of his children, was born January 30, 1519-20, represented the borough of Guildford several times in Parliament in the reigns of Mary and Elizabeth, as also the county of Surrey in the latter reign, when he was twice Sheriff for Surrey and Sussex, and was appointed Vice-Admiral of the last-mentioned county; an officer whose duty it was to enforce the rights of the Admiralty on the shores of the district to which his jurisdiction applied. He was knighted May 14, 1576, by the Earl of Leicester,‡ in the Earl of Lincoln's garden at

* Letter from Sir Geo. Nayler to W. Bray, Esq. F.S.A. Among the muniments at Loseley, we found a writ under the privy seal of Henry VIII. dated Chelseheth, 24th December, in the 24th of his reign, A. D. 1533, granting to Christopher More, designated as one of the Clerks of the Exchequer, licence to impark and surround with hedges, ditches, and pales, 200 acres of land at his manor of Loseley, free warren in the same, &c. Red deer were kept in this park.

† She was daughter of Walter Mudge, Esq. His second wife was Constance, daughter of Richard Sackville, of Buckhurst, relict of William Heneage, Esq.

‡ The following original letter shews the credit in which he

Pirford in Surrey, the Queen being present at the ceremony.

He began to build the centre of the mansion at Loseley in 1562, somewhat to the north, we conjecture, of an older edifice; of the decorations of which some portions still

stood with Leicester, and that that nobleman patronized his son and successor.

Sr Wyll'm,

Hearinge lately as I did of yor want of health, but now of yor recovery ageyn, I canott but shewe yo' fro' my selfe howe welcome newes the later were, being p'tly confirmed also by ye return of Mr. Wolley, to my better contentac'on; yet notwithstanding I have thought good to send this berer to se yo' and salute you, who was gladd, as dowty binds him, to hear of yor amendment, as he heard of ye worst of yor seknes. And now I must thank yo' for him, and do think myself more and more behold'g to yo', that hath bestowed such a one as not only was derest to yorselpe, but I assure yo' upo' my troth ys as much to my owne lyking and contentac'on every way as my hart ca' wyshe. And sewrly, Sr Wyll'm, God hath shewyd a token of his great favor, geving yo' such a sonne, of whome I have no dowbt you shall have as great comfort as any father can have. And as before I knew him he was very welcome to me for yor sak, as any of yors must be, so now I must confes he ys dere to me for his owne sake; soe the frute of his good bringing upp doth sufficiently and plainly inough appere in his dayly behaivor. I trust yo' wyll not kepe him long away, because shortly we begin to be scholefellowes. In the mean time, I hartely recommend you and yors to y' p'tectyo' of ye Almighty, in so' (some) hast, this new yere's night late,

By yo' assured loving frend,

R. LEYCESTER.

Myne old frend Wolley hath desiered me to gyve yo' thanks for his frendly and good interteynment he hath ever at yo' house, and made me partly prevey to a matter wherein I have

remain in the great hall of the present building.* It was evidently intended to form three sides of a quadrangle, if not a complete square. The centre of the building, which remains to this day, was completed in 1568. Sir George More, his son, added the eastern wing, containing the gallery and chapel. This has of late years been demolished.

Many of the apartments at Loseley are of a most interesting character. The drawing room has a beautiful chimney-piece of the Corinthian order, adorned with grotesque heads of clowns cut out of the chalk of the country, and in a state of admirable preservation. The ceiling of this room is elegantly adorned with Gothic tracery and pendant corbels; a cockatrice is frequently introduced in the ornaments, whether a bearing of the family or its alliances, we have not been able to ascertain. On the cornice is the rebus of the Mores,† a mulberry tree, with

somewhat shewyd my mynd to yor sonne therin. [The allusion in this postscript to Secretary Wolley, probably refers to his matrimonial proposals to Elizabeth, the elder daughter of Sir William More.]

To my loving frend Mr. Wyll'm
More, w^t speede.

* Painted on the wainscot, is a monogram composed of the letters H. K. P. for Henry and Katharine Parr. H. R. the fleur de lys, the rose, the portcullis. The motto Dieu et mon droit : all evidently executed in the reign of Henry VIII.

† Numerous are the quaint and punning allusions, anagrams, &c. preserved among these MSS. addressed by versifiers of the time to the Lords of Loseley. The clergy, who owed their preferment to the family, appear to have been the chief authors of these complimentary effusions, the following specimen of which may suffice :

To Mr. More.

God grant you more of all your harte doth most desyer,
Not *more* we *marish* call, no better then the myer ;

the motto, "Morus tarde moriens morum cito moriturum," implying, perhaps, that the family stock should like the mulberry tree, be of long endurance, but that its individual descendants, like the fruit, should by the common lot of mortality be subject to speedy decay. The piety of our ancestors seldom neglected to proclaim this great though too easily forgotten truth, even on the walls of their banquetting chambers and the cups for their wassail, thus enforcing the necessity of hourly preparation. In the oriel or bay window of the great hall are the arms of More,

Nor more the morian blacke, with heat of sun so roste ;
 Nor more the fruite we lacke, scarce found in any coste ;
 Nor more of worldlie wealth, wherw^h God hath yo' blest ;
 Nor yet more strength, more health, all this ye have possest ;
 But more of God his love, his grace, and eke his peace,
 More faith in Christ above, in you he would increase.
 More knowledge of his Worde, more gyftes of his good spryte,
 More armid wth that sworde ye mought with th'enemy fight,
 More godly frutes of faith, of hollie lief more lighte,
 Which is, as Scripture saith, more pleasing in God's sight
 Then sacrifice of beaste, more sweete than all incense.
 More pure then all the rest (thoughe having gay pretence),
 Of theis more do I wish, although you have good store,
 Ffor fewe though yo' do misse, yo^r name yet calls for more.
 More shall yo' neede to have, while ye in earth remayne
 Therof more must you crave, and more must be yo^r geyne.
 But when this lief shall end, and you attain more blisse,
 More then ye need not mind, when no good wanting is.
 There no man can wishe more, where more cannot be thought,
 So full is there the store of joye Christ for us bought ;
 Who bringe you to the same where more you shall not neede.
 In meane tyme More yo^r name, and more must be yo^r deede.
 To write more I refraine, enough of this stringe played,
 More then enough is vaine, a lyttle is sone said.

R. G.

Azure, a cross Argent, charged with five martlets Sable, with the date 1568.

Sir William More died in 1600, and was buried in the family vault at St. Nicholas, Guildford. He was twice married, first to Margaret, daughter of Ralph Daniel, of Swaffham, Norfolk; secondly, to Mabil, daughter of Marchion Dingley, of Wolverton, in the Isle of Wight. He had three children by his first wife, none by his second. The eldest of these was George, who was born 28th November, 1553, and educated at Oxford. Anthony Wood says he was of Exeter College; but the letter subjoined* is from the president of Corpus

* In most hartie wise I have me recommended to you, right worshipful Syr, I have received yor letters and yor sonne bothe together. Yo' sonne before, because I hearde him commended of others, I loved; but now that I have sene him, and tryed him, I cannot but love him muche more than I dyd before. He shal lye nere unto me every night, and shal not be farre from me in the day time, being in one chamber with me. I have already made his studie somewhat more handsome then it was, and within these two daies I trust it wil be finished. I wil take upon me to be his corrector alone, and yo' shal know that I wil be no harde maister to him; and surely he being so gentle and diligent, as I dout not but he wil be, I can not deale strictly with him but I shal doe him wrong. If you wil have him to doe anie thing on the virginalls, yo' must provide that he have a payre sent him. We have one that can teache him well. As for his singing, and other exercises, thogh others shal sometimes have to doe with him in those things, yet I minde myself to prove him now and then, as farre as my skyl will serve me. I have, accordinge to yor letters, received from you syx poundes in olde angels, deliverede to me by yor man, for the necessarie uses of yor sonne. I wil see it bestowed upon him. Our commencement shal be the Monday sevenight

Christi, who appears to have been charged with his education at the University. In 1604, he received the thanks of the University for a present of books and £40 in money to purchase others. He often represented Surrey and its county town in Parliament; was in great credit with Elizabeth* and James; the former knighted him

after Saint Peter's Day. I wolde not have you bestowe anie venison to me til I be worthie of it. But I se yo' meaning is to provoke me by this meanes to be the more painful about yo' sonne. I pray God I may be so readie in doing my part towards him, as I perceive yo' readie good wil bent to me warde. I ryde abroade oftentimes about the affaires of our colledge, els sholde he be my scholar, and no man's els. But thogh I have appointed him a teacher, yet doe I meane to be half a teacher to him myself. I pray yo', Syr, remembre our humble com'endations to good Maistres More and Mr. Knowles, beseeching you and them to helpe us with yo' prayers unto God, to whose fatherlie tuition I com'ende you all. From Corpus Christi Colledge, in Oxon, June 1578.

Yours in Christ,

WILL'M COLE.

To the right worshipfull his especial
good friend Mr. More, give this at
Loseleigh.

* The following Letter of the Lord High Admiral shows the estimation in which he stood with Elizabeth :—

Good Mr. More, I wold have bin righte glad to have embraced yo' kind offer to accompanie me to the sea, and to partake w'th me in my fortunes, and soe to have enjoyed youre selfe, but that I see her Ma'ty, knowinge what a justicer you are, and yo' father's yeares forbidinge his wonted paines in that cowrse, is determyned not to spare you fro' thence, and in that regard hath layed her comaundement on me amongste

about the year 1597; under the latter he was Chancellor of the order of the Garter, Lieutenant of the Tower, Receiver-general and Treasurer to Henry Prince of Wales. From the drafts of sundry disregarded memorials extant at Loseley, he appears to have been ill requited for his services to James, who neglected him in his declining years. He is noticed in Nichols's Progresses of that King,* as attending his funeral in his office of Chancellor of the Garter, in a very infirm state.

Sir George More married Anne, daughter of Sir Adrian Poynings, the brother of Thomas Lord Poynings, and widow of ——— Knight, esq. of St. Denys in Hampshire. By this lady, who died in childbed in 1590, he had four

som' other nobl'me' and gentlme' of like worth, espetically to leave you unto her and her service at home. And seinge her pleasure is such that I must leave you behind me, let me lay som more then ord'y worne burthe' of her service on you, and pray you owte of yor love to me to undergoe the same, espetically in my absence, wch is because yor good father in respecte of his many years, cannot take the paines he hath donn, and that my brothers p'sonall attendance on her Mat's keepeth him fro' those servics nowe and then, that you will as an espeticall assistant joyne wth the foure deputy Leiftenants, and further the dispatch of those services fro' tyme to time in the best sort you ca', wherin you shall sufficiently argue yr well aproved love to me, and noe doubt geave her Mat'y cause to thanke you, and soe I comend me most hartely to you, fro' Debtford the 23 of Marche 1595.

Yor lovinge freind,

C. HOWARD.

To my lovinge freinde, Mr George More,
esquyer, geave theise.

* Progresses of King James the First, vol. III. p. 1043.

sons and five daughters. The eldest of these, Robert, born in 1581, was knighted by James I. ; married Frances, daughter of Samson Lennard, esq. by the Lady Margaret Fiennes, Baroness Dacre of the South. He died in 1625-6, seven years before Sir George his father, to whose estates Poynings* Sir Robert's eldest son succeeded in 1632.

This gentleman, in the same year, obtained a license from the Crown to travel for three years, the form of which will be found below.† He served in the Parliaments

* The following is an original letter from this Sir Robert More to his son Poynings, then at Trinity College, Oxford:—

So you runne not with companie to that which is ill, wherof I must ever forewarne you, I shal never dislike that, with other gentlemen that are in the colledge, you should learne anie good qualities, and therefore I can be well content that with the 20s. w'ch was given for plate you enter your selfe at the dauncing schoole. I would be glad likewise that you did learne to ciphere and cast account readily, being a matter usefull for you, and of no great difficultie, for which, as for other good learning, recommending you to the care of your tutour, to whome I would be remembred by you, I committe you to the protection of the Allmightie, and rest

Your loving father,

ROBERT MORE.

Peckham, 12 of August, 1622.

† Whereas Poynings More of Loseley in the countie of Surrey, esq. is desirous to travell into fforaine partes, and there to remaine for the space of three yeares next after the date hereof, for the gayning of language, and bettering of his experience, whereby he may be the more enabled to do his Ma'tie and countrie service, and for that purpose hath humbly desired

of Charles I. for the borough of Haslemere. He was by that King created a Baronet. He appears to have sided with the Parliament, and was by Algernon Earl of Northumberland (who had been deputed to the custody of the King's person) appointed a deputy Lieutenant of the county of Surrey.

His eldest son, William, succeeded him, who dying without issue, the estate reverted to the Rev. Nicholas More, rector of Fetcham, a younger brother of Sir Poynings.* He enjoyed the inheritance but five months,

or licence and passe port w'ch wee doe hereby graunt unto him, these are therefore to will and require you and every of you whome it may concerne, to suffer the said Poynings More peacebly and quietly to pass by you, and to embarque himself with one servant at anie of his Mats ports that shall seeme best for his transportation, takeing with him his trunks of apparell and other necessaries (not p'hibited), provided that he repaire not to the cittie of Rome, without licence first obtained from his Ma'tie. Dated at Hampton Court, the last of September, 1632. Thos. Coventrye, W. Manchest', T. Dorset, J. Falkland, Sterline, Fran. Winbank, T. Edmondcs.

To all Mayors, Sheriffs, Justices of Peace, Customers, Comptrollrs, Constables, Searchers, Officers of the ports, and all other his Mats officers and loveing subjects, whome it may concerne, and to every of them,

W. TRUMBULL.

* We annex two original documents of Mr. Nicholas More addressed to his elder brother Poynings, one a copy of verses on the death of an infant son, in the style of the age, but not altogether destitute of point; the other, a letter from the University of Cambridge, which shows the condition of that venerable seat of religion and learning when false politics and false religion gained the upper hand by the deposition and murder of the unfortunate Charles.

and his son Robert dying without issue in 1689, the estate devolved to Margaret, the survivor of his two sisters. She

ON YOUR SONNE HENRY MORE.

Rest nothing as thou wert, to be like thee,
 From nothing all to nothing turn'd must bee;
 First none, then one thou wert, when one, one More,
 When More, one lesse, when lesse none as beefore.
 Thus by thy few spar'd minutes all may cast,
 What their lives come to each summ'd up at last;
 Nature scarce gave thee leave to breathe, but cry
 (Thy mother's teares still issueing a reply);
 But all in vaine, hers flowing to bemoane
 Thy losse, when thine were off'rings to bee gonne;
 Thus was thy life to tell, a foure dayes story,
 Thy golden age, thy passage unto glory.

Sr,—I am now constrained to acquaint you with my sudden and unexpected sorrows. Wee are this day necessitated to leave ye Colledge, only leving Mr. Provost and about six of our senior Fellows remaining onlay for a while to uphold ye face of a Colledge; in this my extremety, frends beesids your selfe I have none to fley to; monies I have none, neither any necessaries for my journey. If you please to send me any small somm to help mee to you by this bearer Henry Clinton, I shall bee ever thankefull to you, otherwise I must bee forst to beg. Thus with my praiers to God Almighty for you and yours, I rest your poore loving brother,

NIC. MORE.

Cambridge, ye 6th January, 1644.

I pray let mee hear from you by this carrier, which returns on Wenesday.

To ye right Worshipful my very loving brother Sr
 Poynings More, at Mr. Price his house in
 ye Strand, neere Essex Hous, at ye signe
 of ye Blake Boy, these present.

married Sir Thomas Molyneux, Knight, the ancestor of the present possessor of Loseley.

A pedigree preserved at Loseley, attested in 1597, under the signature of William Dethicke, Garter King at Arms,* designates the family of Molyneux as "a race of great antiquity, originally and lineally descended from William de Molyneux, by birth and country a Norman, withal a great and renowned soldier, and one near and of great privitie with William Duke of Normandy, with whom he came into England, from which root and stem came the ancient house of Sefton in the county palatine of Lancaster."

Distinguished members of this house were Sir William Molyneux, who was created a knight banneret on the field of Navarete in the campaign of Edward the Black Prince, in Spain, A. D. 1367, died in 1372, and was buried in Canterbury Cathedral. Sir Thomas Molyneux, his son, Constable of Chester Castle, who was killed at Radcote Bridge in Oxfordshire, in attempting to escort Robert de Vere, Duke of Ireland, the favourite of Richard II. to the presence of that King. Richard Molyneux, son and heir of the above, was 26 years of age in the 1st of Henry VI. by whom he was constituted Seneschal, Constable, and Chief Forester of all the honour of Lancaster. He was slain leading the Cheshire men at the battle of Blore heath on the 26th September, 1460, fighting on the Lancastrian side. His grandson Sir William Molyneux, at the celebrated field of Flodden, defeated the Earl of Huntley and his bands, who led the van of the Scottish army, and

* Compiled by him "at the special request and wish of Mrs. Margaret Lovelace, daughter of John Molyneux, late of Thorp nigh Newark."

captured a standard, on which were depicted a hart, an eagle, a greyhound, ships, and other badges.* The Earl of Surrey knighted him on the field, and gave him for crest a tiger passant Proper, on a crown Or. The King sent him letters of thanks for his valiant deportment, which were religiously preserved by his descendants.

James More Molyneux, esq. is now the representative of the branch of the family which became, by intermarriage with the female inheritrix of More, the possessors of Loseley. To him our sincere and grateful acknowledgments are due for every possible facility of access to the documents which have afforded matter for the subsequent pages.

Mr. Molyneux has on all occasions evinced a most zealous and laudable desire to preserve every thing remarkable connected with the history and respectable station of his ancestors in Surrey. The late William Bray, esq. F.S.A. of Shere in the same county, by his permission, some few years since, collected several of the MSS. and bound them in nine folio volumes.† These with others remaining in the chests of the muniment room, we have

* This banner is emblazoned on the roll of pedigree before referred to, preserved at Loseley.

† We cannot in our antiquarian capacity close this Introduction without a tribute of respect to the daughter of Sir William More Molyneux, Ann Cornwallis Molyneux, who became the wife of General Sir Charles Rainsford. This lady died in 1798. She evidently had carefully examined many of the manuscripts at Loseley, and added in some instances notes relating to the possessors, in her own hand. How many interesting historical traits would be preserved, if in each ancient family an individual had occasionally been found to exercise a similar industry!

now first deciphered, transcribed, and edited,* with some labour and perseverance; hoping for the approbation of those who think it desirable that original and contemporary records, existing in our ancient family halls, should be rescued from those accidents of time which are daily consigning them to oblivion.

* From this observation must be excepted the four confidential letters of King James to Sir George More, which were communicated to the *Archæologia* of the Society of Antiquaries by the late William Bray, Esq. but without note or comment. Two or three other papers were also addressed by the same gentleman to that publication, the subject of each of which was derived from these manuscripts; and in Ellis's collection of "Original Letters illustrative of English History," two short documents are inserted from the same source. The Editor could not, however, consent to reject the above papers from a collection to which they so peculiarly belong, merely because, in a desultory way, they might be found printed elsewhere.

The accompanying sheet contains Fac-similes of Autographs selected from the Manuscripts at Loseley, and arranged in the order enumerated:—1. Henry VIII.; 2. Edward VI.; 3. The Lady Jane Grey, as Queen; 4. Queen Mary; 5. Elizabeth, when Princess; 6. James the First; 7. Ann of Cleves; 8. Sir Thomas Cawarden; 9. George Ferrers; 10. Lord Herbert of Cherbury; 11. Sir George More; 12. Sir George Chaworth.

Henry

Edward

Jane the Queen

Marye the quene

Your Soumge frède
Elizabeth

n n

James I

At W^m the younger
officer.

Charward

G. Fowles

Your adopted some in name but
naturall, all other wayes

Herbert

George Rine

good in this Court. Julye 1623

G. Charworth

XXVII

THE
LOSELEY MANUSCRIPTS.

Original Papers relating to the Lady Ann of Cleves.

HENRY the Eighth's marriage with the Lady Ann of Cleves was a measure altogether political, adopted by the advice of Thomas Lord Cromwell.* The Emperor Charles V. retained a grudge against the King for having disinherited the Princess Mary by the divorce of her mother Catharine. The Emperor proposed a match to Henry with the Duchess of Milan, with the view of obliging him to sue to the Pope for a licence;† but the King was aware of the design, and the more readily therefore consented to form an alliance with the Lady Ann, daughter of John Duke of Cleves, whose territory bordered on the Emperor's dominions in the Low Countries, and who was father-in-law to the Duke of Saxony. John Duke of Cleves dying, the negotiation was continued by Duke William, his son, on the part of his sister, who at the same time demanded the Princess Mary, the King's daughter, for himself. This last proposal was neutralized by the intrigues of the Emperor, who held out temptations more strongly connected with Duke

* Lord Herbert's Life and Raigne of Hen. VIII. p. 452.

† Hall's Chron. reprint. p. 826.

William's interests in another quarter. A difficulty existed in the accomplishment of the King's alliance with the Lady Ann, for she had been demanded in marriage previously by the Duke of Lorraine, for his son, and her late father had given his consent to the match. Nor was this the sole objection: Ann understood no language but Dutch, which, however, according to the testimony of Dr. Nicholas Wotton, who was charged with the preliminary measures, she could *write* and *read*, and was moreover an accomplished needlewoman. Her portrait, with her younger sister's, by the masterly pencil of Holbein, the King's painter, were forwarded to the King, and the picture pleased him so much better than the original afterwards had the good fortune to do, that the King finally resolved on the nuptials, and the lady, with a splendid train, set out for England.

On the 11th of December, 1539, the Lord Lisle, deputy of the town of Calais, met the Lady Ann of Cleves near Gravelines, and conducted her towards the fortress under a guard of honour. About a mile distant from the place, she was received by the Earl of Southampton, Great Admiral of England, who was apparelled in a coat of velvet, cut on cloth of gold, and fastened with large trefoil clasps of gold to the number of four hundred. In the fashion of a belt he also wore a golden chain, from which was suspended a *whistle* of gold set with precious stones.*

In this company were thirty gentlemen of the King's household, apparelled with great and massy chains of gold. Sir Francis Bryan's and Sir Thomas Seymour's were of

* This instrument, then it appears used by sea-officers of the highest rank, for the purpose of communicating orders to their crews, has not to the present day become obsolete in the British navy, although worn only by those of the humble grade of boatswain. In the old ballad describing the defeat of the

great value and singularly beautiful workmanship. Gold chains were in those days the marks of quality and distinction, and the nobility and gentry vied with each other in the splendour and costliness of these decorations. Attended by a gallant convoy of fifty sail of ships, adorned with banners, pensils, and flags, she embarked from Calais, and landed at Deal about five o'clock on the afternoon of St. John's Day. Sir Thomas Cheiny, Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports, received her in "a castle newly built," most probably Walmer. They afterwards set out for Dover, attended by the Duke and Duchess of Suffolk, the Bishop of Chichester, and numerous knights and esquires of the county of Kent. Similar honours attended her on the road, until she arrived, on the 1st of January, 1540, at the Bishop's palace at Rochester. There the King, with eight gentlemen of his privy chamber, in "marble coats," (coats perhaps of a plain stone colour,) came *incognito* to Rochester, and suddenly introduced himself to her presence. He is described as somewhat astonished at the sight of the lady, her person so little corresponding with the ideas he had derived of it from Holbein's portrait.* She received

famous pirate Andrew Barton, by Lord Howard, we have the following passage :

"Fight on, my men, Sir Andrew sayes,
And never flinch before the foe,
And stand fast by St. Andrew's crosse,
Until you hear my whistle blowe."

Reliques of Ancient English Poetry.

* Stow says he complained to many about him of his disappointment. He said to the Lord Admiral, "How like you this woman? Do you think her so personable, fair, and beautiful as report hath beene made unto me of her? I pray you tell me true." The Admiral rejoined, "I take her not for faire, but to be of a brown complexion." "Alas!" said the King,

In G. Vol. Gent. Mag. N. S. p. 2^{B 2} - This mistake is noticed - and several authorities adduced, shewing that the term Marble means different colours - soies ou des laines de différentes couleurs, mêlées ensemble.

him on her knees; and he had, at least on this occasion, the gallantry, humanity, or policy, to conceal his disappointment and aversion. "He gently raised her," says the venerable Chronicler, "kyssed her, and all that afternoon communed and devised with her, that night supped with her, and the next day he departed to Greenwich, and she came to Dartford."

On the morrow, the 3d of January, she was received on Blackheath, near the foot of Shooter's-hill, with the most pompous array of noblemen, knights, gentlemen, and citizens. The three last orders, to the number of eighteen hundred, were apparelled "in velvet cotes and chayns of gold."* The attire of the King himself is thus described :

The King's highness followed, mounted on a goodly courser, trapped in rich cloth of gold, divided into a pattern of square lattice-work, embroidered with "gold of damask," the embroidery studded with pearls, the buckles and pendent ornaments of fine gold. He wore a frock coat of purple velvet, embroidered with "flat gold of damask," and that crossed again by rich gold lace. A "rich gard," or upper garment, was worn above this, the sleeves and breast of which were slashed with cloth of gold, and each aperture fastened at the extremities by a diamond or ruby button set round with orient pearl. His bonnet was decorated with "unvalued gems," and he wore a collar," baldrick wise, of such "balystes and perle, as few men ever saw the lyke."

"whom shall men trust? I promise you I see no such thing in her as hath bin shewed me of her, either by pictures or report, and am ashamed that men have praised her as they have done, and I love her not."—*Stow's Annales, by Howes*, p. 578.

* The gentlemen of the King's privy chamber were apparelled, some in coats of velvet embroidered, others in coats of velvet guarded, with chains of gold.—*Vide Hall*, p. 834.

So much for the King. Her Grace the Lady Ann, apprized of the approach of her intended lord, issued out of the tent on the heath which had been prepared for her, in a rich gown of raised cloth of gold, a caul on her head, and over that a cap or bonnet set full of orient pearl. Thus attired, she mounted a noble and richly trapped steed at the door of her tent, whose housings were adorned with her patrimonial arms, the sable lion, and being placed by the King on his right hand, she proceeded to the palace at Greenwich. On the morning of twelfth day, about eight of the clock, the bride was brought forth from her chamber by the lords, attired in cloth of gold embroidered with flowers in pearl, on her head a coronet of gold and precious stones, set full of branches of rosemary.* Her long yellow hair, no longer confined by a caul, hung over her shoulders. There, in the long gallery of the palace, she was married to the King by Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury, two noblemen of Cleves, commissioned for the purpose, giving her away.† Her wedding-ring bore a motto which was not perhaps without some implied monitory allusion to the conduct and fate of one of the King's three preceding

* At the rustic wedding-procession before Queen Elizabeth at Kenilworth, "each wight had a branch of green broom tied on his left arm (for that side lies near the heart), because *rosemary* was scant there."—(Laneham's Letter.) Rosemary was also borne at funerals. Ophelia says,

"There's rosemary, that's for remembrance."

Hamlet, act V. scene 4.

It was therefore used as a herb of *souvenance* for the party either in her virgin or her mortal state.

† The King, it is said, deferred his marriage two days, from Sunday to Tuesday, in the hope of finding some fair pretext to decline it altogether, and at length, with "hearty grief and great unwillingness," on his part, it was solemnized."—*Stow's Annales, by Howes, p. 578.*

wives, the unfortunate Ann Boleyn, "God send me wel to kepe!" The fall of Cromwell soon followed this ill-devised match, in which he was accounted a principal instrument, and the King no longer delayed to institute proceedings to procure his divorce from the unfortunate lady, whom, according to his own statement, he had only received nominally as his wife.

The particulars of this matter cannot with propriety in these days be dilated on, but they may be found somewhat amply detailed in the folio edition of Stow's Annals.*

The disgust of the King being evinced by the most determined neglect, in which his religious scruples were made, as in the case of Catharine, the ostensible motive for separation, it was not difficult to prevail on her to submit the case of previous contract to the judgment of the Arches' Court, by which the marriage was pronounced illegal. An Act of Parliament passed, declaring the whole proceeding null and void, and the compensation awarded for the lady was the rank of sister to the King. The demesne of Richmond, the castle of Bletchingley, in Surrey,† and other lands, were assigned to support her rank in the realm.

* Page 578.

† There is a petition extant, preferred in the time of Edward VI. by the Duke of Cleves, ambassador on the part of the Lady Ann of Cleves, that the manor of Brocksforth, adjoining Westropp, should be granted to the Lady Ann of Cleves; that the house at Westropp, of which the usufruct was granted to her, should be repaired, as customary in such cases, at the expense of the Crown; that she should have all demesnes and parks attached to the house, as she had at Penshurst. The rent of Westropp was not more than 20*l.* per annum, that of Bletchingley was declared by the King's auditors 44*l.* per annum. She prays the King to take Bletchingley into his own hands, and allow her the difference. At Bletchingley there was

Her brother did not much relish the affront, but this provision acted as a palliative. She accompanied the Princess Elizabeth through London, on the occasion of Queen Mary's coronation, and died shortly after at Chelsea, 15 July, 1557, and on the 3d of August was buried at Westminster. The papers which relate to this lady in the Loseley MSS. are the following, to one of which her autograph is annexed. Deprived of her matrimonial dignities, there is something very expressive in the style by which she asserts her patrimonial and inalienable nobility, subscribing herself, as in the *fac-simile* annexed, "Anna, the daughter of Cleves."*

(1.)

Letters under the signet of Henry VIII. addressed to Christopher More, Esquire, of Loseley, desiring him to repair to London on the 10th of December 1539, right honestly apparelled in a cote of velvet and a gold chain about his neck, attended by six servants, in order to set forward with other personages similarly appointed, to meet the Lady Ann of Cleves, with whom the King had contracted marriage, on her way from Calais to the Court.

The royal signature, prefixed to this paper, has been marked

plenty of wood, and at Westropp there is none. (*Vide* "the Duke of Cleves' (Embassador's) Request for Lady Ann of Cleves." Bibl. Lansdowne, No. 2.)

* In this signature, it may be observed that the ornamental knots which are introduced in forming the capital were common in the inscriptions of the time. An example will be found in a plate illustrating a communication by the Editor to the Gentleman's Magazine for 1827, p. 497.

by means of a stamp. It will be seen by reference to Rymer's *Fœdera*, that in 1544 the King authorized certain Commissioners to sign for him, with an engraved seal, such orders for money on the Treasurer as must of necessity be superscribed by him.

Edward VI. also occasionally used a stamp. When there was no formal Commission to authorize other persons to use it for the King, we must supposed that he impressed it with his own hand.

BY THE KING.

HENRY R.

Trusty and wel-beloved we grete yo' well, leting yo' wit that where', upon the special zeal and affeçõn which we have to the com̃nwelth of this o' Roilme, and the furniture of the same, wth some more store, if it shall so please God of o' lawfull posteritie, we did lately, at the sute and cõtemplaçõn of some of o' nobles and counsaill, resolve eftsones to mary, and have therupon by God's grace concluded a mariage betwene us and the most excellent Princesse the Lady Anne of Cleves, Julyers, etc^a, fforasmuche as we suppose y^t the same Dame Anne shall shortly arrive at o' towne of Calais, to be transported into this o' Roialme for the consumaçõn of the said mariage. Considering y^t it shal be requisite & necessary, both for o' hono^r and th'ono' of o' said Roialme, that she shalbe honorably received and mett in sundry places at her said arrivall. We have named and appointed yo' to be one of those psonages whome we have thought meet in this affair t'attend upon us, or to accompany suche other as shall

meet hir before she shall come to o'r presence, wherefore we shall desyre and pray yo' to put yo'selfe in suche order as yo' may be at o'r Citie of London the xth day of Decemb^r, ther to know o' ferther pleasure concerning the place of yo'r attendance, bringing with yo' honestly furnished six servauntes, wherin yo' shall do unto us acceptable service, for respect wherof we doubt not but for your own p̃son yo' wilbe right honestly apparelled, as other gentlemen appointed thus to attend, we^h shall ryde in cotes of black velvet with cheines of gold about their neckes, and shall have gownes of velvet, or some other good silk for their chainge accordingly. Given und' o' signet at Westm^r the xxiii. of Novemb'.

(Indorsed)

To o' trust and welbeloved Christopher More, Esquier.

(2.)

An acquittance from the Lady Ann of Cleves to Sir Thomas Cawarden, Knight, for rents of Bletchingley and her lands there, 30 Dec. 1553. Signed by her own hand. This paper gives the form of an ancient receipt. It appears to have been very customary for subscribers to such instruments to attach a designation of their quality to the signature; thus, Slender says of his cousin Justice Shallow, that he "writes himself *Armigero*; in any bill, warrant, *quittance*, or obligation, *Armigero*."—*Merry Wives of Windsor*, act I. scene 1.

Ultimo die Descembris año regnoř Philipi et
Marie dei gr̃a Regis et Regiñ Aġlie ffraunc̃,*
&c. šćdo et t'cio.

Recevyd of S^r Thomas Cawerden, Knyght, the
daye and year above wryttñ, ffor oon quarter of a
year's rent dew unto us by the same S^r Thomas
Cawerden at thys ffeast of Crystmas, accordyng
to an indentur' beryng date the second daye of
October, in the yeare aforesayed, the sm̃ of viij^{li}
xiijs ix^d ob. in full contentacōn, sattysfacyon, and
payement of ow^r rentts for Blechyngle, & o' landds
thear, and in clear dyscharge of the same rentts
to thys p̃sent daye before datyd. We have to
theas lettres, beyng o' acyuyettance, subscrybyd
ow^r name ffor hys discharge.

ANNA THE DOWGHTER OF CLEVES.

(3.)

Some particulars of the household expenses of the Lady Ann of
Cleves, being a claim preferred by Sir Thomas Cawarden for
sundry charges incurred on her Grace's account in 1556,
when she was about to occupy a house in the Blackfriars,
London, as her residence. This house appears to have be-
longed to Sir Thomas Cawarden, concerning whom see a
subsequent notice.

Mens. Januar. et ffeb. anno regnor' Philippi Regis

Regine Mariæ III^{to}. et IIII^{to}. 1556.

Money demand owinge to Sir Thomas Cawarden,

* The double small f is used in old writings to express the
capital.

Knight, as well for sondry provisions as divers other fresh acats* and, provided and bowght at the request of the Lady of Cleves' Grace, to be laide into the Black frers before her Grace's cominge thither; and the remaynent taken by Michael Dly, Clerk of her Grace's kechin, the vi of Januarie, as may appear in the records of household and credit made at the Black Frers in the monethes above said.

In to the Buttry.†

Beare, two tonne hoggesheads a xlviis the tonne, vii. ‡

The Seller.

Gascoyne wyne, iii hoggesheds at iii^l the tonne, ix^{li}.

Malmesey, tenne gallons at xx^d the gallon, xvi^s viii^d.

Muscadell, § eleven gallons at ii^s ii^d the gallon, xxiii^s xd.

Sacke, || tenne gallons at xvi^d the gallon, xiii^s iii^d.

Cariage off hoggesheads of wine from the country to the Black Friers, and for porterage, iii^s.

S^m xlii xvi^s xd.

* Acats, from the French *achat*, purchase, bargain. An office in the royal household was called "the Acatry."

† The context seems to afford a plausible etymology for the word buttry, or more properly, perhaps, according to the orthography above, *buttry*, so called from the butts or tuns of beer deposited therein.

‡ The gross sums do not appear in this account accurately to tally with the charge for the items.

§ At the customary drinking at the Church after the marriage ceremony had been performed, Petruchio

— "Quaff'd off the *muscadell*,

And threw the sops all in the sexton's face."

Taming of the Shrew, act III. scene 2.

|| Sack was taken with sugar,— "Sipt I no more *sack* and *sugar* than I do *malmsey*, I should not blush so much a-days as I do."—(Lancham's Letter.)

The Spicry.

Ginger iii^{lb}, iii^s; of sinomond iii^{oz}, xv^d; ginger ii^{oz}, vi^d; cloves and mace vi^{oz}, xvi^d; pepper one lb. ii^s iii^d; raisons ii^{lb}, iii^d; prunes ii^{lb}, iii^d.

In all ix^s.

Kechin.

Acates. Multons,* iii at vii^s the pece; xx capons iii. doz. do. at xvi^d the pece, lvi^s; and conyes ii doz. at iii^s the doz. vi^s, iii^{li} iii^s.

Saltery and Pastry.

Wheate flower, ii bushels at vi^s viii^d the bushell, xiii^s iii^d.

Scullery. Wood-yarde.

Earthen potts, xvi doz. at iii^s doz. xxxvi^s; cooles, xxx lodes at xvi^s the loode, xxiii^{li} viii^s—xxvi^{li} iii^s.

Tall wood, xxv loods at iii^s viii^d the loode, v^l xvi^s viii^d.

Tall wood, xii loods, at iii^s iii^d.

Billets, eleven thowsande at ix^s iv^d the M. v^l ii^s viii^d.

Faggotts, one M. ii^s vi^d.

Russhes,† xxx doz. at xx^d the doz.

P. Porterage off xxxvii loods tall wood, at xi^d, and viii loods billets iii^s, and xxx doz. russhes xx^d from the water side to the Black Friers—in all v^s viii^d.

Chandry.‡

* Multo, mutto, a sheep. Kennett's Glossary.

† "Is the house trimmed, *rushes* strewed?"

Taming of the Shrew, act IV. scene 1.

‡ In Cavendish's Life of Wolsey, we have the following enumeration of various departments of the Cardinal's household: the buttery, the pantry, the ewery, the larder, the scalding-house, the scullery, the cellar, the chaundery, the wafery, the wardrobe of beds, the laundry, the bakehouse, the wood-yard, the garner, the garden.

Wax wrought, xxxv^{li} in sizes, preckets, and quarr. at xii^d le lb.*

Staffe torches, xxxii at xiiii^d the peece, lxxiii^s ix^d.

Whyght lights, xviii doz. at iii^s le doz. liiii^s.—vi^{li} vii^s ix^d.

All which premisses were provided for by the seide Sir Thomas Cawerden, at her Grace's request before her officers at her howse at Dartforth,† for that her Grace at that tyme lacked money for the furniture of the same unto ye said Sir Thom^s, and promisid payment agayne of the same unto the seid Sr Thom^s, wherof he demaundeth allowance according to her Grace's seid promise.

Over and besydes, divers sondry fayer potts of pewter, by the seide Sr Thom^s then bowght, provided, and paid for, to serve in the buttery for howshold; wherof he asketh no allowance for that, althowgh the most parte were spoyled, broken, and loste, the rest remayne in his howse

* Sises, prickets, and quarriars were different kinds of wax tapers. The sises and quarriars were so called, perhaps, from the proportion they bore to the division of the pound weight. The pricket was probably a large taper, set up in the ancient fashion on a candlestick terminating in a point.

† Edward III. founded a nunnery at Dartford in Kent A. D. 1355, and committed its government to the order of Friars Preachers. Henry VIII. fitted up the buildings after the dissolution as a palace for himself and his successors. Edward VI. granted it, with the manor of Dartford called Wash Meade, to Ann of Cleves, in exchange for lands in Surrey; she died seised of them in the 4th of Mary, when they reverted to the Crown. Queen Elizabeth resided there two days in the 16th year of her reign. James I. granted it, with the manor of Dartford, to Robert Cecil, Earl of Salisbury, in exchange for Theobalds, who conveyed it to Sir Robert Darcy. Some small vestiges of this building are still extant (1831).

and to his use; and over and besides bras, iron, and latten potts, pannes, kettles, skelletts, ladles, skimmers, peeles, dressing-knives, spitts, racks, fflesh-hookes, tubbes, baskets, trays, flasketts, and diverse other utensiles and properties ffurnished in their places in the saide office, bowght, provided, and paid for by the seide Sr Thomas, to the valew of ix^l vi^s viii^d, partly then spoyld, broken, and loste, whereof he asketh no allowance for y^t the rest remayne in his howse to his use.

And over and besides iiii garnish of new pewter vessells, then by him bowght, provided, and paid for, and there continually occupied to her use during her abode there; whereof parte were moulted, broken, and some cleane loste, yet for the same he asketh no allowance, for that he hath the rest. And also over and besides two doz. of fayre new candlesticks of pewter, del^d into the chambers and chaundry, parte being broken, spoyled, and loste, the rest remayne to his use, and therfor demandeth no allowance. And over and besides sundry kindes of ffish, as carpes, pikes, tenches, and other ffresh ffishe, by him at the like request provided, and were privately drest in her seide (Grace's) laundes* kittchin for the tryall of cookery wherof he asketh no allowance, for that they were of his owne store to his knowledge, and y^e prises not rated.

* By this it appears that her Grace had devised some experiments in the gastronomic art, which were not allowed to be made public in her household kittchin.

Papers of Sir Thomas Cawarden, of Bletchingley.

Amongst some of the earliest and not the least curious of the MSS. at Loseley, are those which relate to the offices and affairs of Sir Thomas Cawarden, or Cawerden (familiarily Carden), of Bletchingley, in Surrey. He was a Gentleman of the Privy Chamber to Henry the Eighth, Master of the Revels, and Keeper of the King's Tents, Hales, and Toyles.*

It belonged to his office as Master of the Revels to take charge and custody of all the garments and properties necessary for the pageants, masks, and other diversions of the Court, to provide for the erection and decoration of all such temporary buildings as might be required for those entertainments. To this office, therefore, was very naturally joined that of keeper of the King's tents and temporary lodgings, used in military expeditions or other occasions in the field.

Sir Thomas Cawarden seems to have been strongly attached to the cause of the Reformed religion, and to have stood high in the favour of King Henry VIII. He had a

* The hales were temporary sheds of timberwork, used as stables, or for other purposes. The toyles were enclosures into which game was driven. They were also used for forming the barriers at tournaments. Examples of the word in both acceptations occur incidentally in the papers of Sir Thomas Cawarden. "A toyle of canvas, taken out of the King's store of the said Office of the Tentes, to sarve for a tylte for the Lord of Misrule his triumphe and justs at Greenwich, with hobby-horses and on foot, before the King's Majesty at Christmas."—From one of Sir Thomas Cawarden's Rolls of the Office of the Revels 6th Edward VI.

grant from that monarch of the manor of Hextalls, in Bletchingley, which had belonged to Sir Nicholas Carew, of Beddington, near Croydon, who was beheaded in 1539 on a charge of having joined in a conspiracy to depose the King, and to set Reginald Pole, the Cardinal, on the throne.

Cawarden is said to have entertained Henry VIII. and his Queen Ann Boleyn, at his castle at Bletchingley; and this is not improbable, for tradition still constantly speaks of the visits paid by the royal pair to places adjacent to the valley of Holmesdale, in which vicinage the castellated mansion of Hever, the residence of the Boleyns from the time of Henry II. was situated. At the suppression of monasteries, Sir Thomas Cawarden had a grant of the church and precinct of the Black Friars, London, and of the parish church of St. Ann within the same. He demolished both edifices, but in the reign of Queen Mary was obliged to provide a place of worship for the parishioners of St. Ann; a mandate which, according to Stow, was but imperfectly obeyed.*

He was at the siege of Boulogne, (doubtless in his capacity of Master of the King's Tents,) where he was knighted by his sovereign. He was Keeper of the parks, wardrobe, and palace of Nonsuch. In the first year of Henry's successor, Edward VI. we find him Sheriff of Surrey. On the accession of Mary, his position in Court favour underwent that change which was to be expected from the Queen's bigotry and intolerance. He was five times indicted for

* "In the raigne of Queen Mary, he being forced to finde a church to the inhabitants, allowed them a lodging-chamber above a staire, which since that time, to wit, in the yeare 1597, fell down; and was againe, by collection therefore made, new builded and enlarged in the same yeare, and was dedicated on the eleventh of December."—*Stow's Survey*, 4to edit. p. 655.

heresy. Cunning Gardener says, Fox having "got him into his clutches."

In the time of Wyatt's rebellion he became suspected as an accomplice, and all his armour and munitions of war were seized by the Sheriff of the County at his castle at Bletchingley, and carried off in waggons to the Tower of London. It must be confessed, from the inventories which were made of them on this occasion, that his armoury was sufficiently well stocked to excite the jealousy of a governing power to whose principles he might be supposed to be inimical.

Immediately after the demise of Mary, Elizabeth addressed letters from Hatfield to Sir Thomas Cawarden, desiring him to take into his custody, pro tempore, jointly with others, that palatine citadel of the state the Tower of London, the possession of which by the hereditary prince implies livery and seisin of the crown. The letters referring to this appointment, under the sign manual, extant at Loseley, are given, with other documents relating personally to Sir Thomas Cawarden, in the sequel.

Shortly after the accession of Elizabeth, Sir Thomas Cawarden preferred a petition to the Council, soliciting remuneration for the losses he had suffered under the political persecution of Mary. The success of this memorial we have not ascertained.

He died 25th August, 1559, and was buried with the honours due to his rank as a knight, in the church of Bletchingley, in Surrey; constituting by his last will, made in the month of June previous, Elizabeth his wife and William More, Esq. of Loseley, (afterwards Sir William More,) his executors.

Owing to the last-mentioned appointment, numerous documents relating to his affairs, his property, and the offices which he filled, have been preserved in the Muni-

ment room at Loseley. Some of these we shall subjoin, as those which relate to his office of the Revels and Tents, and of Keeper of Nonsuch Palace and Park; to his treatment on account of being suspected of favouring Wyatt; to the favour in which he stood with Elizabeth; and to the domestic state in which he lived, according to the manners of the day.

Aubrey says there is a monument for Sir Thomas Cawarden,* *without* an epitaph, in Bletchingley church. Singular to say, this defect has been recently supplied; for in one of the old chests at Loseley, where nothing for three centuries appears to have been destroyed, was recently found a brass-plate, on which was inscribed the lines which follow, provided, doubtless, by the care of his executor Sir William More, but from some unknown circumstance not placed on his tomb:

The Epitaphe of Sir Thomas Cawerden, Knight, who dyed the
25th day of August, anno Domini 1559.

They that olde tyme preferre before our dayes,
For courage, vertue, witte, or godly zeale,
But hearing of Sir Thomas Caw'rden's preyse,
In serving God, his Prince, the Common weale,
Will yielde to us, and saye was never none
Paste him that lyeth underneeth this stone.

Which, leaste his foes should it denye for spighte,
Three have accorded by rewardes to prove—
King Henry, who for service made him Knighte;
His Country, which for justice geves him love;
And God, who for to make full recompence,
To place in heaven with his did take him hence.

* His arms were a bow between two pheons. Aubrey calls bow bender to Henry VIII.

Original Papers illustrating the Revels and Dramatic Entertainments of the English Court. Masques, Interludes, &c. Notice of George Ferrers, as Lord of Misrule.

After the condemnation of the Protector, Edward Duke of Somerset, uncle to Edward the Sixth, his rival, the Duke of Northumberland, in order to divert the youthful King as much as possible from the contemplation of Somerset's fate, made arrangements that the festival of Christmas in 1551-2, should be celebrated with particular attention and splendour, in relation to the diversions usually exhibited at that period of the year.

It was the custom of every great housekeeper, from the King downwards, to entertain at this season in his establishment a Lord of Misrule; this officer presided over the Christmas Revels of the Court, and was as powerful and respected in his rule of mirth as the King himself in his control over graver matters. The laborious and accurate historian Stow minutely describes the nature of his office, as follows:

“There was in the feast of Christmas in the King's house, wheresoever he was lodged, a Lord of Misrule or Master of Merry Disports; and the like had yee in the house of every nobleman of honour or good worship, were he spiritual or temporal. Among the which, the Mayor of London and either of the Sheriffs had their several Lords of Misrule, ever contending, without quarrell or offence, who should make the rarest pastimes to delight the beholders. These Lords beginning their Rule on Allhal-lon Eve, continued the same til the morrow after the feast of the Purification, commonly called Candlemas-day. In

all which space there were fine and subtile disguisings, masks, and mummeries." *

The Lord of Misrule chosen to preside over the diversions of King Edward's Court, about the time of his uncle's condemnation and suffering, and also on the following Christmas, was George Ferrers, a gentleman born at St. Alban's, in Hertfordshire, educated at Oxford, distinguished by military services under Henry the Eighth, member for Plymouth, and a poet of no small eminence for the time in which he lived, being the chief author of the "Mirrour for Magistrates." He is, indeed, accounted by Leland as one among the learned and illustrious men of the time. He died at Flamsted, in his native county, in 1589.

Hall records that, in the 33d of Henry VIII. he was arrested on a civil action, probably for debt, as the Muses and Poverty are proverbial associates. The House of Commons took the matter up as a breach of privilege, and committed the Sheriffs of London and their officers to the Tower for two days. †

To this gentleman was assigned the task of devising the entertainments of the Court at the periods to which we have alluded; and when we hear him speaking of coming one year out of the *moon*, and the other out of the *vastum vacuum*, or great waste beyond the limits of created things,

* Stow's Survey, 4to edit. p. 149. See also Stow's Annales, 4to edit. p. 885, where the manner of keeping Christmas at the Court, A. D. 1527, is alluded to. The Lord of Misrule was anciently termed the Abbot of Misrule. The terms Abbot or Lord, as applied to this office, seem to have been used indiscriminately towards the close of the reign of Henry VII.—See *Collier's Annals of the Stage*, vol. i. p. 42.

† Hall's Chronicle, p. 843. Reprint, 1809.

we shall readily allow that he conducted his proceedings on the basis of a highly poetic imagination.

The ancient Chroniclers, Holinshed and Grafton, give a somewhat particular notice of Ferrers, and of the manner in which he executed his duty at the Christmas of 1551-2, and their account, as will presently be seen, minutely accords with the curious particulars concerning him extant in the Loseley collection.

“The Duke (of Somerset) being condemned, the people spake diverslie, and murmured against the Duke of Northumberland, and against some other of the Lords, for the condemnation of the said Duke; and also, as the common fame went, the King’s Majesty took it not in good part. Wherefore, as well to remove fond talke out of men’s mouths, as also to recreate and refresh the troubled spirits of the young King, who” (as saith Grafton) “seemed to take the trouble of his uncle somewhat heavilie, it was devised that the feast of Christ’s nativitie, commonlie called Christmasse, then at hand, should be solemnie kept at Greenwich with open houshold and franke resort to Court (which is called *keeping of the hall*) what time of old ordinarie course there is alwaies one appointed to make sport in the Court, called commonlie Lord of Misrule, whose office is not unknown to such as have been brought up in noblemen’s houses, and among great housekeepers which use liberal feasting in that season.

“There was therefore, by order of the Councill, a wise gentleman and learned, named George Ferrers, appointed to that office for this year, who being of better credit and estimation than commonlie his predecessors had been before, received all his commissions and warrants by the name of *Maister of the King’s Pastimes*, which gentleman so well supplied his office, both in shew of sundrie sights and devises of rare inventions, and in act of diverse inter-

ludes and matters of pastime plaied by persons,* as not only satisfied the common sort, but also were verie well liked and allowed by the Councell, and other of skill in the like pastimes, but, best of all, by the young King himself, as appeered by his princelie liberalitie in rewarding that service.

“On Mondaie the 4th of January, the said Lord of Merrie Disports came by water to London, and landed at the Tower Wharffe, entered the Tower, and then rode through Tower Street, where he was received by Vause, Lord of Misrule to John Mainard, one of the Sheriffes of London, and so conducted through the citie with a great companie of young lords and gentlemen to the house of Sir George Barne, Lord Maior, where he with the cheefe of his companie dined, and after had a great banket; and at his departure the Lord Maior gave him a standing cup with a cover of silver and guilt, of the value of ten pounds, for a reward; and also set a hogshead of wine and a barrell of beere at his gate for his traine that followed him. The residue of his gentlemen and servants dined at other Aldermen’s houses and with the Shiriffes, and then departed to the Tower Wharffe againe, and so to the Court by water, to the great commendation of the Mayor and Aldermen, and highly accepted of the King and Councell.” †

Among the letters of the Lord of Misrule to Sir Thomas Cawarden, will be found one in which he minutely details the plot of his performance, ‡ the habits he intends to wear, and the attendants which will be necessary for him. His visit to the City by water, as mentioned in the above-cited passage from the Chronicles, is alluded to, his

* Masks or actors, from the Latin *persona*.

† Holinshed’s Chron. p. 1067, fol. edit.

‡ See Art. 12.

vessel and its decorations described, which is to await him at the bridge foot to convey him back to the Court at Greenwich.

In a literary point of view, some of these documents are exceedingly curious; they afford examples of the rude beginnings of those splendid entertainments called Masques, on which the art and invention of rare Ben Jonson were lavished in a later reign; and also in the interludes ordered to be played before the Court, we trace the origin of the regular drama, which rose to such eminent perfection under the reigns of Elizabeth and James, in the imperishable compositions of William Shakspeare.

(4.)

LORD OF MISRULE.

John Dudley, Duke of Northumberland, in an autograph letter, signifies to Sir Thomas Cawarden, the Master of the Revels, his Majesty's pleasure to have a Lord of Misrule in the Court during the Christmas Holidays. The bearer of the letter, Mr. Ferrers, is appointed to that office. Indorsed, "the Lord Northu'br. Lett. for the Lorde Mysruell."

Master Cawarden, I understand by y^e vice-chamberleyn, that the kings ma'tie plessers ys for his highnes bett' recreaton the tym of thies hallydayes to have a Lorde of Misrule; and hathe apoyntyd upon this berer Mr. fferys; wherefore the tyme beinge so nere at hand that he can not spare soche things for the furnishinge of that offyce as he wold have don yf he had som knowledg of his highnes plessere, I have thought good to re-

quire you to conferr w^t him in the bett' settinge fourthe of the matt' to more contentacōn of his mat^e, and yf yo^u have ptayninge to yo^r offyce that may serve towards that affect, and to lett him have yt in aredynes. And thereupon to put in aredynes soche warrant as yo^u think mete for that purpos, and in the meane tyme to use soche dillygence to his furnytur as shall seme to yo' expedyēt. Thus most hartely fare yo^u well. W^t the semblable thanks for yo^r gentill & frendly remembrance of my venyson yo^u have sent me. And the sooner yo^u helpe forwarde this berrer w^t yo' advyse in every thinge, the more exceptable the same will be to his Mat^e. Scriblide in haste this Monday at vth in th' eveninge.

Yo^r assured ffrend,

NORTHUMBERLAND.

To our loving freende Sir
Thomas Carden, knight.

(5.)

The Lords of the Council to Sir Thomas Cawarden, from the Court at Greenwich, Christmas Day, 1551. His Majesty has appointed a Lord of Misrule, and he is to furnish him with things convenient.

After hertie comendacons. Thes ar to desire & praye yo^u, fforsamoche as the kings ma't^e hath appointed a lord of mysrule to be in his highnes houshold for the twelve dayes, to se the same fur-

nyshed of suche things w^{thin} y^r office, as yorselſ shall thyncke convenient to serve the turne accordingly. Thus hartely farre y^e well. ffrom Grenewych, this Christmas-day, 1551.

Yo^r loving ffreends.*

NORTHU'B'RLAND.

PEMBROKE.

G. COBHAM.

T. CHEYNE.†

W. CECYLL.

To our lovinge freende Sr
Thomas Carden, knight.

* In the Diary of Edward VI. preserved in the Cotton Library, Nero, C. x. is a list, intituled:

“The names of the hole Council. 1. The Bishop of Canerbury. 2. The Bishop of Ely. 3. The L. Threasourer (Marquis of Winchester). 4. The Duke of Northumberland (Great Master of the Household). 5. The L. Prevy Seale (the Earl of Bedford). 6. The Duke of Southfolke. 7. The Marques of Northampton. 8. The Erl of Shrewesbury. 9. The Erl of Westmorlande. 10. The Erl of Huntyngdon. 11. The Erl of Pembroke. 12. The Viscount Hereford. 13. The L. Admirale (Lord Clinton). 14. The L. Chamberlaine (Lord Darcy). 15. The L. Cobham. 16. The L. Riche. 17. Mr. Controuller (Sir Anthony Wingfield). 18. Mr. Threasourour (Sir Thomas Cheyne). 19. Mr. Vice Chamberlaine. 20. Mr. Secretary Petre. 21. Mr. Secretary Cecil. 22. Sir Philip Hobbey. 23. Sir Robert Bowes. 24. Sir Jhon Gage. 25. Sir Jhon Mason. 26. Sir Rafe Sadleir. 27. Sir John Baker. 28. Juge Bromley. 29. Juge Montigue. 30. Mr. Wotton. 31. Mr. Northe.—Those that now be called into Commission—The Bishop of London, the Bishop of Norwich, Sir Thomas Wrothe, Sir Rich'd Cotton, Sir Walter Mildmay, Mr. Sollicitour, Mr. Gornald, Mr. Coke, Mr. Lukas. Several of the above individuals will be recognized as subscribing to these documents. † Cheney.

(6.)

The Lords of the Council desire Sir Thomas Cawarden to deliver to the Lord of Misrule and his men apparel for his second livery. 30 Dec. 1551.

After our hartly comendac'ons. The King's Ma'te pleasure ys you shall wth all spede furnishe and delyver to George fferers, the Lorde of Mysrule of his Mat^s howse, suche apparell and furniture for himself and his men, for his seconde livery, in like sorte and number as you have alredy furnisshed him, the couloures and fasshion wherof, wth his chaunges, to be ordered by yo^r discretion. So fare you well. From Grenewiche, the xxxth of December, 1551.

Yo^r loving frends,

NORTHU'B'RLAND.

WINCHESTER.

J. BEDFORD.

W. NORTH'T.* PEMBROKE. T. DARCY.

T. CHEYNE. A. WYNGFELD.

To Sir Thomas Carden, knyght.

(7.)

The Lords of the Council send a particular list to Sir Thomas Cawarden of the apparel to be delivered to the Lord of Misrule.

After our hartly comendaçons. The King's

* Northampton.

Ma't^s pleasure is you shall delyver to George Ferrer, the Lorde of Mysrule of his Maties howse, thies pcells following, that is to saye,

First, for his owne apparell, throughly furnished, as you shall thinke convenyent.

Item, for the pages attending on him, their cotes, wth their furniture of sylke, white and redde.

Item, apparell for viij counsailors, of sylke, in suche sorte as you thinke mete.

Item, a jyrkyn for the tumbler, strayte to his body.

Item, for his servants xxiiij lyvereyes more.

Item, to consyder my lord's furnytur agaynst the day of the justs, for such chaunge of aparell as you shall think requisitt.

And this shall be your sufficyent discharge and warrant in this behalf. So fare you well. From Grenewiche, the xxxth of December, 1551.

Yo^r loving frendes,

WINCHESTER. NORTHU'B'RLAND. HERTFORD.

W. NORTH'T. PEMBROKE. T. DARCY.

T. CHEYNE. A. WYNGFELD.

To Sir Thomas Carden, knyght.

(8.)

The Lord of Misrule complains of the meanness of the apparel provided for his Counsellors. Note of other garments and properties required.

Mr. Carden, we received from you the aparell for o^r owne p^{erson} w^{ch} we mislyke not much. We recke not, syns the matter is comitted to yo^r discrecion, how o^r founders honor shall be considrid in this behalf; but it seemeth unto us that as touching the apperell of o^r counsellors you have mistaken y^e p^{ersons} that sholde weere them, as Sr Rob^t Stafford and Thom^s Wyndeso^r, w^t other gentlemen that stande also upon their reputa^{cion} and wold not be seen in London, so torche-berer lyke* disgysed, for as moche as they ar worthe (worthy) or hope to be worthe. Therefore we referre to yo^r discrecion the better ordre of the matter w^{ch} was not of o^r device but of y^e Counseills appoyntem^t. You muste furnishe it by to morow at nyght, for we will be at london on Monday by viii of y^e clocke. Qui sum, &c.

A note of properties, &c. required.

Counterfett harness & weapons, as y^e maysard†
a hoby horse.

Item, agaynste this night viii visars for a dron-

* An allusion to the inferior habits of the torch-bearers in Masques.

† The Clown.

ken maske, and viii swords and daggers for y^e same purpose.

Ite', apparell for twoo gentlemen ushers & o^r marshall agaynst o^r lord goyng to london.

Ite', for o^r m^r of y^e ordnaunce a fayre apparell warlyke.

We send you y^r Counsellors apparell agayn as insufficient.

Qui sum, &c.*

G. F.

(9.)

The Lords of the Council to Sir Thomas Cawarden. The Lord of Misrule is disappointed of making his entry into London, "with such honour as behoveth," the eight gentlemen, his counsellors, not having been provided with fit apparell.

Wheras we directed o^r warrante unto you for y^e p̃paraçon & furnytüre of apparell for viij Counsellors attending on the Lorde of Misrule, w^{ch} we ar enformed you have p̃pared not aptely for suche gentlemen as sholde were [wear] the same, wherby he remayneth disappoynted of his goyng to Lon-

* For "Qui sum et fui." These words, or "Qui est et fuit," are frequently used as a sort of motto by the Lord of Misrule, prefixed to his mandates. They are a somewhat unbecoming parody of a sacred text, and allude to his possessing the office at the time of writing, and having enjoyed it the preceding year.

don wth such hono^r as behoveth, we will, therefore, that wth all expediçon agaynst his saide goyng to London you shall furnyshe the same owte of hande, so as shal be fitting & convenient for the seide gentlemen of his counsell, and this shall be yo^r warrant in that behalfe. Geven this thirde of January, in the mornyng 1551.

Y.^r loving ffrends,

NORTHU'B'RLAND.

J. BEDFORD.

W. NORTH'T.

T. DARCY.

T. CHEYNE.

To Sir Thomas Carden, knight.

(10.)

Ferrers, Lord of Misrule, to Sir Thomas Cawarden, requires immediately as many carpenters and paynters as he can spare.

We will and comaund that emediatly upon the sight heirof you send unto us so many carpenters and paynters as you may spaire (ffor of very neces-
sitie and as tyme requireth we moste have theame) and when we have done we shall cause theame to repare unto you agayne in all hast possible. And this o^r warrant asseigned wth o^r hand shall be yo^r sufficient dischargde in this behalf. Geven at o^r palice of pal 1551.

Qui sum, &c.

G. F.

To Sir Thom^s Carden, knight,
M^r of our fownders Revayles, or
to his dep'tie.

(11.)

The Council to Sir Thomas Cawarden, concerning furnishing George Ferrers, the Lord of Misrule, with apparel and necessaries to show certain pastimes before the King's Highness at Christmas, 1552.

Wher' the King's Matie hath appointed his s'vnt George fferers to the shewing of certaine pastimes before his Highnesse this Christmas; his pleasure is, that youe se hym furnished for hym and his bande, as well in apparell as all other necessaries, of such stufte as remayneth in your office. And whatsoever wanteth in the same, to take order that it be provided accordinglye by yo^r discretion. And this o^r l^re shal be yo^r sufficient discharge in that behalf. Fare ye well. From Westm', the xxxi of September, 1552.

Y^r loving ffrends,

T. ELY, *Canc'*.

H. SUFFOLK.

W. NORTH'T.

T. DARCY.

N. WOTTON. J. MASONE.*

To o' loving ffrend Sr Thomas Carden, knighte, M^r of the King's Revells.

(12.)

A remarkably curious and interesting autograph letter from George Ferrers, the Lord of Misrule, concerning the man-

* Sir John Mason was Clerk of the Council.

ner of his intended entry at the Court at Christmas, and the diversions which he intends to present during the holidays.

SIR,

Wheras you required me to write, for that y^r busynes is great, I have in as few wordes as I maie signefied to you such things as I thinke moste necessarrie for my purpose.

ffirst, as towching my Introduction. Whereas the last yeare my devise was to cum of oute of the mone (moon), this yeare I imagine to cum oute of a place called *vastum vacuum*, the great waste, asmoche to saie as a place voide or emptie wthout the worlde, where is neither fier, ayre, nor earth; and that I have bene remayning there sins the last yeare. And, because of certaine devises which I have towching this matter, I wold, yf it were possible, have all myne apparell blewe, the first daie that I p'sent my self to the King's Ma^{tie}; and even as I shewe my self that daie, so my mynd is in like order & in like suets (suits) to shew myself at my cõmyng into London after the halowed daies.

Againe, how I shall cum into the Courte, whether under a canopie, as the last yeare, or in a chare triumphall, or uppon some straunge beast—that I reserve to you; but the serpente with sevin heddes, cauled hidra, is the chief beast of myne armes, and the wholme* (holm) bushe is the de-

* The evergreen holly is meant, a bearing peculiarly appropriate to the Lord of Christmas Sports.

wise of my crest, my worde * is *semper ferians*, I alwaies feasting or keping holie daies. Uppon Christmas daie I send a solempne ambassade to the King's Ma^{tie} by an herral, a trumpet, an orator speaking in a straunge language, an interpreter or a truchman with hym, to which psons ther were requisit to have convenient farnytur, which I referre to you.

I have provided one to plaie uppon a kettell drom with his boye, and a nother drome wth a fyffe, whiche must be apparelled like turkes garments, according to the paternes I send you herewith. On S^t Stephen's daie, I wold, if it were possyble, be with the King's Ma^{tie} before dynner. Mr. Windham, being my Admyrall, is appointed to receive me beneth the bridge with the King's Brigandyne, and other vessells apointed for the same purpose; his desire is to have the poope of his vessell covered wth white and blew, like as I signefie to you by a nother tre.

S^r George Howard, being my M^r of the Horsis, receiveth me at my landing at Grenwiche with a spare horse and my pages of hono^r, one carieng my hed pece, a nother my shelde, the thirde my sword, the fourth my axe. As for their furniture I know nothing as yet provided, either for my pages or otherwise, save a hed peece that I caused to be made. My counsailo^{rs}, with suche other necessarie

* His motto, or impress.

persons y^t attend uppon me that daie, also must be considered. There maie be no fewer than sixe counsaile^{rs} at the least; I must also have a divine, a philosopher, an astronomer, a poet, a phisician, a potecarie, a m^r of requests, a sivilian, a disard,* John Smyth, two gentlemen ushers, besides jugglers, tomblers, fooles, friers, and suche other.†

The residue of the wholie daies I will spend in other devises: as one daie in feats of armes, & then

* An old word for a clown.

† The Lord of Misrule requires these personages to be attendant on him, that his household establishment should be on a scale similar to that of other great lords of the time. Documents which will be hereafter detailed shew that he had his *base sons*, apparently accounted a matter of state, as in this point he resembled King Henry VIII. He had also an almoner, who dispersed among the crowd, gazing at his mock procession, certain counters made by the wire-drawer. If these bore the portrait and superscription of the Lord of Misrule, they would be rare pieces in the eye of a modern numismatist. A striking instance of the magnificence displayed in a numerous train of attendants, may be found in Cavendish's Life of Wolsey. Among the Cardinal's officers are enumerated priests, singing men and boys, chamberlains, gentlemen ushers, gentlemen of his privy chamber, cup-bearers, carvers, sewers, almoner, secretaries, counsellors learned in the law, a herald, a serjeant at arms, physician, apothecary, minstrels, keeper of his tents, armourer, clerk of the green cloth, auditor, &c. &c. It is easy, therefore, to see that Ferrers's arrangement for his followers was suggested by the fashion of the day.

† By Ferrers' placing the *friars* in such company, some satirical allusion may be intended, as to the light in which those mendicant drones were considered at the period of the Reformation.

wolde I have a challeng pformed with hobbie horsis, where I purpose to be in pson. Another daie in hunting & hawking,* the residue of the tyme shalbe spent in other devisis, which I will declare to you by mouth to have yo^r ayde and advice therin.

Sr, I know not howe ye be provided to furnish me, but suer methinks I shold have no lesse than five suets of apparell, the first for the daie I come in, which shall also serve me in London, and two other suets for the two halowed daies folowing, the fourth for newe yeares daie, and the fite for xiith daie.

Touching my suet of blew, I have sent you a pece of velvet which hath a kinde of powdered ermaines in it, vearie fytt for my wering, yf you so thynke good. All other matters I referre tyll I shall speake with you,

GEORGE FERRERS.

It. baggs for

It. for y^e greatt seale another bagg.

To Sir Thomas Cawarden.

(13.)

The Council from Greenwich signify to Sir Thomas Cawarden the King's pleasure, that he should cause a fool's coat with a hood to be made for Smith, the Disard or Clown.

The King's Ma^{es} pleasure is that you shall cause to bee made and sent hither forthw^t for Smyth, a

* In mock representations of those sports.

foole's cote, w^t a hoode, for th' apparell w^c he hath allredye is not fytt for that purpose; his Mat^{es} pleasure is also, that yo^w provid lykewise and send hithar redye made xvi liveryes more, wherin yo' must mak all th' speed that may be. ffrom Greenwyche, this xxvi of Decemb^r.

WINCHESTER. NORTHU'B'LAND. BEDFORD.

T. DARCY.

JOHN GAGE.

WILL'M PETRES.

To o^r loving freend Sr Tho^ms
Carden, Knight, M^r of the King's
Maties Revells.

(14.)

A Letter from the Lord of Misrule to Sir Thomas Cawarden, requiring twelve hobby-horses, apparel for a hunter, two dryads, and Irish dresses for a man and woman, &c. &c. A. D. 1553. Indorsed, "Warrant for xii hobe (hobby) horses from the Lord of Mysrull, canves," i. e. made of canvas.

Qui est et fuit.

Sir, I pray you to furnish me of xii hobby horses,* if any such remayne in your custody.

* For a mock tournament. I have seen a German MS. with very numerous illuminations, representing a tournament of this kind. The combatants on horseback were furnished with crests of the most extraordinary and ridiculous nature, and each of them on either side was attended by a clown properly habited with his bells and bauble. The hobby-horse used in these sports, and by the Morris dancers of old, was formed by a light wooden frame, in semblance of a horse, and covered

Item, of an hunter's apparell for my selfe & vi other, which I will see returned to you agayne. Item, of vi cotes of the livery, an attyre for Clarinse, my juggler, now of late intertayned. Also, in any wise of two counsaylers attyres more agaynst my coming to London. Item, two maces for my sergeants at armes. Item, apparell for two dysardes. Item, Irish apparell for a man & a woman. And I pray you certifie me by the bearer hereof of your provision herein. The lord kepe you. ffrom Grenewich, this daye beyng Saynt John's Daye, ano 1553.

Your lovyng frend,

G. FERRERS.

To the right worshipful my very frend, Sr Thomas Cardyn, d. d. thes. (deliver these.)

(15.)

Qui est & fuit.

G. FERRERS.

Mr. Carden, I beseche you to furnishe me agaynst my comyng to London of two fotemens apparells, and that don I shall not further trouble

with canvas. This horse was attached to the body of the performer, who imitated the curvettings of a real horse, his legs being concealed by the bases or cloths with which the figure was trapped, or, to speak according to the probable etymology of this word, *draped*.

more than for the appoyntment for twelfe nyght.
Fare you well. From Grenewych, Fryday the
morning.

To the ryght worshypfull Sr
Tho^s Cawarden, Mr of the King's
Mat^{es} Revells gyve thys.

(16.)

SIR,

Syns my last letters there ys comyn to my
mynde y^e want of iiij footemens apparell which
wolde be dowbletts of colors & hose of the same,
and lxx jerkyns of buckram or canvas paynted
lyke maylle for lxx hakbuters.* These things
beyng pydyed we shall not nede to trouble you
any further. From Grenewych y^e second of Ja-
nuary & y^e ixth day of o^r rule.

Qui sum, &c.

To Sr Tho^ms Cawerden, knyght, &c.

Item, thirte more made of the same stuff.

(17.)

Memorandum for the Lord of Misrule's Enterprize at Court on
New Year's Night.

Qui est et fuit.

His enterpryce to be on New Year's day at nyght.

* Seventy hakbuters, or, to speak in modern phrase, mus-
keteers, dressed in coats of mail, as his guard.

Fyrst, xii horses barbed, wherof vi for challengers, whight and blewe.

The other syx blacke and yellowe.

The pewtrells (poitrails) to be garnyshed with plumes for the sayd horsse w^t collers accordyng.

Truncheons xii.

Mases for sergeaunts at armes.

A roobe of clothe for the almoner.

Mr. Chamberlayne my marshall.

Mr. Strynger my threasorer.

Mr. Rydley my m^r of ordenaunce, beyng of my chyef councell, I pray you see hym furnyshed at yo^r good dyscressyon.

G. FFERRERS.

To Sir Thomas Cawarden.

(18.)

The Council to Sir Thomas Cawarden. Provision of things necessary is to be made for the shewing his Highness a Triumph of Cupid on Twelfth Night.

Master Carden, the Kyng's M^t's plesure ys that with all possible expedycon yow make pvysyon of all suche thyngs appteynyng to a certen Tryumphe of Cupyde to be showed to hys hyghnes upon xiith nyght accordyng to a pportyon to be sent you, subscribed with the hande of Syr George Howard, with all suche necessary furnytüre out of suche stuffe as all redy ye have p̄sent in yo^r custodie as

to the showe therof shall appartayne or belong.
ffrom Grenewyche the last of December.

Yo^r ffrends,

J. BEDFORD.

W. NORTH'T.

FF. SHREWBURY.

E. CLYNTON.

T. DARCY.

ROBERT BOWES.

To our lovyng ffrende Syr Tho-
mas Carden, Knt. Master of the
Kyng's M^t's Revells.

Indorsed "Warrant for a Tryeumph of Cuyd for
S^r George Howard, ano 1553."

"Revylls & playes an^o 1552 (and an^o 1553.)"

(19.)

A Paper giving particular directions how "The Triumph of Cupid" is to be "set forth." It is endorsed, "Sir George Howard devises for a Play," and is evidently the "proportion," or plot, referred to in the preceding.

✓ After most harte comendaçons thes shal be to
s'tefeiw (i. e. certify you) the counceles pleasure
his as shall appere be yowr letters ffrome theme,
that I shoulde be my letter adwertis you of all
such furneture, shalbe occupide on twelfe night,
to be furneshede after suche sorte as you shall
thinke mete.

Ffurst, you have to furneshe Venus in a chaire
triumfall, and w^t her iii ladies, and her chaire to be
carried on iiij mens bakkes, eche of theme a torche
in his hand as you thinke mete, in howse companie

I am appointed for to come forneshed as I wrote untoo you be me man.

Then comes in Mars, in a chaire ffurnished w^t torche and men ffor the carrien of hime, ffurnished accordenge as yow shall thinke gode; also Mars moste be harmed, wiche armor (he) shall have here yf yow woll, or else whether he shall have painted harnes or not, and having in his hand a target of his armes, and in his other hand a naket sworde, w^t hime cometh iii gentelmen having iii targetes of his harmes and swordes in ther handes.

Cupid shalbe a letell boye howe must be tremmed, w^t a bow and arrows blinfelde, accordinge as you thinke hit mete. Other furneture I knowe of none, all thought the counceles pleasure ys that I showlde give youe the plate (plot) of this pastime against twelfe nyght, I beenge not experte * this matter, have bute in brefe declared the effecte of this matter to you, levenge the hole device of the thinge to your deskression—whow his better abull to dow hit then I cane thinke hit or wryt hit.

Thus I comet you to God this p̄sente day ffrom the Corte. Be your lovinge ffrende,

GEORGE HOWARD.

* Sic in MS. probably an error. Should be "in these matters." Certainly Sir George Howard, in an age when orthography was as yet very unsettled, was not expert at spelling. The adjective 'able' he converts into 'a bull;' and the participle present of the verb 'to carry' is made 'carrion.'

(20.)

A Paper facetiously endorsed "*Ferryrs, the Lorde Myserable,* by the Cunsells aucketorryte,* for apparell;" accompanied by a note, part of which seems to have allusion to the Triumph of Cupid, the plot of which is sketched in the preceding document.

Qui est et fuit.

G. FERRERS.

SIR,

I pray you to see all thyngs furnyshed accordyng to the pporcyon which I have notyd w^t my hande & to gyve credyt to thys berar. Fare you well. From Grenewych this Monday of y^e new yere.

To Sr Tho^{ms} Cawarden, knyght,
Mr of the King's Ma'ties Revells.

Persones.

Chauncellor, Threasorer, Comptroller, Vice Chamberlaine, four Lords Counsaillors arayed as apparel accustomed.

The Marshall and his band.

These psones be alre^dy furnyshed, so y^t y^t nedyth not to pvyde, but only for these underwritten.

* The ingenious effort in orthography to express the word "authority" with a due observance of its Latin derivative, will be appreciated by the reader.

Ydlenes, Dalyance, two ladies straungely at-tyred.

Cupide, a small boye to be cladd in a canvas hose and doblet sylverd over w^t a payre of wings of gold w^t bow and arowes his eyes banded.

Venus to come in w^t a maysk of ladies, and to reskue Cupide from the Marshall. Mars the God of Battale to come in very triumphantly. Brett shal be Mars. They must have three fayre tar-gets, the rest shal be their owne armure.

The Herault Cuoer Ardant (cœur ardent) to have a fayre short garment and a riche armour painted with burning harts perced with darts.

(21.)

The Lord of Misrule to Sir Thomas Cawarden on the last day but one of his dominion.

Qui est et fuit.

G. FFERRERS.

Syr, this morning I rece th of one of my warrants wth your advise subscribed to the same, which I that I would I had been remembered the . . . ; nevertheles I shall do my devor therin, so that if it take not effect, the falt shall not be in me. Sir, this afternoone Syr Thomas Challoner wyl be wth you to confer about to morows preparation, what tyme (as you

know) the date of my dominion expyareth. Wherefore that well served I shall not trouble your farther this yere, praying you to set furth all things to the best shew. And touching the staf maker,* to avoyd exclamacion, I wyll see hym contented so that I may be allowed agayn of the same upon your warrant. And thus comending the furniture of my decaying estate to your good handling, I byd you hartily farewell. From Grenewich. Dominacionis nostre die penultima.

To the right worshipfull Sr
Thom̄s Carden, knight, M^r of
the King's Ma^{ties} Revells.

(22.)

Account of Expenses of the Lord of Misrule, in celebrating the Christmas at Court of the year 1552. The details of this document at once illustrate the costly nature of these diversions and the splendour of the Court dresses which they imitated.

Chrystmas, in } An Estimate of the contentes and va-
anno Sexto } lewe of soche p'cells and stuffe as was
R. Edwardi. } delyv'd oute of the store houses of the
The Revells. } King his Ma^{ties} Revells and Tentens,
to be employed to the furniture of the Lord of Misrule and his Retynewe, appointed in the Court to that purpose, during the tyme of Christmas, and provided over and besides the charge of al maner, of furniture and garnishinge appointed and incidente to and for himself and his bande and their doings, bought and provided to that use and purpose, as by

* The maker of staves or lances for the mock tournament.

a like Estimate of the same more playnly may appeare; vidz. for

Owene proper person.

Christmas Day, and that weeke.

A robe of white baudkyn,* by estimac'on ix y'des, at xvi^s the y'de, vii^{li} iii^s garded w^t a greete embrothered garde of clothe of goulde, wrought in knotts, con' (containing) by estimac'on xiiij y'ds, at xiii^s iii^jd the y'de, ix^{li} vi^s viii^d in all, over and besides the furre, of redde fethers, w^t a cape of chamlet thrum, the workemanshipp, and all other things bought and of newe provided.

xvi^{li} x^s viii^d

A coate of flatt silver fyne w^t w'kes, con' v y'ds, at l^s the y'de, xii^l x^s, w^t an embrothered garde of leves of goulde and silke colored, cont' xvi y'ds, at xx^s the y'e xv^{li}, besides the lyninge, workemanshipp, and provision of all other things xxvii^{li} x^s

A cappe of mayten'nce of redde fethers and chamlet thrumbe, verei riche, w^t a plume of fethers, the charges thereof comprised emonges the charges of the provisions bought of newe at this instant, and therefore heare valued at n.

A paier of hosen, the breaches made of a yarde of clothe of gold, broade embrothered in panes, con' ix y'ds of gardinge, at xiiij^s iii^jd the y'de, vi^{li}, lyned w^t silver sarcenet, i ell, viii^s, besids the workmanshipp and all provisions.

vii^{li} viii^s

* Baldekin, Bawdekyn, or Baudkyn, as it is written in our ancient MSS. and Chronicles, was a stuff of the richest manufacture, composed of silk and gold thread interwoven. Du Cange says it was brought from Persia: "sic dicitur quod *Baldacco* seu *Babylone* in Perside in occidentales provincias deferretur."

Buskyns, one paier of white baudekynne, con' 1 y'de di.
a' xvi^s the y'de, besids the makinge and all other charges.

xxiv^s

Pantacles,* one payer of bridges satten, in valewe, iii^s iiiid.

A gerdell of yellowe sarcenet, con' i q't'r of a y'de,
price xvi^s

New Yeare's Day, and that week.

A robe of redde baudkyn, con' ix y'ds, at xvi^s the y'de,
vii^{li} iiij^s, garded w^t a great embrothered garde of purple
silver, con' xiiii y'ds gardinge, a' xiiii^s iiiid the y'd, besides
the furr and all other charges xvii^{li} x^s viiid

A coate of redde baudkyn, con' v y'ds di. at xx^s y^e y'de,
cx^s, garded w^t the same garde of purple silver embro-
thered, con' x y'ds, vi^{li} xiiii^s iiijd, besides all other charges.

xii^{li} iiiis iiijd

Hosen, one paier slop wise, the breches of a garde of
cloth of gould figured w^t vellet, redde and grene, w^t a
cutt garde of clothe of goulde upon it, con' xviiij y'ds gard-
inge, at v^s the yarde, besides all other charges, in the
hole iiij^{li} x^s

Buskyns, one paier of redd baudkin, con' 1 y'd di. at
xx^s the y'de, in the hole, besides, &c. xxx^s

Huntinge.—A coate of clothe golde figured w^t redde
and grene vellet churchew'k, con' vi yard, a' xxx^s the y'de,
ix^{li}, garded w^t a border of clothe of golde, imbrodered,
con' xiii y'ds gardinge at xiiii^s iv^d the y'de, viij^{li} xiijs iv^d,
lyned w^t under sleeves of white baudkyn, con' 1 y'de di. at
xvi^s the y'de, xxiiijs, w^t a hatt of plaine clothe of goulde,
con' di. y'de xv^s. garnished w^t leves of grene satten, con'

* Pantouffles, slippers; also in old writers called pantables :

“ Rich pantables in ostentation worn,

And roses worth a family.”

Massinger's City Madam.

1 q^r y'de, at ij^s, in all, besids the w'kmanshippe and other charges of povision nowé bought xix^{li} xiiij^s iiiij^d

Twelfth Day, and his progres to London.

A robe of wrought purple furred vellet, the inside white and blacke like powdered armyns, w^t a coate, a head peace, and a scapeler of the same, con' altogether xiii y'ds q^r, at xxx^s the y'de, xix^{li} xvii^s vi^d. the garments welted about w^t blewe and yellow goulde tinsell, con' xxx y'ds weltinge, at xvi^d the y'de, xl^s, the hatt garnished w^t purple vellet striped wth thredes of silver 1 y'd, xx^s, in all, besides one ell of white and blew taffita for laces of y^e same, and other charges lx^s

Hosen one paier, the breeches of purple cloth of silver, con' 1 y'de di. at xxx^s the y'de, xlv^s, welted w^t purple tynsell and gold, con' xviiij y'ds, at xii^d the y'de. Buskyns, 1 paire of streped purple vellet w^t threades of silver, con' i y'd di. at xx^s the y'd, in all, besids the other charges, xxx^s viii^{li} xiiij^s vi^d

Children.*

John Smyth, Ayer apparent.

A foole's cote, longe, of yellowe clothe of goulde, all over fringed w^t vellett, white, redde, and grene, con' vii y'ds di. at xl^s the y'de, xv^{li}; garded w^t plaine yellow cloth of golde, iiij yardes, at xxxiiij^s iiiij^d the y'de, viii^{li} xiiij^s iv^d; with a hoode and a pair of buskins of the same figured gold, con' ii y'ds di. c^s; and a gerdell of yellow sarcenet, con' one qter, xvi^d; in all, &c. xxvii^{li} xiiij^s viii^d.

Seame 2,† Parkins 3, Elderton 4.

iiij^{or} longe fooles' coates of crymson taffata and white

* Of the Lord of Misrule.

† i. e. 2d son.

sarcenet pained, con' w^t their hoodes vii ells of crimsen taffata, at xii^s the ell, iiij^{li} iiij^s, and vii ells of white sarce-net, at v^s iiij^d the elle, xxxvijs iiij^d, lyned w^t gould and silver laune, xiiij ells, at viijs the ell, cxii^s; ii of them garnished w^t tynsell goulde, ii yd's di. at xx^s the y'de, l^s; and ii garnished w^t yellow satten; ii y'ds di. at vi^s viij the y'de, xvi^s viii^d; with iiij girdles of sarcenet, con' i y'de, v^s. iiij^d. —xv^{li} v^s iiij^d.

2 Base Sons.*

ii lesser fooles' coates, attending upon Venus, of whit and orange-colored satten pained, con' w^t their hoodes v y'ds di. of orange-coloured satten, at vi^s viii^d y^e y'de, xxxvi^s viij^d; and v y'ds of white satten, at iiij^s viii^d the y'de, xxv^s. viij^d. garded w^t grene and yellowe satten, iiij y'ds at viijs. the y'd, xxxijs; in all besides the w'kemanshipp, and other provisions new bought iiij^{li} xiijs iiij^d.

Counsailors.

Robes, ix longe w^t wide sleves, and hatts of blewe taffata, con' xxxix ells, at xii^s vi^d y^e ell, xxiv^{li} vii^s vi^d; and ii ells i q' of white taffata for wreathes † aboute their hatts, at xiijs the ell, xxxi^s vj^d, in all xxv^{li} xix^s, which is comprised amongs the charges of empcions and provisions boughte of new and therefore here. . . . n. (nil)

Pages of Honor.

iiij cassocks, i cloke, i jerkyn, and one paire of sloppes of blewe taffata, con', w^t one ell for wreathes about their

* Bastards, apparently accounted a matter of state.

† Wreaths of goldsmith's work, were ornaments of great esteem and honour in the days of chivalry. They are here found encircling the hat instead of the helmet.

head peeces, vii ells at xii^s vi^d the ell, iiiij^{li} viij^s vi^d, frenge
w^t selver frenge vi oz. at ii^s vi^d the ounce, xv^s; taken out
of the store iiiij cappes of white taffata, con', w^t half an ell
for half of the wreathes about the same, ii ells at xiiij^s the
ell, xxviiij, w^t iij pair of sloppes of silver sarcenett, con' v
y^{'ds} at viij^s the y^{'de}, xl^s in all, besids the taffata, the w^{'ke}-
manshipp, and other charges of provision and empsions,
bought besids the store lv^s

OFFYCERS.

Gentlemen Usshers.

ii garmentes of white baudkin con' x y^{'ds} at xvi^s ye y^{'de},
viii^{li}, garded w^t blew tynsell i y^{'de} di. at xxv^s ye y^{'de}
xxxviij^s vi^d, w^t capes of redde baudkin, con' i y^{'de}, xx^s,
w^t buttoned cappes of blew satten edged w^t redde frenge,
at vi^s the peace, xii^s; in all out of the store . . . xli^{li} ix^s vi^d

S^rgeaunts at Armes.

ii garmentes of redde baudkyn, con' xii y^{'ds}, at xvi^s ye
y^{'de}, ix^{li} xii^s, garded w^t yellowe tynsell, con' ii y^{'ds} di. at
xx^s the y^{'de}, l^s, tyed withe yellow sarcenet di. ell ii^s vi^d,
w^t ii mases worth in valew ii^s; all taken owte of the store,
besides other charges xii^{li} vi^s vi^d

Provost Mrshall.

One large coate of white baudken w^t great ruffes, con'
viii y^{'ds}, at xv^s ye y^{'de}, vi^{li} viii^s, garded all over w^t blew
satten, cut in losinges (lozenges) con' iiiij y^{'ds} at viii^s ye
y^{'de} xxxii^s. w^t a cappe of blew satten, frenge w^t blew
frenge and tufted w^t yellowe sarcenet, worth by estimac'on
vi^s viii^d; in all viii^{li} vi^s viii^d

Under M'shal.

ij shorte coates of crymesen satten, con' viii y^{'ds}, at xvi^s
the y^{'d}, vi^{li}. viii^s. garded w^t yellowe satten, con' ii y^{'ds} di.
at x^s the y^{'d}, xxv^s, w^t two hed peeces of yellowe satten, con'

i y'd, x^s, w^t roubles of black gould sarcenet, con' i y'd, viii^s,
w^t ii felts xvi^d.; in all out of the store, besides other
charges viii^{li} xii^s iii^j^d

Fotemen.

ii coates of satten blew, w^t ii pair of sloppes of the same,
con' x y'ds, at viii^s y^e y'de, iii^j^{li}, taken out of the store, w^t
under slevs of white satten, and the rest all garded w^t
white satten, con' iii^j y'ds di. boght & pvided . . . iii^j^{li}

Messenger.

One great coate of redd sarcenett, con' ii ells di. xiii^s
iii^j^d, w^t ruffe sleeves garded w^t yellow gould sarcenet one
y'de, viii^s, tufted w^t white sarcenet i ell di. viii^s, lyned w^t
buckeram v y'ds, iii^s iii^j^d, w^t one pair of buskins of blew sat-
en, con' i yard di xii^s. a cappe of blew saten, con' iij q'ters,
vi^s, besids all other provisions and charges . . . l^s viii^d

Trumpettors (to the Lord of Misrule).

A coate of redde sarcenet con' ii ells, at v^s iii^j^d ye ell,
x^s. viii^s. garded w^t gould sarcenet of orange colo^r i y'de,
viii^d. tufted w^t white sarcenet i ell, v^s iii^j^d, lyned w^t red
buckeram iii^j y'ds, iis viii^d, w^t a capp of red satten, con'
di y'de, iii^j^s; in all. out of the store, besides other charges
xxx^s viii^d

A greate coate of blew satten w^t ruffe slevs ruffed in
the waste, con' vii y'ds, at viii^s y^e y'd. lvi^s, w^t a capp of
blew satten, con' iii q'ters, vi^s, garnished w^t white sarcenet,
con' i q'rter ell, besids the gardinge of the coate, with
preement lace ix oz. di. and other charges lxii^s.

Trumpeters (to Venus).

A garment of yellowe goulde sarcenet, con' v y'ds, at
viij^s. the y'd, xli^s, w^t a hed pece of yellow goulde sarcenet,

con' di. y'd iiij^s, w^t a roule of black goulde sarcenet, con'
di. y'd, iiij^s, the garding of black purled lace v. oz. xlviij^s

Harrowlde to y^e Lorde of Mysrule.

A large garment w^t ruffed sleeves, con' ii ells di. of red
sarcenet, at v^s viij^d the ell, xiiij^s iiij^d, garded w^t gold
sarcenet i y'd viii^s, and tufted w^t white sarcenet i ell di
viii^s, lyned w^t redd buckeram, con' v y'ds iij^s iiij^d, w^t one
pe of buskins of grene satten, con' i y'd di. xii^s; in all oute
of the steor xlviij^s viij^d

A great coate of blew satten w^t ruffed sleeves and
ruffed in the waste vii y'ds, at viii^s y^e y^d, lvi^s, w^t one
cappe of blew satten, con' iii q^r, vi^s, garnished with white
sarcenet, con' i q^rter ell, besides the garding of the cote of
parcement lace, ix oz. di lxii^s

Orator.

A longe garmente of crymsene sarcenet, w^t longe sleeves
con' iii ells di. at v^s iiij^d the ell, xviii^s viii^d, garded w^t gould
sarcenet i y'de, viii^s, tufte w^t white sarcenet i ell di. viii^s.
w^t a hed pece of white damaske, con' iii q^r y'd at viii^s the
y'd, vi^s. frenged w^t venys gould di. oz. iiiij^s. lyned w^t bucke-
ram vi y'ds iiij^s; all out of the store xlviij^s viij^d

Trucheman.

A cote of red sarcenet, con' 2 ells di, at v^s viij^d the ell,
xiiij^s iiij^d, garded w^t yellow goulde sarcenet, con' i y'de, at
viiij^s, and tufte w^t white sarcenet i ell di. viij^s, lyned w^t red
buckeram v yards, iij^s iiij^d, w^t a capp of yelow satten, con'
di. y'd, iij^s iiij^d; in all, out of the store, besids all other
charges of w'kemanship and pvisions, bought xxxvi^s

Irisheman.*

A large garment of blewe and redde satten pained, con' viij y'ds, at vj^s viij^d the y'd, liij^s iiij^d, lyned w^t black buckeram vi y'ds, iiij^s, w^t a hear (a wig) of blacke flaxe, and a hed pece of dornix,† w^{the} by estimac'on ij^s iiij^d, w^t a sword price ij^s vj^d, w^t a pair of buskens of bridges satten, con' i y^d di. at v^s the y^d, vij^s vj^d; in all . . . lxviij^s ij^d

Irishewoman.

A mantele of red and blew satten paned, con' ix y'ds at vi^s viii^d the y'd, lx^s, lyned w^t red buckeram, v y'ds, ii^s vi^d, w^t a smock of yellowe buckeram, con' vi y'ds, iiij^s, w^t a hear of flax, worth by estimac'on iii^s iiij^d, w^t a girdle of red sarcenet, con' i q'ter y^d, xvij^s; in all, besides w'kemanship and other charges of provisio' . . . lii^s viii^d

Hunters.

vi huntinge cotes of russet damaske con' xxiiij y'ds at v^s ye y'd, viij^h, w^t vi hatts of the same, con' iiij y'ds, at v^s ye y^d, xx^s, w^t sleeves of crymsen taffata, con' 4 ells at xii^s ye ell, xlviij^s, lyned w^t red buckeram vi y'ds, iiij^s; in all, besides the w'kemanship and charges of provisions bought. ix^{li} xii^s

Juggeler.

A long coate and cap of blew satten w^t wide sleeves, con' viij y'ds, at viii^s ye y'd lvi^s, garded w^t yellowe satten ii y'ds, at viii^s ye y'd xvi^s; in all, besides ye w'kemanship and other charges of pvisions bought . . . lxxii^s

Tumbler.

1 gerkyn and a pair of sloppes of yellow and blew sat-

* It is evident from these entries that the attire of the Irish at this period was national and peculiar.

† Dornix, a coarse sort of damask made at Deornick in Flanders.

ten, paned, con' vi y'ds, at viiis^s ye y^d; all out of ye store,
xlviij^s

S'm totalis of the hole valewe of all the abovesaid per-
cells this yeare taken and spent owte of the store of the
King's Maties revells and tentes . . . cclxii^{li} xvi^s

The Lord of Mysrule, his charges besyds ye store
out of ye Revells.

Mearser, for his abovesaid sute of purple furred vellet
xix^{li} xvii^s vi^d, his counsellor and pages xxxv^{li} vs ix^d, besids
other silks and vellet—^{xx}iiii iij^{li} xviii^s iij^d.

Sylkewoman, for divers lace frange and other furniture
of silke and goulde to garnishe the same . . . xxvii^{li} ii^s vi^d
Apparelinge and furnishinge of him and his retynewe.

Draper for M. xxxviii y'ds of cloth for his yemen and
other baser officers . . . cxii^{li} xii^s vi^d

Tailour and karvers, for the workmanshippe of the same
lxvii^{li} viii^s x^d

Feltmaker for feltes . . . vii^{li} x^s

Skyunner and Fether maker, for furs and fethers,
xv^{li} viii^s viii^d

Horner for blowinge hornes, turner for daggers and
suyrtes, and other weapons, and the wyer drawer for his
coynes xlvs viii^d

Over and besids—

The charges of garneture and workemanship, w^t stuf and
other provisions bought and made of new this yer, for the
furniture of the said Lord of Misrule.

His TRIUMPH OF VENUS AND MARS, w^t their pageants,
maskes, and other furniture :—to the

Grocer, for painters stuf and the like necessaries xv^{li}

xiii^s. Painters xiii^{li} vii^s vi^d. Joyners cvi^s i^d. And Karvers workinge upon the same xvii^s viij^d. Basket makers, for workmanship of the same, and the stuf iii^{li} ix^s viii^d. Myllyner xxxvi^s iiij^d. Glover xvi^s, and others iiij^{li} xv^s ii^d for stuf spent about the maskes.

His Tiltes for his Justes and his play of execution.*

Karver, for hobby horses and other properties made for the same ix^{li} xviii^s. Carpenter, for the w'kemanshipp and stuffe of the same lxxi^{li} viii^s. Smythe, for the w'kemanshipp of the same and stuffe, xviii^s vi^d.

All manner of necessaries, tooles, and utensiles, occupied and spent about his furniture and doings, w^t cariages, bote-hyre, and other ordinary charges hereto dewly incident, xii^{li} vii^s ix^d.

^{c xx}
£.iii iiij ix^{li} iiij^s ix^d ob. (i. e. £.389. 4s. 9d.)

The whole dette dewe to be paid by y^e king's ma'tie to the creditors and workemen of their charges this yere and the last is ^cvii.xviii^{li} x^s ix^d ob. i. e. £717. 10s. 9d.

The remayne of the like charges of the said lorde of mysrule for the furniture of his retynewe and doings of the last year, with provisions bought for the same, beinge yet behinde and unpaid for, over and besides all that was taken and spent out of the store of the Kings Revells that year, about the same as by a declarac'on thereof will appear cccxxviii^{li} vi^s

* The sentence passed upon the King's uncle, the Protector Somerset, appears to have suggested this *play of execution* to the Lord of Misrule, to whose levity no event or circumstances, however serious, seem to have set bounds.

(23.)

Disguisings, Masks, Interludes, Plays, &c.

Michael Stanhope to Sir Thomas Cawarden. The Lord Protector, the Duke of Somerset, desires him to cause garments to be made for six Masks, of whom *the King himself will be one*: they are to be for persons of the King's stature. The jest appears to have been to keep the spectators ignorant which of the maskers was the King. Thus, in a scene of Shakspeare's Henry VIII. the King is described as entering with twelve maskers habited like shepherds; and Wolsey says:

“There should be one among them by his person
More worthy this place than myself—to whom,
If I but knew him, with my love and duty
I would surrender it.

Chamberlain. Such a one they all confess
There is indeed, which they would have your Grace
Find out, and he will take it.

Wolsey. Let me see, then.
By all your good leaves, gentlemen, here I'll make
My royal choice.

King. You have found him, Cardinal.

[*The King unmask.*”

See also Cavendish's Life of Wolsey, which appears to have been known to Shakspeare, and closely followed by him in many incidents of the play.

Gentle Mr. Cawarden,

My Lorde Protecto's pleaso' is that you shall cause garments to be made for vi maskes, wherof the King's Matie shal be be woon, and the residue of his statiore, end vi other garments of like bignes for torch bearers, w^t convenient diligence, so as the

same be in arredynes against Sondaye next at the uttermost, for whiche purpose his grace have commaunded me to write these my l'res to yo' accordingly. ffrom Westm'r the vth daye of februarie.

Your loving frende,

MYCHAELL STANHOPE.

To my verai loving frende Sr

Thomas Cawerden, knight.

(24.)

The Lord Paget to Sir Thomas Cawarden. The Venetian Ambassador requests the loan of some "masking geer."

Mr. Carden,

I commend me unto you. And wheras th'ambasador of Venice desireth to have certaine masking apparail to occupy for his pleasur, and for that purpose hath prayed me to helpe him to some apparail to serve his torne, I thought good herby to pray you of suche masking gere as remayneth in yo^r custody, to helpe to furnishe him as youe may for a night accordingly. Wherby you shall do me pleasure. And so I byd you farewell. ffrom the Sterr Chamber this tuysday the xith of ffebruary 155 . .

Yo^r loving ffrende,

WILL'M PAGET.

To my loving ffrend Sir Thomas

Carden, knight, and in his absence

to Mr. Holt, at the blackfriars.

(25.)

The Council to Sir Thomas Cawarden. Furniture and apparel to be delivered to the King's Players, in order to their playing before him on Christmas Day, 1551.

After our hartie com'endac'ons. Theis be to require yo^u to delyver to the bringer hereof, one of the Kings Ma'ties pleyers, oute of the store in your charge, soche apparell and other fornyture as theye shall have nede of, for their playeing before the King's Ma'tie this Christmas, taking order w^t them for the save garde therof, as yo' shall thinke convenie't. So fare yo' well. ffro' Grenewiche on Christmas daye a^o 1551.

Yo^r loving frends,

WINCHESTER. NORTHU'B'RLAND. J. BEDFORD.

PEMBROKE. T. DARCY.

W. CECYLL.

To our loving frende Sr
Thomas Carden, knight.

(26.)

The Council to Sir Thomas Cawarden. He is to prepare and put in order apparel for two personages, who are to play a dialogue before the King on 6th January (Twelfth Night) 1551. This warrant, dated from St. Laurence Pountney, seems to have been written at one of the recently suppressed religious-houses. Stow tells us that the parish church of St. Laurence was increased with a chapel of Jesus by Thomas Cole for a Master and Chaplain; and that both were made a college of Jesus and of Corpus Christi by John Poultney,

Mayor, confirmed 20th of Edward III. by that King, and surrendered to the Crown in the reign of Edward VI. Vide Stow's London, p. 414, Edit. 1613.

Mr. Cawarden,

After our herty comendac'ons. We shall requyre yo^u to putt in order and prepare the apparel of two personag's which to morow at night shalle playe a dialoge before the King's Ma^{tie}; this bearer Sr Thomas Chaloner shall declare unto yo^u the rest of the matt'r, how they ar to be trymmed, whome we pray yo^u credite. ffare ye well from St. laurence pountney vth January 1551.

Yo^r loving ffrends,

WINCHESTER. NORTHU'B'RLAND. J. BEDFORD.

W. NORTH'T.

G. COBHAM.

To our very loving ffrend Sr Thomas Cawarden, knight, oon of the Gentilmen of the King's Ma^{ts} Privey Chamber.

(27.)

Lord Darcy to Sir Thomas Cawarden. He is to deliver to John Birche and John Browne, the King's Interlude Players, such garments as are necessary for their performance before the King on Twelfth Night, 1551. This letter refers to the same occasion as the preceding.

After most hartie comendac'ons. The king's mat^s pleas^r is that upon the sight herof ye deliv' unto John Birche and John Browne, the king's entrelude players, bringers herof, suche garments as

you shall thinke mete and necessarye for them and ther fellowes to playe an entrelude in before his highnes to morowe at night. And thus most hartely I bid you fare well. ffrom Grenewiche this twelf even (1551)

Your loving frende

T. DARCY.

To o' loving ffrend Sr Thom^s Carden,
knight, M^r of the King's Revells.

(28.)

Thomas Copley, Esq. of Gatton, in Surrey, who will be noticed in another place, requests the Master of the Revels to lend him secretly for one night one of the *Masks* in his custody in order to celebrate his marriage, which is to take place on a Sunday at Nonesuch. He speaks of this event in a very melancholy and ungracious manner, and as if, indeed, some revellings would be wanting to enliven it. The Mask borrowed of Sir Thomas Cawarden must be understood to be the garments and properties necessary for representing it, and it may be also the MS. plot of the performance. Thus, in another place we found the entry, "furnishing a whole Mask with sarcenet."

Right w'shipfull, after my dutie remembered (as from one whom y^r curtesye and frendshipp hath embowldened at every need to presume one the same) thies maie be to require youe (if convenientlie you maie) otherwise I will not require hit, that hit might pleas you secretlie to lend me the use of one of y^r masks, for one night against this

mi marriage, w^{ch} (in ill howre to me) is leke to be solemnized one Sundaie next at Nonsiche. Wher my hoape is I shall see youe, and so I doo most hartelie require youe I may doo. My hoape is ther shall cume no harme of hit. My lady also I woold be verry glade to see ther, if hit maie stand wth her commoditee, but if for respect hit seem otherwise, then doo I beseech you that I may see her heer at Gatton the Wensdaie after. At w^{ch} daie I thynke we shall cume home, and her Ladi-shipp shall find heer none but her friends. I woold mi self have awaited upon you this daie, but that I am not able to ryde nor shal be, I fear, this iii or iiij dais, by reason of a strayn w^{ch} I have unhappellie mett wth. I beseeche youe, S^r, that my dewte may be allso humblie remembred to my goode lady. So expectyng y^e present awnswere (if youe shall so thynk meet) I wish unto youe quietnes, wth as fortunat succes in y^r affairs as I woold to my self. In hast from Gatton this xviiith of July 1558. By y^r assured poor friend to commaund during life,

THOMAS COPLEY.

To the w'shyppfull and my singular freend

S^r Thomas Cawarden geeve thies.

(29.)

Sir Henry Jernegan, Captain of the Guard to Queen Mary,
to Sir Thomas Cawarden, concerning a Mask to be shewn

before King Philip. Jernegan addresses the Knight as plain "Master Carden," who it appears had no masks in readiness fit for the King's critical eye, who had seen so many fair and rich beyond the seas.

Mr. Carden,

I have declareyd to the quenes hines that yo' have no other masks than suche as has byn shewyd all redy before the kyng's hynes, and for that he hathe syne many fayre and ryche beyend the seys, yo' thynke y^t not honorable, but that he shuld se the lyeke here; her hynes thyngks yo^r consyde-reysyon vere good, not w^t.standyng sche has com'a'dyd me to wryght to yo' sayyng to me that sche knows right well that yo' can make a schyffte for ned. Requereng of yo' so to do, and yo shall deserve gret thanks at her hynes hands, and yff yo' lacke stuff yo' may have some here at hand. I told her yo' lackyd notheng but tyme; but sche trustythe that you wyll take some payns for this p'sent, and thus I comyt yo' to God.

Yo^r frend,

HENRY JERNEGAN.

To my very frend Mr. Carden.

(30.)

Warrant under Mary's signet and sign manual, commanding the Master of the Revels, Sir Thomas Cawarden, to deliver out necessary garments to the Gentlemen of the Chapel Royal, in order that they may perform a *Play* before her at her Coronation feast, as has been the custom in the time of her royal progenitors, dated 16th September (1553). Mary was crowned on the 1st of October following.

MARYE THE QUENE.

By the Quene.

We woll and comaund yow upon the syght hereof furthw' to make and deliver out of o' revells unto the gentlemen of o' chappell, for a playe to be plaid before us at the feaste of o' coronac'on,* as in times past, hathe bene accustomyd to be done by the gentlemen of the chappell of o' p'genitoures, all suche necessarie garments and other things for the furniture thereof as shal be thought mete and convenyent by bill, betwyxt you and too of the sayd gentlemen. So as, the playe finished, suche part of the sayd garments may be restoryd into the office of o' sayd revells as customably heretofore hath bene restoryd, and this shalbe yo' warrant in this part. Geving under o' signett att o' mano' of Saint James's the xxvi of Septemb' the furst yere of o' rayne.

To the M' of o' Revells, and other the officers of the same, and to ev'y of the'.

(31.)

A warrant dormer from Mary the Queen, addressed to the Master and Yeoman of her Revels, commanding him to deliver to Nicholas Udall all such apparel as shall be necessary for him to set forth Dialogues and Interludes before her, for her regal disport and recreation. Udall was a Canon of Windsor, Master of Eton School, and an author of some celebrity in his day.

* "This play, by reason of deferment, was served at the the Christmas following." Note in one of the Accounts of the Master of the Revels.

By the Quene.

MARYE THE QUENE.

Trustie and welbeloved we greeete you well. And wheras our welbeloved Nicolas Udall hath at soondrie seasons convenient heretofore shewed, and myndeth hereafter to shewe, his dilligence in setting foorth of Dialogues and Enterludes before us fo' ou' regell disporte and recreacion, to th'entent that he maye bee in the better readinesse at all time whan yt shall be our pleasure to call, we will and comaunde you, and every of you, that at all and every such tyme and tymes, so oft and whan soever he shall nede and require yt, for shewing of any thing before us, ye deliver or cause to bee delivered to the said Udall, or to the bringer herof in his name, out of our office of revelles, such apparell for his use as he shal thinke necessarie and requisite for the furnisshinge and condigne setting forthe of his devises before us, and suche as maye bee semely to bee shewed in our royall presence, and the same to be restored and re-delivered by the said Udall into yo' handes and custodie again. And that ye faile not thus to dooe from time to time as ye tendre oure pleasure, till ye shall receive expresse commaundement from us to the contrary herof. And this shal be your sufficient waraunte in this behalf. Geven under our signett the iii daye of Decembre, in the seconde yere of ou' reigne.

To the maister and yeoman of the office of our Revells for the time being, and to their deputie or deputies theire and to ev'ye of them.

(32.)

Plot or Scheme of an Interlude, allegorical and satirical, endorsed, "Concernyng an Enterlude."

A Kinge,	honor w th wisdom	} A woman w th to [two] faces, and in each hand a glass	} Pride,;	a Pope.
A Knighte in harness,	knighthode, loialtie			A woman w th a payre of ballance
A Judge,	justice w th mercie		Envie,	a Fryer.
A Precher,	{ religion, w th Godde's Worde	} A woman w ^t a Bible in her arms	Covetus,	a Person.*
A Scoller,	science w th reson		Glotonye,	a sole Preste.†
A Serving Man,	{ servise w ^t affexion		Lecherye,	a Monk.
	Labor w th diligence	Labor, a woman w th many hands	Slothe,	a Hermit.

* A character wearing a mask. See the item subsequently cited, "covetous men with long noses."
 † Living *seul*, alone, in celibacy as a Romish Priest.

(33.)

Jousts or Tiltings.

Warrant under the sign manual of Edward VI. Sir Thomas Cawarden is commanded to furnish certain noblemen with stuff for bases, or body cloths for their horses. The beautiful outline etchings by Moses which illustrate Johnes's translation of Monstrelet's Chronicles, shew that horses, when decorated with their *bases*, looked as if they were attired in petticoats. We observe in these papers that Edward does not add the R. to his signature. Was this because he was still in his minority? We have seen a warrant of a similar nature to the following, under the signet of Elizabeth, which runs, "that you cause to be delivered to Sir Robert Dudeley, Master of our Horsis, twelf yardes of purple velvet, for the making of a sadle," dated 23 Nov. in the first of her reign.

EDWARD.

We woll and comaunde you, that of suche olde stuf remayning in yo^r custodie w'in yo^r office of the Revells, ye deliv' or cawse to be delivered unto o' right trustie and welbeloved the Earle of Warwick, S^r Henrie Sydney, S^r Henrie Nevell, and S^r Henrie Gate, knights, suche and so muche of the said stuf or as otherwyes shall be by them and you thought most meetest and sufficient for the furniture of their bases, and as shall appertaigne unto their horses accordingly. And this o^r I're shalbe yo^r sufficient discharge for the same. At Westminster thes. xxiiiith daie of November (1551).

To o^r trustie and welbeloved S^r Thomas
Carden, knight, M^r of the Revells.

(34.)

Coverings of Bards and Bases, from an Inventory of the Furniture of the Revels, 1 Edward VI. Some of these housings were probably, at the time of making the inventory, very ancient. We find them embroidered with the white hart of the second Richard, the blazing suns of Edward IV. the white and red roses, the Tudor dragon, besides various fanciful and romantic devices.

Covering of Bards and Bases.

Fyrst, one covering of a Barde of cloth of sylv' and russett vellett, embroderyd with the fawcon and fetterlock, wth rosis of clothe of sylv' imbossed.

2. One cov'ing of clothe of golde, clothe of sylver, and russet vellett, in panes, embroderyd wth the red dragon and rosis of crymson satten imbossed.

3. One lyck cov'ing of clothe of sylv' and russett vellett, in panes, embroderyd wth lyons, crownes, and sonne beamys.

4. One lyck cov'ing of clothe of golde, clothe of sylv' and russett vellett, bering the black bull garnyshed wth golde and whyte roses imbossid.

5. One lyck cov'ing of clothe of golde and russett vellett, plyd (pearled) embroderyd wth a ffawcon and ostriche fethers of sylv' imbossid.

6. One lyck cov'ing of clothe of sylv' and russett vellett, bering the whyte harte wth a crowne of golde abowte his neck, and a cheyne wth sonne beames of golde imbossid.

7. Two lyck cov'ings of clothe of golde tissue and purple vellet embroderyd wth a man of armes of sylv' ryding unto a monte, and a lady stondinge in clouds casting darts at him, wth harts and cyfers of golde.

8. Two large bases of the same stuff and worke.

9. vi coverings of bards of clothe of golde, whereof iiij

are waved wth clothe of golde reysyd wth whyte and red sylk with a border aboute of the king's worde.*

10. vi baces of the same w'ke and stuff.

11. Twoo baces of clothe of golde reysed wth red sylke, tylsent † satten, and black vellett, paned clock wyse.

12. Twoo baces of clothe of golde, blewe tilsent crymsin and pple vellett in clocks.

13. Twoo baces of clothe of golde, clothe of sylv' in waves, one halfe having a border of black letters and thoth' half having ii bounde welts of black vellett.

14. One bace of clothe of golde, clothe of sylv' and russett vellett, embroderyd wth whyte rosis, black bull, and cyfers of golde.

15. One bace of clothe of golde, clothe of sylv' and russett vellet, embroderyd wth cyfers, ffawcon, ffetyrlock, and rosis of crymsyn satten.

16. A bace of russett vellett, embroderyd wth flors of golde, bering the whyt hynde, and cov'ing for half a barde, of the same stuff and worke.

(35.)

Pageants.

A memorandum of certain dresses and properties delivered from the Office of the Revels to the City of London, against the Coronation of Edward VI.: no doubt for preparing a street pageant. The parties named in the document were perhaps performers in the show.

Delyv'd unto Stephyn Cobbe, George Todlowe, and Wyll'm Mostyne, the xth day of ffebruarye, in a^o reg. Ed. V^{ti} p'mo, for th' use of the Cytie of London, agaynst the Coronacon, theis p'cells folowyng, to be renderyd agayne unto the Office of the Revells, when that y^t shalbe re-

* Dieu et Mon Droit.

† This word of frequent recurrence is synonymous with tinsel, a kind of shining cloth.

quyred, viz. two cotts of hanchemen, of tynsyll and crym-
syn vellvett, panyd together.*

It'm, three garments for women, of grave golde sarse-
nett, p'ffyte (puffed) w^t whyt sarsnett.

It'm, ffoure garments for woomen, of whyte and
greane s'cenett, bended w^t theyr f'g (qu. fitting?) sleeves.†

It'm, one kyrtell, fore parte and backe parte of crym-
syn tylsett, lyned w^t reade satten of Bruges.

It'm, upper bodyes for the same of crymson clothe of
golde, w^t woorke w^t longe sleeves puffyd uppon w^t whit
s'cenett armys.

It'm, under sleeves of yelowe golde s'cenett, reived
wth whyt sylke.

It'm, one longe garment, blewe s'cenett fryngyd
yelowe of yt self, a cape purpull velvett fryngyd w^t golde.

It'm, a longe garmente of reade boytlyn garded stoole
woorke. A cape tynsell for the same.

It'm, one spyre ‡ for Astronomye.

* In Mr. J. G. Nichols's work on London Pageants (p. 46), we find a notice of the procession of King Edward VI. from the Tower to Westminster, in progress to his Coronation, on which occasion the articles enumerated in this list were required. *Henchmen* are mentioned in the cavalcade, "on goodly coursers, riding bareheaded, apparelled in cassocks *parted in the midst*, one half cloth of gold, the other cloth of silver." The above description of the cassocks or tabards worn by the henchmen, explains the expression derived from the Latin *pannus*, which describes them as "*panyd*" or joined together as one piece of cloth.

† These female dresses might be for the four children representing Grace, Nature, Fortune, and Charity, who pronounced a benediction upon the King at the Great Conduit in Cheap.—See *ibid.* p. 48.

‡ Read "sphere," or globe. At the fountain in Cheap stood persons representing "Sapience, and the seven liberal Sciences, Grammar, Logic, Arithmetick, Rhetoric, Geometry, Music, and *Astronomy*." *Ibid.* p. 48.

It'm, a neyther garmente, from the gyrdell downe, blewe and whyte bawdkyn, garded w^t gylde stole woork, the fore plackett greene tylsett.

It'm, an upper shorte garmente to the same, of crymson satten, garded w^t yelowe boytlyn, w^t blewe and whit bawdkyn sleeves, under sleeves of newemakyng (Nimeguen ?) satten, w^t byrdes yes (eyes), blewe and yelowe, cutt and lyned wyth whyt sercenette.

WYLL'M MUSTYN.*

(36.)

Miscellaneous Extracts from various Accounts relating to the Office of the Revels.

(The King's Revels, anno 31† Henry 8.) — A commaundement gevyn by the King's grace unto Sir Anthony Browne, and so unto John Bridges, in his gracious (i. e. his Grace's) pallais of Westm^r the 30th day of December, to p'payre, ordeyne, and make in a redynesse sertayne garments or apparell for a play ‡ to be don by the children of

* The endorsement of one of the players, acknowledging the receipt of the above properties from the Office of the Revels.

† The numerals in the originals are all in the Roman character.

‡ Fitz-Stephen, who wrote about the latter part of the twelfth century, alludes to dramatic performances of a sacred character, miracle plays, and seems to draw a contrast in their favour with the dramas of Greece and Rome, speaking more as a superstitious monk than a critic. About the reign of Henry VI. the pieces called Morals or Moralities appear to have been first performed, and in that of Henry VII. there were two sets of players attached to the royal household, the children of the

the chapell before the king, on newe yeres daye, at his gracious hono^r of Grenewich after supper.

Some of the items are; 4 jerkins of white damask; 4 pair of sloppes of ditto; 4 caps of ditto; 4 white feathers for the 4 caps at 15*d.* the piece; a long garment of red damask; white kersey, for the nether hose and socks, two yards at 2*s.* 4*d.*

A similar command to John Bridges to prepare garments for masks to be holden in his gracious pallais of Westminster on Shrove Monday 20 Feby at night after supper, and another on Shrove Tuesday at the same time.

Some of the items: 8 felts for the same mask at 6*d.* the piece, 4*s.*; 4 wreaths for the same of red and white sarcenet at 2*s.* 6*d.* the y'd, 10*s.*; spent upon the drums, 6 yards of blue sarcenet. 8 workmen half a day and half a night, at 6*d.* each; 4 girdles for the 4 gentlemen doing service with lights.

(Revels and masks at Hampton Court 28 Henry 8.)—8 felts like helmets, for men at arms, 2*s.* the piece, 16*s.*; 12 vizards with long beards, at 7*s.* 6*d.* 4*l.* 10*s.*: 8 vizards for torchbearers at 12*d.* 8*s.*

8 buskins, 23 pair of shoes of cloth of bawdkyn; to the milliner, for 7 hats of the same, at 1*s.* 4*d.* the piece, 9*s.* 4*d.*

6 cow bells, 2*s.*; wages of 8 painters, painting halberts, stockings, helmets, daggers, &c. at 12*d.* per diem, 28*s.*; 48 antique heads set on the knees, shoulders, backs, and breasts of the men at arms.

Chapel, and the Players of Interludes. Disguisings or Subleties, Mummeries or public processions in assumed characters suitably attired, Pageants, &c. were occasionally accompanied by dialogue. The transition from these to the regular drama was easy on the revival of learning in the sixteenth century.

(Charges of the King's Revels and Masks on Shrove Sunday and Tuesday at Westminster, 38 Henry 8.)—6 ells of white sarcenet for 8 parteletts (i. e. ruffs) 30s.; past-paper for the mytres of that mask 4s.; 5 yards of narrow taffata for the two bodies of the mariner's mask, 2s. 6d. the yard, 12s. 8d.; 12 ells of lockram for the collars about the neck, the cuffs at the hands, and about the waist, and about the small of the legs, 8d. the ell, 8s.; for 8lb. of bumbast* to the bodies of the same maiske, at 12d. the lb. 8s.; 8 vizars for the monstrous torch-bearers, and 8 heads, at 5s. the piece, 40s.; 16 yards of horse mane for the same torch-bearers, 20s.; 8 dog-chains for the same, at 4d. 2s. 8d.; narrow tape for parteletts and sloppes 16d.; 3 gross of points, at 3s. the gross, 9s.; 8 trunks (bodies) with necks, at 6d.; 8 pair of legs made with rods 10s.; 8 brests made with rods, 4d. the piece, 2s. 8d.; 8 trunks standing upon staves 5s. 4d.; 8 feathers made of rods, at 2d. the piece, 16d.; 8 broaches gilt with party gold for the hats of the Almaynes masks 4s.; 8 staves with roses and flower de lys, embossed and gilt with partie gold and silver 20s.; for dressing of wickers for 8 monsters, with linen clothe and scales of count' (counterfeit) gold, silver, green, and red paper 106s. 7d.; for 6 Emperor's arms for gilding and silver upon rosemary. To the king's pleyers, in rewards for loan of garments 5s.

To the wardens of St. Pulcre's (St. Sepulchre's), for the loan of certain frames for pageants 5s.; to Lucas Horneholte, painter, for painting with black upon paper, of 3 bulls and 3 small rolls 5s.

Masks and Revels at Hampton Court, 35 Henry 8.)—6 laborers to bear 2 chests from Westminster palace to

* Cotton to stuff garments, the word is derived from the Italian *bombagia*. The Prince addresses Falstaff as his "sweet creature of bombast." Vide Henry the Fourth, part 1, act 2, scene 4.

the Rounsevall,* 12*d.*; ii^{lb} of wire spent upon women and men's heads, 2*s.*; coopers, for certain hoops, 6*s.* 8*d.*; 2 car loads from Warwick Inn to Poules Wharf, 8*d.*; a wherry, to fetch the children's geer, 7*s.* 4*d.*; 8 yards of white cotton, for rolls to the Turk's heads, at 7*d.* the y^d, 4*s.* 8*d.*; 7lb. wool to stuff them, at 8*d.* 4*s.* 8*d.*; turner, for 16 doz. of knopped pers (piers with knobs), 16 doz. round knoppes, 58 doz. buttons, at 6*d.* the doz.; carriage of stuff from London to Hampton Co^t 20*s.*; 6 men to unlade and lay it up, 18 days, 12*s.*; carriage from water side to Warwick Inn 8*d.*; 1 doz. black feathers spangled † with gold, 2*s.* the piece; 5 doz. crane feathers, with gold 4*s.* the doz. 20*s.*; 4 round feathers, red and yallow, 4*s.*; 2 queirs of paper 8*d.*; 10 bundles brown paper 6*s.* 8*d.*; 6 m. party gold, 16*s.* 8*d.* per m. £5; rosin, wool, rosett 12lbs. 2*s.*; red lead, 6lb. 1*s.* 6*d.*; Spanish white, 12lbs. 4*d.*; gold and silver, green and red paper, Brasile 12*d.*; taillis 3*s.*; to (tow) 12*d.*; pasted burde 12*d.*; 8 bowes 2*s.* 8*d.*; 8 quevers 8*s.*; wages to painters, Nich^s Lezard 18*d.* per diem; some at 12*d.* some at 10*d.* some at 9*d.*

Charges of stuff and workmanship "of patrons for coots, cloks, and gerkins, made for the king's highness, before his grace went over sea last;" and of the Revels 36 Henry 8.

Mark Myliner for 42 y'ds of striped lawne with gold and red a' 3*s.* 4*d.* 7^{li}; paste work and painting, Nicholas Lizarde, painter, for gyldinge under garments for women, of white and blue sarcenet, with party gold and silver £4; 8 pastes for women 20*d.*; 8 long heads for women, made of past gilded, with party gold and silver 43*s.* 4*d.*; 8

* The suppressed hospital of Our Lady of Ronscevalles, at Charing Cross, a Cell of the Priory and Convent of Ronscevalles, in Navarre.

✓ † "Ouches and Spangs as they are of no great cost, so they are of most glory." Lord Bacon's Essay on Masques and Triumphs.

staves with snakes 24s. ; 16 vizars, gold and silver 40s. ; 8 hoods 53s. 4d. ; for heere (hair) bought 8s.

(38 Henry VIII.)—Payment by Nich^s Bristowe, esquier, for the charges of the king's masks and revels, at th'onor of Hampton, from 16th July to 6th Sept^r, the Admiral of France being there, with other nobles from thence.

John Large, of Paris, merchant, parcels bought of him and del^d at Hampton Cote, 200 y^{ds} of gold and silver lawn a' 2s. 4d. ; 16 doz. vesars (vizards) of sundry fashions, at 20s. the doz.

Henry West, of Crooked Lane, girdeler, for 8 greate chaynes of latten, for torche-berers, 22s. 8d.

Nich'as Modena, paynt', for garments of here upon lether, for wildme',* to s've for torche-berers, wth theyr hed peces, staves, and clubbes, takin in great for all, 15^{li}.

Gilding chains and iron balls for buttons, painting clubs green, gilding the hilts of falchions, painting the scabbards, 3 doz. of long coppid felts (i. e. broad brimmed hats) a' 7s. the doz. 21s.

(1 Edward VI.)—Charges of removing the King's Revels and Masks, with appurtenances, from Warwick Inn to the late dissolved house of Blackfriars ; also new making and altering sundry masks and garments for players, against the Coronation of o' sov. lord Edw^d 6, from 1st to 28 Feb.

* Satyrs, or savage green men, so much in vogue in the mimic entertainments of this period. One of these giants of the woods welcomed Elizabeth on her visit to Kenilworth. They bore a prominent part in masques, they stood in sculptured portraiture at the portals of the great, they were the whiffers or marshalsmen in pageants and processions, when their ponderous gnarled or bristly maces were charged with fire-works.—See the Editor's account of the Grove House, Woodford, Gent. Mag. for 1833, vol. CIII. part ii. p. 393, and his notice of them in a Review, *ibid.* 1834, vol. I. p. 413. See also a subsequent item, p. 86.

Paynting. John Simson, paynter, for gilding and painting in sondry colors, of 20 fachells* and holmats, for maskers, at 12*d.* the pece, 20*s.*; for painting and gilding 8 javelins staves, and 4 pilgrimes staves, at 10*d.* the pece, 10*s.*; and for a great pastburde, gyldyd w^t fyne golde, for the making of crownes and crosse for the Poope† in playe, 3*s.* 4*d.*

To Will'm Tayllor, haberdassher, for making 3 caps of crimson and black satten, for prests in play, taking 12*d.* for every one, the king finding stuff, a doble turff cappe of vellett white and grene chekyd, making a little hed pece for a play of sylv' lawne, and a hed pece of black tylsent brother'd (i. e. embroidered) a' 12*d.* the pece.

To Nych'as Modena, stranger, for as well his owne wages and 22 other carvers' wages, workeing upon the mouldyd w'ke appertayning to the mount,‡ as also for clay,

* Fawchells in another place. Qu. small daggers? a diminutive of falcions.

† In ridicule of the Pope, as the next item is of the Popish priests.

‡ The mount was probably the same apparatus for a pageant which had been employed some forty years before, in the reign of Henry VIII. and had been laid up in the store of the Revels as a valuable piece of machinery. Hall's description of the artificial mount is as follows: "Agaynste the xii daye, or the day of the Epiphanie, at nighte, before the banket in the Hall at Richemond, was a pageaunt devised like a mountayne glisteringe by night, as though it had bene all of golde, and set with stones; on the top of which mountayne was a tree of golde, the braunches and bowes frysed with golde, spredynge on every side over the mountayne with roses and pomegarnettes. The which mountain was with vices (screws) brought up towards the Kynge, and out of the same came a ladye apparelled in cloth of golde, and the chyl dren of honor, called the hench-

plaster parys, sewett, whyte paper, flower, glewe, syes, wax, here, colis (i.e. coals) for drying, with other necessaries.

Joyners working upon the making of the mount, taking it downe at the Black Fryers, framing it againe wthin the saintory (sanctuary) at Westm^r, taking it down there, setting up in the king's hall, taking down, carrying and setting up agayne at the late Black Fryers. Sum 2*l*. 14*s*. 8*d*.

John Simson, painter, for gilding with partie gold 3 ropes for branches of the hall, at 10*s*. the pece, 30*s*.; paynting of the mounte, repairing the braunchis 70*s*.; and paynting of 34 hedds and coots (coats) for antique boyes app'tayning to the said mounte 20*s*.—Sum' 6*l*.

Sum of all the charges of the mount; and of the paynting of the roofis and braunchis for the hall (of the palace at Westminster) 34*l*. 18*s*. 1*d*.

In a list of "Masking garments for men," are these items:—8 large coopes or mantells of clothe of golde tissue, blewe, fryngyd about the skyrts and over the back wth colen (Cologne) sylv' wth a caape of whyte s'cent, powderyd, the vents lyned wth whyte s'cent.

men, whiche were freshly disguised, and danced a morice before the Kyng, and that done, re-entred the mountaine; and then it was drawn backe, the wassail or bankit brought in, and so brake up Christmas."—Chronicle (reprint), p. 517.

We remember a German of the household of the late Queen Caroline, making what he termed a *Christmas tree* for a juvenile party at that festive season. The tree was a branch of some evergreen fastened on a board. Its boughs bent under the weight of gilt oranges, almonds, &c. and under it was a neat model of a farmhouse, surrounded by figures of animals, &c. and all due accompaniments. The forming Christmas trees is, we believe, a common custom in Germany: evidently a remain of the pageants constructed at that season in ancient days.

8 gownes or und^r garmentes of playne clothe of sylver chekeryd upon wth red s'cenet, wth squares of grene satten in the same, wth sleeves of clothe of sylver; 8 upp' garments, clooks, or skaplers, for the same, of yelowe and blewe baudkyn.

8 coots for Turks of clothe of golde, wth w'ke, viz. p'ple, black, and grene, gardyd upon palywyse wth blew s'cenet, longe sleeves of cloth of gold and blewe satten, th'under sleeves of red and whyte s'cenet, lozunge weys; 8 hed pec's to the same, Turke fashion, of blewe, red, and yelowe s'cenet.

8 shorte garments or cassocks for fawkeners, wth wyde sleeves endented, lyned with grene satten, 4 of them of clothe of golde, black, wth chevrons, one of grene tylsent damaske sylver chevronyd upon wth grene velvet, th'under sleeves of grene tilsent damaske sylver, su' of them cuffyd at the hands, wth vellet whyte and grene checkyd, and hed pees to the same, made lewer wyse of red gold s'cent, trymyd wth whyte reband, s'cent, and capons fethers; 8 greate baggs of whyte fustyan wth doble rings; 8 riche lewers to the same of sundry making.

2 garments for fryers, wth the hudds of vellett upon vellett russet, perlyd wth golde; two coffs of damask golde flatt; four lyck coffs damask gold stole w'k, one coyf, sylk, womans w'ke Venys gold.

7 vezars for Allmaynes, wth berds of damaske golde; . . . ffachells of wood payntyd, 23 holmets, 6 pilgrymes staves, 8 holbarts, 6 shephooks, 6 roundes for extronomie, 8 javelyn staves payntyd, 8 macs (maces) payntyd.

2 hatts of crymsin satten, rewed wth sylver.

Masking garments for women: First, one kyrtell coat, fore p'te and back p'te of blewe vellet, stripyd wth golde, ffryngd wth silke and lyned wth s'c'n't, wth one pair of fore sleeves of crymsyn satten, rewed and reysyd wth gold.

Two kyrtyll coats, fore pte and back pte of pple til-sent, fringed wth golde and lyned wth blewe Briges satten, twoo pair of foresleves of the same.

8 Italian gownes for wome' wth ruff sleves, 4 ditto of flatt clothe of golde, stryped wth sylv^r, cheveronyd upon w^h crymsyn satten, wth labells or pendants of yelowe s'cen't, hanging of great tassells at the skyrts, the neth^r base cut upon whyte s'cen't shott, 4 of flatte clothe of sylv' striped wth golde, wth ruffe sleves, neth^r sleves, labells, tassells, chevornes, as th'oth' fyrst 4, the neth' skyrts of clothe of golde tissue blewe; 8 coyffs of Venys golde, wth th^r peruks of here hanging to them, and longe labells of coleryd lawne. 5 coyffs of venys golde wth peruks of here.

Two garments for frowes of whyte sylv' s'cen't, the sleves paned upon wth clothe of golde, the colar gardyd wth clothe of golde; two frocks und^r the same, w^hout sleves, of black tilsent; two ptletts of crymsin satten, rewed wth sylv^r gardyd wth grene vellett; twoo gyrdells to the same of black vellet edged wth pcemayne gold (lace worked with the hand); two hed pecs to the same.

8 garments for Moores, of whyte sylv^r lawne, wth wyde sleves, gardyd aboute skyrts, sleves, and colers, and overthwarte wth clothe of golde and tilsent; 8 hed pecs or coyffs to the same of lyck stuff, having p^uks of here ev'ry of them.

2 frocks or und' garments for Egipcians of tawny tilsent wth sleves; two shorte mantells for Egipcians of crymson golde baudkyn, fringed wth colen sylver; twoo hed peces of the same of sondry color lawne; two childerne to the same, redy trym'd, having coyffs of Venys gold; 8 coyffs of golde and sylver lawne, sondrye colors; 13 p^r of fore sleves, new, of sundry color lawne; 8 ptletts of sylver lawne, 2 trymd wth Venys golde, 4 stonderds, one black cheste bound wth irone, 2 other chests unbound.

Remaynyng in the lesser blake cheste in the store howese. First, 2 coyffes of goldsmyth's worked sylv' and gylte; 3 sylver and gylte stoole woorke; 1 towell of moryske woorke, wrought wth gold and silke wth four handkercheves of the same woorke,* wherof one ys reade; a shert of cambryke wrought wth damask golde and silv' the coler, breste, and fore sleeves; one frocke wth sleeves and greate wyde hangyng sleeves of black tynsell, brochid (clasped), colere, capp, and edges furred with jennetts and catts, (skins) w^t one head pece after th'olde fashion, of purpull gold s'cenet.

It'm, one frock of tawny tylsent, broched w^t sleeves, a lytell cape and edging aboute w^t cloth silv'; one gowne and cappe pryste fashion of crymson satten; one jerkyn yelow w^t ruff sleeves, th'under sleeves greane vellett garded w^t tylsent, w^t one cappe to the same of crymsen satten.

It'm, one lyke jerken, of greane vellett garded wth tylsent, antique, w^t one under sleve of yelowe vellett and one cape doble turffe of grene satten, w^t one false face, to be set to of yelowe vellett, garded w^t a cutt garde of crymson satten.

It'm, one gyrkyn, one peyre of buskyns, one skabarde, and one cappe of vellett, whit and greane cheked (i. e. checquered) garnyshed w^t gold s'cenett.

It'm, one cotte w^t great cumpas q'ters of greane damaske, th'under sleeves of blake cloth golde, w^t chev'ones, w^t one button cappe† to the same of crymson satten.

* These rich handkerchiefs of Moorish work will remind the reader of Othello's present to his wife, from the loss of which Iago drew so strong a confirmation of his jealousy.

† From the capricious nature of the spelling in these accounts, we are often somewhat at a loss to determine whether caps (bonnets for the head) or capes to garments are intended. In this entry a cape to the coat, with great compass quarters, is

Fees.*—It'm, one long frocke w^t sleeves of whit gold s'cenett.

It'm, one wyndyng sheete of Incarnac'on lawne,† stryped w^t crosses of crymson satten, w^t one antique head peace of crymson satten and blew sarcenett.

(Shrovetide, 2 Edw^d. VI.)—Charges as well translating of masking garments and making of 4 new masks, one for men, one for young women, two for women, carrying from the Blackfriars to Greenwich, and re-carrying, as also in making an oven ‡ for the king's players.

6 hed pieces for women, with hair and flax, taken by convention (contract) at 10s. each; 8 y'ds of black vellett at 10s. 6d. for 8 pair of long gloves above the elbow, for Mores, and labells for the nether § bag of one garment; white, yellow, and blue sarcenet, for making and lining certain masking garments; "tuffing and garding other, and for makyng of rolls, wrethes, and gyrdells."

Launcelot Strong, glover, for making the above gloves, 8d. the pair; also for making 6 pair of gloves of "gotts skynes" for the same, a' 8d. the pair, and for 6 goat skins for the same gloves, a' 10d. 5s.

probably meant. The miserable and affrighted taylor in Catharine and Petruchio, when the latter audits his bill, in the charge for a loose bodied gown with a small compass cape, trunk sleeves, curiously cut, confesses "*the cape*." See Catharine and Petruchio, act 4, scene 3.

* These, as many other items in this account, are marked "Fees;" i. e. that they had been re-purchased, I suppose, of the wearers, as such. See a subsequent item, p. 83.

† Qu. flesh-coloured lawn?

‡ What this edifice was, is not easy precisely to define. Was it a property introduced in some interlude?

§ "Base" in another account.

Iron wyre 5^d the lb.; latton wyer 6^d. the lb.; caps of coarse *budge* at 8^d. the piece. Pynes 3000 at 10^d.

Will'm Hobson, haberdasher, 12 doz. bells to hang upon the labels of the Moors' garments 9s. 6^d.*

To John Sturgeon, ironmonger, for di m^l englyshe takis 6^d.; for makyng the oven for the kyng's players.

John Guye, for 2 doz. di. black goat skins for Moors, at 10s. the doz. 25s.

Rob^t Arras, joyner, timber for 7 darts, hire of his servants 6 days, making of swords, helmets, and also an oven for the king's players 26s.

John Symson and Walter Grome, paynters, for making of 2 patrons (patterns) for masks 10s.; payntyng of 12 swords a' 10^d.; d^o darts a' 10^d. for c party golde, 22^d.; for coloryng of the here of a whole mask of women, powdering of 8 robes 2s. 6^d.

Nicholas Modena, moulder, for 6 heads of heres (hair) for masks, a' 10s., 60s.; trimming, colorg, and linyng 16 vy-sowres, at 12^d., 16s.

Mark Myliner, a white saten night cap, for a patron.

John Holte, yoman, for money by him laid out for h're of a bardge on Shrove twesday from the Blackfriars to Greenwich 6s. 8^d; d^o from Greenwich to the Black Friars again 6s.; for a whyre (wherry) to carry one mask of women from the Black Friars to Greenwich, and charges

* The Moors here mentioned were probably representatives of the genuine Morisco or Morris Dancers. It is supposed with much probability that this dance was brought into England about the year 1332, when John of Gaunt returned from Spain. Their persons were decorated with numerous bells, of which the item is an example. It will be seen by this and numerous other entries in these accounts, that attempts at appropriate costume in amusements of a dramatic character is no modern invention.

there by night 2s.; 2 whyres ditto for a mask of men, with Mr Hall and his men 3s.

To Anthony Toto,* s'geante paynto', in rewarde for his paynes takyng by the space that this workyng lasted, in drawyng of patrons for the masks 20s. Soff p holte (i. e. paid by Holt) £82. 15s.

(X'mas, 2 R. Edw. VI. from 26 Sept.)—Charges for translating of garments for torchbearers, with the bordering one whole mask with sarsenet bought for the same.

To John Holt, yoman, for money by hym layd oute, viz. for 17 ells hollande clothe for albes, surplyces, and headclothes, at 13*d.* the ell, 18*s.* 5*d.*; for 20 shetts paper, gylte, sylver, greane, and reade, for the Kyng's crowne, and a trypped (triple) crowne, at 2*d.* the sheate, 3*s.* 4*d.*; for 6 lb. candells 12*d.*, for di. m. threade of divers colors, 18*d.*; for the water-caryage of hangyngs from the blake ffryers to the co^{te} at Westm', and the recarriage of the same, 20*d.*; for the makyng of a dragon of 7 heads, w^t allnecess' to it, 30*s.*; for a doz. heares and beards, at 2*s.* 4*d.* the pece, 28*s.*

(X'mas, 3 Edw. VI.)—Translating and new making garments for maskers, torchbearers, players, with carriage to Westm'r, in X'mas holidays, &c. &c.

John Hutchinson, haberdasher. 9 felts for hermytts, and covering the same, by great 12*s.*

* Anthony Toto del Nuntiato was also Serjeant Painter to King Henry VIII. He was one of those Italian artists whom the King (who greatly patronized pictorial talent) induced to enter into his service. He had endeavoured to enlist even Raphael and Titian in the number. "Toto's works," says Walpole, "are all lost or unknown, his fame, with that of his associates, being eclipsed by the lustre of Holbein." See Anecdotes of Painting, vol. i. p. 94.

Grene, coffer maker, 8 lanthornes for the hermytts,
6s. 8d.

Jenyns, plum' (plumassier). 8 feathers for the launce
knyghts, and hattts, by great, 20s.

Sir Thomas Cawarden, for money laid out for gold skins
and gold and silver paper for girdles, 7s. 8d. and for vysers
30s.—37s. 8d.

Rob't Huson, 2 pieces of popinjaye greane 49s.

Anthony Fenner, turnour, for 9 great bead stones
coloured 13s. 4d, for 9 little bowls 8d., and 8 palmers
staves 5s. 4d.*—19s. 4d.

* The maskers in this list must have represented some ro-
mantic story. Here are anchorites, or hermits; a well-known
order of recluse in the Romish times, confined to oratories
placed near sacred fountains, at the foot of bridges, and in wild
and romantic situations, where they were supposed to pass their
time in prayer, in holy and philosophic meditation; lance-
knights, whose occupation need not be defined; and palmers,
or pilgrims to the Holy Land. The attire and properties of
some of these characters may be almost made out in detail
by the items. Sir Walter Raleigh, in the little poem called
his Pilgrimage, gives a lively sketch of a Christian pilgrim,
keeping the attire of these ancient devotionists in his eye :

“ Give me my *scallop-shell* of quiet,
My *staff* of faith to walk upon,
My *scrip* of joy, immortal diet,
My *bottle* of salvation,
My *gown* of glory (Hope's true gage),
And then I'll take my pilgrimage.
Blood must be my body's only balmer.
No other balm will here be given,
Whilst my soul, like a quiet palmer,
Travelleth towards the land of Heaven,
Over the silver mountains
Where spring the nectar fountains,
There will I kiss the *bowl* of bliss," &c.
Remains, London, 1657, p. 194.

To Waplett, the payntour, for painting of 9 globes, at 10*d.* the pece; gylting 22 bowls at 1*d.*; writing of 9 pieces of canvas to be sown on the garment's baggs 9*d.*; for coloring 9 fryers' gerdells at 1*d.*; painting 12 fawchins at 12*d.*; 12 helms at 12*d.*; 10 pylgrymes' staves at 10*d.*— Sum 43*s.* 2*d.*

John Holte, yoman, for money laid out, a doz. candles 6*s.* 8*d.*; 2½lb. bl'k thread 3*s.* 2*d.*; for whip cord and paste for the hermits eares, 12*d.*; for di. a lb. of colored thread 10*d.*; for m^l m^l m^l pins 2*s.* 6*d.*; for straw to stuff the bags, 4*d.*; for string and cruel for tarssell and bottons for hermitts hatts 2*s.* 8*d.*; for 4 payer of showes for Almanes 2*s.*; for russhes for the store house 12*d.*; for tallwood and billettts 9*s.*; for the hyre of a carre to Westm^r, and wayting ther 2 nights and recarying the masks 4*s.*; layde oute for bote hyre to Westm^r, and to the black fryers agayne, at sondrye tymes abowte the masks, 16*d.*

To Rob^t Bruer, Thom^s Phenixe, and Thom^s Curson, w^t other two, (drumes and ffyffe) in reward, for that they restored theyr garments the 2 nights that the mask was, 10*s.* a piece, 50*s.* To Felstead, for the making 9 globes, with all things necessary for theyr making, at 16*d.* the pece. To Thom^s Blakesmythe, for 8 hylts for palmers' staves, a' 3*d.* the pece.

Items extracted from an account intituled, "New makinge, translatinge, garnishinge, and furnishinge of divers and sondrye garments, apparell, vestures, and properties, as well for the King's Majestie in his persone as his yonge Lordes, and divers plaies and persones for plaies and other pastimes done and shewed in his graces presence, with often change and alterac'on of the same, to serve his majesties pleasure and determinac'on from tyme to tyme, as the same was comaunded at Christmas anno quarto, and

Shrovetide in anno quinto of his reigne, and the plaies and other pastimes, as well of the king's bardes, bases, caparisons, and hangings belonging to the Revells, for the save guard of the same, all which were made, translated, fynyshed, and ayred (aired) between 23^d of December, in the said fourth year, and the last of July, in the said fifth yere of his raigne.

Maskes, plaies, and other pastimes.—2 women's heres at 2s. 4d. the here; 7 heres for men made of horse hear, at 2s. the pece; 8 heres made with flaxe, for workmanship and coloringe, 3s. 4d. the pece; hier of an yrishe bagpipe player on twelf night, 3s. 4d.; Anthony Toto, for diverse his attending in the Revells, for drawinge and devisinge for painters and others, 20s.; William Hobson, for a doz. pastboard of the largest sorte, at 3s. 6d. the doz.; for head peces, crownes, and miters, for players; a doz. of cappes made of lamb skynnes, at 10d. the pece; 23 yrishe swordes at 16d. the pece; painting 14 yrishe swordes at 6d. the pece; 68 Irishe darts at 6d. the pece; painting the same at 2d. the pece; 8 gaddes,* at 10d. the pece; painting 18 ells of lockram fleshe colour; painting William Somers'†

* Gaddes, (poinards.) The derivative is the same as goad; both from the Saxon *gab*, to prick.

† Will. Somer, or Somers, the celebrated jester of King Henry VIII. and who appears to have enjoyed the same office in the following reign, was at first a servant in the family of Richard Farmer, Esq. of Easton Neston, in Northamptonshire, an ancestor of the Earl of Pomfret. This gentleman was found guilty of a præmunire in the reign of Henry VIII. for sending two groats and a couple of shirts to a priest convicted of denying the King's supremacy, who was then prisoner in the gaol at Buckingham. His estates were confiscated, and he was reduced to the greatest distress. To the honour of the Court

garment 16*d.*; a pair of hosen for William Somer 12*d.*; painting 25 targetts at 2*s.* 3*d.* the pece; 20 farochens (falchions) at 11*d.*; rewarde to a bagge piper 3*s.* 4*d.*; glover for blackmores hands 9*s.*; property maker, men and womens heeres for attire of maskes and like purposes, 45*s.* 3*d.*; taylors soinge upon garments, by day and nighte £6. 8*s.*; joyners working upon swordes, targettes, dartes, and other weapons of wood, 79*s.*; carriage by water of the garments and other furnytur, to the places where they were occupied 8*s.* 8*d.*; mearser, yelow and crimsyn sarcenet for Yrish smockes, head peces, cowles, and girdeles, laying abrode, turninge, soinge, mendinge,* tackinge, making clene, spunginge, wipinge, brushinge, fouldinge, and laying upp the king's bardes, bases, caparisons, hanging garments, and other stuff and store of the office (of the Revels) from the 3^d of June, anno regni quinto, to the 9th of the same moneth; the charges for tailours and other attendants, at 8*d.* the day, 50*s.*; officers attending 58*s.*

Garments and properties for the Lord of Misrule, his retynewe, masks, tryumphes, and doings (Christmas 5 Edward 6.)—one furr of *drakes' necks* for facyng and furringe the Lord of Mysrule's gowne. Making a vice's coote for John Smith, of white and redde damask, figured

Fool, it is recorded that he was deeply affected at the deplorable condition of his unhappy former master, and that he, in the King's last illness, made use of the licence of speech with which his office was privileged, to utter some expressions which so affected the conscience of the King, that he restored to Mr. Farmer the remnant of his dismembered estate.—See Granger's Biographical History, vol. i. p. 208.

* In other accounts occurs the barbarous compound term "Servyshablynge," i. e. rendering of service.

with goulde churchie worke,* furnished with p'cement lace of blacke silke and goulde, making, garnishinge, and trymynge a dissard's hooede of clothe of golde for John Smith 12s.; James Wright, bargeman, 42 yards of watchet † and whight, to cover the poope of the Lord of Misrules brigandyne, for his workemanshipp of the same, 4s.; a pair of stocks and a pillory for the Lord of Misrule; 6lbs. of white counters for small money at 2s. the lb.; 2 bags to put it in for his coffers (for alms to be dispersed by his cofferer); Nicholas Leveret, for a dragons head and a dragons mowthe of plate, with stoppes, to burne like fier, 5s.; for trymmyng of 4 boxes with plate for the same 2s.; 2 fier boxes, 12d.; carriage of a sarpent and other things from Walbrook to the Blackfriars, 4d.; Stable (the Lord of Misrules) 13 hobby horses, whereof one with 3 heads for his person, bought of the carver for his justs and challenge at Greenwich. Armury.—One sclavoye blade and one bylbo ‡ bronde; the garnishing of them 2s. 8d.; one poyneado of wood § turned with a ladle, and a bauble pendant, 4s.; painting 4 maces 1s. 4d.; 5 clubbes with pikes, one hollowe to burne squybbes in, 11s. 4d.—Colbrond clubbes, 2 turnyd, 4s.; daggers of wood, 2 ditto, 4s.; 6 squyrtes of wood turnyd, instead of gunnes, for his combat, 12s.; one headyng ax, the joyners worke and painting, 3s. 4d. Armure. Harnes of white paper, made for the shew of a Midsummer

* Embroidered with a Gothic pattern; as Chaucer's Parish Clerk had "Poule's windows carven on his shoes."

† Sky-blue.

‡ This explains what Pistol means by a *latten bilbo*, a Bilboa brand made of latten, that is, a mock sword of mixed metal, instead of steel. See Shakspeare's *Merry Wives of Windsor*, act 1.

|| In another place, "Vice's dagger."

fight.* 20 shertes of male, 30 moryen hed peces of canvas, a harnes of borde, and 3 of paper for Will. Somers to fyghte in.

The Lord of Mysrule's holds, prisons, and place of execu'on, his cannypie, throne, seate, pillory, gibbet, hedding block, stocks, litle ease, and other necessary incydents to his person, 18s.; a toile to serve for his chalenge to just on foot with hobby horses, 35s.; 3 dozen of chyme bells at 6s. the doz.; 3 doz. of fox bells at 2s. for the furniture of his canapie.

Masks and Plays.—George Allen, for coveryng of 6 counterfeit apes of paste and cement, with gray coney skynnes, which were made to serve for a maske of bagpipes to sit upon the topp of them lyke minstrells, as though they did play, by great (i. e. in the gross) 6s. 8d.; the same for furringe or coveringe 6 great tayles of wycker made for a mask of catts, all covered over with catt's tayles, taking 30 doz. of catt's tayles for the workmanship (whereof agreed with him, by great) 6s.; 8000 glasyers annells of glas and stone holowe counterfett lyke bace stones, 16s.; 12 doz. of wooden roundes, to be foyled and sylvered like counterfeit perles, 12s. to garnish the hed peces of the mask of catts.

Properties and weapons provided for a mask of Greek Worthyes.—A great clobb for one of them representing Hercules, 4s.; cutting of leaves for the garmentes, 5s.; 8 targottes of sheldord and fyne joyned worke, 32s.; powlronds (pouldrons) of paste and cement, lyke lyonns' hedds, for theyre shoulders, at 4s. the pece, 32s.; 13 lyonns' hedds

* That is, in imitation of the grand procession of the Civic Guard, customarily held in London on the eve of St. John the Baptist, attended by maskers as giants, morris-dancers, and pageants, and styled the Midsummer Watch.

more, trymmed with heare for their buskynnes, at 2s. the pece; 8 hedd peces for the same of paste and cement mowlded like lyons hedds, the mouthe devouringe the mannes hed * helmet wise, at 6s. 8d. the pece; fether maker, for coloringe 36 doz. of fethers, and makinge the same into greate plumes, to stand shell-wise † overthwarte the hed peces of the worthyes of the Greekes, and there torche-berers, drome, and fyfe, and other furniture of the saide maskes; 6 fawchons of tymber very fayer, the heftes and pomells lyk the hedds of gryffons, at 3s. 4d. the pece; 6 paire of oxen leggs and counterfett feete for satyres, being torche berers for the same maske; for divers properties provided for a mask of medyoxes, ‡ being half man half deathe, whereof 8 were maskes and 6 torche berers, vidz. for the bodyes, leggs, and armes of the same deathes, 108s.; for 16 hed peces for the same, double visaged, th'one syde lyke a man, th'other lyke death, 32s.; for 6 targettes for the maskers of them, made of borde-joyned, with dede beastes hedds in them, at 3s. the pece, and for six longe dartes for the same, 6s.; 8 pair of leggs and half bodies with legg pieces, lyke armes and hands, joyned together, hed peces for the same of past and cement mowlded worke, for tumblers to go upon their hands, § at 25s. the pece; 6 doz. of gloves for the maskes, men and women,

* The helmet had the appearance of an open mouth devouring the head of the wearer

† The plume overhanging in a concave form, like the hollow of a shell.

‡ This word, we believe, is not to be found in any glossarial treatise; it is evidently formed from the Latin adjective *medioximus*, without strict reference to its import, and signifies masks divided by the middle, as these were, half man half skeleton.

§ The tumbler thus attired, his arms made to resemble legs,

with their torche berers, drum and fife, and ministers; basket-makers, osier rodde and twiggs, and binding stuff provided to make a mask of bag pipes, and 6 great tails for the mask of catts; barrel-hoops provided for the mask of bagpipes made of hoops and wickers; Brydgett, the bagpipers wife, for a pair of loud pipes, 10s.; for a pair of soft pipes, 6s. 8d. for the mynstrells to play on that went in the mask of bagpipes; wyer drawer for white plate and wyer, to make flowers, and winding plate about head pieces (i. e. for wreaths); foragemonger, for hay provided for stuffing deaths; turner, rolling gynnes to wind packthred; candles, links, and rushes, to strow the office for the workmen to sit on; gold better, 5000 of sylver at 10s.; 1000 of party gold for gilding and garnishing bagpipes, weapons, and utensils.

From the 3^d day of January, in the 6th yeare of his reigne (Edw. 6) to the 16 day of February next, and then left unfinished for a time upon comaundement (by occasion that his grace was syck) and the shew thereof deferred till after May day; furnishing a play of the state of Ireland and another of children set out by Heywood; * Anthony Toto,

and his legs like arms, a mask on his breech, by alternately turning his face to and from the spectators, made his real position laughably equivocal. We may smile at our ancestors for enjoying these practical jests; but our Christmas pantomimes prove that our own taste is little different.

* Mr. Collier observes, in his *History of the Stage*, vol. i. p. 116, that about 1530 John Heywood, a player on the virginals, began to write his interludes, which productions formed an epoch in the history of our drama, as they are neither Miracle plays nor Morals, but pieces played in the intervals of entertainments, having broad humour and strong character to recommend them. They were, he conceives, an entire novelty, and they gained the author an extraordinary reputation. Heywood was

for painting an Irish hawlbert, sworde, and a prage (dagger), which parcells were prepared for the play of Ierland, and for paintinge of a cote and a capp with Ies (eyes) tonges, and eares for fame,* in the hole 4s.; making, painting, and pasting a crown of gold paper and buckram, 1s. 6d.; an Irish hed pece of Irish fryse, 6d.; 3 yards of grey carsey for an Irishman's cote, with great and longe plyghts; 4 yards of orange-coloured frysado, at 4s. the yard; 24 ells of lockeram for making of 12 cotes for the boyes in Heywood's playe, at 12d. the ell; hyer of properties, William Baldwyn, for the hyre of heers, beardes, and devell's apparell, and other attyre for players of him borrowed, 6s. 6d.; his boat hire to carry the same to the court; helmets mowlded like morrion helmetts, the fronts like griffin's hedds, with Cerberus, in forme of a grayhound with three heads, standing on the crest, very faire.

X'mas, 1 and 2 Phil. and Mary. A mask of patrons of gallies like Venetian senators, with galley-slaves for their torche-bearers; a mask of 6 Venuses or amorous ladies with 6 cupids and 6 torche-bearers to them, and certen plaies made by Nicholas Udall and ther incydents; 8 daggers for patrons of the gallies of paste and cement moulded worke, at 2s. the pece; 6 lions' hedds hole of paste and cement; karver. 16 hed peces of ashen hoope wood in much in favour with Queen Mary, and, according to Granger, is somewhere mentioned as Jester to King Henry VIII. He died about 1565.

* This allegorical personage in the time of Shakspeare maintained her post on the stage. In the Induction to the play of Henry the Fifth, we have the stage note "Enter Rumour, painted full of *tongues*," and she tells the auditors —

"I from the orient to the dropping west,
 Making the wind my post-horse, still unfold
 The acts commenced on this ball of earth;
 Upon my *tongues* continual slanders ride," &c.

queynte and straunge fashion by him made and prepared for the men turkes maskers, at 4*s.* the pece; 8 fawchons for the said turkes magistrates, very faier, the hafts, locketts, chapes, and cement mowlded worke, the shethes covered with grene velvet, and bullyend with copper, very fayer, at 6*s.* 8*d.*; other fawchons for the said Turkes archers that were torche-berers, made all of tree, carved with mens heades, of sundry fassions fayer, at 3*s.* 4*d.* the pece; 8 hed peces for women's maskes, goddesses, huntresses, at 20*d.* the pece; 8 quevers, 3 square, w^t arrowes in every of them for the same, very faier, at 2*s.* 8*d.* the pece; 8 bowes for them at 12*d.* the pece; 8 dartes of tree for the Turkie women that were torche-berers, at 16*d.* the pece; a mask of 8 maryners, of clothe of golde and silver, with 8 other maryners to their torche-berers, of silke sarcenet and taffata prepared against halon tyde; mowlded worke for the Venuses' hed-peces at 3*d.* the pece; 8 bowes with arrowes fastened in them, and goinge thorowe the bowes with a clapp,* for the Cupids of the said mask of Venuses, at 16*d.* the pece; 8 quevers with 3 arrowes a pece in them, to hange at the backes of the said cupides, at 2*s.* 8*d.* the pece; 8 doz. of buttons to be turned for bothe the maskes of men and women, at 12*d.* the doz.; basket makers working upon properties by task; 6 pair of shackells and cheynes to them of wicker work, for the galley slaves, at 16*d.* the pece; making of 6 fruiterers' baskets of wicker for the torche-berers to the women maskers, at 3*d.* the pece; hier of a barge with 8 oars and 2 wherries for carriage of the said masks, their torche-berers, dromes, fieffes, apparel, with all their properties, furniture, chests, and hampers, by water, from the office of the Revels to the court, attending the same in the afternoon and very late at night 15*s.* 4*d.*; a mask of 6 Turkes

* Discharged with a noise.

magistrates with 6 turkes archers the torch-berers ; a mask of womenlike goddesses, huntresses, with Turkey menne, the torche-berers, made against Shrovetide (1st and 2^d Philip and Mary); a maske of 6 Hercules or men of war comynge from the sea with 6 maryners to ther torche-berers, prepared at St. Androe's tyde, against the brekyng up of the terme ; a mask of covetus men with long noses ; a mask of men like Argus ; a mask of women Mores ; a mask of Amazons ; a triumph of Cupide, with pageants of Mars and Venus, their torche-berers and attendants ; a mask of black and tawney tinsell, with babuns (baboons) faces ; a mask of Pollenders (Polanders), a mask of soldiors to ther torche-berers ; a maske of women like Diana hunting, a maske of matrons to their torche-bearers. The total of two years expenses of the Revels in the 4th and 5th of Edward VI. was £865. 12s. 8d.; that of the 6th year £406. 1s. 10d.; the grand total of 18 pay books, from the 4th of Edward VI. to the 1st and 2d of Philip and Mary, both inclusive, is £1622. 13s. 4d. evidently very considerable sums, according to the value of money in the sixteenth compared with the nineteenth century. On a dateless paper found among Sir Thomas Cawarden's Accounts, is a memorandum to the following effect. "Item, for a peynted boke of Mr. Hans Holby's making, 6^{li}."*

* A book illuminated by Hans Holbein, the great painter employed by Henry VIII. It is said that the Earl of Arundel, returning from Italy through Basil, saw some of the productions of Holbein's pencil, and advised him to go to England. He was first employed by Sir Thomas More, and subsequently taken into the service of Henry VIII. Holbein died in London of the plague in 1554, in the 56th year of his age. It may be remarked, as a circumstance coincident with the above entry, that one of Holbein's earliest works is recorded to be the illuminating the margin of the "Moriæ Encomium" of Erasmus, with the characters described in the book.

(38.)

STATUTES OF THE KING'S REVELLS.

Constituc'ons howe the King's Revells ought to be usyd:

Fyrst, an Invyntory to be made by the Clarke controwler and Clarke, by the Survey and apowenting of the mastyr of the Revells,* Aswell of all and singular masking garments wthall thear furnyture, as allso of all bards for horsis, coveryng of bards and bassis of all kynds, wthall and singular the appurtenances, w^{ch} Invyntory, subscribyd by the yoman and clarke, ought to remayne in the custody of the Master of the Offyces and the goodes for the saeffe keepyng.

It'm, that no kynd of stuff be bowght, but at the apowentment of the Master or his depute Clarke controwler, being counsell therin, and that he make menc'on therof, in his booke of receipt w'ch ought to be subscribyd as aforseyd by the Master.

It'm, that the Cla'ke be privey to the cutting of all kynds of garments, and that he make menc'on in his booke of thyssuing ow^t howe moche it takyth of all kynds to ev'y maske, revelle, or tryumphe, w'ch boke ought to be subscribyd as afforseyd by the Master.

It'm, that the Clarke kepe check of all daye men working on the p'misses, and to make two lyger boks of all wags

* The officers of the Revells and their pay, from another document : Master, Thomas Cawarden, at 4s. per diem ; yeoman, John Bridges, at 2s. do. ; Clerk Comptroller, John Bernard, at 2s. do. ; Clerk, John Colyer, at 1s. 6d. do. ; Groom, Thomas Hale, at 1s. 6d. ditto.

and provisions of all kynd whate so ev', th'one for the paye master and th' other for the Master.

It'm, that no garments forseyd, bards, cov'ying of bards, bassis, or suche lyck, be lent to no man wthout a specyall comaundment, warrant, or tokyn, from the Kyng's Matie, but that all be leyd up in feyr stonderds or pressis, and every presse or stonderd to have two locks a pece, wth sev'all (i. e. distinct) wards, w^h two keys, th' one for the Master or Clarke, and th' other for the yoman, so that non of them cum to the stuff without th'other.

(39.)

Tents, Toyles, Banquetting Houses of Boughs, and other erections in the field.

The Council, from the Palace at Oatlands to Sir Thomas Cawarden, as Master of the Tents and Toiles, "certain banquetting houses and other devices of pleasure, are to be made of green boughs, and his assistance is required. As he cannot for the sickness * (the plague) approach the Court, he is to send some fit person in his room. These diversions of the Court in the open field, it will be seen by the date of the paper, were projected in midsummer. Stow tells us of a rural banquetting house made in the year 1581, for the reception of certain Ambassadors out of France on the south-west side of the Queen's palace at Whitehall, which must have been in the garden, near the river, 332 feet in circumference (therefore a circular pavilion or tent). "The top of this house was wrought most cunningly" over the canvas work "with ivy and holly, with pendants made of wicker rods, garnished with bay, rue, and all manner of strange flowers garnished with spangles of gold," an ingenious device to produce the effect of drops of golden dew; it was also "beautified with teasons" (festoons) "made of ivy and holly, with all manner of strange

* He was then probably at his house in London, at the Blackfriars.

fruits, as pomegranates, oranges, pompions, cucumbers, grapes, with such like, spangled with gold and most richly hanged; betwixt these works of bays and ivy was great space of canvas, which was most cunningly painted with the clouds, stars, the sun beams, with divers coats of sundry sorts belonging to the Queen's Majesty, most richly garnished with gold." The cost of this "Hall" thus decorated with ornaments from the vegetable kingdom, was £1745, a most enormous sum for that day. See Stow's Annals, 4to. edit. p. 1179.

After o' verye hartie comendac'ons, where as there be certaine banquiting houses of Bowes (boughs) and other devises of pleasure to be gon in hand withall very shortly; fforasmuch as we consider ye have had good experience heretofore in lyk things, albeit we understande ye cannot, by reson of the sicknes, repaire presently h'ither yo'selfe, yet have we thought good to pray you to send suche pson hither furthw'th as ye shall thinke meate and handsom, therefore (if ye cannot cum yo'self) to th'ende he may go in hande therewth, whereof we praie you not to faile. And so we bid you fare well. ffrom Otelandes the xviiith of June 1554.

Yo^r loving ffrendes,

STE. WINTON, Cancell.

ARUNDELL.

PEMBROKE.

THOM'S NORWICH.

T. CHEYNE.

WILL'M PETRES.

JO. BOURNE.

RIC. SOUTHWELL.

To o' very loving frends Sr
Thomas Carden, knyght.

Miscellaneous Entries from the books of the Revels, relative to temporary banquetting houses erected in the field (4th Edward 6th).—Banketing howses two, the one in Hyede parke, conteynenge in length 57 feet, and in bredth 21 feet of assize with a halpace staier,* conteining in bredth the one way 60 foote, and the other way 30 foote, and over the same a type or turret garnished. One other house in Marybone parke, conteyninge in lengthe 40 foote. The same adjoined, framed, made and wrought of tymber, brick, and lyme, with their raunges and other necessary utensyles therto insident, and to the like accustomed. And 6 standinges whereof were in either of the said parkes, 3, all of tymber, garnished with boughes and flowers, every of them conteynenge in length 10 foote, and in bredth 8 foote, which houses and standinges were so edified, repaired, garnished, decked, and fynyshed against the Marshall Saint Andrewes comynge thethere by speciale and straight comandement as well of the late King as his Counsell to Sir Tho^s Cawarden, Knt. Mr of the said office of Revels, and Lawrence Bradshaw, surveior of the King's works exhibited for the same, w^t earnest charge done, wrought, and attended betweene the 27 of June and the 2 of August in the said year.

Examples of wages paid to different artificers employed on the above works, for 22 days "at all hours, a space to eat and dryncke excepted."—Carpenters at one penny the hour, bricklayers ditto, labourers a halfpenny the hour, plasterers eleven pence the day, painters seven pence and six pence the day. Charges for cutting boughs in the wood at Hyde Park for trimming the banquetting house, gathering rushes, flags, and ivy; payment to the Lady Daunsye for 2 loads of scaffold poles; Robert Venardo, for turning 6 great bases

* A step for the dais or haut-pas.

for pillars at 3s. 4d. each; Anthony Toto, the sergeant painter, for antique moulded heads; painters under John Ledys (Leeds) for painting furniture appertaining; taylors, for sewing roofs and borders; basket-makers working upon windows.—£7. 2s. 10d. The total charge for erecting the banquetting houses in Hyde Park, on this occasion, was £169. 7s. 8d. In a subsequent similar account an item occurs “for workinge of clothe in the second storrye (of the banquetting house) with the counterfeits of King Henry, King Edward, and Queen Elizabeth £6. 13s. 4d. In a fragment of an old account, 502 yards of battlements at 2d. the yard.

(40.)

The Lords of the Council direct Sir Thomas Cawarden, to appear before, them, that they may audit his account for the Revels, Tents, and Toyles.

After o' hartie com'endac'ons. Yt hathe pleased the Quenes mat^{ie} to appoynte us with others to take yo^r Accompt for the Revelles, Tentens, and Toyles. Wherfore we require yo^u to be before us uppon Mondaye, being the xith daie of this present. And to bring wth yo^u suche books as yo^u have, conteyning all things belonging to those offices. Wherof faile yo^u not in anye wise. And we bidde yo^u hertelie farewell. ffrom the courte, the ixth of Marche, A^o 1554.

Yo^r loving friends,

JOHN GAGE. ROB'T ROCHESTER. WILL'M PETRES.

To o' loving freind Sr Thomas
Carden, knight, geve thes.

For the Accompt of the Revylls.

(41.)

Halls (i. e. large tents) appointed for his Majesty's horses, round houses (lodging tents) for the officers of his stable, on a progress or march, a curious document without date, but of the time of Henry VIII. It shews the sumptuous equipage which attended our monarchs on a journey.

Hales appontyd for the King's Mat's hobbies, geldyngs, corsers, muletts, sompter horsesses, appointed for his own use, beyng in number 108, w^t also for dyvers officers of his mat's stable as hereafter insueth.

In p'mis for 12 of the hobbies and gelydyngs for the kyngs ma^{ts} own saddell, a hale w^t a round housse at the end for the equerries of the hobby stable to ly in.

It'm, for 12 corsers for the kyng's ma^{ts} saddele to be rydden uppon w^t the henchemen, a hayll w^t a round housse at the end for the equerries of the corsers stable to ly in.

It'm, for a Barbery horse, 2 moylls for the saddell, 4 litter muletts, 3 bottell horse, a male horse, 2 p^c (pack) horse, a horse for carriage of the kyng's Ma^{ts} stole* for the stirrop, in the hole 14, 1 hayll.

It'm, for 10 gret horse† to be rydden uppon w^t the ryders; a hayll w^t a round housse at the ende for the ryders to ley in.

It'm, for 60 of the gret horse, geldyngs, muletts, and carriage horse, that is to witt, for every 20 one hayll, 3 haylls.

It'm, for the clerke of the stable, w^t the kyngs ma^{ts} stuff, a hayll for dressyng and kepyng of the same stuff, and a round house at th' end for the clerke to lye in.

* Mounting stool.

† Managed horses.

It'm, for the 3 avenors* for the safe keyng and custodye of theyr bokes for the takyng of the purveyors rekenyngs from tyme to tyme, 1 hayll.

It'm, for the Sergeaunt of the Cariages, and Sergeaunt fferor (farrier) for theyr stuff and to worke in, 1 hayll.

It'm, for the sadleyr, styrrop maker, and byt maker, for ther stuff to ly in, and them selff to worke in, 1 haille, w^t a round housse at th' end.

It'm, for the 3 surveyors, and the man whiche hathe the custody of all the horse clothes, tramells, pastornes, colors (collars?), horsecornes, w^t paylls for wateryng of the horse, and the mesure for servyng of the horse with ots (oats) 1 hayle.

It'm, for the horses of the ordenance of the kyng's mat^s stable, that is to saye, 2 for the horse of the close stoole, 1 for the ffoolys (fools) horse, 4 for the Master of the horse, 2 for my lord Harbard (Herbert), 10 for the 5 equeryes, 6 for the 3 clarks of the averey, † 2 for the clerke of the stable, 6 for the 3 surveyors, 2 for Mr. Ogle, 2 for the Sergeaunt of the Cariage, 2 for the Sergeaunt fferor, 5 for the 5 ryders, 1 for the marshall fferor, 4 for the foure purveyors, 3 for the thre garnators, 1 for the yeoman of the saddell, 1 for the yoman of the stirrop, 1 for the yoman of the close carre, 3 for the thre yoman fferors, 3 for the thre grome fferors, 5 for the gromes of the stirrop, 1 for the keper of the litter muletts, 7 for the sompter men, 2 for the p^cman (packman) in the hole number 76. M^d if it please the kyng's mat^{ie} to have a hundred geldyngs moo, then ther^sis

* This title is derived from the old French, *Avenour*, Comptroller of the stable.

† The depositary for provender; this has probably the same derivation as Avenor, from *avoine*, oats.

‡ Qu. A close carriage with aseat? In a subsequent entry we find the *close carre*, probably the same vehicle.

to be appoynted, to every 20 of them one hale, and so on in all, 5 hailes.

And if his hignes plesure be to have 200 geldyngs moo, then ther is to be appoynted, for every 20 of them one hale, and so in all 10 hailes.

(42.)

The Clerk of the Tents to Sir Thomas Cawarden. Curious allusion to the manner of riding as an express.

Pleaseth yt yo^r w'shippe to be adv'tysyd that yester nyght there came a post from the corte w^t two letters, the one the post w^t a horne about hys nek, blowing as he came through olde fyshe streete, to Mr. Hale,* the other was browght unto us to the Blake fryers, w^t sylence. I wolde not have stykyd (sticked) to have gevyn the post a crowne to have had one blaste blowen w^t his horne at my dore for honors sake. The copy of o^r letter ys herto annexyd, but for my m[']rs (master's) I cannot attayne. Yesternight at vii of the cloke or anon after, I sent to hym for the coppye of his letter to have sent yt to you, and then he wase a bed and a sleape, and could not be waked for xx^{li}, and this daye I sent to him betwyne iiij and v, and he was gone ij owers afore. The effecte of hys letter was that he sholde receve by a byll indented all the howses, and that he alone shold after they were shypyd, repare northward. And thus I pray as I am bounde, that the Holy Goste have you in hys

* Groom of the Tents, Hales, &c.

kepyng. From the late Blakeffryers the xth daye of June.

Yo' s'vante to comande at all tymes,
 THOM'S PHILIPPS, w'ch beryth in a
 manner this* offyce in the tents.

My Cosen Barnard † go'th this morning to the
 co'te to speak w^t my lorde chamberlayne.

(43.)

Copy of the Earl of Arundel, Lord Chamberlain's Letter to the
 Officers of the Tents, annexed to the preceding.

Ye shall understand that my lord protecto^r wyl-
 lyth you to delyver unto Hale, out of the office of
 the Tents, all suche Tents and Rownde howses, and
 howses as were of the old store, and be newly made
 of the kyng's howse. Indentyng w^t them for the
 receipt therof, accordyng as I have wrytten unto
 hym. What other warraunte yo^u desyre for the dys-
 charge of M^r Cawarden prepare you, and send yt
 hither, and I shall attayne (procure) the same
 sygned. Forsee upon yo^r parell that there be no
 tyde loste throwghe yo^r falte. Fare you well.
 From the corte this Whyt soneday.

Yo^r Frende,

ARONDELL.

* He means the office of Servant, he being Clerk of the
 Tents, &c. so last in order of the officers of that department.

† John Barnard, Comptroller of the Tents, &c.

*Miscellaneous Entries relative to the Royal Tents, Halls,
Pavilions, Toyles, &c.*

(36 Henry VIII.)—Wages of artificers, &c. employed in making five score single roofs, every of them being of five breadths of vitrye canvas * $3\frac{1}{4}$ yards deep, having 12 points in every end ridged and stavyd with red buckram, delivered at Bollogne,† to the Lord Deputie there, taking up out of ships the kings tents, haies, pavilions, and timber houses. Ships, and hoys, occupied in the carriage of the King's Mat^s tents, haies, and pavilions, from Boulogne to the Tower wharf, taking after the burden of the said ships 3s. per ton; the Pelycan, John Verne Master, 65 tonne; the Andrew Vandergoose, Jacob Rayne Master, 40 tonne; the John Van Machlyn, Gylbert Fyshe Master, 40 tonne; the Jesus of Calais, Adryan King Master, 70 tonne; the Bull of Calies, Cornelys Cornelyson Master, 40 tonne; the George Bonaventure of London, Richard Read Master, $53\frac{1}{2}$ tonne; long carts and cars carrying the aforesaid from the Tower Wharf to the Charter House,‡ every long cart taking 6d. the load, and car 4d. To Fraunces Taxe, paynter, for these parcells following, by him bought and provided, to be occupied in and about the king's timber houses, at the Camp before Bollogne. First, for the horns to mend the windowes after, 3s. 4d.

* In other items vyctrye canvas.

† It appears by a bill indented at that time between Sir John Gresham and Sir Thomas Cawarden, with the other officers of His Majesty's Tents, that there were provided by the said Sir John Gresham 70 ballets of fine brown canvas, containing 15,600 ells of canvas; 20 trusses of French buckram of divers colours, containing 1904 pieces; which items shew how considerable the camp equipage for this expedition was.

‡ It will be observed that many of the dissolved monasteries were employed as government storehouses, as convenience suggested.

the C. 6s. 8d.; 8lb. of ledd redde caste, at 1d. the pounce, 8d.; 6lb. of sother (solder) 4d. the pounce 2s.

Left in the captaynes hands of his grace's towne of Bullen 300 Targetts* for scalling the walls.

(37 Henry VIII.) Payments for conveying tents, haies, pavylions, and tymber houses, from the Blackfriars to Cobham Park, there setting up the same. Among other charges on this service: Nycholas Haryson, of London, glasyer, for cc horne occupied at Chobham Parke, in reparynge of wyndowes at the settinge up the Kyng's Majestes howses ther, a' 3s. 10d. the c. 7s. 8d.; to the Church wardens of Chobham, for waxe spent of the churches in stopping of holes in sere clothes (cere cloths) over the King's and Quene's Chamber. Hobson, of London, mercer, for 20 bolts of browne threde, a' 2s. 4d. 40s. 8d. Will'm Smith, hackneman (*hackneyman*) for one horse, by the space of 6 days, occupied in fetching sundry necessaries from London, Chertsey, Stanes, and Wynd-sore 2s. In a fragment of an account, a charge for *gilding* the lead of the horn windows.

38 Henry VIII.—Charges for carrying the King's haies, timber houses, &c. from London to Hampton Court and Oatlands. Will^m Kendal, of London, wax chandler, for m. m. c. di. xviii lb. (two thousand five hundred and a half and eighteen pounds) of wax spent upon the searyng (ce-ring) of 1647 yards of new vytrye canvase for the covering of the tymber houses and banketing nowses, taking for every pound so spent 6d. Thomas Chappell, of London, upholster, 9 y^ds of red say for mending the roses of the King's round houses, at 9^d the y^d. John Alard, glasyer, for m^l lanterne hornes, for ye wyndowes of the tymber houses, at 2s. the c. 20s. Charges for land carriage of Tents from Oatlands to Twyknam Park.

* These were pavises or large covering shields used by the soldiers in such operations.

(1 Jan. to 24 Feb. 1 Edward VI.)—Charges for taking downe all the kinges own lodgings that were hanged up for to drye. Carriage of two longe hales from the black friars to the Tylte yarde at Westminster, and there set up at the triumphe for the men at armes; the same taken down and brought agayn to the Blake friars.

(2 Edward VI.)—Charges for drying the tents, halles, and ruffs (roofs) that came from Skotland wetted in the shippe. (3 Edw. 6.)—Artificers repairing round howses, charges for leather, ground tackle, crow feet, rope stakes, betells, iron work for 6000 stakes, at 20s. the 1000; 30 betells at 4*d.* the betell. (6 Edw. VI.)—Charges for repairing the King's Maties toyles for his disporte in huntinge agaynst his progress northward.

Extracts of an Inventory of unserviceable tents, halles, and pavilions of the King, and therefore probably very old camp equipage.—A great hale with the sonne beams, containing in the walls 40 bredths of canvas, 6 feet depe, and in the roof 7 bredths of 11 foote depe in every end 26 yards, with crow-foote ground tackling, a roof of a round house to the same of 52 gores, 13 foote hie. A rownde house garnished with blue buckram, laid on with red rounde lace, having token of a lyon, another 14 feet high, garnished with blew, and a red rose on the top; a hale bearing the token of the grey hinde (qu. hound?); a hale bearing the token of the flower de luce; a rownde house bearing the token of a harte; a jacks (jakes), a cre-saunte to the same; a hale bering the token of the mone; beasts of tymber paynted, a lyon, a dragon, two gray hounds, and a don cowe, a bare (bear's) hide, lyned with whyte and grene; a pece of another bere hide; 6 charets bodis without wheles; 4 cart bodys without wheles.

(44.)

Ordinances of War promulgated by Henry VIII. on occasion of his expedition to Boulogne, A. D. 1513.

This rare and probably unique printed pamphlet, which has all the rarity of a Manuscript, was found in one of the old chests in the Muniment Room at Loseley, and had probably belonged to Sir Thomas Cawarden, who we may suppose attended the royal army in his capacity of Master of the Tents.* It consists of certain statutes and ordinances of war enacted by Henry VIII. for the government of his forces, previous to his expedition into France, with an army royal, for the purpose of recovering the provinces in that Kingdom, of which Henry VI. had been in possession.

This enterprise was undertaken in the 4th year of Henry's reign; he constituted Katharine his consort Regent in his absence, passed the seas to Calais on 30th of June, 1513, and putting himself at the head of an army consisting of about 9000 effective men, laid siege to Terouenne, a frontier town of Artois, which had been considered as impregnable. Here the Emperor Maximilian came to the King in quality of his soldier, wore the cross of St. George on the surcoat of his body armour, received an hundred crowns per diem as his pay, and was lodged in a tent of cloth of gold. Having captured Terouenne, he next beleaguered Tournay, which was also reduced. In the mean time it will be recollected that the Earl of Surrey had

* Sir Thomas, then Mr. Carden, had an allowance of 78*l.* for coats (provided on this occasion we imagine) for 490 footmen, or infantry. He had conduct or marching money for them at a halfpenny per mile, bringing them from various places to Dover. For three petty captains, being *horse*, he was allowed 2*d.* the mile.

gained the victory of Flodden Field, and James the Fourth, the ally of the French King, was in that memorable conflict slain. These events led Louis XII. to negotiate terms of pacification.

The occasion of forming this Book of Military Statutes is expressly detailed in the paragraph with which they are summed up towards the conclusion.

“For as moche as our sayde soveraygne lorde, for the inwarde love, tendre zeles, and entyer affecyon, which he bereth naturally to his subiettes, beyng of his said hoste and armye, would be lothest and most displeasaunt to se or understonde any of them to do that offence wherby he shuld deserve the lest punyshment by the sayd ordynaunces provyded; his Hyghnesse therefore desyreth and tenderly prayed * his sayd subiettes to consydre and understonde his good spede in his sayd journey, the honoure of this royalme, and the wele and suretie of the same his subiettes, stondesth upon the observacion of the sayde statutes, wherfore though it be to the grettest hevynesse and displeasure, yet must he of necessytye, when the case it requyreth, se the sayd statutes executed and the offenders punyshed.

“In consyderacyon wherof, he wylleth and straytly chargeth his sayd subiettes to have them selfe in so good awayte, that in no wyse they offend the sayde statutes, and to th’entent they have no cause to excuse them of theyr offences bypretence or† ignoraunce of the sayd ordenaunces, his hyghnesse hath, over and above the open proclamacyon of the sayde statutes, commaunded and ordeyned by way of *Emprynte*, dyverse and many several bokes conteygnyng the same statutes, to be made and delivered to the capitaynes of his hoste, chargynge them as they wyll

* Sic.

† Misprint in orig. should be “of.”

avoyde his great displeasure, to cause the same twyes or once in every weke holy (wholly) to be redde in the presence of theyr retynue."

These were probably the first *printed* Regulations promulgated to the English Army, and were the foundation of the "Rules and Articles for the better Government of his Majesty's Forces," commonly known as *the Articles of War*, which are now read at the monthly muster of every regiment in the service.

Grose was not aware of the existence of this printed tract, and we have ourselves searched the stores of our great national depository, the British Museum, for it, in vain. The author above-mentioned, in his History of the English Army, says, the military code of Henry VIII. is preserved in *manuscript* in the College of Arms (in a book marked W.S.) It is said in the title page to have been printed in 1524 by Thomas Berthelet.

The same authority recapitulates the different orders for preserving discipline in the English Army, beginning with the instrument in form of a charter, published by Richard Cœur de Lion, on his setting forward to the Holy Land, in which the enactments are brief, and in a spirit suited to the barbarous manners of the age; if a man killed another, he was to be bound to the slaughtered corpse and buried with it alive. If he wounded his comrade with his dagger or knife, he was to lose his hand. If the injury was confined to a blow, he was to be punished with a good ducking. If he cursed and blasphemed, he was to be fined. If he committed theft, he was to have his head shaved like a

* The earliest tract of this kind in the Museum Catalogue (Lib. Impress.) appears to be one intituled, "Statutes and Ordynance for the Warre," 4to. London, 1544.

† Vol. I. p. 71.

champion in legal duels (*ad modum campionis*), boiling pitch was then to be poured on the tonsure, and the place was to be well feathered with the contents of a pillow, for the sake of distinguishing him (*ad cognoscendum eum*.) The above brief charter of military penalties is to be found in the first volume of Rymer's *Fœdera*, p. 65. The next ordinances on record are those of the 9th of Richard the Second, 1385, and must, we suppose, have been issued on occasion of his expedition into Scotland, with knights, esquires, archers, and camp followers to the extraordinary number of 300,000; a body that was likely indeed to require some strict system of military police. These regulations are extant in the Cotton Library, and in substance bear much similarity to these printed ordinances of Henry the Eighth, A. D. 1513, preserved at Loseley.

Other regulations to be noted, are those of Henry the Fifth, circ. 1418; and those of Henry the Seventh, before the battle of Stoke, in Lincolnshire, where he quelled the formidable insurrection in favour of the mock Edward Plantagenet, Lambert Simnel.*

The regulations of Henry the Eighth follow next in order, and they were doubtless imitated and improved on by succeeding monarchs, as occasion might require, until they settled down into the form of our present Articles of War, corroborated by the act "for punishing Mutiny and Desertion, and for the better Payment of the Army and their Quarters," which sanctions, by the necessary authority of Parliament, from time to time, the keeping a standing army within the United Kingdoms.†

It might be tedious here to insert the heads of this ancient military code *verbatim*; we shall therefore content

* Bacon's History of the Reigne of K. Hen. VII. p. 35.

† Preamble to the Mutiny Act.

ourselves with a description of the typographical peculiarities of the tract, and a summary abstract of its contents.

It is printed in quarto, in a bold black letter character, and headed :

Hereafter ensue certayne Statutes and Ordinaunces of Barre, made, ordeyned, enacted, and establyshed, by the most noble, victorjous, and most Crysten Prynce, our most dreade Sowerayne lorde kynge Henry the VIIII.

Underneath is the impression of a wood block representing the arms of France and England quarterly, supported by two angels.

The arms of Castile. The badge of the double rose (white and red) surmounted by a crown, in the centre I H S for *Iησους*. On the back of the leaf, two shields, one charged with the Arms of France, the other with the arms of France and England quarterly. Above is an angel, holding in each hand a sceptre, his head surmounted by a cross. Underneath the shields two portcullises, surmounted by eagles; between them, in the centre, a peacock, the badge of the Emperor Maximilian. In a border round the above, various badges,—the antelope, portcullises, and roses as before, the hart, the greyhound, the dragon, three escutcheons surmounted with ducal crowns, the centre charged with the three ostrich plumes, the badge of the Princes of Wales.

The preamble follows, which sets forth that our Sovereigne Lord, Henry of this name the Eighth, King of England and France, Lord of Ireland, “entendynge with all godly spede to passe over the see in his owne persone, with an *Armye and Hoste Royall* for the repressynge the great tyrannye of the Frenche Kynge now lately comytted and doon, as well in usurpyng upon Cristes Church and the patrymonye of the same, and in rasyng, norryshynge, and

mayntenynge a detestable scisme in the sayde church, to the great inquetacion of all Cristendome, as also in deteynyng by vyolence, reames,* landes, senyories, and dominions of dyverse and many Prynces, &c. &c. . . . And inasmoche as for the honoure of his grace, suretie of his hoste, and for th' atchevyng of his most noble purpose, it apperteigneth and behoveth aswel t'ordre his folkes of the warre in justyce by y^e mynysters of y^e lawe, as to arrayne them in batayle by the chieftaynes of his armye, his Hyghnes by thadyce of suche lordes of his blode, capitaynes of his armye, and other folkes as be of his counsayle, hathe made, ordeynged, and establysshed, certain statutes and ordenaunces hereafter ensuyng."

The articles are without numeral divisions, some classed under *heads* and some without any such preliminary distinction of subject.

Article 1st, prescribes obedience from all manner of men in the King's Host to the Sovereign, under pain of hanging and *quartering*, next to the Lieutenant, Marshal, and chief Captains on pain of *death*, the next is "for holy church" under which head it is ordained "that noo man be so hardy irreverently to touche eyther the Holy Sacrament of Godde's Body, or the boxe, or the vessel which the same is in, upon payne to be drawn and hanged therefore."

For the infraction of this article, Shakspeare makes one of Falstaff's dissolute retainers suffer death, who had, after the demise of his facetious master, joined the army of Henry the Fifth invading France. His sentence is thus detailed by Ancient Pistol:

"Fortune is Bardolph's foe, and frowns on him,
For he hath stolen a *Pix* and *hanged* must be,

* Sic.

A damned death.——

Let gallows gape for dog, let man go free,
And let not hemp his windpipe suffocate,
But Exeter hath given the doom of Death
For *Pix of little price*.*

The next section of this article provides against the pilage of churches, the slaying or making prisoners of ecclesiastical persons.

The 2d is "For Herbygage;" that is for distributing lodgings or quarters, the word is derived from the old French term *Herberage*.† The Quarter Masters are styled *Herbygyers*, whence by a slight transition we have the term *Harbinger*, the officer who provided lodgings in the progresses of our Kings; for example, Macbeth thus addresses Duncan :

"I'll be myself your *Harbinger*; and make joyful,
The hearing of my wife with your approach!"

One clause of the article for Herbygage, is that "after tyme that Herbygage is assigned and delivered, that noo man be so hardy hymselfe to dislodge ne to disarraye for any thyng that maye falle, without commaundement of hym that hath power, upon payne of horse and harneys, to be put in arreste of the marshall to the tyme he have made fyne with hym, to the kynges use as above, and moreover theyr bodyes at the kynges wyll."

The 3d article is "for *Moustres*" (Musters.)—Musters were taken by certain commissioners, who "shall dylygently enquire and se that every man commynge unto the

* Henry V. act iii. scene 6.

† The French is from the German *Herberg* an Inn, *Herbergen*, to dwell. Hence the French *Auberge*, and the English word *Harbour*.

moustres have all his harneys* necessarye, and as apperteyneth for hym, without any gyle or subteltie. And in especiall, at the firste moustre that every archer have his bowe and arowes hole, that is to wytte, in arowes xxx or xxiiij hedded and hole in a sheef, at the least. And for the more suertie in this case the sayd comyssoners to cause every souldyore to swere that his harneys, bowe, and arowes, be his owne, or his maister's, or capitaynes. And also that no man that ones (once) moustred, and was admytted for an *Archer*, alter or chaunge hymselfe into any other condycyon, without the kynges specyall lycence, upon payne of emprysonment at the kynges wyll."

This, and the Statutes enacted at this time for the encouragement of Archery, shew the superior estimation in which the *Bow* was still held; though Lord Herbert, in his *Life and Reign of Henry VIII.* says, the *Caliver* began then to be generally received.† The next forbids "departynge from the hoste without lycence."

4th. No man is to raise a Banner or Pennon, Arms or Images, to assemble or withdraw people from the host without the king's authority, on pain of death.

5th. Unlawful assemblies, bondes, conspirations, routs, conventicles, murmurs, and grudges, against the king or officers of his host forbidden.

6th. Watch and ward to be duly kept.

7th. No man to disarray him in the batayle, for no *Scrye* that cometh in the hoste; that is, none to break their ranks for any shout or exclamation that may irregularly arise.

* Soldiers on our modern service, always appear on the 24th of each month, muster day, in marching order, with the whole of their necessaries in their knapsacks.

† P. 18.

8th. Unlawful Escryes forbidden. If any Escrye be made by "the enemy's hoste," the captain of the king's ward to repair to the king, the other captains to the chieftain of the ward where they are lodged. This is a provision against a surprise. ✓

9th. Robbing of merchants coming to the market, Rape, and Murder forbidden.

10th. Resisting execution of Justice on criminals condemned, forbidden.

11th. Breach of the King's Arrest forbidden. "That every man obeye unto the kynges sergeauntes, porters of places, and all other offycers having auctorite to arrest made by the kyng, marshall, &c. and that no man be so hardy to brake theyr arrest upon payne of emprysonement, and his bodye at the kynges will."

12th. Good rule to be kept. After the watch shall be set until the time it be relieved in the morning, no manner of man to make shouting, blowing of horns, or other whistling or great noise, except the trumpets by special commandment be ordered to blow.

13th. No man to bear new arms, other than he is born to, without the advice of the officers of arms.

14th. No captain having any carriage, to appoint any more souldiers receiving the king's pay, to attend on the same, but such only as shall be requisite for making of his lodging, setting up his "tents, haies, and pavilions."

15th. Every horseman at the first blast of the trumpet to saddle his horse, at the second to bridle him, and at the third to leap on his back, and to wait on the king, his lord, or captain.

16th. Dice, cards, tables, *Close-hand-out*, and other games of chance forbidden. *Close-hand-out* must have been a game of guessing for money held in the hand; boys still play it for marbles and call it *Odd or Even*. ✓

17th. For Bordell keypyng in the hoste. Also that noo man bryng with hym any maner of woman over the see upon payne of forfayture of theyr goods to the Marshall, and theyr bodyes to be emprysoned, there to remayne at the kyng's wyll. And that no man holde no woman within his logynge (lodging) beyonde the see, upon payne of emprysonment and losse of a monethes wages. And that noo commune woman presume to come within the kynges hoste nor nyghe the same, by y^e space of 3 miles, upon payne, if any soo be taken, to be brent upon the right cheke at the first tyme.* And if any be taken within the hoste or within 3 miles of the same, after she or they have be so brente, thenne she or they to be put into warde of the Provoste Marshall, there to remayne in pryson as longe as shall please the marshall, and to have further punnycyon as by him shalbe thought convenient.

18th. Debate making, i. e. strife and contention, forbidden.

Also Debarretoures, which term seems to imply promoters of strife about arms, prisoners' quarters, &c.

19th. That no man give reproach to another because of

* An ancient manuscript in the Harleian Library, of an earlier period than these regulations, informs us that the Marshal had a right, *ex officio*, to license twelve women of the above description to follow the court in camp. He had a fine of a groat from all others found within his jurisdiction. Successive repetitions of the offence were visited with imprisonment, shaving of the head, and the extreme and barbarous penalty that the offender's "over lippe be cut off to the intent that she shall provoke no man to kyssing." See "Some Account of the Coronation of Richard the Second in the year 1377," by the Editor of this work, p. 5.

the countree that he is of, that is to say, be he French, English, Northern, Walshe, or Irysshe.

20th. No man to be so hardy as to cry *Havok*. The cry of Havock was the signal for the army to disperse and plunder;* the unauthorized use of a cry which must have occasioned so much confusion, was necessarily a high military misdemeanour. The term was perhaps originally one of falconry. "Hafoc" in Saxon means a hawk. Shakspeare has made fine application of this term in his *Julius Cæsar*, where Anthony says :

" And Cæsar's spirit, ranging for revenge,
With Até by his side, come hot from hell,
Shall, in these confines with a monarch's voice,
Cry, *Havock*, and let slip the dogs of war !"

21st. For *Brennyng*. Setting fire to houses, &c. without orders, forbidden on pain of death.

22d. All filth in the camp to be buried.

23d. Wine and other victual not to be wantonly wasted, a man may take "as much as him needeth."—This ordinance applied to wine in *modern days*, would have, in many instances, been a license inconsistent with good discipline. I observe in these regulations no provision against drunkenness, whence it may be inferred that the vice was not yet very prevalent.

24th. The Provost and Purveyors for the Ordenaunce not to press horses, oxen, &c. without due contentation to the owners. Any unauthorized person taking horses or oxen going to the plough in a country won or patysed† (subdued) to suffer death.

25th. For keeping of the Country. A country won, or

* " When the Constable and Marshal come to the felde and cry *Havok*, every man to take his part."—Harl. MSS. n. 1309.

† Q. d. *pactised*, i. e. brought to terms, from the Latin *pactus*.

by free will offered to the king's obedience, is not to be robbed or pillaged after the king's peace is proclaimed, upon pain of death. He that is thus reduced to the king's obedience to bear a crosse of St. George.

26th. Justice to be kept within the Retinue of the Ordynaunce. The Master of the Ordynaunce to judge offenders. Appeal to be allowed to the Marshal.

27th. For taking of Prisoners. He that first shall have his faith may take him for his prisoner, so that he take from him his weapon or some token. The gauntlet or the basnet was generally taken.

28th. For paying of Thryddes (thirds.) A third of all spoil is to be rendered by the soldier to his Captain. The Captain to render to the King a third part of these thirds, and a third of his own particular spoil.

29th. No one to grant a safe conduct or congye (a passport) to a prisoner, but the King, his Lieutenant, or Marshal.

No one to grant a safe guard (an escort) to any noble person but the King.

30th. For them that bere not a *bonde** or a crosse of St. George. Also that every man goynge in ostynge or batayle of what estate or condycyon he be, of the kynge's partie and hoste (except he be a Bushop or Offycer of Armes) bere a crosse of St. George, suffysaunt and large. Vpon the payne, that if he be wounded or slayne in the defaute therof, he that so woundeth or sleeth hym shall bere no payne therefore. And if he for any cause passes the bondes of the felde, then he bere openly a crosse of Saynt George with his capitaynes conysaunce, upon payne to be emprysoned and punyshed at the Kynge's wyll. And that

* Qu. a badge?

no souldyour bere no conysaunce, but the kynges and his capitaines upon payne of deth, and that none enemye bere the said signe of St. George, but if he be a prysoner and in warde of his master, upon payne of deth.

31st. For makynge of roodes. No man to make a rood (an inroad) by day or night, without licence of the king or chief captains of the wards.

32d. For assaute making without license. No assaute to be made to Castle, Town, Strength, or Fortress, by Archers, or other Commoners, without the presence of a captain appointed thereto by the King or his Lieutenant.

No one to withdraw a servant engaged to another for "the vyage" (expedition), be he soldier, man of arms, archer, groom, or page.

33d. For women in child-bed. No man to be so hardy as to go into a lodging where a woman lieth in child-bed, or to make affray there on pain of death, &c.

34th. For chylidren within the age of 13 years. No one to make children within the age of 13 years prisoners; "but if he be a lord's son, or a worshipful gentlemen's, or rich man's son, or a captain's," in that case he is to bring him to his lord, master, or captain, as soon as he (the captor) comes to the host.

The whole code is summed up with the admonition and declaration which has been recited in the early portion of these notes.

Then follows the Colophon. "Emprynted at the hygge comaundement of our soverayne lorde the kynge Henry the VIIII, by Richarde Pynson, prynter unto his noble Grace. The pere of our lorde MCCCC and XXXIIII."

At the end is the monogram employed by Pynson, surmounted by a helmet and crest. In the border, a boy shooting with a hackbut at a popinjay, the Virgin and St. Catharine, and the name of "Richard Pynson" at length.

*Original Documents relating to the Lady Jane Grey's
succession to the Crown on the demise of Edward VI.*

However familiar to the English reader the history of this pious and accomplished young lady may be, we shall observe, in introducing the following papers, that Charles Brandon, Knight of the Garter, Master of the Horse to King Henry VIII. was by him, anno 1513, created Viscount Lisle and Duke of Suffolk; his third wife was Mary, youngest daughter of Henry VII. sister of Henry VIII. and widow of Lewis XII. King of France.

Frances, the elder daughter of the issue of this marriage, was married to Henry Grey, Marquis of Dorset, afterwards Duke of Suffolk. Joan or Jane, his elder daughter (a direct descendant of Henry VII. as is seen by the above lineal deduction) was espoused to Guildford Dudley, fourth son of John Duke of Northumberland, who by these means aimed at intimately connecting his family with the regal power, and thus obtaining a good chance of its being finally vested in his own descendants.

After the execution of the Lord Protector Seymour Duke of Somerset, the King's maternal uncle, to whose office in the state Northumberland succeeded, the latter persuaded Edward VI. to transfer the Crown to his daughter-in-law Jane Dudley, excluding the King's sisters Mary and Elizabeth from the throne. Indeed, he made some unsuccessful attempts to form a matrimonial alliance for the latter with a foreign prince, and the title of both princesses was now set aside on the plea of bastardy, founded on the successive divorces of their mothers Katharine of Arragon and Anna Boleyn, and the danger the Reformed Religion

would incur, should Mary (a rigid Papist) or Elizabeth, succeeding to the crown, marry a foreign prince "of the Romish faith, and thus bring the imperial realm of England into the tyranny and servitude of the Bishop of Rome." These contrivances cost in the end Northumberland's own life, and the lives of the innocent Jane, her husband, and her father. The unambitious amiable character of the Lady Jane, inclined her to repudiate rather than to seek worldly honours and elevation. Her good sense suggested to her how slender the legal foundation was of her right to the English throne, the descent of which could not justly be modified by the testamentary decree of any of its occupants *pro tempore*.* "I know," said she, addressing her fathers by blood and by alliance, "that the laws of this kingdom and natural right, stand for the Lady Mary and Elizabeth, as successors to the crown, in preference to myself. I would beware of burthening my weak conscience with a yoke which belongs to them. I am not so little read in the snares of fortune to suffer myself to be taken by them, she elevates only in order to ruin. If she crown me to-day, she will crush me to-morrow." The persuasions of the Dukes, and of her husband, whom she dearly loved, overcame, however, her better judgment, and she accepted the crown. Her nine days' semblance of a reign,†

* A little before the King's death, the Judges were sent for by the King at the suggestion of Northumberland, to draw an assignment of the Crown to the Lady Jane Grey. They all demurred at the proposition as illegal, and were only brought to compliance by the miserable expedient of a pardon under the Great Seal. Hales, although of the Protestant party, at the risk of his property and life, nobly refused his subscription to the last.

† She was proclaimed by the Lords of the Council on the 10th of July 1553; who reversed the decree and performed the same official act for Mary, on the 19th of the same month.

and the rigour of the bloody penalty she paid for its enjoyment, need not be dilated on here, further than to note some interesting particulars, characteristic of her Christian fortitude and faith when the catastrophe brought on by the political intrigues of which she was the victim approached its consummation. This was hastened by the insurrection of Wyatt, in which her father the Duke of Suffolk participated. On Monday, the 12th of February, 1554, her husband Lord Guildford Dudley was brought out through the Tower Gate to Tower Hill, and delivered to Thomas Offley, Sheriff of London, for execution, which being performed, his body was re-conveyed into the Tower in a cart, the severed head placed beside it, enveloped in a napkin. His remains were taken out in the sight of the Lady Jane his wife, to be deposited in the Tower Chapel. Her religious confidence enabled her to endure with the firmest self-possession this ghastly and revolting spectacle, as she was led forth to the scaffold prepared for her own death. With a singularly mild and patient demeanour, she thus addressed the spectators. "Good people, I am come hither to die, and by a law I am condemned to the same. My offence against the Queen's highness was only in consenting to the device of others, now in me deemed treason; but that device was never of my seeking, but by counsel of those who appeared to have better understanding of such things than I, who knew little of the law in general, much less of that relating to the Titles of the Crown. As to the procurement or desire of such dignity by me, I wash my hands in innocency thereof before God and the face of all you good Christian people this day." Here she emphatically wrung her hands, in which she held a book of prayer. "Now, I pray you! good Christian people, to bear witness that I die in the true Christian faith, looking to be saved by no other means, than the mercy of God in the

blood of his only son Christ Jesus. I confess that, knowing the word of God I have neglected the same, I have loved myself and the world, and therefore this plague and punishment has justly happened to me for my sins. Yet blessed be God, of his goodness he hath allowed me a respite and an interval for repentance. And now, good people, while I am alive, assist me in this trial with your prayers." She then knelt down, repeated in English the pathetic 67th Psalm, of which the following portion was so applicable to her situation of trial, and expressive of her confidence in her Redeemer. "Be merciful unto me, O God! be merciful unto me, for my soul trusteth in thee, and under the shadow of thy wings shall be my refuge until this tyranny be overpast."

With the greatest calmness, fortitude, and attention to female propriety, she went through the remaining scene of this tragedy, giving her maid Ellen her handkerchief and gloves, her prayer book to the Lieutenant of the Tower. Declining the assistance of the executioner, she made her gentlewomen remove her gown and head-dress, laid her head meekly on the block, and died with the exclamation, "Lord, into thy hands I commend my spirit!"

(45.)

Letters under the signet and sign manual of Jane the Queen, addressed to the Marquis of Northampton, Lieutenant of Surrey, the Deputies of the Lieutenancy, &c. She having succeeded to rightful possession of the kingdom by the *will* (i. e. the testamentary direction) of the late King, her dear cousin and progenitor, makes her entry this day into the Tower as rightful Queen of the Realm. The possession of the Tower

by a claimant of the Crown, it has been observed,* implied that of the Empire. Our ancient Kings always occupied that fortress, previously to their coronation.

JANE THE QUEENE.

Right trustie and right welbeloved, we grete you well, advertising the same, that where' (whereas) yt hath pleased almighty God to call to his mercie out of this lief our derest cousen the King, your late sovereigne lorde, by reason wherof and suche ordenñces as the said late King did establishe in his lief tyme for the securitie and welthe of this Realme, we are entrerid into our rightfull possession of this kingdome, as by the last (will) of o' said derest cousen our late pgenitor, and other severall instruments to that effect, signed w'th his owne hande and sealed w'th the grete seale of this realme in his own presence. Wherunto the nobles of this realme for the most pte, and all our counsaill and Judges, wth the Mayo' and Aldermen of our Cytie of london, and dyvers other grave psonages of this o' realme of England, have also subscribed there names as by the same will and instrument it maye more evidently and plainly apere. We therefore doo yo' to understand, that by th'ordenñce and sufferunce of the hevenly Lord, and by assent and consent of o' said nobles and councilors, and others before specified, we doo this daye make our enterye into our Towre of London as rightfull Quene of this realme, and have accord-

* Page 17.

ingly sett furthe our p̄clamac'ons to all o' loving subjects, gyveing them therby to understande there duties and alegeunce w'ch they now of right owe unto us, as more amplie by the same you shall briefly p̄ceyve and understand, nothing doubting right trustie and right welbeloved cosen, but that you will indever yourself in all things to the uttermost of yo' powre not only to defend our just title but also assist us in our rightfull possession of this kingdom, and to disturbe, repell, and resist the fayned and untrue clayme of the lady Mary, basterd daughter to our grete uncle Henry the eight of famous memory. Wherin as you shall doo that w'ch to yo' hono', truthe, and dutie apteyneth, so shall we remember the same unto you and yours accordingly. And our further pleas' is, that you shall contynue, doo, and execute every thinge and thinges as our lieutenant wth in all places, according to the tenor of the comission, addressed unto you from our late cousen King Edward the vi, in suche and like sort as if the same hadd byn, as we mynde shortely it shalbe, renued and by us con-
 confirmed under our greate seale unto you.
*Given under our Signet at our Tower of london
 this xith of July, the furst yere of our reign.**

Indorsed, To our right trusty
 and right welbeloved Cousyn and
 Counsaile' the Marquis of North-

* Filled up in a different hand.

ampton, our lieutenant of our County of Surrey, and our trusty and welbeloved the deputies of that Lieutenancye and the Sheriff and chief Justices of Peas and the worshypfull of that Shire.

(46.)

Jane the Queen, under her signet and sign manual to the Sheriff, the Justices, and the Gentlemen of Surrey, exhorts them to be stedfast in their obedience to the Imperial Crown, notwithstanding the slanderous reports published by the Lady Mary and her adherents, derogatory to her (the Queen's) title and dignity royal.

By the Quene.

JANE THE QUENE.

Trustie and wel beloved, we grete you well. Albeit that o' estate in this imperiall Crowne, whereof we be actually and really possessed, as p'tely may appere by o' proclamac'on, wherin our tytle is published, is not ne can be any wise doubtfull to all such our good and faithfull subjectes, as, setting blynd affection apart, do in reason and wysdome considre the very foundaçon and grounde of o' tytle, w^t the grete comodities therby coming thorough God's providence to the preservaçon of o' coñion weale and polycie, yet for that we understande the Ladye Marye dothe not cease by l'res in hir name, provoked therto by hir adherents enemyes of this realme, to publishe and notifie sklaun-

derously to dyverse of o' subjects, matter derogatory to our title and dignitie royall, withe the sklaundes of certen of o' nobilitie and counsell. We have thought mete to admonishe and exhorte you, as o' true and faithfull subjects, to remayne fast in yo' obeysaunce and duetie to the impiall Crowne of this realme, wherof we have justely the possession, and not to be removed any wise from yo' dutie by sklaunderous reportes, or of l'res dispesed abrode, either by the said Lady Marye, or by hir adherents, for truely like as the nobilitie of o' realme, our Counsell, our prelates, our judges, and lerned men, and others, good, wise, godly, and naturall subjects, do remayne fast and surelie in their allegiaunce towards us, redy to adventure their lieves, landes, and goodes, for o' defence, so can a greate numbre of the same nobilitie, counsaile, and judges truely testiefye to all the worlde in savetye of their conscience, howe carefully and earnestly the late king of famous memorye, o' dere cousen king Edwarde the sixt, from tyme to tyme motioned and provoked them ptely by pswasions, ptely commaundements, to have suche respect to his succession, if god shuld call him to his mercye w^tout issue, as might be the preservaçon of the crowne in the hole undefyled Englishe bloude. And therefore of his owne mere moçon, both by graunt of his l'res patents, and by declaraçon of his will, established the successors as it is declared by o' proclamaçon And for the testimonye hereof,

to the satisffection of suche as shal conceyve any doubt herin, we understand that certen of o' nobilitye have written to you at this present in some pte to admonishe you of yo' duties, and to testiefie their knowledge of the truethe of o' tyle and right. Wherfore we leave to procede further therin being assured in the goodnes of god that yo' harts shalbe confirmed to owe yo' duetye to us yo' Sovereaigne Ladye, who meane to preserve this Crowne of Englande in the royall bloude, and out of the D'mon (dominion) of straungers and papists, w^t the defence of all you o' good subjects, yo' lieves, landes, and goodes, in o' peace, against the invasions and violences of all foreen or inward enemies and rebels. Geven undre o' Signet at o' Tower of London, the xviith day of July, in the first yere of our Raigne.

Indorsed, To our trustie and wel beloved the Shrief, Justices of Peas, and other gentilmen of our Countie of Surrey, and to every of them.

Original Documents, (some under the sign manual of Queen Mary) relating to Wyatt's Rebellion.

Mary, who had the scheme of re-converting her subjects to the Popish faith so much at heart, with this view formed an alliance with Philip Prince of Spain, son of the Emperour Charles the Fifth; her decision on this head had been

but a few days promulgated by Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, her Lord Chancellor, in the presence chamber at Westminster, to the Members of the Council, when Sir Thomas Wyatt, a gentleman of landed property, residing at his seat, Allington Castle on the Medway, in Kent, son of Sir Thomas Wyatt the Poet, and formerly a Privy Councillor to Henry VIII. published a proclamation* at Maidstone,

* We subjoin the proclamation at length, from a contemporary printed authority :

A Proclamation agreed unto by Thomas Wyatt, George Harper, Henrye Isleye, Knightes, and by dyvers of the best of the shire (Kent), sent unto the Commons of the same.

Forasmuche as it is now sprede abrode, and certinly pronounced by the Lorde Chancelour and other of the Council, of the Queene's determinate pleasure to marry with a stranger. We therefore write unto you, because ye be our neyghbours, because ye bee our frendes, and because ye be Englishmen, that ye wyll joyne with us as we wil with you unto death in this behalfe, protesting unto you before God that no other earthly cause could move us unto this enterprise but this alone, wherin we seeke no harme to the Quene but better counsel and counselours, which also we would have forborne in al other matters, saving only in this. For herin lieth the helth and welth of us al. For trial herof and manifest proof of this intended purpose, lo, now, even at hand, Spaniardes be nowe alreadye arrived at Dover at one passage, to the nombre of an hundreth, passing upwarde to London, in companies of ten, foure, and vi. with harnes, harquebuses, and morians, with match light, the foremoste company wherof be alreadie at Rochester. We shall require you therefore to reaire to such places as the bearers hereof shall pronounce unto you, there to assemble and determine what may be best for th' advaancement of libertie and commonwealth in this behalfe, and to bring with you such ayde as you maye." See the "Historie of Wyate's Rebellion, with the order and

against the Queen's marriage, as likely to entail on the English nation thralldom to a foreign prince. Although a papist, he sacrificed his religious opinions to his patriotism. He had been formerly employed in embassies to Spain, and was disgusted with the arbitrary cruelties exercised by the government of that country. He was joined in his undertaking by several other gentlemen of Kent. At the same time Henry Duke of Suffolk, father of the Lady Jane Grey, made a similar proclamation in Leicestershire and Warwickshire with little success. Wyatt advanced towards London at the head of four thousand men.* The metropolis was thrown for some days into alarm and confusion. Lord William Howard was appointed Lieutenant of the City, and Herbert Earl of Pembroke, General of the Field, against him; not, however, finding the support which he expected from the Londoners, after assaulting the city at the bridge foot, he crossed the river near Kingston, apparently with the intention of surprising the Queen at the Court at St. James's by a *coup de main*. He was, however, received with such a shew of resistance by the force under the Earl of Pembroke, that his followers became dispirited, yielded to the proffer of pardon contained in the Queen's proclamation, as found in the Loseley Collection, and dispersed; Wyatt himself, finding the Queen's residence so well covered by her troops, made a detour, with a few followers, by the Park wall, and came to Ludgate, when the City gate was shut against him. He then endeavoured to

maner of resisting the same, &c. made and compyled by John Proctor, Mense Januarii, anno 1555." Reprinted in the Antiquarian Repertory, vol. iii. p. 65. The author was the first Master of the newly founded Grammar School at Tunbridge.

* See the above, and Holinshed, sub anno 1554, fol. edit. p. 1099.

make a virtue of necessity, and repaired to the Court to tender a voluntary submission. It availed him nothing; he was committed to the Tower, where, at the gloomy dock and portal by the water side, well known by the designation of the Traitor's Gate, he was received by the Lieutenant Sir John Bridges, who with that excess of loyalty, which often savours more of self-interest than sincerity, collared him, upbraided him with his revolt, and told him, but that he must suffer the law, he would stab him with his dagger on the spot. Wyatt, a comely personage, attired in a costly hauberk of mail, above which was a tabard of velvet, having over his shoulder a yellow laced scarf, to which was attached the windlace, for bending the lock of his dag or pistol, a pair of buskins on his legs, and on his head a velvet hat edged with a "broad bone worklace," folding his arms, cast a grim and contemptuous look on the officious courtier, exclaiming, "It is no mastery *now*,"* or in the language of our day, "this is no triumph for you to boast of," and so with firm and manly port passed on to his dungeon, whence he was taken shortly after to his death.

(47.)

Queen Mary's Proclamation of pardon to such of Sir Thomas Wyatt's followers as should, within twenty-four hours of the knowledge thereof, depart peaceably to their own homes.

MARY THE QUENE.

The Quenes most excellent matie, understanding howe Thomis Wiate, confederate w^t other lewde & evell disposed psons, have, under the

* Holinshed, sub anno 1554, p. 1099.

p'tense of the b'nefyte of the coñionwealthe of the realme, to w'stande straungers, sette forthe a proclamaçon thereby t'assemble her highnes good true and loving subjects, to the disturbaunce of the Realme, the confusion of this coñionwealthe, and the distrucçon of her most noble p'sonne & astate (w^{ch} God forbidde) her said highnes being m'cyfully movid towards the conservaçon of her subjects from all prill & daunger, and gladde to releave suche as shoulde be by sinistre mocions abused and seduced, hathe thought good to signifie unto her said subjects, that whosoever, upon any proclamaçon made and set forth by the said Thomas, or any other p'vate man, to the p'pose afore-said, shall happen t'assemble according to the same and upon knowledge hereof shall w'in xxiiij hower after returne to their houses and lyve there quyetley and obedientlie, her highnes is contented to pardon that their doinge in the said assemble, and to defend and mayntayne them as her highnes good subjectes, to the benefite and comferte of them & their posteritie.

Indorsed, "Concordat cum vera originali in omnibus. Per me T. Saunders, Vicecomes" (Sheriff of Surrey).

(48.)

Letters under the Queen's signet and sign manual, commanding Sir Thomas Cawarden to prepare himself, his servants, and his tenants, to march at an hour's notice against the rebels.

By the Quene.

MARY THE QUENE.

Trusty and welbeloved, we grete yo^u well. And where (whereas) we be sundrie wayes enformed that Thomas Wyat and sune others have of late, by spreading abroad most false and vayne rumo^{rs}, p^{er}cured to stirre our subjects of our countie of Kent, to ryse against us, our crowne, and dignitie royall. Albeit we have allredy taken suche ordre as we doubt not shalbe sufficient to repress and overthrowe the unnaturall conspiracie, yet have we neverthesse thought good to require and charge yo^u forthwth, upon the sight hereof, to put yo^rself in full ordre wth as many of yo^r servants and tenants as ye can make (both on horseback and foote), to be in redines to marche and set forwards uppon hower's warning, ether agaynst the sayd rebels or suche other wayes as shalbe signified unto you from us. And in the meane tyme to have good regarde to the quiet order of the partes where ye dwell, causing all suche idle and lewde p^{er}sones as shall ether by spreading abroad of untrue rumours, or by any other meanes attempt to stirre or disquiet our loving subjects, to be apprehended and punished as the qualitie of theyr

offences shall deserve. Geven und^r o^r signet at o^r manor of St. James, the xxvith of Januarie, in the fyrst yere of our Reigne.

To our trustie and welbeloved S^r
Thomas Cawarden, knyght.

(49.)

The Queen deputes Lord William Howard, Lord Admiral of England, into the Counties of Surrey and Kent, by letters given at St. James's 29th January, 1553, at night.

By the Quene.

We wyll and comand you, & every of you, to gyve credit unto o^r right trusty and well beloved Councillor the lord Wyll'm Howard, lord Admyrall of England, whom we have depetyed unto o^r shires of Surrey and Kent, for certayn o^r affayres comyttyd unto hym, requyring and charging you also to be unto the same o^r Councillor aydyng, assystyng, & obedyent, as ye tender o^r presence and the savetie of o^r parson royall, and wyll answer to the contrary at yo^r extreme peryll. Geven under o^r signet at o^r Manor of Saynt James, the xxvith of January at nyght, The fyrst yere of o^r reygne.

To o' Sherreif of o' Counties of Sussex & Surrey, and other Offycers, Mynysters, o' subjects in the sayd Counties & elsewhere, & to everye of them.

(50.)

Lord William Howard commands the Sheriff to seize Sir Thomas Cawarden's harness, weapons, horses, and munitions of war. The insurgents had already rifled the armoury of Sir Henry Sydney at Penshurst, during his absence at the Court. Sir Thomas Cawarden's adherence to the Queen was mistrusted, and his warlike stores it will be seen were formidable.

These be to comaund & charg you & ev'y of you furwth, uppon the sight herof, imediately take, carry, and convay away from the howse of Sr Thom's Cawarden, knyght, all such harnes, weapons, gonnes, munycions of war, & horses, unto such place & places wher it shalbe unto you approvyd, & that you wyll make answer for. And this my writyng shalbe unto you & ev'y of you a suffycient warrant & discharg agaynst the sayde Sr Thom's and all others in that behalf. Geven at Rygat the xxixth of January, anno primo D'ne Marie Regine.

W. HOWARDE.

To the Sheryffe of Surr' Justic's of Peace of the same, gentylnen, bayles (bailiffs), constables, and all other the Quenes lovyng subjects.

(51.)

On the same subject.

Mayster Sheriffe,

Because I was in dowte wyther I did put you in remembrance at Mr. Carden's house, that you should bring away the ordinaunce that is ther,

this ys to dessier you in any wyse to se that brought away. I writt to my lordes of the counsell of all o'r doyings, and further that they shuld wryte to you whither you shuld bring all that stuffe, and who shulde receyve it of you, w^{ch} I doubt not but you shall receyve knowledg from them by nyght. I pray you also bryng away the rest of the horses that be ther, and so I byd you farwell. From my house of Ryegate this p'sent sonday w^t hand of yo' assured ffrend,

W. HOWARDE.

To my very good ffrend
Sir Thomas Saunders, Sheryffe
of the Shyre of Surrey.

(52.)

Sir Thomas Cawarden's Armoury.

Artillery, weapons, harneis, and munitions of warre, received from the Lady Elizabeth Carden, by the Sheriff of Surrey, to the Queen's use, 30 January 1533.

102 corseletts at 28s. the pece ; 100 morys pikes at 3s. 4d. ; 50 moryans with close eares at 8s. ; 50 moryans with eares for hackbutts at 6s. 8d. ; 20 stele collars at 3s. 4d. ; 22 horsemen's hedd peces at 13s. 4d. ; 20 stele sadells at 16s. 30 pair of gantlets at 5s. ; 6 pair of vambraces with polderns at 10s. ; 4 velvet sadells and a horse harneis of velvet £28.

20 shertts of mayle £20 ; 50 blacke corsletts £75 ; 26 whyte corsletts £38 ; 50 burgonetts £18 ; the Italyan burgonetts (number not specified) £16. 14s. ; 30 pair of gauntletts £5 ; 16 pair of cushetts (cuisses) £10.

Almayne Ryvetts with their furniture 54; 24 demy launces, 50 black bills 1s. 4d. each; 40 horseman's staves, coloured white and black, 46 light horseman's staves; 100 bowes of the best kynd (wych* bowes) 3s. 4d. each; 100 sheves of arrowes of the best kynd, cassyd in cases, at 2s. 4d. (the sheaf); 100 pikes £16. 13s. 4d.; 20 corseletts; 100 sallets lackyng gorgets; black brigantynes of stele plate 40s. each, with their murryons 10s. each; white brigandines of stele plate 40s. each; plated jacks 9s. each; gilt partisans 13s. 4d. each; white ditto 5s. each; white halberts 5s. each; yellow javelyns with broad heads halberds, garnished with red, yellow, and silk tassells; 40 half hakes, 2 Spanish hand guns, one with a fiar lock (fire-lock) and the wrest (rest) to the same, the other playne, 2 demyhakes stocked, 34 without stocks, 2 bases in stocks, 2 chambers for bases, 16 great peeces of ordnanunce of yron, whereof 2 are chamber peeces, double bases wrought, double bases cast, a cast robenett of yron, double, single, and waggon base chambers, 50 black corseletts, 26 white, 8 lawnes, 3 grand guards, a dagge with a case, bender, and charges, 10 pair of moryan slevs, 1 dozen of old swerds, a little house with 10 jacks, another with certain fyles.

90 Almayne ryvetts,† a complete harnes graven, lackyng a gauntlett; another of whyte plate, lackyng shoes.

* Of the best kind of wych, the material for the bows of the common sort of archers. Ascham says it was very inferior to the yew. *Toxophilus*, Reprint, p. 144.

† What Almayne ryvet precisely was, none of the writers on ancient armour have, distinctly, instructed us. That the term was applicable to the *whole suit* of armour appears to be decided by a passage in Hall's Chronicle, which describes King Henry VIII. as apparelled in Almayne ryvet, crested, his vambrace of the same, and on his head a *chapeau montauban* (a steel cap, we

Horse caparisons.—A black velvet harness with gilt studs £6. 13s. 4d.; a jennet's ditto, fringed and tasseled

conjecture) with a rich coronal, the chapeau lined with crimson satten, and on it a rich broach with the image of St. George; wearing over his Almayne ryvet a surcoat of white cloth of gold with a red cross. See the Editor's Introduction to Stot-hard's Monumental Effigies of Great Britain, p. 7.

That Almayne ryvet was not the ordinary *plate* armour may be gathered from the distinction between them observable in this list. We may conclude that it was a defensive suit for the body, of German manufacture, composed of splints rivetted together. There is a document in the Loseley Collection which we shall, as the most apposite place, append to this note, which shews that the art of making body armour and offensive weapons was introduced into this kingdom from Germany by the care of Henry VIII. The paper has no date, but is evident of the reign of James the First; we transcribe it at length:

To the Honorable Assembly of the Commons of Englande,
in the high Courte of Parliamete, the humble petic'on of
the Armor makers, Gonne makers, and of the like Arti-
ficers, within the City of London and the suburbs thereof:

Shewing that whereas our late soveraigne Lord King Henry the eyght, out of his royall care for the goode of this Realme, did direct his gracious letters to certaine Princes in Germanie, for the sendenge over in this Realme of artificers of the foresayd like arts. But alsoe at their coming hither did give and allowe unto them lardge ffees during their aboad here in his realme, intending thereby that his Ma'ties subjects might learne of them the making of municion fit for the warrs, that the future service of this realme might be sufficiently furnished with armor and weapons that should bee made within his realme. According to his Ma'ties sayd intention his Ma'ties subjects were so carefull in learning the sayd trades, that this realme, through their greate industry, has ever since bin better furnished with suffi

with gold £6; one of Turkey work £3; one of black sattin embroidered with silver £8; one of blue leather embroi-

cient store of goode Armor and weapons, and at lesse prices, than any other kingdom hath of many years bin. The w'ch trades having bin ever since continued within this realme, in the time of our late soveraigne Quene Elizabeth there were xxxv armor makers within the City of London and the suburbs thereof, who kept servants and shopps, who being now greatly decayed for wante of sale of their armors, there now remayneth only ffive of them within the same who doo exercise the sayd trade. All which doe keepe but one servant, not being able to keepe more for want of employment and meanes of maintenance for them. And w'ch are like utterly to decay, and the sayd trades to be extinguished, by reason that the statute made in the 4th and 5th yeares of KingePhillipe and Queen Mary, w'ch authorized magistrates to injoine a provision of armor and other weapons, is repealed by a statute made in the first yeare of his Ma'ties reigne. Unlesse by your wisdomes, care, and providence some course be taken whereby your suppl' [suppliants] may be releaved. Your suppl' (in their bounden duty) thought meete to certifie your hono' thereof, hoping that by your wisdomes, care, and providence for the saffety of thes flourishinge kingdome, some good law may bee provided whereby the same may bee continually ffurnished with serviceable armor and weapons, as it hath formerly bin, and the sayd trades still continued within the realme. All wch we, ye now small remainder of ye artificers of that kinde, doe humbly & truly proteste is sincerely and truly intended for the future saffety of this realme. The most of us for wante of employment in this kind having already betaken ourselves to live by some other meanes, and the few residue shal be found so to doe. And therefore have presumed in this humble sorte to informe this honorable howse of Parliament, how ye case standeth—and most humbly leave it to your judgments to doe herin as

dered £4; one of red leather embroidered £3; one of black velvet 40s. A blue velvet saddle lined with parch-

shall seeme in yor wisdome to bee most convenient for the future saffety of this famous kingdome."

A corroboration of the statement that the policy of Henry VIII. introduced the making of armour into England, is found in a singular document in the Cotton Library, being a sort of refutation of the pretensions of William Dethick, Garter King at Arms, to a respectable English descent. The document is in itself sufficiently amusing, exclusive of its direct application to the subject of this note. We subjoin it :—

THE TRUE PEDIGREE OF WM. DETHECK, CALLED GARTER.

Robert Derick, a Duche man borne, and by occupation a forger of armore, came into England w^t Erasmus Crakener, Yeoman Armorer to King Henry 8, and did forge Armore for y^e said Kinge at Greenwich for 10 pence by the day; he died before his 3 sonns were made Denysons, as appeareth by y^e Acte of P^lliament 33 H. 8.

Agatha, daughter of Mathyas Leyendecker, a Duche barbone, dwellinge in the Cytie of Acon, in Germany, was wife to Robert Dericke, and had issue by him 3 sons.

Dericke
Dericke,
eldest
sonne.

Mathew Derike,
2nd Sone by that
name, exhibited
a pe'tion to
Kinge Edw^d 6,
that he might
sett up a shope
in London and
teache English-
men to make Ar-
more. He had of
the said kinge 10
pence by day, as
his Father had of
Kinge Hen. 8.

Gilbert Dericke, by that name
25 Hen. 8, was created Hamps
Pursuevant extraordinarye, on
Corpus Christy day, and un-
derstandinge himselfe not to
be capable of any place ordi-
nary in that office, beinge an
alyan borne, procured a deny-
sacion by act of Parliament 33
of Hen. 8, for himselfe and
his 2 brothers, and therein did
very untruely suggest to the
said P^lliament that his father
Robert Derricke was born in
Derbyshire, and was of the fa-
mily of Dethecke, w^{ch} they all
denye.

Alice, daugh-
ter of one
Leonarde,
a Duche shooc
maker, at y^e
signe of y^e
Red Cocke in
St. Martyn's,
London.

Nicholas Dericke
al's Wyndsore
Herault, eldest
sonne.

William Detheck alias Derike, now called
Garter, but degraded by K. James for his in-
solent behaviour, sent with the L. Spencer
to the D. of Wittenberg wth y^e Garter 1603,
and the office given to Norroy Segar.

Harry De-
thicke
alias De-
ricke.

P. Yorke Herault.

ment lace, and twysted lace of gold, the steele * of damaskine worke in golde £15; the stirrups gilt 20s.; the bitts with gilt bosses 10s. each; a shafforne (chanfron) for a horse, another painted with a morisco work; a complete harnes graven, lackyng a gauntlett; another of whyte plate lackyng shoes; a hed pece and coller for a horse; 20 whyte steles (steel saddles) £20. Received by the Lord Admiral's servant, John Loyd, of Thomas Booth, servant to Sir Thomas Cawarden, 7 great horses, with horse cloths, sursyngles, bytts, hed stalls, &c.

(53.)

The Council summon Sir Thomas Cawarden before them on the charge that he is indebted to the Queen a thousand pounds. This accusation had most probably a political origin.

After our hartly com'endations. Wher' amongst the debts owing to the Quene's Ma^{tie}, we fynde that ye be indebted to hir highnes in the sume of ^L M. We have thought good in her Mat^s name to require you forthwth, uppon the syght hereof to make yo^r undelayed repayre hither unto us, as well to aunswer the sayd debt as for certaine other causes to be declared unto yo^r at yo^r coming, wherof we require you in no wyse to fayle, as ye

* The steele seems to imply the back or crupper part of the saddle, it is sometimes put for the whole saddle. See another item six lines below.

tender her Mat's pleas^r . ffrom Hampton co^rte, the
xxiiij July 1555.

Your friends,

STE. WINTON, Cancell. WINCHESTER. ARUNDELL.

JOHN GAGE.

R. ROCHESTER. WILL'M PETRES. JO. BOURNE.

HENRY JERNEGAN.

To o' loving frende
S^r Thomas Carden, knight.

(54.)

Sir Thomas Cawarden petitions the Council of Queen Elizabeth for redress of the injuries sustained by the arbitrary measures to which he was subjected by Queen Mary on Wyatt's rebellion.

To the Queenes Mat^{ies} most honorable pryvve counsell.

In most humble wise sheweth unto yo^r hono^{rs} yo^r humble suplyaunte and dayly horato^r S^r Thomas Cawarden, of Blechingly, in the county of Surr', knyghte, that where' yo^r sade supplyaunte, the xxvth of Januarye, in the fyrste yere of the reigne of the late queene Mary, being in his house at Blechingly aforsaide in pfecte quyettnes, good order, obedyence, and subjectelyke, betwene the howres of eight and ten in the morninge, was by the lorde William Hawarde, James and John Skynner, arested, apprehended, and caryed thens as a prysoner, and browghte before the Lordes of the Counsell in the Star chamber, and there of Stephen Gardener, the late bishopp of Winchester, then lorde chancello^r, demaunded dyv' and sondry questyons, w'ch yo^r seide supplyaunte so aunswered as therupon he was clearly discharged, dysmyssed, and sett at lib^rtie, and at

his departure thens receyved of them two letters, the one under the seide queenes sygnett and pryvye seale, dated the xxvi of January aforsaide, comaundyng yor seide oratour to p'pare himselfe in armure, wth soche force and power of horsemen and footemen as he was hable to assemble in aredynes at one owres warninge to marche forwarde againste Wyatt; th'other to discharge Sr Thomas Saunders, then shreve of Surreye, who remayned in the house of yor seide suplyaunt, by comandement, and had kepte it toe dayes and one nyghte; w^{ch} yor seide supplyaunte, beinge departed to accomplyshe the nexte daye, beinge the xxvijth of the same monethe, the seide Lorde comyng downe into the cuntrye, sente his s'vaunte for yor seide supplyaunte to mete him a myle distance from his howse, w^{ch} yor saide suplyaunte, accompanied only of one dyd, and at w^{ch} metyng the seide Lorde wth the seide Sr Thomas Saunders and James and John Skynner, dyd eft-soones apprehend yor supplyaunt, declaring openly that he had authoritye to take awaye all y^e seide supplyauntes horses and furnytur, armure, weapon, and munnysio', for the warre, whatsoev' it were wherunto yor seide supplyaunte, assuring him self to be clere, dyd submitt aud yelde him w^t certen woordes, in defence of his goodds, thowghe not regarded. Whereupon the seide lorde first com'ytte the boddye of yor seide supplyaunte to the custodye of the seide John and James, and after upon better advice, for the better quyett and discharge of those psones, w^{ch} yor supplyaunte, by vertue of the seide fyrste letter of com'ysson, had called tq s've under hym, was contente to take yor supplyaunte back agane wth him to yor supplyaunts owne howse, and there charged the seide shreffe w^t yor supplyauntes howse and goodds, and then dyd carry yor supplyaunte from thens backe ageane to Rygate, and lefte hym in the howse and custodye of James Skynner two dayes

and three nyghtes, and the thyrde daye caryed hym from thens to Lambeth, wth a garde of horse men furnyshed wth y^r supplyauntes horses, armure, and weapons, and ffrom thens to the seide lorde chauncellor's howse, at the Clynke, who admerveyling to see hym there, demaunded what was the matter, saying he knewe nothing therof, and from thens browghte him before certen of the counsell, sytting at Seynte James, whoo did not there charge hym w^t any matter specyall or gen'rall, but w^t gentill woordes willed him to repayre to his own howse at the late Blake fryers, wthowte bounde,* wth lib'tye for all his freendes to have acces to him, and there to remayne untill he herde ferther from the said Lordes. In the meane tyme wherof the seide S^r Thomas Saunders calling to hym William Saunders, of Ewell, in the seide countye of Surr', for assystaunce (the cuntrye before warned) broughte in (as yo^r supplyaunte is credibly informed) to the number of xviii waynes, and in the same laded away yo^r supplyauntes armure, weapon, munysyon, ordynaunce, and furnytures for horses, toke also awaye eighte greate horses, and spoyled moche of his haye, corne, and strawe, by occasion of ther abode there, and repaire of psones comynge thether to them, the p^ticularyties wherof cannot welbe pfectely expressed, for that the spoyle was soden, and yo^r supplyauntes w'fe and s'vauntes, amased to see his goods so caryed awaye, some by footmen, some in pannyers on horsebacke by pilfery, and some in cartes wthout indentyng or other mensyon of sertentye notised, besydes a greate pte for w^{ch} yo^r supplyauntes wyfe (not wthowte greate and erneste adoe to p^cure it) ended betwene her and the seide S^r Thomas and Will^m Saunders. After w^{ch} by the space

* Without any limit of confinement.

of one monethe or therabout, the seide Lorde Chauncellor sent for yo^r suplyaunte to come to his howse, where as he, Mr. Rochester, Mr. Inglefeilde, and Mr. Walys, wth others, dyd discharge and sett him at libertye. Wherupon yo^r suplyaunt made his humble petysion for restytusion of goods, who being hardly beleved (for y^t so greate spoyle, unjuste dealing, and crewell usage, was thowghte unlykely for any p^{son}e to com^ytt) it was there affyrmed before them that ten or eleven lodes of the armure passed throghe Sothewerke over the brydge, the daye before Wyatt's comynge thether, and that certen cartes were also mett towards Rygate, and certen other towards Ewell. Wherupon they willed y^r suplyaunte to be the next daye at the co^rte, and upon his comynge thether sente S^r Will'm Peter to understand the seide quenes pleasure, whoe imedyately com'aunded letters to be wrytten to the seide Shrefe, to redelyver to yo^r suplyaunte of the p'misses what so ev' (whatsoever) was taken from him, being in the custodye of the seide Shrefe, or of any others by his deliverye, w^{ch} letters yo^r suplyaunte delyv'd to the seide shrefe, whoe notw^t-standing the same, made redelyverye to y^r supplyant but only of fflower lodes, pcell of the seide seventene by hym so taken away from yo^r suplyaunte; and his horses so spoyled (excepte for husbandry, draughte, or burden) they were never after mete for any servys or use in warre or journey, nor yo^r saide suplyaunte is yett any waye otherwise satisfied, recompensed, or consydered for his losses, harmes, wrongs, and troubles of, in, and concerning the p'misses, to his greate hindrance and utter undoing, onles yo^r honorable consyderacyon and redres herin the rather extended (ffor reformation wherof the p'misses tenderly consydered) it may please yo^r hono^r of yo^r accustomed goodnes, indifferencye, and justyce, that yo^r suplyaunte may ether by yo^r good meanes and charytable

order be restored to his gooddes, w^t recompens for his greate losses and indempnytyes and trobles, or ells be pmytted to take his remedy and advantage by the Lawes of the Realme, and yo^r seide orato^r shall dayly pray for yo^r good and godly in all yo^r p'sedings longe to p^sper w^t moche encrease of honor.

Documents relating to the royal Palace of Nonesuch.

The palace of Nonesuch stood near the site of the old manor house and the village church of Cuddington near Cheam, in Surrey. The manor had, as early as the reign of Edward the Confessor, been a demesne of the crown, but had been alienated. Henry VIII. about the year 1526, resumed possession of it by means of an exchange with Richard de Codinton. The king was pleased with the beauty of the spot, and its fitness to be made a seat for hunting and other rural diversions of the court; he began to erect in consequence at Cuddington, a magnificent structure of freestone, the facade of which extended one hundred and fifty feet in length. It had a central gate house and was flanked at either end by lofty multangular towers, crowned with three cupolas in the form of inverted balloons, which had become distinctive architectural features of the period, and which remind us of the minarets of the pagodas of the East. There were two courts to the building, an inner and an outer, of proportionate dimen-

* The same year in which he obtained Hampton Court of Cardinal Wolsey, who, to use the expression of the Chronicler, had there "done great cost in building."

ions. The writers of the sixteenth century are profuse in their descriptions of the magnificence of this royal villa, they speak of its wainscotted chambers, filled with pictures, tapestries, and statues, rivalling the works of Greece and Rome, of its delicious gardens, its long raised banks and verdant alleys of trellis work, of its orchards stocked with the choicest fruit trees, its extensive parks filled with the dappled tenants of the forest, its artificial fountains, one of which, in an avenue called the Grove of Diana, represented the goddess as in the bath, with her attendant nymphs, who dash water over the rashly intrusive huntsman, Actæon, converted into a stag. It may be suspected that Lord Bacon had the palace of Nonesuch in his eye when he wrote those two lively and beautiful essays, so descriptive of the economy of the palaces and pleasure grounds of his day, the one "Of Building," the other "Of Gardens." He prescribes an inner and an outer court, a stately central tower, a chapel, a room for masks and triumphs, oriel or embowed windows, which "he holds of good use, for they be pretty retiring places for conference;" galleries, turrets, rich cabinets, in modern phraseology, *boudoirs*; "daintily paved, richly hanged, glazed with chrystalline glass," surmounted with cupolas and "all other elegance that may be thought upon," cameras, and antecameras, the sleeping rooms for princes and their chamberlains, terraces, fountains, &c. The pleasure grounds, he says should be calculated for all the months of the year, in which severally things of beauty may be then in season. "God Almighty!" observes the sage essayist, "first planted a garden, and indeed it is the purest of human pleasures, it is the greatest refreshment to the spirits of man, without which buildings and palaces are but gross handyworks." Of the bright and many coloured blossoms of the vegetable kingdom he poetically

adds "as the breath of flowers is far sweeter in the air (where it comes and goes like the warbling of music) than in the hand, therefore nothing is more fit for that delight than to know what be the flowers and plants that best perfume the air." Umbrageous avenues, grassy mounds, lakelets agitated by falling waters, aviaries, and a wilderness,* furnish out the garden plot. Such then, surrounded by a park, timbered by trees of noble growth, was the royal demesne established by Henry VIII. at Cuddington.

We find in the following documents foreign ambassadors, princely prelates, admitted as a matter of distinguished favour to take their diversion within this Elysian precinct, and that it acquired by way of eminent and deserved distinction, the emphatic appellation of *Nonesuch*. It should have been observed that it was never completely finished by Henry VIII.; but that Henry Earl of Arundel, desirous to see the designs of his old master completed, rather than suffer it to be pulled down, as was contemplated in Queen Mary's time, and sold piecemeal, obtained it of the queen by exchange for divers "faire landes." He then completed it according to the original design, and left it at his death "garnished and replenished with rich furnitures," and a rare library.

Queen Elizabeth was frequently at Nonesuch, whether as a guest or tenant, says Lysons,† does not appear; and

* For the heath, which is the third part of our plot, I wish it to be framed as much as may be to a natural wildness. See "Of Gardens" in *Essays Moral, Economical, and Political*, by Francis Bacon, Baron of Verulam," &c.

† "The v day of August (1559) the Quen grace removyd from Eltham unto Nonshyche, my lord of Arundell's, and ther her grace had as gret cher evere nyght, and banketts; but ye sonday at nyght my lord of Arundell mad her a grett bankett at ys cost as ever was sene, for soper, bankett, and maske,

in 1591, Lord Lumley, the son-in-law of the Earl of Arundel before-mentioned, resigned it to the crown, receiving as a compensation, lands to the value of £534 per annum. Charles the Second gave it to his mistress the Duchess of Cleveland, who pulled down the house and disparted the land. So ended the glories of this palatial villa!

wt drums and flutes, and all ye mysyke yt cold be, tyll mydnyght; and as for chere has not bene senè nor heard." On Monday was a great supper made for her, but before night she stood at her standing in the farther park, and there she saw a course. At night, was a play of the Children of Paul's and their musick master Sebastian Phelyps and Mr. Haywode; after that a great banquet, accompanied with drums and flutes. The dishes were extraordinary rich gilt. This entertainment lasted till threë in the morning, and the Earl presented her Majesty a cupboard of plate."—Cotton MS. Vitellius F. v.; the burnt parts supplied from Strype's Annals of the Reformation, vol. i. p. 191.

There is a paper of Sir Thomas Cawarden's which sets Lysons's query at rest, and shews that the Earl of Arundel, about the year 1557, occupied the house at Nonesuche only by the Queen's permission "to lie there for a time." He charges the Earl with unjustly invading the rights of his patent as keeper of the palace and parks, with forcibly ejecting his servants from the mansion house, banqueting house, lodges, &c. driving out his cattle from herbage and pannage. He states that the Lord Lumley was aiding his father-in-law in these outrages, and cites the following passage of a letter, which shews with how high a hand noblemen prosecuted their wishes in those days:—

"You shall perceve that my lorde, my father, had thought that upon my declarac'on unto you that his Lordship was mynded to occupie your house, for that the same was neade-full if he shold lye at Nonesuche, that you had sought to have pleased yourself in some other hous. And now preving the

(55.)

The Keeper of the Standing Wardrobe at Nonesuch, is directed to deliver to the officer of the same denomination at Hampton Court, certain stuff for the service of her Majesty, against the coming of the Prince of Spain.

The Quenis maties pleas^r is that ye shall delyver or cause to be delyv'id to David Vincent, Keper of her Highnes Standing Guarderobe at Hampton Co^rte, all such stuff remayning in yo^r custody and chardge, being Guarderobe stuff, as he shall think mete and convenient for the s'vice of her Ma^{tie} at Hampton co^rte, agaynst the comyng of the prince of Spayne, taking such bylls indentyd betwene you for the same, as may be yo^r sufficient dischargd in that behalf. Thus fayre ye well. From the Courte at St. Jamys the ixth of Aprell, a^o p^{mo} Regni Re-gine Marie.

Yor loving ffrende,

JOHN GAGE.

To the Keper of the Quenis standing Guarderobe at Nonesuche, or to his deputy or deputyes there, and to ev'y of them.

contrary, hath willed me to shew unto you his pleasure, that you with speade depart out of y^r house, to th'ende that the same may be redy at his comaundement at his coming thither, whiche he entendeth very shortly. His pleasure is that you departe within thies three weeks at the furthest. Farewell. From Arrundell place, the xxxth of August 1557. Yor friend,

LUMLEY.

(56.)

The Duke of Somerset, the Lord Protector, directs that certain hangings be delivered from the Wardrobe at Nonesuch to the Lord Chamberlain.

These shalbe to requier you that imediately upon the sight hereof ye delyver or cause to be delivered unto the right honourable the Erle of Arundell, Lord Chamberlen of the King's Mat^s Chamber, or to the bearer hereof in his name, by way of lone, in suche sorte as the same may be redelyv'd, thirte pec^s of hangings of verdo^{rs}, wth brode blomes (blooms) and sixe carpetts of verdo^{rs}. And these shall be yo^r sufficient warraunte in this behalf. Geven at the King's Mat^s Pallaice at Westm' the xxiiijth of August the iii^{de} yere of the King's mat^s Reigne Edwarde the Sixte.

E. SOMERSET.

To the Keper of the King's standing Guarderobe at Nonesuche and to his Deputye there, and to ev'ry of them.

(57.)

Extracts from sundry accounts of household furniture in the custody of Sir Thomas Cawarden, "Keper of the standing Guarderobe at Nonesuche."*

Delivered to Sir Thomas Cawarden 16 Sept. 1st of Edward VI. by Sir John Gate, parcell of the late Duke of Norfolk's stuff attainted.

15 peces of olde Tapstrye, of divers historyes, 8 of them being lined with canvas. Sixe peces of verdours, chequered w^t red and tawny, and w^t the late Duke of Norfolk's armes in the midd^s of every of them.

Delivered as above, out of the Prince's lodging at the King's palace at Westminster, "parcell of such stuff as

* There is extant in this collection, the account (dated 30th Dec. 1st of Queen Mary) of Alen Byrd to Sir Thomas Cawarden, for all fees, rents, and profits due to the said Sir Thomas "for kepyng the Quenes place and parkes, gardeyn, and wardrobe, at Nonesuche, and for the Stuardshippes of the manors of Bansted, Walton, Est Chaym (Cheam) and West Chaym," for one year, to the above date. The following items may be of some interest. A year's wages to Thomas Bothe, for kepyng the seyd place (palace) at Nonesuche, 10*l.*; ditto to Simon Gavell, for kepyng the old park there, 3*l.* 10*s.*; the same sum to Rob't Foster for keeping the new park; to the said Alen, for keeping engrossing the Court Rolls on parchment, and gathering the rents and perquisites of the Courts of the said manors, 1*l.*; for 4 stewards' dinners of the same, 14*s.* 8*d.*; to the crier of the said Courts "accordyng to the old custome there used, 6*d.*;" to the auditor's and receiver's clerk for writing of "acquyttance, and the *quietus est*, 1*s.* 4*d.*" The clear sum, after all deductions, rendered to Sir Thomas Cawarden, for the annual profits of the above, was 43*l.* 11*s.* 6*d.*

the King bought of the Duches of Suffolk. A carpet of needle work in silk and gold lined with buckram, 4 yards by $1\frac{3}{4}$ y'ds. A carpet of tapestry having the king's arms in the middle, with the garter and the king's word, $2\frac{3}{4}$ y'ds by 1 y'd. A great pece of old crimson vellet (velvet) being "a counterpoynt" embroidered with "bulle heddes."*

Also delivered as above, by Sir Anthony Denny, out of the Prince's lodging at Westminster, an olde frunte for an aulter of grene vellat, prented, embroudered with flower de luces, our Lorde in the sepulcre, and other images on horseback, being in length $2\frac{1}{4}$ y'ds, and in depth 1 y'd scante. Four other fronts for altars, one of cloth of gold "raized" with black velvet embroidered with eagles and flowers; another of black velvet, embroidered with "a cutte" of cloth of silver. A "vestment of cloth of gold raised with murrye vellet, with all th'apparell to the same." Several other rich vestments, probably for the use of the private chapel; folding stools of wood with velvet seats. Among items of bed furniture, "One ceeler † of darke crymsen vellet, th' one haulf double vallanced and th' other single, in length $4\frac{3}{4}$ y'ds, in breadth 4 y'ds. Embrouderyd with flowers of golde and a woman

* The notice of articles embroidered with bulls' heads is frequent in these papers, see the following page. The allusion was doubtless to the family arms of Queen Ann Boleyn, Argent, 3 bulls' heads Sable, between a chevron Gules. They are thus blazoned in the windows of the curious old mansion Wickham Court, in Kent.

† The term ceeler is used for the top or cieling of the bed, tester for the back or head. The dimensions of the ceeler will of course supply that of the bed itself: in the present instance fourteen feet three inches in length by twelve feet wide. These state beds of the time probably of Henry VIII. make the great bed of Ware no longer such a wonder.

in the middes w^t a crowne on her hedde and a paire of wings. One teester to the same of like vellett, with two pictures embroudrid, standing betweene three trees, th'one presenting a ring, and th'other a harte, in depth $3\frac{1}{4}$ y'ds, in bredth $4\frac{1}{2}$ y'ds.

A "counterpoynte of like stuff embroudered w^t two horses, and one man riding upon one of them, the same being of six bredthes very evill cut and torne. A cieler and tester of "white Turquay silke," a counterpoynte of white sarcenet, the whole embroidered with popinjays. A ceeler and tester of purple. Newmaking silke,* embroidered with dolphins.

A piece of velvet of sundry colours embroidered with the King's arms, flower de luces, crosses, and birds.

A ryche cloyth of estate wth a frame of wood for the same. Syxe peces of depe hangings of cheych (chequered) verders, with the Duke of Somersett's arms.

Three pecys of hangings of crymsone velvytt, ymbroderd wth bulles hedds of cloth. "One cushyn of nedyll worke the grounde purpell, wroughte wth Kynge Henry letters and hawthornes. Sixe longe carpytts of grene vardars, wth flowers lyned wth canvys.

Cheyres (chairs) reyzid wth purple vellat frenged wth purple silke; of clothe of golde reyzid wth crymson vellat; ditto with black vellat; ditto reyzid with rewes and flowers of cloth of silver and crymson vellat.

Stowles (stools), folding stools, square stools, foot stools, covered with velvet of various colours.

Cushions of green and purple velvet, of cloth of gold, of purple tinsel, of cloth of silver, and of Newmaking silk and of damask. Two cushions of crimson silk with lions of gold.

* A barbarous mode of spelling Nimeguen, famous for its manufacture of silk; see also p. 69.

(58.)

The Earl of Arundel and Sir Robert Rochester, by the Queen's authority, desire that two bucks of the season be sent from the old park at Nonesuch, to the Honor of Hampton Court.

Forasmuche as the Quenes highnes hathe by her letters of placard authorised us and everie of us to wryte from tyme to tyme to all maner of her fforests, parkes, and chaces, for suche and as many Deare as we shall thinke convenient for the expense of her highnes howesholde, we therfore wooll that ye do sleye wythin yo^r office Two Buckes of this Season, and the same seasonablye to bringe to her highnes honor of Hampton Co'te, or ells where her highnes shall then lye, Wednesday the xxix daye of Auguste. And this wrytinge, signed wth o^r handes shalbe yo^r sufficient warrant and dischargde in that behalfe. Geaven at the Quene's highnes honor of Hampton Co' the xxviith of Auguste, in the furste yeare of the reigne of o^r sov'gne Ladye Quene Marye the furste.

ARUNDELL.

ROB'T ROCHESTER.

To the keeper of the quenes hieghnes elder pke of Nonesuche, and in his absence to Deputie or deputies ther.

Indorsed " Pro Hospitio R. (Reginæ)
xxvii Aug. a^o p^om^o M. (Mariæ.)

(59.)

Letters under the royal signet, &c. permitting the Lord Cardinal Pole, Legate a Latere, to hunt a deer at Nonesuch.

By the King and the Quene.

MARY THE QUENE.

We will and comaunde youe to deliver or cause to be deliv'ed to o^r ryght entirelie beloved cosin the L. Cardinal Poole, Legate a Latere, or to the bringer hereof in his name, one buck of the season to be taken of o^r gifte from oure greate parke of Nonsuch, any restraynte or comandme't to the contrarie notw^tstanding (pmitting owre said cosin to hunte for the same Dere, as it so like him.) And theis our l'res shalbe your warrant for the same. Geven under o^r signett at o^r hono^r of Hampton Courte the xviith of Julie, in the first and thirde yeres of o^r raignes.

(L. S.)

WINCHESTER.

To the keper of our said pke, and in his absence to his depute or deputes there.

Endorsed, "The parke of Nonsoche. Thys to be brought to Lambeth Tuysdaye, beyng the thyrd of September.

(60.)

Warrant to deliver two does from the Great Park at Nonesuch to the French Ambassador, M. de Noailles. He kills in the heat of the chase two more than the number assigned, and appends a certificate under his signature to indemnify the keepers from the mischance. Antoine Seigneur de Noailles, Baron de Chambres, &c. was born in 1504, was employed in several important duties of State, and was Ambassador during the reign of Queen Mary from the French to the English Court; he settled, during his embassy in England, the truce which was made at Vaucelles between Henry the Second of France and Philip the Second of Spain. On his return to France, he drove the Protestants out of the city of Bordeaux, of which they had possessed themselves. He died in 1562, and was succeeded in his titles and estates by his son Henry, who was born in London during his embassy, A. D. 1554. This was the elder of several children, whom he had by Jane de Gontaut, one of the maids of honour to Queen Catharine and afterwards to Queen Elizabeth.

By the Quene.

MARY THE QUENE.

We will and comande youⁿ to delyver or cause to be delyvered to Mounsr Noailles, ambassador resident w^t us for o^r good brother the ffrenche king, two dooes of this season, to be taken of o^r gifte w^tin that o^r great p^rke of Nonesuche. Any restraint or contrary com'andem^t heretofore given in any wise notwithstanding. Geven under o^r signett at o^r manor of Grenew^{ch} the vth of ffebruary, the thirde yere of o^r Reigne.

(L. S.)

To the kep or keps of o^r said great p^rke of Nonesuche, and in his or there absence to ther depute or deputies there.

Jay soubssigne certiffie a tous ministres & offrs de la royne, qu'il apartiendra, qu'en la permission de chasse qu'il a pleu a sa majte m'accorder cy dessus, il est advenu par inconvenient des levriers qui ont este lasches malapropos, deux daings ont este tues davantaige que la dicte permission ne porte; at pour ce prions non scavoir mal gre aux parquiers des parcs de Nonches, pour la discharge desquels nous avons signe ceste p'nte de n're main, et faict sceller du scel des nos armes audict lieu, le xv^e jr. de febr. 1555.

A. DE NOAILLES.

(L. S.)

Translation.

I, the undersigned, certify to all ministers and officers of the Queen, whom it may concern, that in the permission of hunting, which it has pleased her Majesty herein above to grant me, it happened by mischance of certain grey-hounds untimely slipped, two deer have been killed more than the said permission includes; and on this account we beg that no displeasure should accrue to the park-keepers of the parks of Nonesuch. For the discharge of whom we have signed this present with our hand, and caused it to be sealed with the seal of our arms at the said place, this 15th day of February 1555.

A. DE NOAILLES.

(61.)

The Council signify the Queen's pleasure that the French Ambassador (M. de Noailles) and his wife, should be permitted to see the gardens, parks, and house at Nonesuch.

After our right hartly comendac'ons. Wheras the Frenche Ambassador here resydent, for the better recreac'on of himself and his wief, hath desired to visit that the Quene's mates howse of Nonesuche, the gardens, pks, and other com'odities about the same; lyke as her highnes hath addressed warrant for their pastyme of hunting, so her Mat^s pleasure is that yo' shewe unto them the sayd howse and th' other comodities wthin yo' charge accordingly. Thus fare yo' right hartely well. ffrom Grenewiche the vjth of ffebruary 1555.

Yo^r loving ffrends,

PENBROKE.*

ROCHESTER.

EDW. HASTINGS.

WILL'M PETRES.

JO. BOURNE.

E. WALDEG'.†

To o^r loving ffrende S^r Thom^s Ca-
warden, Knight, and in his ab-
sence to his deputys keps of the
howse and gardens of None-
suche.

* This nobleman used the N or M indiscriminately in his signature.

† Waldegrave.

(62.)

Queen Mary gives two bucks of the season out of the great park at Nonesuch, to the Mayor of London and his brethren.

By the Quene.

MARYE THE QUENE.

We will and comande yow uppon the sight hereof, and by warrant of the same, to deliver or cause to be delivered unto oure trustie and wel beloved the maior and his bretheren of o' Citie of London, or to the bringer hereof in there names, two bucks of this season, to be taken of o' gifte, wth in that o' great pke of Nonesuche in o' countie of Surrey, any restraunte or other comandement heretofore geven to the contrary in any wise not-wthstandinge. Geven under o' signet at o' manor of Eltham, the xiiijth of August, the fourthe yere of our Reigne.

To the keap of o^r saide great pke,
and in his absens to his Deputy
or Deputeis there, or to any of
them.

(L. S.)

WINCHESTER.

Endorsed " Nonesoche 2 bokkes.

S^r Marten Bowes, } knights."
S^r Rowland Hyll, }

(63.)

The Earl of Sussex desires that a buck shall be delivered to the Lady Kempe from the little park at Nonesuch. A branch of the old English family of that name was settled at Croydon in Surrey (see the Harleian MSS. 1561. fol. 116.) and another at Slindon in Sussex; they bore the same arms differenced by the crest, as Kempe of Olantigh in Kent, and Gissing in Norfolk; Gules, 3 garbs Or, surrounded by a bordure engrailed Or. Sir Nicholas Kempe was a considerable benefactor to the foundation of Archbishop Abbot's almshouses at Guildford; a fine portrait of him by Cornelius Jansen is suspended in the Chapel of that establishment, which is also adorned with magnificently rich paintings of Scripture subjects in stained glass of the age of Albert Durer.

Mr. Karden. After my very hartie comendac'ons. Theis shalbe to desyer you to delyver my Ladie Kempe (or to hym who shall bring yow this my l're) a bucke, either in the great or littell pke of Nonsoche, notwthstanding any warrant graunted by me afore this my l're sent unto you, and in so doing ye shall cause me not to forgett your gentilnes, but recompense y^t wth semblable pleasure. And this l're, sygned wth myn owne hande, shalbe yo^r sufficient warrant and discharge for the same. As knoweth God, who p'serve you. Fro' Westm' the xxiiij of June 155 . .

Yo^r assured and loving ffrind,

HENRY SUSSEX.

To the Right Worsh pfull and my
very loving ffrende S^r Thom^s
Carden, knight.

(64.)

The Marquis of Winchester presents his fee buck of the season, due to him by virtue of his office of High Treasurer of England, out of the great park at Nonesuch, to his friends the Wardens and Company of Grocers.

I com'end me hartelie unto yo and right to pray you to give unto this bringer my ffee bucke of this season, to be taken out of that of the quene's ma^{ts} greate pke of Nonesuche, due unto me by vertue of my office of High Treasurer of England, w^{ch} I have nowe given unto my friends the Wardeins of the company of the Grocers for their feast against the xvij daie of this p'nte moneth, and therefore I pray yo' it may be well killed; wherin yo' shall do them a good tourne, and me great pleas^r for their sake, w^{ch} I shall not faile to deserve unto you when yt may lye in me, and this bill shalbe yo^r warrant sufficient in that behalf. So fare you well. Written the iijth of Julii 1556.

WINCHESTER.

To my frind the keper of the great p'k of Nonesuche, and in his absens to his deputie or deputies there.

Indorsed, "Thomas Piket, grocer, dwellinge at the signe of the Cocke in Wood street."

(65.)

Lord Lumley invites Sir William More, of Loseley, to hunt at Nonesuch.

My good knyght,

I thank yow ryght hartely for yo^r so good care to make me acquaynted wth thos letters for this servys of musters, w^{ch} even now I have reseved, beinge newly cu' to London out of Essex, and for yo^r place of metyng I thynk very well of hyt, seeing yow do acco'pt so of it. But if it wer no truble unto you & the rest, ether to mete at No-such y^e day, and ther to hold yo^r conference, or else after yo^r conference at Lethered, to cu' to me to bed, I shall be most glad of it, not for any other respecte than to have yo^rselves to be refreshed wth the syght of yo^r best dogges to be out rune by my slothful deare. And in so doing (yf otherwys the same be no displeasure to yo^rselves) I shall thyncke my selfe ryght greatly beholdyng unto yow for yo^r so good company. And so in some haste most hartely I com'yt yow to God's good favour this last of August 1583.

Yo^r assured ffrend as you know.

LUMLEY.

To the right worshippfull his
assured good frend Sir Wylliam
More. knyght

*Curious old Parochial Accounts, from the Papers
of Sir Thomas Cawarden.*

(66.)

Churchwardens' Account for the Parish Church of Blechingly, A. D. 1552. This paper bears evidence of the unsettled state of religion in the middle of the sixteenth century, when the new-born reformed church and the old papal hierarchy were striving as it were for the mastery. There are charges for setting up and pulling down the rood-loft, for watching the holy sepulchre at Easter, for painting a post or pillar in the Church, called the *Paschal Post*, with the blood of the Paschal Lamb, for defacing the altars, and for a table with forms for the celebration of the Eucharist. It will be recollected that it was for some time an unsettled point, whether the Holy Sacrament should be received *sitting* or *kneeling*; the Puritan sect advocating the first mentioned posture, and taking much offence that the holy table should be placed in the position of the antient high altar, instead of the body of the Church. These differences have been properly decided in favour of the most reverential practice.

The Accompte of John Dowber and Christopher Chapman, Churchwardens of the prishe Church of Bleachingleighe, from the feast of St. Michell tharchangell, in the yere of our Lorde MV^cLii, as followeth :

First, the saide Churchwardens charge themselves of lv^s, as so moche money by them receyved of Richard Chomley, to the behof and use of y^e said Church, lv^s.

Item, R' more for the buryall of the lady Putnam, vi^s

It'm, R' more of the Hognell* money at the ffeaste of the Nativite of o' Lord, in the xxxvij yere of the Reigne of our Sovereigne Lord King Henry the VIIIth, xxiijs vjd.

It'm, R' more one yere for Pascall money, &c. vjs ij^d.

It'm, the said Accompants charge themselves wth xxvij^l vj^s x^d receyved of one Cooke, goldsmythe, as so moch money by theym receyved by thandes (the hands) of Mr. Cawerden, for broken plate, whiche was solde for the repairing and garnishynge the Church, by the consent of the pishioners of the same. The expensys and charges appear hereafter particularlye, xxvij^l xvj^s x^d.

It'm, they charge themselves with cclxxii pounce of broken latten, sold to a candlestick makers at xx^s a hundrethe, amountyng to liiij^s ij^d ob. as so moche money by them receyved by thandes of Mr. Cawerden, and employed to the same use by the pishioners consente, liiij^s ij^d ob.

It'm, rec^d more for waxe solde by the said Church, xx^s iiiij^d.

It'm, rec^d more for the buryall of Turner's wyffe, vjs viij^d.

Payments, &c.

For setting up the rood lofte x^d.

It'm, for nayles for the same ij^d.

It'm, for tallow for the bells, and making cleane of the tables (pictures?) of the Roode lofte, and for small nayles, vjd.

It'm, to Thom's Porter, for mending vj bawderiks, v^d.

It'm, to Rob^t Eyton, for mending of the seates, xv^d.

It'm, paide for newe colleryng of a surples, ij^d.

It'm, for mending fyve albes, iiij^d.

* Probably Hea Knell, corrupted into Hognell, being money collected for ringing the church bells at this time of the year, in celebration of the high feast of the Nativity of our Lord.

It'm, for xxviiij lbs. of waxe, xiiij^s.

It'm, for making ij tapers, ij^d.

It'm, for ij torches, viij^s vj^d.

It'm, to Mr. Hewes, for mending the organs, ij^s iij^d.

For washing of the Church clothes, ij^s.

For painting of the pascall post, vj^d.

To Brande, for watchyng the Sepulcre,* viij^d,

To Walter Grome, paynter, for payntyng the hole body of the Church, and for all maner of colo^rs to the same, xvij^l v^s jd.

To Will'm Johns, for payntyng the queere, the Rood loft, the King's Armes, and the ow^t yle (outer aisle) joining to the quere, and for the colo' and stufte otherwise apperteyning, vij^l xv^s ij^d.

For a table for the co^mnyon to be ministered upon, joynd upo' a frame, viij^s.

For iij longe formes to the same, x^s.

For iij seatts with double desks, for the singing men to sitt in and to lay their books on, xx^s.

It'm, for pluckyng the alters, plastering the walles, and mending of diu[']se places, vij^s.

It'm, to labourers for poolyng (pulling) doune the roode, xiiij^d.

It'm, the expensys of John Dawber and Xp'ofer Chapman, Churchwardens, John Turno^r, Thomas Lambe, syde men, being at the visitac'on at Ewell, ij^s.

It'm, for the writing of a bill to be shewed to the King's Comissyoners, viij^d.

It'm, the expenses of X'tofer Chapman and John Dawbere, Church wardens, Richard Chomley, John Turno^r, and Thom's Lambe, being at Ryegate before the Comm^{rs},

* Of our Lord, at Easter.

when they required of the pishion's an Inventory of the churche goods, vjs vjd.

It'm, delyv'd a bill to the visiter of lands for horse meate and man's meate, xv^d.

It'm, to John Brande, for watching of y^e sepulcre, iiijd.

It'm, for a pounce of sope, j^d ob.

ij bushells of lyme, v^d.

John Tooke, for mending of a hole over the vestry, ij^d.

John Brand, for watching of the vestry, ij^d.

Edw^d Kyllike, casting of a banke, saffe garde to the Churche pale, ij^d.

To John Mathewe, for keepinge of the clocke,* by sight of Thom's Lambe, ix^d.

(67.)

Account of the Church Ornaments, &c. chiefly of the Romish times, belonging to the Church of Bermondsey, rendered to Sir Thomas Cawarden and other Commissioners of the King, appointed to receive the same for the Hundred of Brixton in Surrey. The ceremonial furniture of this Church appears to have been remarkably rich ; perhaps it had acquired some of the vestments belonging to the adjoining Abbey of Bermondsey at the suppression of religious houses. The sale of the decorations of the rood-loft, and substituting inscriptions from the Scriptures in their place, of the mass books, the enumeration of a Bible of the largest volume, communion books, a book of the Paraphrase, are contemporary illustrations of the abolition of superstitious forms and the revival of a pure faith, in conformity with reason and the revealed Word of God.

* i. e. Regulating the church clock.

There are among the manuscripts, accounts of the same description with the subjoined, rendered for the Churches of Clapham, Marten (Merton), Mortlacke, Newyngton Butts (a fragment only of the original), Putnei, Stratham, Totynge, Graveneye, Wannesworthe, Wymbledon, all within the Hundred of Brixton.

The P'ishe of Mary Maudelen in Barmsey.

Thys ys the Inventory indentyd and made of all the plate, juells, ornaments, and bells, wythe in the pshe cherche of Mary Mawdelyn of Barmondese, in the countye of Surreye, made betwene Sir Thomas Carden, knyght, John Scot, Nycolas Lee, Esquyers, Comyssoners, by the kyng's majeste comysson, apoynted wythe in the hundred of Bryxton, in the sayde Countye, of the one ptye, and John Felpot and Richard Wells, pysheners of the sayd pyshe, of the other ptye, made the xviii day of October, in the vith yere of the raynge of ower sov'ay'ge lorde kyng Edward the syxte.

Fyrst, one chalys all gylte waying xv ownces and a quarter.

It'm,* ii other chalysys pscell (parcel) gylte,† waying xxiiij ownces and a hafe.

ii com'unyon cuppys pscell gylte, waying xxxiii ownces.

ii copys (copes) of whyte damaske, w^t flowers of golde.

ii copys of blew damaske.

One cope of blew sylke w^t whyte flowers.

* The word item is repeated before every fresh entry in the original account.

† The distinction between wholly gilt and parcel (i. e. partly gilt) is marked by those entries. A silver chalice gilt only on the inside, would be styled parcel gilt.

A vestement of blew damaske, w^t all thyngs belongyng to y^e same.*

A vestement of rede velvyt w^t a yelow crosse.

A vestement of white brygges (Bruges) sattyn w^t a crymson crosse.

A vestement of red and grene sylke w^t a grene crosse.

An olde vestment of whyte w^t a blew crosse.

A grene vestement w^t a red crosse and the crowne and the star.

A vestement of red bryggys satten w^t a grene crosse, and St. Jamys in the backe.

A vestement of red and wyght velvyt w^t a blew crosse.

A vestement of whyte bryggs sattyn w^t a red damaske crosse.

A vestement of blacke damaske w^t thornys (thorns.)†

A vestement of sade taffa (taffata) tawny w^t the garter.

A vestement of blew sylke w^t a red crosse of velvyt.

A vestement of whyte bustean (fustian?) for lent.

iii dekens (deacons' vestments) of sylke, one of blew, another of grene, and the other of horse fleshe ‡ colere.

ii awter clothes, one of red and blew damask.

vii corperas cacys (covers for the host.)

ii stremers of sylke, one of blew, the other of red.

ii banner clothys of sylke for y^e crosse, one of grene, y^e other of rede.

ii olde corteyns (curtains) of sylke, and a vallens of dornex w^t a frenge.

A paynted stremere and iii paynted banners.

iii long towells of dyaper.

v small towells of dyaper.

* These words are repeated after each separate entry of vestments.

† Probably to be worn by the priest on Good Friday.

‡ *Sic in orig.* We confess the explanation of this item is beyond our skill. Does the expression denote a deep pink?

- viii awter clothys of dyaper.
- v hand towells of dyaper.
- ix playne awter clothys.
- iii playne hand towells.
- x surplys, good and bad.
- ii Rochetts.
- ii Super Alltarys.
- ii Corteyns to hang before the awtere.
- ii herse clothys one of blacke velvyt w^t golde, the other of whyte damaske, w^t a crosse of black velvyt.
- iii lytyll pyllowys.
- ii lattyn pyxsys (pixes) and ii paxsys (paxes)* of copper.
- ii pyxks clothys (cloths to cover the pyx) of sylke.
- ii standards of lattyn.
- ii payer of canstyks (candlesticks) of latyn.
- A crysmatory, ii cruys, and a lytyll basyn, all pewter.
- A olde vaylle † y^t went over the quyter for lent.
- A paynted clothe to hange before the Roode in lent.
- iiij heyr clothys to lay on y^e awters.
- A Bybyll of the largyst volam (volume.)
- A boke of the pafrasys (paraphrases ‡.)

* Here the distinction between *pax* and *pix*, which was confounded by our great lexicographer Johnson, is decidedly marked. The *pix* contained the consecrated wafers. The *pax* was an article bearing the image of our Saviour on the cross, which the congregation handed to each other to kiss at the conclusion of the service; a substitute for the practice, characteristic of the innocent simplicity of the primitive Church, of greeting each other "with a holy kiss."

† This was drawn before the Rood, and its accompanying figures of the Virgin and St. John.

‡ King Edward VI. in the first year of his reign, enjoined that one great Bible, and one book of the Paraphrases of Erasmus on the Gospels, both in English, should be set up in every church, that the people might read therein, &c. Also, that

iii comunyon boks.

vj sawters and a boke of the homyles.

iiij banner stavys and a crosse stafe.

ii pressys and iii olde chests.

A payre of orgayns.

iiij bells and a sance (sacring) bell.

By me, **ROBARD CHARE.**



By me, **JOHN CAVE.**

In the fyrst yer of ower sov'ayn lorde the kyng's grace that now ys, ther was cherche wardens of the pyshe of Mary Mawedlyns, of Barmonse, Rychard Alye, thomas Pynder, and Robard Coke, whyche lefte the Cherche goods hole to the next cherche wardens.

In the second and thyrd yere of the kyng's grace that now ys, ther was cherche wardens of the sayd pyshe, John Denton, Edmund Wayte, and Jemys Dyxson.

It'm, there was solde by them to Fabyan Wythers a sencer (censer) and a pyx of sylver, a crysmatory, and a pax of sylver, waying all lxxi ownces, at v^s the owncce, Som'e xvii^{li} xv^s

It'm, solde more by them, a crosse of copper and other olde mettyll of lattyn to Wyll'm Lawne, weying xlvi pound, pryce the pound iiij^d. Som'e xv^s iiij^d.

It'm, solde more by them to Sir Robard Curson, a cope of crymson velvyt and golde, and an awter clothe lyke unto the same, for the som'e of iiij^{li} vj^s viij^d.

Som'e of the hole receyts by them receyvyd, xxli^{li} xvij^s.

every minister of the church, on Sunday, having no sermon, should read one of the homilies shortly to be set forth by the King's authority. The Bible and the Paraphrase of Erasmus remain in many of our churches secured by a chain at this day. See Kempe's Notices of Tavistock and its Abbey, p. 12.

* The mark of the second churchwarden, Harry Etyne.

Payme'ts payd by John Denton, Edmund Wayte, and Jemys Dyxson.

Fyrst, bowght by them of Fabyan Wythers ii comunyon cuppys * of sylver and psell gylte, waying xxxiii ownces at vi^s viii^d ye ownce, som'e xi^{li}.

It'm, bowght more by them of Sir Thomas Pope, a pese of ground to make a ley stall for the soyle of the hole pyshe, for otherwyse had we none, for the som'e of iij^{li} vj^s viij^d.

It'm, payd more by them for boks to serve the quyer and ye cherche, as yt aperythe by the boke of acounte, som'e xxxiiij^s ij^d.

It'm, p^d more by them for payntyng the srypter (scripture) agaynst the Rode lofte and over the awter.

It'm, payd more by them for the Repacyons of the cherche, as y^t aperythe, p^ticularly by ther boke of a counte. Som'e xx^s. vi^d.

It'm, solde by ther tyme (sic) to Thomas Kendall, all ower (our) lattyn bokys † of pchment, for the som'e of x^s.

It'm, solde more by them to Hew Fysher, all the olde tymber that was on the cherche porche for v^s. Som'e by them receyved, xv^s.

Payments payd by Thomas Edwards, Harry Bryan, and Hew Fyssher.

It'm, p^d by them for makyng up the churche porche, for

* For giving the wine in the holy sacrament to the laity, from whom, under the popish ritual, it had been so long withheld, contrary to the divine injunction, "Drink ye *all* of it."

† All their Latin books of parchment were undoubtedly the Romish missals. The price shews how very little these beautifully-written, and often splendidly illuminated old formularies, brought at the time of the Reformation.

all manere of stufe and workmanshyps, and for other repacyos (reparations) of the Cherche, as yt aperythe by the boke of acounte, som'e vi^{li} xii^s.

It'm, p^d more by them for the comunyon table w^t a frame viii^s.

Som'e of payments by theme p^d, vij^{li}.

So ys there payments more than there receytys by vj^{li} vs.

It'm, the syxt yere of the kyng's grace that now ys, ther ys (sic) chercwardens of y^e sayd pyshe, Robard Chare, Harry Etyyn, and John Cave.

It'm, solde by them an olde cope of red sylke withle roses of sylver and gylte, for the som'e of xxiiij^s.

It'm, payd by them for the repacyo's (reparations) of the Cherche, as it aperythe by the boke of payme'ts, som'e xxxi^s.

(68.)

An original letter from the Lady Elizabeth, afterwards Queen, to Sir Thomas Cawarden, at that time a Gentleman of the Privy Chamber. This Letter relates to some affairs with which he appears to have been charged by the Princess above mentioned, and is inserted chiefly on account of the early period at which it was written, which must have been in the reign of Henry VIII.

Your loving fre'd, ELIZABETH.*

Gentill Mr. Cawarden, wth or hartiest comendac'ons, this berer, our trustie servante, hath fullie declared unto us as well the good hart ye bere us, as also the good coformytte (conformity) he founde

* Signed at the top of margin in the original.

in you to satisfie all desires and necessites, togai-ther wth yo^r gentill handling of him for o^r sake ; he hath besides this declared unto us the suspic'on ye have that Mansell sholde go aboute to subornate matter agenst you unto us, that therbie we sholde the rather seme to consent to supplant youe in some of your things. And finallie of yill (the ill) demeano^rs of his, w^{ch} we assure you were un- knownen unto us. For your redynes to doo us the pleasure we demaunded, and the rest of this your gentilnesse, we yelde unto youe our most hartie thanks, assuring you that we will not be un- mindfull therof. Touching Benham, * wee thinke there nedes none other Instruments then by yo^r tres to signifye your said conformytie unto us ; ffor the residue of our demaunde, wherin we right well pceive your redie good will to doo us pleasure,

* This, we believe, is the name of a place which may throw some small light on the subject of the Princess's letter. We find, by another MS. without date, that Cawarden was keeper, steward, and bailiff of the Castle of Donnington, near Newbury, in Berkshire, and its dependencies. He is also designated as keeper of the park, paler (an officer who had charge of the fences), woodward, and minister or paymaster. The emoluments of these offices amounted to 28*l.* per annum. The first dependent manor recited is *Benham Valence*, where he had the keeping of the mansion-house and park, and of which we imagine the Lady Elizabeth had a grant from the Crown. The rest are, Hamsted Marshall, Newburye, Benham Level, Shawe, and Calthorpe. He had a lease from the Crown of the house and site of the dissolved Priory of Donnington, and other lands in that neighbourhood.

w^{ch} we assure you we alwaies ment for o^r self, wee doo most hartely thank youe likewise, for without that, although it be but small, we cannot lie in thos pties (partes.) Aud for your fees and the leding of o' tennts, and the^x wth suche like, be youe most assured ye shall as quyetlie (quietly) enjoye them as your harte can thinke, and your servants as well considered as this yo' gentilnes dothe honestlie demerite. And touchinge Mansell, as we wolde not have received him, knowing him to be a man of such yvell inclinac'on, and worse lief, as ye saie; so woll we not uppon due profe therof mainteigne him or any suche, agenst our honor, as this berer can agayne tell youe.

To o^r very loving frende Sr Thomas Cawerden, knight, one of the Gentlemen of the king's maties p'vie ch^r.

(69.)

Queen Elizabeth, on her accession, desires Sir Thomas Cawerden, &c. to take charge of her Tower of London jointly with the Earl of Bedford. Other Letters also under the sign manual, dated Strand Place (Somerset House) 10th December, in the same year, discharge him with many hearty thanks from the above duty.

By the Quene.

ELIZABETH.

Trustie and well beloved, we grete yoⁿ well. Uppon th'assured confidence we have in your

x The word here omitted is "Mannede". See 15. Cent. Mag. N. S. p. 144.

faythfulnes towards us, and your habilities also, we do will and require you, and by thies presents auctorize you, t'attend uppon our right trustie and right welbeloved Cousyn th'Erle of Bedford, and wth him to resorte to our Tower of London, and to deliv^r thies o^r l^res herewth sent to our trustie and welbeloved S^r Robert Oxenbrige, knight, and thereuppon joynctely to take w^t him the chardge and custodie of o^r sayd Tower, w^t all maⁿer things therto belonging, and the same our place surely and faythfully to kepe and holde only unto our use, untyll our further pleas^r be knowen, to whom the same shal be comitted. And for that the same may be w^t good suretie and order deliv[']ed you, we have willed o^r sayd righte trustie and right wel beloved Cousin Therle of Bedford, in our name, to see the same surely delivered unto you joyntly w' the sayd S^r Robert.

Geven under o^r Signet* at o^r mano^r of Hatfelde, the . . day of November, the first yere of our reigne.

To our trusty and wel beloved Sir

Thomas Carden and Sir Edward Warner, knyghts.

* The signet used for these letters is that of Phillip and Mary, the arms of Spain quartered on the dexter and most honourable side of the shield, the arms of England on the sinister. The whole surrounded with the collar of the Garter, and having the letter P. on the right side and M. on the left. Elizabeth was proclaimed Queen 17 Nov. 1558, and no time had therefore passed in which to prepare a seal.

(70.)

Extracts from the Will of Sir Thomas Cawarden.

In the name of God amen. The daye of Saint Bartholomewe the Apostle, the yere of our Lord God 1559. I, Thomas Cawarden, Knighte, of the parish of Blechingligh, in the countie of Surrey, do ordyne and make my testament, conteyninge therein my last will, in manner and forme followinge. Ffyrst, I geve my soule unto Almightye Godd my Maker and Redeemer, my bodie to be buried in the church of Blechingligh aforesaide, at the discretion of my executours. I geve and bequethe unto Richard Lee, of London, twentie poundes by the yere of annuytie, yssuing and going out of all suche landes as I have here lyinge within the circuyte and precincte of the late Black ffryers.* Also I geve and bequeath unto

* It has already been noticed, p. 16, that Sir Thomas Cawarden had a grant from the Crown of the church and precinct of the dissolved monastery of the Black or Dominican Friars in London. We have found two documents of considerable local interest relative to that foundation among his papers, a Survey taken in the reign of Edward VI. by the King's Surveyor, of the site and soil of the church of the Blackfriars and its appendages, and another of the tenements held by Sir Thomas Cawarden within its precinct. By the first, we find that the church was a very noble structure, and must have had a most imposing effect, standing as it did on the steep northern bank of the Thames. It appears from the above document that it had two aisles, a chancel, and "a chapel to the same;" no doubt a retro-choir, or Lady Chapel. It was in breadth, from the churchyard on the north to the cloister on the south, 66 feet; in length from east to west 220 feet; dimensions rather

the same Richard Lee all stuff and lumber of tentes, and other olde howses and tymber, as is nowe remayning w^{thin} the place of M^r of the Tents. Also I geve and bequeath unto every of my servants, men and women, in consideracon of there honest service to me heretofore doon, one whole yeres wages after the day of my deathe. Also I geve and bequethe to my father fower almayne revetts, one corcelett brigandine, or shyрте of male, fur-

superior to those of that venerable pile, St. Saviour's, Southwark. The cloister on the south side was comprised in a square, each side of which measured 110 feet. The chapter-house lay west of the cloister, and was 44 feet long, by 22 broad. The cemetery on the north of the church was 90 feet in breadth by 200 in length. Such particulars have we been able incidentally to recover from the above document relative to the church of the Blackfriars, London, which not even the noble remains that it enshrined could protect from being razed in the devastation committed on so many glorious monuments of our national architecture, at the suppression of religious houses. A list of the distinguished persons who were there entombed is given by Stow, in his Survey of London; from whom we learn that several Parliaments were there held; that in the year 1522 the Emperor Charles the Fifth was lodged there; and that Wolsey and Campeius here held their Court for the purpose of effecting the divorce of Henry VIII. from Catharine of Arragon. On the dissolution, several noblemen took up their residence within the precinct. The Master of the Revels and Tents, and his assistants, had their office and houses there; and a theatre, in 1576, was established on the spot by Richard Burbage, the original hero of many of Shakspeare's dramas. The inhabitants of the precinct petitioned the Council against this place of public amusement, and alleged that the playhouse being so near the church, the drums and trumpets would disturb the minister and parishioners in the time of divine service and sermons.

nisshedd according unto the discretion of my executors. Also I geve and bequeath unto the poore of the p'ishe of Blechingligh and Hoorne fifteene poundes, and unto the parish of Katherham ffyve poundes, to be disbursed unto the same parishes by the discretion of my executors. Also I geve unto my s'vantes Barthilmewe Scott, — Scott his brother, Thomas Boothe, Thomas Vaughan, and Otto Willick, and to ev'y of them, one geldinge, to be delyvered unto them at the discretion of my executours. Also unto the same Otto Willick I geve and bequethe one dagge (pistol) and one hand gunne. Also unto Duffelde my servant I geve and bequethe one geldinge. Also I do geve unto William More, esquire, thre stoned coltes and thre geldinges, to be taken amonges all such coltes and geldinges as I have by me, at his election. Also I geve and bequeath unto the same William More, esquire, one of the best corseletts* that I have, at his election; two gilte partizans, to be

* The spirit of chivalry, which made armour, horses, and weapons objects of much value and price, had not declined in the 16th century. In Sir Philip Sydney's *Arcadia*, lib. 3, p. 286, the reader will find a lively and beautiful description of a tilting, and the arms of the combatants. We extract a single passage: "As soone as Amphialus landed, he sent his squire to Phalantius to tell him there was a knight ready to know whether he had any thing to say to him. Phalantius answered, that his answer must now be in the language of lances, and so each attended the warning of the trumpets. Phalantius' horse, yong, and feeling the youth of his master, stood corvetting, which being well governed by Phalantius, gave such a glittering grace as when the sun in a cleere day shines upon a waving water. Amphialus' horse stood pawing upon the ground with his further foot before, as if he would for his master's cause begin to make himself angrie; till, the trumpets sounding together, together they set spurres to their horses, together took

taken at his election, two corseletts for his men, fflower piks, six Almayn revetts, six black bills and bowes, twelve shefe of arrowes, a faire sworde, at his election. Also to Thomas Harvie, my late s'vaunte, thre corseletts, v Almayne revetts, vi black bills, vi bowes, twelve sheffe of arrowes, two geldinges and a colt. Also unto Thomas Blagrove, my late s'vaunt, thre corseletts, vi Almayn revetts, vi bowes, twelve shefe of arrowes, and vi black bills, two geldinges and a colt. The residue of all my goods and cattalls to remayne unto Elizabeth, my wiff, my dettes paid, and legac's performed, which Elizabeth, and William More, esquire, of Loseley, in the countie of Surrey, I do ordeyne and make my executours of this my last will and testament, and Thomas Blagrove and Thomas Howe overseirs of the same.

I geve unto Anthony Browne * my yonge done (dun) ambling geldinge; and unto Gilbert Gerrard and Richard Goodridge, and to every of them, one ring of gold of the vallev of iiij marks. And whereas I have alwaies founde the honorable Lorde Clinton my very ffrende and especial good lorde, I will that my executours aforesaide shall geve unto him a cup of the vallue of tenne powndes, as a remembraunce and testemony of my poor good will allway borne unto him; and to the ladie his wiffe a gold ringe w^t a turkes (turquoise). I geve also unto Mrs. Wade a gowne of black damask, and a hoode, furnished according to a widowes estate. In witnes whereof, &c. &c.

their lances from their thighs, conveyed them up into the rest together, together let them sinke downward, so as it was a delectable sight in a dangerous effect, and a pleasant consideration that there was so perfect an agreement in so mortal disagreement, like a musicke made of cunning discords," &c.

* One of the Justices of the Common Pleas.

(71.)

The yearly Expences of Sir Thomas Cawarden's Household.

A Note of the yerlye Expences of the Hówshold of Sr
Thomas Cawarden, Knyght, an^o sec^o E. Sexti.

S'v'nts having lev'aes (liveries) to the number of c. wiche
hathe yerlyye a yerd d^d of clothe a pece, wiche lev'aes
does amount in some to, after vi^s the yerd and iii^s the di
yerd, to xlv^{li}

The expences of beffe the space of xlv weeks, iij^{li} in
the week clxxx^{li}

The expences of malte the space of lii weiks, iii qrts.
d' spent one weik wth another, after vi^s viii^d the qrt. comes
to the some lx^{li} x^s

The expences of freshe fyshe the space of cij weks,
ev'y weke a dosseer, after vi^s the dosser, so mountethe
some to xv^{li} xii^s

The expences of salt fishe, beyinge white and reid, ells
(eels) and sturgeon xv^{li}

The chargs of s'vants wages to the number of l, xl^s
a pece cl^{li}

Spice and peper in one yere x^{li}

Wyne, renyshe, reid, whyte, sak, and clareit, and
mamssye x^{li}

Multons (besids p'vessione) c, v^s a pece xxv^{li}

Salte, and the reparacons, of pewther and brass, in the
ketchyng, and the caregeis fro' London, by the occac'on of
the howshold viij^{li}

(72.)

Funeral Charges of Sir Thomas Cawarden.

Suche Charges as grewe the Daye of the Obseques of Sr
Thom's Cawarden, Knight, decessed, viz.

Imp'm's, the blacks lxix^{li} xix^s iij^d

It'm, for velvet and sylcks and bridges satten	x ^l v ^s v ^d
It'm, to the paynter	ii ^l
It'm, to Barthelmew Scott, for money disbursed at that same tyme, as aperyth by byll	lvij ^s iiij ^d
It'm, to Richarde Leyes, for moneye by him disbursed the same tyme, as apereth by byll	xxiiij ^s ii ^d
It'm, to Mr. Byron, preacher	xxv ^s iiij ^d
To Mr. Marlan, herald of armes	liij ^s iiij ^d
It'm, to the parson of the cherche, for executing of the funeralle	xii ^d
It'm, to the cherche wardens, for breking the gronde of the sepulker or grave he was buried in	vi ^s iiiij ^d
It'm, to the parson for a dead mortuary	x ^s
It'm, in ready money distributed to the poore, the daye of the funeralle, by the hands of Richard Leye, the parson of the church, in the presens of the churchwardens	iiij ^{li} xij ^s
It'm, to John Broke and Wyll'm Asted, for dyging the grave, &c.	ii ^s ii ^d
It'm, to the sexton, clerke, and ryngears	ix ^s iiij ^d
It'm, for the lone of black cottons	xiii ^s i ^d ob.
It'm, for the waste of cottons borrowed	iiij ^s
It'm, payed to Mr. Moore, by the hands of Thomas Hawe, for xxvii yards blacke cotton, w'ch he sent from Gylforde to hang aboute the corps and wagon, when the same was brought to Blechyngly from Horsley	xv ^s ix ^d
[The total of the above is £96. 15s. 1½d.]	

In another paper are the particulars of the funeral banquet, as follows :

Provision of ffreshe acates from London	v ^{li} vii ^s viij ^d
It'm, two tonne of beare	iiij ^{li}
It'm, iiij quarters wheat	iiij ^{li} xiiij ^s iiij ^d
It'm, ii oxen	vi ^{li} xiiij ^s iiij ^d
It'm, iiiij vealls	xiiij ^s iiij ^d

It'm, iiii multons	xvj ^s viij ^d
It'm, iiij piggs	v ^s iiij ^d
It'm, iiij d. (doz.) pigeons	viijs ^s
It'm, vii d. coneyes	xvijs ^s
P'm, iiij d. chekens	vijs ^s viij ^d
It'm, sugar, spics, and frutes	vli
It'm, wyne di. (half a) tonne	vli
It'm, to Thomas Bowyer, for ii loods coles	xxs
The total of the above is £32. 16s. 8d.; and of the whole expences of the Knight's obsequies £129. 11s. 9½d.	

(73.)

Estimate by a Herald of the Funeral Charges of the Lady Cawarden; endorsed, "The charge of the buryall of the Lady of a Knyght.

Preparation to be made for the Buryall of the
Lady Cardyn.

ffyrst the body to be well syred (cered) and chested.

Item, a place to be appointed wher the body shall be buried.

Item, ordre to be takin for the hangyng of the churchewithe blacke.

Item, ordre be takyn for the raylles wher the morners shall knele, to be hangyd with blacke; and also the churchewithe, and the said raylles, to be garnyshed with scochins.

Item, to apoint a gentylman in a blacke gowne to cary the penon of armes.

Item, to apoint v women morners, wherof the chifest to be in the degre of a lady.

Item, to apoint a knyght or a squier to lede the chieff mornor.

Item, to apoint iiij gentylmen to be assystance to the body.

- Item, yeomen in blacke cottes to cary the body.
- Item, to appoint a preacher.
- Item, to appoint a paille of blacke velvett to laye upon the body during the service.
- Item, prestes and clarks to be appontyd for the said service.

The paynter's charge :

- ffyrst, for a pennon of her armes xxvi^s viij^d
- Item, vi scochins on bouckeram for the body, at ii^s a piece xii
- Item, scochins in mettall
- Item, scochins in coullers
- Clarencieulx King of Armes, v yardes of blacke clothe for his morning gowne
- Item, more for his fee for the beryall of a lady, a knight's wyffe iii^{li} vi^s viij^d
- Item, the Herroulde that shall go to serve, to have iiij yardes demy of blacke clothe for his gowne.
- Item, his chargys to be boryn to and fro, and v^s a daye for his s'vice.

Due unto Clarencieulx King of Armes, for the beryall of Sire Thomas Carden, Knight.

- Item, for my allowance of my blacke clothe, and for my fee, yet unansweryd v^{li}
- Item, for my fee of the patent of armes graunted unto my Lady Cardyn, yett unansweryd ffor v^{li}

(74.)

Sir William Fitzwylliams (afterwards Lord Deputy of Ireland) to Mr. More ; the Lord Chamberlain has begun to make labour for his son to be one of the knights of the shire. The Queen suddenly quits her domestic chapel when a Bishop

was about to elevate the host in the old form. This was the first marked demonstration which she gave of her intention to support the principles of the glorious Reformation.

Sr,

I can but ffor these yo^r late lettyrs, and all othyr yo^r gentlenes, render on to yo^u moste hertie thanks; and to theeffect of yo^r saide lettyrs yo^u shall ondyrstande that apon' Sat'day last, he beyng at Londyn, my sone Brown wrote on' to me that he hade ondyrstanding my lord chamb'layn began to make labore for his sone to be one of the knyghts ffor that shyre. Wherapon I sent to Mr. Cawerden to knowe his opynion theryn, whose awnswere was that ffor hys own parte he wolde take no knoledge of annye suche mattys, nor he thoght gode that my son sholde, saying ffurdyr that oneles my son dyd stande ffor the same he wolde not, and that he undyrstode Mr. Sawndyrs made at the desyre of my saide L. ernest mene onto the ffreeholders abowte Kyngeston w'ch made awnswere that theye had pmysyd ther gode wylls beffore, &c. Thus have I s'teffyd (certified) my sayd sone of Mr. Cawyrden his mynde, and of my owen also w'ch is myche agreable to the same. And I hope wth the gode helpe of yo' and othyr gode ffrends the mattyr wyll goo well ynoghe on owr syde, &c. Mr. Teylle wilbe wth yo^u apon Wensdaye nexte, &c. And ffor newes yo^u shall ondyrstand that yestyrdaye beyng Chrystemas day the quene's matie repayryd to hyr great closet w'th hyr nobles and ladyes, as hath ben acustomyd yn ssuch high

feasts. And she parseving a bysshope p'paring himselfe to masse all in the olde ffowrme, she taryyd there on'till the gospelle was done, and when all the people lokyd ffor hir to have offryde according the olde ffaccon, she w'th hyr nobles reeturnyd agayn ffrom the closet and the masse, on to hir p'veye chamb'r, w'ch was strange on' to dyv's, &c. blessid be God in all his gifts, &c. You shall knowe more of this mattyr by Mr. Teylle, &c. I pray yo' to commende me and my wiffe, ffirst on'to yo'self, and then on to yo^r gode wyfe, &c. this Saynt Steven's night, by yo^r as his own.

WYLL'M FITZWYLL'MS.

To the Right w'shyppfull Mr. More,
 Sheriffe of the Cowntees of Sur-
 reye and Sussyxe.

(75.)

Mr. Tyle to Mr. (afterwards Sir William) More,* a familiar letter, from the Court at Windsor, written at Christmas 1558, about five weeks after the accession of Queen Elizabeth.

After my most hartie comendac'ons bothe unto yo^u and to yo^r bedfellow, this shalbe to advertis yo^u that my ladie Fitz will'ms willed me to se'tifie yo^u that as yet S^r Will'm Fitz will'ms her bedfellow ys not yet come from the court, and whether he comyth to night or no we are not assured, but we had word from hym that he wold be at home yf he conveyentlye maye.

* He was knighted by Queen Elizabeth in 1576.

Apon Saterdaye last he spake with the quene, and her grace comanded hym to tarrye there Saynt Steuen's daye, and then her grace wold talk farder with hym. He hath sent home apon Saterday last all his ap'arell; wherefore we know he will not be long awaye, for he hath not left hym a shert there to shyft hym with all, my ladie wold be glad to see yo^u and yo^r bedfellow here this holydayes. Thus I byd yo^u most hartely farewell, from the manner of the great p'ke (park) of WyndSOR this p'sent Saynt Steeven's daye.

By yo's to com'and,

EDWARD TYLE.

I ham very glad to here of yo^r renysh wyne, I praye yo^u kepe yt well, for I trust my p'te ys therin.

To the right worshipful Mr.

Will'm More geve this.

Lotteries in the reign of Elizabeth.

The following papers give the particulars of "a very rich Lottery General of money, plate, and certain sorts of merchandize, erected by her Majesty's order," A. D. 1567. The greatest and most excellent prize, it will be seen, was estimated at 5,000*l.*, of which 3,000*l.* was to be paid to the lucky adventurer in ready money, 700*l.* in plate, "gilt and white," and the remainder in "good tapisserie meet for hangings, and other covertures, and certain sorts of good linen cloth." The lots, amounting in number to four hundred thousand, were somewhat tardily disposed

of, and the lottery appears not to have been *read*, as the phrase then was, until the 11th of January, 1568—9,* when the reading took place in a building erected for the purpose at the west door of St. Paul's cathedral, and continued, day and night, until the 6th of the following May. The price of the lots was 10s. each; the lots were occasionally subdivided, for the accommodation of the purchasers, into halves and quarters, and, it appears from one of the printed reports extant, were apportioned into shares still more minute, although it is not easy precisely to determine what the subdivisions were. The objects propounded for the profits of this lottery were, the repair of the harbours and fortifications of the kingdom, and other public works. Great pains, it will be seen, was taken to "provoke the people" to adventure their money in this voluntary mode of taxation, which to the majority it must have eventually proved. The Lord Mayor and Corporation of the City of London were made, jointly with her majesty, responsible for the faithful fulfilment of the conditions of the lottery to the public; and a document, intituled, "The ende taken by the Lord Mayor of London in the affayre of the Lottery," states that he, with all his brethren (the Aldermen), repairing to the house of the Lottery, adventured among them to the number of a thousand lots; that all the city companies, as the Mercers, Drapers, Haberdashers, &c. did the like, and that this was general throughout the whole city. That every man privately adventured what he thought good. Several of the small parishes and hamlets nigh to London, espe-

* In these old documents it is hardly necessary to observe that the year is always calculated to commence on the 25th of March.

cially in Middlesex, adventured in companies, "every man putting into the lottery according to his ability, some one lott or mo, some half a lott, some iis. *vid.* some *xiid.* some *iiid.* some *iid.* or more or less according to ther haviours and power, and the same put into the lottery under one posye, in the name of the hole parishe." These mottoes, devices, or posies were publicly proclaimed at the drawing, whence came the term in use at the time, "reading the lottery."

We have not met with any lotteries on record before the time of Queen Elizabeth, when they appear to have become a common mode of raising money for the purposes of the State.* The documents at Loseley are perhaps the only original illustrations extant of the lotteries of that period. In 1585, the Chronicles make mention of "a lottery for marvellous and beautiful armour, begun to be drawn in Paul's Churchyard, at the great west gate, in a house of timber and board, there erected for that purpose, on St. Peter and St. Paul's day."† We suspect, from the nature of the prizes here mentioned, that lotteries were introduced at an earlier period, and in the age which may distinctively be accounted as the chivalrous. Lotteries were known in the classic ages. Those of Augustus, Nero, and Elagabalus are recorded. The latter contrived, like the modern designers of lottery schemes, that his lotteries should

* The Lords of the Council address letters to Sir Edward Howard, Sir Edmund Bowyer, and Sir Francis Vincent, Knts. Deputy Lieutenants for Surrey, dated 2d February 1614 (11th of James the First) concerning a Lottery in aid of the English Colonists in Virginia. This Lottery was appointed to be drawn at the usual place, the West door of St. Paul's Cathedral.

† See the rare little duodecimo, Stow's "Summarie of the Chronicles," p. 401.

be "all prizes without any blanks;" but when one individual gained six slaves, and another six flies, one a vase of costly material and workmanship, and another a pipkin of common earthenware, the holders of the inferior prizes, as in later times, had little reason to congratulate themselves that they were not to be denominated as blanks.

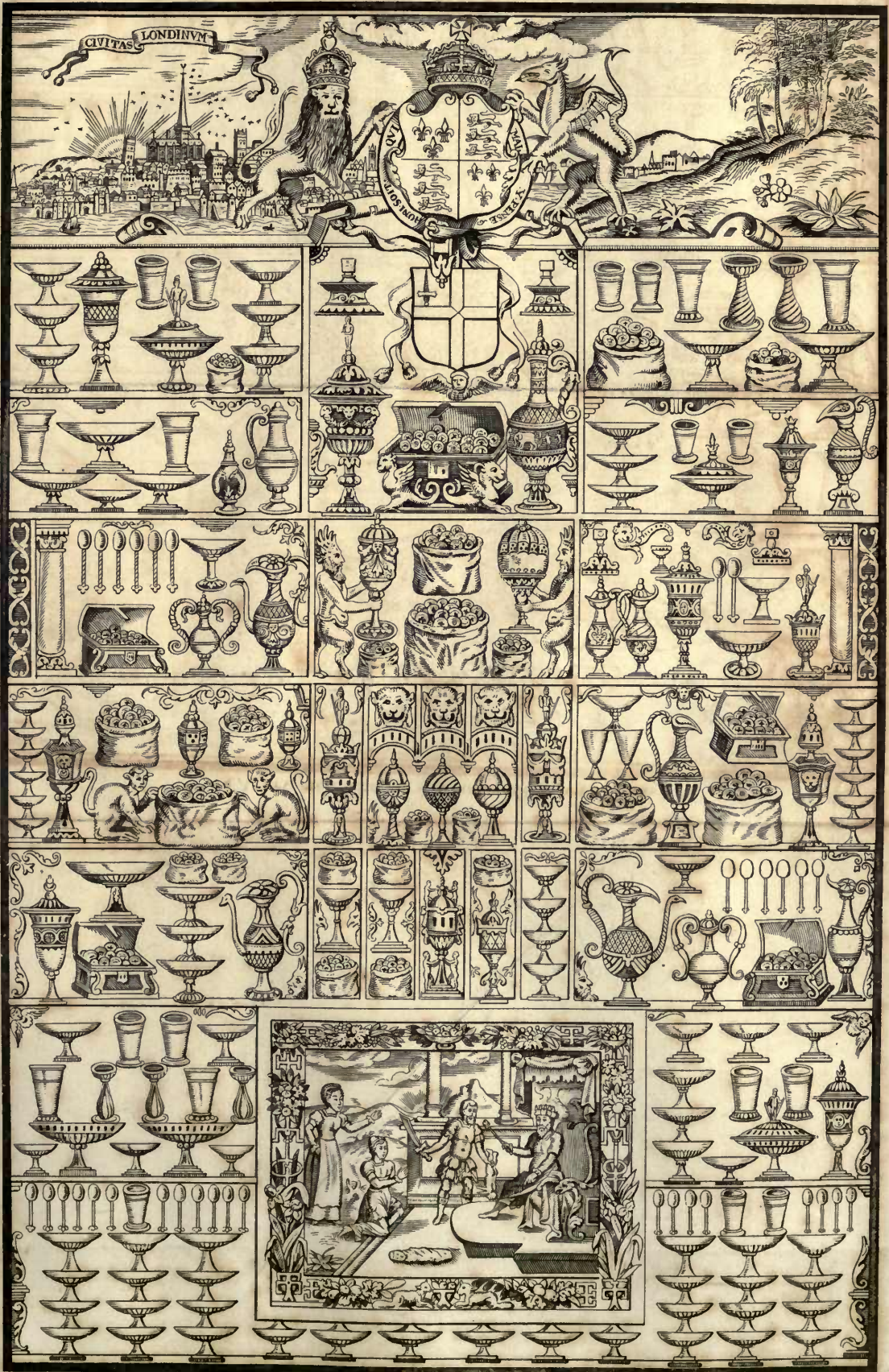
(76.)

"Chart" of the Lottery of the year 1567. This is esteemed by bibliographical judges to be an unique specimen; it is printed in a well-formed black letter character with an admixture (for the heads and some clauses of distinction) of text and italics. The bill is five feet in length by nineteen inches in breadth, surrounded by a neat border of ornamental types. It has at the top an impression of a boldly cut wood block, 20 inches deep, representing the Royal Arms, the City of London, St. Paul's Cathedral with its lofty spire, the river, and the sun effulgent. Underneath are the articles of plate, money, and tapestry, curiously displayed in several compartments, probably as they were to be seen in Cheapside, London, at the sign of the Queen's Majesty's Arms, in the house of Master Derick, Goldsmith, her servant; see the document subjoined.

A verie rich Lotterie Generall, without any blankes, containyng a great number of good prizes, as wel of redy money as of plate, and certayne sorts of marchaundizes, having ben valued and priced by the comaundement of the Queenes most excellent majestie, by men expert and skilfull; and the same Lotterie is erected by hir majesties order, to the intent that suche commoditie as may chaunce to arise thereof, after the charges borne, may be converted towardes the reparation of the havens and



PRIZES REPRESENTED ON THE LOTTERY CHART, FOR 1567.



PRIZES REPRESENTED ON THE LOTTERY CHART, FOR 1567.



strength of the Realme, and towardes such other publike good workes. The number of lots shall be foure hundreth thousand, and no more; and every lot shall be the summe of tenne shillings sterling onely, and no more.

Three welcomes.

The first person to whome any lot shal happen shal have for his welcome, (bysides the advantage of his adventure,) the value of fiftie poundes sterling, in a piece of sylver plate gilte.

The second to whome any lot shall happen, shall have in like case for his welcome (bysydes his adventure) the summe of thirtie poundes, in a piece of plate gilte.

The third to whom any price shall happen, shall have for his welcome, besides his adventure, the value of twentie pounds, in a piece of plate gilte.

The Prices.

Whosoever shall winne the greatest and most excellent price, shall receive the value of five thousande poundes sterling, that is to say, three thousande pounds in ready money, seven hundred poundes in plate gilte and white, and the rest in good tapissarie meete for hangings, and other covertures, and certain sortes of good linen cloth.

2d "great price." 3,500*l.*, i. e. 2,000*l.* in money, 600*l.* in plate, the rest in good tapissarie, &c. as above.*

3d. 3,000*l.* i. e. 1,500*l.* in money, 500*l.* in plate, the rest, &c.

4th. 2,000*l.* i. e. 1,000*l.* in money, 400*l.* in plate, the rest, &c.

* We have taken the liberty to abbreviate the original document in detailing the prizes, only in substituting numerals for words at length, and in omitting the repetition of the mere words of form to be found in the leading clause.

5th. 1,500*l.* i. e. 750*l.* in money, 300*l.* in plate, the rest, &c.

6th. 1,000*l.* i. e. 500*l.* in money, 200*l.* in plate, the rest, &c.

7th. 700*l.* i. e. 400*l.* in money, 100*l.* in plate, the rest, &c.

8th. 500*l.* i. e. 250*l.* in money, 100*l.* in plate, the rest, &c.

9th. 400*l.* i. e. 250*l.* in money, 100*l.* in plate, the rest, &c.

10th. 300*l.* i. e. 200*l.* in money, 50*l.* in plate, the rest, &c.

11th. 250*l.* i. e. 150*l.* in money, 50*l.* in plate, the rest, &c.

12th. 200*l.* i. e. 150*l.* in money, the rest in good tapisserie and linen cloth.

13th. 140*l.* i. e. 100*l.* in money, 40*l.* in plate, tapisserie, or linen cloth.

12 prices, every price of the value of 100*l.* that is to say, 3 score and 10*l.* ready money, and 30*l.* in plate, tapisserie, or linen cloth.

20 and 4 prices, every price of 50*l.*, 30*l.* in ready money, 20*l.* in plate, tapisserie, &c.

3 score prices of 4 and 20*l.* and 10*s.* (24*l.* 10*s.*) 17*l.* in ready money, and 7*l.* 10*s.* in plate, &c.

4 score and 10 prices, every price of 22*l.* 10*s.* i. e. 15*l.* in money, 7*l.* 10*s.* in plate, &c.

One hundredth and 14 of 18*l.* i. e. 12*l.* in money, 6*l.* 5*s.* in plate gilte and white.

120 prices of 12*l.* 10*s.* i. e. 7*l.* 10*s.* in money, 5*l.* in like plate.

150 prices of 8*l.* i. e. 5*l.* in money, 3*l.* in linen cloth.

200 prices of 6*l.* 10*s.* i. e. 4*l.* in money, 50*s.* in linen cloth.

300 prices of 4*l.* 10*s.* i. e. 50*s.* in money, 40*s.* in linen cloth, &c.

500 prices of 3*l.* 10*s.* i. e. 40*s.* in money, 30*s.* in linen cloth, &c.

500 prices of 50*s.* in money.

2000 prices of 40*s.* in plate.

6000 prices of 25s. in money.

10,000 prices of 15s. in money.

9418 prices of 14s. in money.

And all the rest, to the accomplishing of the aforesayd number of lottes, shall be allowed for every adventure at the least 2 shill^s and six pens in ready money.

Conditions ordained for the advantage of the Adventurers in this Lotterie, bysides the Prices before mentioned in the Charte.

The Queenes Majestie, of hir power royall, giveth libertie to all maner of persons that will adventure any money in this Lotterie, to resort to the places underwritten, and to abyde and depart from the same in manner and forme following; that is to say, to the Citie of London, at any time within the space of one moneth next following the feast of S. Bartholomew this present yeare 1567, and there to remain seven days. And to these cities and towns following: York, Norwich, Exceter, Lincolne, Coventrie, Southampton, Hull, Bristol, Newcastell, Chester, Ipswich, Sarisbury, Oxforde, Cambridge, and Shrewesbury, in the Realme of Englande, and Dublyn and Waterforde in the Realme of Irelande, at any time within the space of three weekes next after the publication of this Lotterie in every of the sayd severall places, and there to remaine also seven whole days, without any molestation or arrest of them for any maner of offence, saving treason, murder, pyracie, or any other felonie, or for breach of hir Majesties peace, during the time of their comming, abiding, or retourne.

And that every person adventuring their money in this Lotterie may have the like libertie in comming and departing to and from the Citie of London, during all the

time of the reading of the same Lotterie, untill their last adventure be to them answered.

Also, that whosoever under one devise, prose or poesie, shall adventure to the number of thirtie lottes and upward, within three monethes next following after the sayd feast of Saint Bartholomew, and by the hazarde of the prices contained in this Lotterie gaineth not the thirde pennie of so much as they shall have adventured, the same third pennie, or so much as wanteth of the same, shall be allowed unto them in a yearly pencion, to begin from the day when the reading of the sayd Lotterie shall ende, and to continue yearly during their life.

Whosoever shall gaine the best second and third great prices, having not put in the posies whereunto the sayd prices shall be answerable into the Lotterie within three moneths next after the said feast of Saint Bartholomew, shall have abated and taken out of the summe of money contained in the said best price, one hundreth and fiftie pounds, and of the sayd second price one hundreth pounds, and out of the said third price foure score pounds, to be given to any towne corporate or haven, or to any other place, for any good and desirable use, as the partie shall name or appoint in writing.

And whosoever shall gaine a hundreth poundes or upwarde in any price, saving the three severall best prices next afore mentioned, having not put in his lots, whereby he shall gaine any such price, within three moneths next following the sayd feast of Saint Bartholomew, shall have abated and deducted (as above is sayd) out of every hundred pounds five pounds, to be employed as is next before sayd.

Whosoever having put in thirtie lottes under one devise or posie, within the sayd three moneths, shalle winne the last lot of all, if before that lot wonne he have not

gained so much as hath ben by him put in, shall for his taryng and yll fortune be comforted with the reward of two hundreth poundes, and for every lot that he shall have put in besydes the sayd thirty lots, he shall have twentie shillings sterlyng.

And whosoever having put in xxx lots under one devise or posie, within the sayd three moneths, shal win the last lot save one, and have not gained so much as he hath put in, shal likewise be comforted for his long tarryng with the rewaid of c poundes, and for every lot that he shal have put in above xxx shall receive ten shillings sterling.

Item, whosoever shall adventure from fortie lottes upwarde, under one devise or posie, shall have libertie to lay downe the one halfe in readie money, and give in bond for the other halfe to the Comissioner that in that behalfe shal be appointed to have the charge for that citie or towne where the partie shal thinke good to pay his money, with condition to pay in the same money, for the which they shal be bound, six weekes at the least before the day appointed for the reading of the lotterie, upon payn to forfeite the money payde, and the benefit of any price. Which day of reading shall begyn within the Citie of London the xxv day of June next coming.

And in case it shall fortune the same day of the reading to be prolonged upon any urgent nedeful cause to a further day, the parties having adventured and put their money into the lotterie, shall be allowed for the same after the rate of ten in the hundred from the day of the prorogation of the sayd readyng untill the very day of the first reading of the lotterie.

Item, every person to whome, in the time of reading, any price shall happen and be due, the same price shal be delivered unto him the next day following, to dispose of

the same at his pleasure, without that he shall be compelled to tary for the same until the ende of the reading And, being a straunger borne, he shal have libertie to convert the same, being money, into wares, to be by him transported into foraine parts, paying only half custome for the same and other duties that otherwise he should answer therefore.

Whosoever at the time of the reading shall have three of his owne posies or devises, comming together successively and immediately one after another, the same having put in the sayd three posies within thre moneths (as before), shall have for the same posies or devises so comming together one after an other, three pounds sterling over and besides the price answerable therfore.

And whosoever at the time of the reading shall have four posies or devises comming together successively and immediately one after another, having put in his sayde posies within three monethes (as before mentioned) shall have for the sayd foure posies and devises six poundes sterling, besides the prices.

And who soever at the time of the reading shall have five posies or devises comming together successively and immediately one after another, having put in his lottes within thre moneths (as before), shall have for the sayd five posies or devises ten pounds sterling, besides the prices.

And who soever shall have the like adventure six times together, having put in his lots, as afore, shal have for those vi posis or devises xxv pounds sterling, and the prices.

And who soever shall have the like adventure seven times together, having put in his lots as afore, shall have for those seven posies or devises a hundreth pounds sterling, and the prices.

And whosoever shall have the like adventure eight times together, having put in his lots as afore, shall have

for those eight two hundreth pounds sterling, and the prices.

And so the posies or devises resorting together by increase of number, he to whom they shal happen in that sorte, having put in his money, as afore is said, shal have for every tyme of increase one hundreth poundes sterling, and the prices.

The receipt and collection of this present Lotterie shall endure for the rest of the Realme besides London, until the xvth day of April next coming, which shalbe in the yere 1568.

And the receipt and collection of the City of London shal continue unto the first day of May next following; at which dayes, or before, all the collectors shal bring in their bokes of the collection of lottes to such as shal be appointed to receive their accomptes, upon paine, if they do faile so to do, to lose the profite and wages appointed to them for their travell in that behalfe. Finally, it is to be understood that hir Majestie and the Citie of London will answeere to all and singular persons havynge adventured their money in this Lotterie, to observe all the articles and conditions contained in the same from point to point inviolably.

The shewe of the prices and rewardes above mencioned shall be set up to be seene in Cheapsyde in London, at the signe of the Queene's Majestie's arms, in the house of M. Dericke, goldsmith, servant to the Queene's most excellent Majestie.

God saue the Queen.

Imprinted at London, in Paternoster Rowe, by Henrie Bynneman, anno 1567.

(77.)

Proclamation of Queen Elizabeth relative to the Chart of the Lottery lately erected, &c. from an original copy, printed in the black letter, January 3, 1567.

By the Queene.

Where as in the Chart of the Lotterie lately erected, amongst other things devised for the advauntage of the adventurers, there was a limitation of three monethes, within the compasse whereof, who so adventured money into the sayd Lotterie, should be partakers of divers profits and advantages more than others that should adventure their money after the said three monethes ended.

Forasmuch as in sundry parts of the realme, the principal persons that were appointed to be the treasurers for the money that should be gathered in the severall shyres of the realme, had not received their instructions and charge in such due time as was requisite, by reason that upon the first nomination of them, there were after sundry alterations of some by reason of sicknesse, of others by reason they were dead aboute the time of their nomination, and of some others, that afterward were so otherwise occupied in publike offices, as the said service could not be by them executed, so as of the sayd space of three moneths, there passed over a good part, to the detriment of the adventurers. Hir Majestie being duely advertised of the premisses, to the ende that in the affaire of the said Lotterie, advaunced by hir Majestie for the good of the common weale, all hir loving subjectes should be intreated with an indifferencie of dealing, and participate alike of the advantages expressed in the sayd Chart, without any prejudice of time passed away from them without their faulte or occasion; is pleased that the advauntage of the

sayd three monethes now expired, shall be enlarged and proroged to all maner of persones, that have or shall adventure their money into the said Lotterie for thre moneths longer, to have course and continuance for the space of foure score and ten dayes accompting xxx dayes to the moneth, to begin within every shire their accompt exclusively, from the xxiiii of December last past.

So as whosoever within the sayd three monethes of proration shall adventure or at any time before have adventured their money into the sayd Lotterie, shall have and enjoye all maner and as ample advauntages and commodities, as by vertue and tenure of the sayd Chart, they shuld have enjoyed if they had adventured their money into the sayd Lotterie within the space of the three monethes mencioned in the sayd Chart.*

And where as also some have moved a scruple and doubt, that forasmuch as no mention is made in the said Chart in case of death of any of the adventurers, before the time of the reading of the sayd Lotterie, that the commoditie of the prices and other advantages rehearsed in the sayd Chart, that shold happen to the adventurers at the time of the reading of the sayd Lotterie, shall remaine to the heires, executors or assignes, of the sayd adventurers. For the explaining therof, it is to be understood, and the meaning thereof was always: That every adventurer may make such assignation by testament, deede, or other wyse, of the commoditie that may fall unto him by the good fortune of the sayde Lotterie, as he may or might otherwise do and dispose of any other goodes. And that such as shall have the sayd assignation, their executors, or assignes, bringing with them the counterbil being delivered by the collector to the adventurer or adventurers (the

* An unimportant explanatory clause is here omitted.

reading of the Lotterie being finished, or else at the tyme appointed in the sayde Chart) shall receive all such prices and advantages as the adventurer himselfe should have, if he were living.

Finally, if any other scruple, suspition, doubt, fault, or misliking may happen to be found (as every thing for the satisfaction of every person, cannot be so exactly set forth in writing, but some doubtles may chauce to enter into the concepts of men, and specially of those that be inclined to suspitions,) hir Majestie for a full and general satisfaction of all such and all other the adventurers in this Lotterie giveth to understand, that the same, resorting to the Tresurers of the Shires, Cities, or good Townes, shal receive at their hands such resolution and answer, to all and singuler their said doubts, scruples and demaunds, as shalbe to their resonable contentation and satisfaction.

God save the Queene.

Imprinted at London by Henrie Bynneman, dwelling in Knight rider strete, at the signe of the Mermaide. Anno 1567, Januarii 3.

(78.)

Proclamation of the Mayor of London, relative to the Lottery, from an original copy, printed in the black letter, September 13, 1567.

By the Maior of London.

Whereas a very rich Lotterie generall hath now lately bene erected by the order of our most dread Sovereigne Lady, the Queenes most excellent Majestie, and by hir highnesse commaundement since published within this hir highnesse Citie of London, the xxiiij daye of August, in the ix yeare of hir Majesties most prosperous raigne, to-

gether with the prices, articles, and conditions concerning the same, as by the Charte of the sayde Lotterie more playnly doth at large appeare. In whiche Charte among other thyngs it is comprised, that hir Majestie and hir sayd Citie of London wil answere to all and singular persons, havynge adventured their money in the sayd Lotterie, to observe all the articles and conditions contained in the same from poynt to poynt inviolably.

Nowe to avoide certaine doubttes since the publication of the sayde Lotterie, secretly moved concerning the aunswering thereof, wherein though the wiser sort may finde cause to satisfie themselves therein, yet to the satisfaction of the simpler sorte, the Lorde Maior of the sayde Citie, and his brethren the Aldermen of the sayd Citie, by the assent of the Common Councill of the same, doe signifie and declare to all people by this proclamation, that, according to the articles of hir Majesties order contained in the sayde charte so published, every person shalbe duly aunswered accordyng to the tenour of hir highnesse sayde proclamation.

And it is newly ordered for the advauntage of the adventurers, that the daye of the readynge of the sayde Lotterie shall not be deferred after the xxv daye of June mencioned in the sayde charte without very greate and urgent cause; and yet the same, at the furthest, shall not be deferred past the feast of the Purification of Sainte Marie the Virgin which shall be next folowyng, in the yeare of oure Lorde God MDLXVIII. after the computation of the Church of Englande.

And that from the day of the sayd prorogation untill the very day of the reading, the parties havynge put in their money to the sayde Lotterie, shall be allowed for the forbearynge thereof, after the rate of twelve in the hundred, &c.

Proclaimed in London the xiiij day of September, in the forsaid ix yeare of hir Majesties raigne.

God save the Queene.

Imprinted at London, by Henrie Bynneman, dwelling in Paternoster Rowe, at the signe of the Marmayde, anno 1567, Septembris 13.

(79.)

The Earl of Leicester and Sir William Cecill, afterwards Lord Burleigh (as Lords of the Council) to the Justices of Peace, Treasurers, Collectors of the Lottery, Sheriffs, &c. of the Counties of Kent, Sussex, Surrey, Hants, &c. apprising them of the appointment of a Surveyor of the Lottery, and enjoining them to be aiding to their power to promote the filling up of the lots.

After our hartie comendations, wheras yt hathe pleased the Quenes Ma'tie to cawse a very riche and generall lottery to be erected and set forthe, to be redde and published w'in her Citie of London, at tymes p'fixed in the same, and for the furtherance therof hathe apointed sondry officers, and, as it shuld seame, eyther of their negligens or by some sinister disswasions of some not well disposed persons, ther doth want a great nombre of the said lotts not yet present to pforme the same, contrary to her highnes expectac'on; ffor w'ch causes it hath also pleased her Ma'tie to apointe her loving subject John Johnson, gent. bothe to understande in whome the former defaulte and lacke have bene, and the cawses therof, and so to

take thacco'pts of the Treasurers, Coll'res, and doers therof, and also to take further ordre for the speedier collection of the same, according unto certeyne instructions assigned for the better service therin to be done. To whome we requier you and every of you to be ayding, helping, counselling, and assisting, to the uttermost of yo^r power, for thaccomplishment therof, as you tender her highnes favor, and will aunswere to the contrary. So fare you well, at the Courte the xiith daie of July a^o 1568.

Yo^r loving ffrends,

R. LEYCESTER.

W. CECILL.

To all and every the Quene's Ma't's Justices of the Peace, Treasurers, and Collectors of the Lottery, and to all Mayors, Sheriffs, Bayliefes, Constables, and to all others her highnes officers, ministers, and subjects, spirituall and temporall, as well wthin corporations, lib'ties, and fraunchises, as wthout, in the Counties of Kent, Sussex, Surry, Southampton, and the Isle of Wight, and to every of them.

(80.)

John Johnson, Gentleman, Surveyor for the Queen's Majesty's Lottery, addresses William More, Esquire, of Loseley, as Treasurer of the County of Surrey, communicates to him the way which is devised for "animating or moving the people" to adventure in the Lottery. A curious specimen of instructions for Lottery puffing by royal authority.

Right wurshipfull, I comend me hartely unto you, thankyng you of all gentlenes, and desiring you I may be commended to Mr. Moore. This is to advertise you that upon the p'clamynge of the daie of the reading of the Lotts, and th'end of the collection, as appereth by two printed proclamations herein closed, I am apointed to p'vise (supervise) over agayne those places and shires that before I was apointed to survey, as you know, and now to p'cure the people w't' the help of the tresorers and collectors, as moche as may be to laie in ther moneys into the lotts. ffor it is supposed, and it is like, that a great nomber upon this proclamac'on (before said) wilbe incoraged and moved to adventure largely, who before being full of doute and specially of th'end, did drawe backe, and were unwilling, and for no perswation wold adventure any thing in the same. ffor this purpose therefore is now my comyng, and as at my last travailing I beganne with this Shere, and came first to you, the treasurer thereof (and you beganne soche an order as others followed the same, to yo^r com'endation, and as you merite thancke and praise for the same)

so did I now direct my self, first unto you to take the best waie and meanes for the accomplishme't of this service, according to the Queen's Majesties her Counsell's expectation. But understanding hier (here) at Gyldeford, you were from home and at my Lord Bisshop of Winchester's (to w'ch place I cowl'd not now directly come, because of other daies aponted to be in Hampshire and Sussex) I am so bold now to geve you to understonde what waie is devised for a further collection, and for animating or moving the people, desiring you to put the same in practise so sone as possible you may, that at my returne (w'ch is uncerteyn, but I hope it will be w'thin xv or xvi daies) I may knowe what good effect ther cometh of the same. The devises for the furtherance of this matter ys, that ther be a precept made in the name of the Treasurer of the Shere, the Collector of every de- vision, and of me the Surveyor to the Constables of every hondreth, to bring reporte of the former doings of the principall men of every parishe, and in whome any default is, that this matter hathe not bene so well advanced as it was looked for. The fourme or copie of the precept is herin closed, w'ch it may plese you to alter as it shal seme best to yo^r wisdome, alwaies using my name in sub- scribing or otherwise at your pleasure. This ac- complished, I trust ther will good followe therof, ffor if the Constables do their dewties in making trew certificats, you shall understand wher defaults

be, for w'ch you may afterward provide as you shall thincke good, and also geve good admonition to soche as shalbe co'tented to come unto you, accordinge to the words of the precept, that ther shall not one parishe escape, but they shall bring in some money into the Lottes. For I know, and they come before you, you will incorage them therunto, ffor you knowe both how to perswade them that it is for ther owne profitts, and for the com'on weale also.

I did send upon Mondai to Mr. Moys (one of the Collectors) that he shall have mette me here or at yo^r howse this daie, but he answered me that his books were at London, and that he had busynes he could not come. But I have written to hym agayne from Kingston, that he must needs come unto you to receve instructions of you how to execute these orders that is now apointed to be observed after the proclamations. I hope therefore he will come unto you; yf he do not come shortely then I praie you write unto hym, and send hym precepts subscribed w^t bothe our names, that he may also sygne them and cawse them spedely to be delivered to the Constables to execute that they be com'anded. I perseve Mr. Moys hath bene slacker then others. Therefore he had nede to be stired the more by writing or otherwise, ffor he will make a wise collection if he be in one place, and his books in a nother. At Kingston I sawe Mr. Eveelen's books, and told hym what or-

der was apointed ; he signified that it wold please you to send hym precepts to the Constables of Kingeston and Elmebridge, Copthourne and Eflingham, and he wold subscribe unto them, and procure them to be executed effectually.

And hier at Gildeford I have done the like w^t Mr. Hamon, and at y^r comyng home he will do that shall apperteyne. Also to hym I delivered two of the p'clamations, that one might be p'claymed the next m'ket daie. I praie you be a meanes that the same be not forgotten. fforther, I praie you geve in comandement to every Coll're (Collector) that every daie betwene this and the xxth September next, they do in every m'ket towne w^hin their circuyts set desently at a table in some convenient place openly in or near to the place wher the m'ket is kept, and to have before them open their books of nombres, the printed chart and the pclamation. This being done, the people shall be prov'ked to laie in ther moneys when the Coll're (Collector) in this order shalbe in their eyes, whil as otherwise the people will not seke them at their howses, being com'only owt of the waie, and uncerteyn to fynde them. I told Mr. Evelyn of this, and he saithe he will do it ; as for Mr. Moys, what he will do I knowe not, but this must be done, and therefore if he will not, apoint some other, yea, and I think if ther wer a nother Coll're made besyds for that parte it were good, ffor ther cannot be to many Coll'res, and Mr.

Moys hath in his devisiōn two m'ket townes, I feere he wil not kepe them bothe wele.

Ther is at this tyme xx surveyors sent abroad the Realme, because of the shortenes of tyme. They begynne where we left last tyme, for ther hath bene in few places assemble of the people before the Justices, but ther and wher I have ben, for which cause the Counsell writes l'res reprovīng them that have bene slacke. You nor we made not that blame. But now we have to provide for further furtherans, and though we have half done, I hope we will do as moche as they that do but begynne. I go from hens to Mr. Walops, and apōn Saterday, God willing, I must be at Mr. Palmers by apointm^t. Ther the Flemyng (whom you knowe) shal have mete me at y^r howse; if he come after, I praie you tell him wher I am become.

Thus troubling yo^r worship, now I rest and take my leave of you, com'ytting you to the Lord's keping. Hastely this Wensdaie x of July 1568 at Gildford, but yet apointed to ryde to y^r house to leave this l're ther.

Yours most hartely assured to comand,

JOHN JOHNSON, Surveyor for the
Q. M. (Queen's Majesty's)
Lottery.

To the right worshipful Mr.
Will'm More, Esquire, geve these.

(81.)

“ Prises drawn in the Lottery, from the xvi to the xxvi
day of February.”

Extracts from a book thus intituled, consisting of nineteen leaves, each leaf containing on its upper side four columns, printed in the black letter, enumerating the different devises or posies,* the names of the persons, &c. whose ventures they represented, the numbers of the lots, and the amount of the prizes, which, it will be observed from the annexed specimens, was for the greater part very insignificant. This list we consider to have belonged to the Lottery of 1567, drawn 1568-9. See p. 186.

As salt by kind gives things their savour,
So hap doth hit where fate doth favour.

Per John Harding of London, salter, 4,535,—7s. 6d.

Thinke and thanke God. M. (Master) Roger Martin,
Lorde Maior of the Citie of London, for Mercers' Com-
panie, 319,340,—1s. 3d.

If Fortune be froward my Angell is gone,
But if Fortune be frendly with encrease it cometh home.
Alice Crewe, London, 268,233,—1s. 3d.

First learne, then discern. Jo. Fitz, Tavestock,†
309,751,—1s. 2d.

* The word *devise* is from the French, signifying motto. *Posy* in its strict sense implies a versicle ; thus Hamlet, says of the lines recited by the players :

“ Is this a prologue or the *posy* of a ring ? ”

† This was the identical Sir John Fitz, whose remarkable fate has furnished the ground-work of Mrs. Bray's beautiful Devonshire tale, Fitz of Fitzford. Particulars of his life will be found in “ Prince's Worthies of Devon,” and in the Author's “ Notices of Tavistock and its Abbey,” *Gent. Mag.* for 1830, vol. c. part i. p. 491.

Cast the grapple over the bote,
 If God wil, for the great lot.
 By me, Nich. Martin, free of the Companie of Merchauntes
 of Exon, 18,236,—5*s*.

I woulde be contente with a hundred pounde,
 In my purse it would give a sound.
 Per Thomas Chamberlayne, Horsted Teynes, Sussex,
 1,129,—1*s*. 2*d*.

The spred eagle spred,
 Hopeth for a good lot to be red.
 A. and C. Hilliard, Lon. 372,949,—1*s*. 2*d*.

Video et taceo. 392,856,—1*s*. 3*d*.

My pose (posy) is small,
 But a good lot may fall.
 Per John Burnell, Whitston, 81,763,—1*s*. 3*d*.

Louth linct in love,
 Lucky be thy lot.
 Per Richard Holdernes, of Louth, 31,178,—1*s*. 3*d*.

What is a tree of cherries worth to foure in a com-
 pany.* Per Tho. Laurence, Lond. 123,487,—1*s*. 2*d*.

Blowe up, thou trumpette, and sound for me,
 For good lucke comes here do I see.
 Peter Stob, of St. Peter's Cheape, in London, 25,086,—
 1*s*. 2*d*.

We put in one lott, poor maydens we be ten : [Amen.
 We pray God send us a good lotte, that all we may say
 Per Dorothe Hawes, of Cheapside, 44,963,—1*s*. 2*d*.

In good hope, poor East Greenwiche, God send us to re-
 And of some good lotte to have the gaine. [maine,
 Per parish of East Greenwich, 333,390,—1*s*. 2*d*.

If a very rich prise arise should to our lot,
 Al that would be employed on our decayed port.
 Tho. Spikernell, of Maulden, in Essex, 331,597,—2*s*. 1*d*.

* This devise is of frequent recurrence : it was probably a
 proverbial expression.

We be all minstrels, and faine would speede,
Good God, in this lot do thou the deede.

Per Rich. Froth, London,—1s. 2d.

Be meeke in spirite. Per the Parish of Southfleete,
Kent, 333,353,—2s. 1d.

Spes mea Deus. Joh. Brome, Comissar. de Burie,
Suff. 314,344,—1s. 3d.

I have put in x shillings, God be my speede,
And he wil be my helpe at time of neede.

98,953,—2s. 1d.

God blesse the white Toure of London. Thomas
Riggs, London,—168,765, 1s. 2d.

Fain would I have,
Though nothing I crave.

Per Hierom May, of Plunto (Plympton) Mary, 134,511,
—1s. 2d.

Armouth for a haven is a fit place,

And a haven it may be if it please the Queenes grace.

Per Willia' Mallocke, of Armouth, 85,573,—3s. 4d.

As foulers mindes are fedde with every right redresse,
So fouler I, least fortune faile, do seeke for some successe.
T. Foulter, Lon. 270,413,—2s. 1d.

Best hop have the ring. Per Bosham parish, Sussex,
236,933,—5s. 10d.

O clemens o pia. *Acerbo Velutelli de Luca.* 238,862,
—1s. 2d.

We Brewers God sende us

A good lot to mende us.

Per John Bankes, of the parish of St. Gyles, 47,699,—1s. 3d.

Homo sine pecuniâ est quasi corpus sine animâ.
Henry Draper, of Stanwell Midd. 165,163,—1s. 2d.

God send the Queene good issue. William Walshe, of
Yoghul, 204,673,—1s. 3d.

Hope helpeth. Tho. Lord Howard, Vicount Byndon,
5,927,—2s. 1d.

Vienne gain plutost que perte,

Pour tenir court ouvert.

Per Thiery de la Court. 361,590,—1s. 2d.

Like as C doth serve for cocke,
 So doth it also for Charnock,
 And if you do not crie cocke,
 Yet shal I stil remaine Charnock.

Lon. 212,196,—1s. 2d.

The twelfth great prise.

Not covetous. Per Richard Frennis, of Borughton,
 69,158—16l. 13s. 3d.

Aut mihi aut nulli. Per Henricum Dominum Scroope,
 Carlile, 205,854,—1s. 3d.

Good fortune to all those
 That be workers of clothes.

Per the company of Clothworkers, London, 44,235, 2s. 1d.

To the Duchie of Lancaster, w^tout Temple Barre,
 If God give the lott he shall not greatly erre.

Per the Parish of Savoy, 56,922,—2s. 1d.

God send a good lot for my children and me,
 Which have had twenty by one wife truly.

Per William Dorghtie de Westhalme, 195,315,—2s. 3d.

In God I hope, and a f—t for the Pope.

Per William Seintleger, of Canterbury, 230,364,—1s. 3d.

He hath put downe the mightie from their seate,
 And hath exalted the humble and meeke.

Lewis Richard, senior, 210,558,—1l. 10s.

As God wil so be it. The office of the Greene Cloth,
 Westm. 1,839,—1s. 2d.

The chancell is in decay. Per Andrew Wotten, of
 Gyke Blicklande, 201,882,—1s. 2d.

I am a pore maiden and faine would marry,
 And the lacke of goods is the cause that I tarry.

Per Sibbel Cleyon, 51,832,—2s. 1d.

Seeing shillings ten shall thousands win,
 Why should I feare to put them in.

Per Annam Waldegrave, Buris, 343,775,—2s. 1d.

Wisdome liketh not chaunce. Per Thom. Wrothe,
 militem, Enfeld, 10,708,—1s. 3d.

Et mihi et multis. Robert Shute, reader of Grayes
 Inne, 94,842,—1s. 2d.

The leaves be greene,
God save the Queene.

Per Yalley, 210,672,—1s. 2d.

Canterbury is in decay,
God helpe may.

230,084,—1s. 2d.

My sisters and I are under age,
God sende us good chaunce to our mariage.

By John Robinson, of Kellam, Gent. 262,562,—1s. 3d.

Give the best prise, I pray thee, good fortune,
Unto the Queene's Majesties towne of Launston.

By Thomas Hickes, Dunhende, Burges, 152,100—1s. 3d.

The olive tree on hill that growes,
To have a share his name here showes.

P. Oliverum Hill, Madburie, 134,379,—1s. 3d.

Of many people it hath ben said,

That Tenterden steeple Sandwich haven hath decayed.*

Per Ed. Hales, Tenterden, Kent, 40,884,—1s. 2d.

If hawke do sore and partridge springs,
Then shal wee see what lucke he brings,
But if he sore and partridge flit,
Then hawke shall lose and partridge hit.

Per Aphabell Partridge, of London, goldsmith, 46,081,
—1s. 3d.

God gaff God nam den naem des heren sighe benedet
Robert Lecman ende Floris alle win. Per Comp. Crock-
wint laen, London, 363,580,—4s. 2d.

God make all sure for the Armorers. Per Thomas
Tindal, London, 182,833,—1s. 2d.

* The monks of Canterbury are traditionally said to have neglected the repairs of Sandwich Haven, in order to erect the steeple of Tenterden, on the borders of Romney Marsh, in Kent; a story not improbable, but which has given rise to one much more wild and easily refuted, namely, that the building of the said steeple, occasioned, by neglect of the sea banks, the inundation which formed the Goodwin Sands.

Nupida nobis impados tyrogansoma turgyso totnos.*
Thos. Colby, Gray's Inne, 49,027,—7s. 6d.

I loked for no more.† William More, Lowsley, Surrey, 276,013,—1s. 3d.

Although I can not wel see,

Yet will I venture in the Lottery.

Per Sir Thom. Woodhouse, of Warham, 109,508,—2s. 1d.

Fortune amy. Sir Thomas Gresham, Knight, † 345,471,
—1s. 2d.

Priestes love pretie wenches. Per Rich. Enecke, Sibforde, 13,569,—1s. 2d.

Veritas vincet. Jo. Tusser, of Truro, for the Clergie of Cornwall, 341,694,—1s. 3d.

There is good ale

At St. James Chignele.

Per John Bowsey, yoman, 102,953,—1s. 2d.

The Queenes Majestie God her preserve,

Whose pay my father hath to serve.

Th. Stafford, sonne to the Constable of Dongaruan, 206,768,—2s. 1d.

I pray God we may all amend. Jo. Rashleagh, of Fowey, 197,277,—1s. 3d.

Sawtrej, by the way,

Now a grange, that was an abbay.

Geo. Banks, Gent. of Sawtrej, in the Coun. of Kent. 106,806,—1s. 2d.

All is well that endeth well. Per Thomas Lawley, de Chaddesley Marches, Wales, 232,859,—1s. 3d.

Let the arow flie.

Per Richard Fuller, of Wight, 32,923—1s. 3d.

As God made hands before knives,

So God send a good lot to the cutler's wives.

284,721,—3s. 4d.

* A specimen of lottery language, which might be useful to those who pretend to the gift of the tongues.

† More of Loseley adopts a most judicious and appropriate posy.

‡ The munificent patron of commerce and of letters.

I was begotten in Calice and born in Kent,
 God sende me a good lot to pay my rent.
 Per Edward Tibbot, Sison, Grombalds Ashe, 300,725,—
 1s. 2d.

God save the bul of Westmerland. Robert Reerson,
 Vicare of Sokborne, 146,943,—5s. 10d.

Fortuna an sorte nec curo forsan an forte. The Offices
 of the Kitchen, and Members of the same, Westm.
 258,155,—5s. 10d.

Out of this rich Lottery, God send advancement to
 Bexly. Per Parochianos de Bexly, in com. Kanc. 360,080,
 —1s. 3d.

As God hath preserved me, so I trust he wil reward
 me. Frauncis Corbie, Seneschal of the Queenes Countie
 of Ireland, 347,714,—2s. 1d.

For the hamlet of Radclife.
 Mariner, hoist up thy saile,
 If God sende us a good lot it may us prevaile.
 Per Radclife, 51,981,—2l. 0s. 10d.

Heave after, poor Heaver, for the great Lot. Per the
 parish of Heaven, Kent, 159,467,—1s. 3d.

Arthur Kempe, my father's eldest sonne,
 God send me a lot though I come after none.
 91,223,—1s. 3d.

Topsham is buylded upon a red rydge, [bridge.
 I pray God sende a good lot to maintayne the kay and
 Per John Michell, Topsham, 354,651,—1s. 2d.

Wy twee hadden gherne een goet lot believet Godt.
 Anthon van Hove and Robert Harison, London, 286,984,
 —5s. 10d.

The head of a snake with garlick, is good meate. Per
 Thomas Watson, Cirencest'r,—2s. 1d.

Hope made me venture. Per Henry Armiger, Bakons-
 thorpe, 260,076,—5s.

I hope to hear the trumpet* sound,
 A lot worth to me a thousand pound.
 Edward Denis, Esquire, of Shewbroke, 185,370,—1s. 2d.

* From this and similar allusions, we conclude that the greater
 lots were announced on being drawn with a flourish of
 trumpets.

Draw Brighthemston a good lot,
Or else return them a turbot.

Per John Turpin, Sussex, 334,060,—1*s.* 3*d.*

One and thirty lots; God sende us a fayre day,
For the maintenaunce of the long bridge,
And finishyng of the kaye.

Per John Darte, of Barnest. (Barnstaple), 186,625,—5*s.*

For the Haberdashers.

Our sum put in,
Is in hope to win.

Per C. and H. of Lon. 119,958,—3*s.* 4*d.*

Paule planteth, Apollo watereth, God giveth the increase.
Will. Bedle, de Evesham, 315,301,—1*s.* 2*d.*

We Cookes of London, which worke early and late,
If any thing be left God send us part.

Per Rich. Tomson, Lond. 268,094,—1*s.* 2*d.*

Jesus est amor meus. P. Neh. Hornesey, de Frossend,
228,954,—1*s.* 3*d.*

How so ever Saint Katherins whele shall be running,
The inhabitauntes therof wil come home laughing.

William Iden, S. Katherin's, 114,878,—1*s.* 3*d.*

William Wood. A poore Wood I have been long, and
yet am like to be, but if God of his grace send me the
great lot, a rich Wood shal I be. Per London, 310,669,
—1*s.* 3*d.*

Gibers, Cole, and Florida
Have brought me unto great decay;
I pray to God, of his mercy and grace,
That this may take better place.

Thomas Parkins, London, 115,335,—1*s.* 3*d.*

For the town of Cambridge, in this open place,
God save the Queene and the Duke of Norfolkes grace.

Per Robert Sly, Maior of Cambridge, 105,470,—1*s.* 3*d.*

Deus dat cui vult. Derrike Anthony, London, 115,063,
—2*s.* 1*d.*

God give us good fortune. By the Maior and Bur-
gesses of Reading, 287,143,—5*s.* 10*d.*

Allarde Bartering—

A maid and I am of advise
To marry, if we get the great price.

50,547,—3s. 4d.

We are poore butchers and come very lagg,

And, if we have none of your lottes,

We shall be fayne to take the bottell and the bagge.

John Lawne, of London, 211,602,—1s. 3d.

From Hastings we come,

God send us good speed ;

Never a poor fisher town in England,

Of ye great lot hath more need.

Per Hastings, Richard Life, 202,211,—1s. 2d.

What chaunce to me befall

I am content withal.

Sir George Speake, of Whitlackington, in Somersetshire,
knight, 193,066,—5s. 10d.

Privy Seals or Benevolences.

This unpopular and unconstitutional mode of raising money from the subject, without the authority of Parliament, was invented by Edward IV. His example appears to have been imitated occasionally by Henry VII. Henry VIII. Mary, Elizabeth, James, and Charles I. Hall very circumstantially relates, in the quaint language of his time, the origin of this mode of subsidy, and of the name which it acquired. The King, preparing for a war with France, "conceived," says the Chronicler, "a new device in his imagination, by the which engine he might covertly persuade and entice his rich friends to give and grant him some convenient sum of money towards his inestimable charges and incredible costs; which thing if they did not willingly assent to, he then would impute the greater in-

gratitude or the more unkindness: whereupon he caused his officers to bring to him the most rich persons one after another, and to them he explained the cause, the purpose, and the necessity of the war begun, &c. King Edward had called before him a widow, much abounding in substance, and no less grown in years, of whom he merely demanded what she gladly would give him towards such great charges? 'By my troth,' quoth she, 'for thy lovely countenance thou shalt have even 20*l*.' The king looking scarce for half the sum, thanked her, and lovingly kist her. Whether the smell of his breath did so comfort her stomach, or she esteemed the kiss of a king so precious a jewel, she swore incontinently that he should have 20*l*. more. The king, willing to shew that this benefit was to him much acceptable, and not worthy to be put in oblivion, called this grant of money a *benevolence*. Notwithstanding that many with grudge and *malevolence* gave great sums towards that new-found Benevolence. But using such gentle fashions towards them, with friendly prayer of their assistance in his necessity, so tempted them, that they could none otherwise do than frankly and frely yelde and geve hym a reasonable reward."* King James I. had frequent recourse to this method of raising money, to the great dissatisfaction of many of his subjects. Some illustration of the mode of levying these contributions in the county of Surrey, and of the complaints to which they gave rise, are subjoined.

* Vide Hall's Chronicle of the History of England, under the 13th of Edward the Fourth.

(82.)

A Privy Seal addressed by Queen Mary to William More, of Loseley, levying on him a Loan or Benevolence of £.20, A. D. 1556.

By the Queene.

Trustie and welbelovyd, we grete yo^u well, and let yo^u wit that, knowinge the fidelitie and faithfull good will yo^u bere towards the suretie of o^r parson, and defence of yo^r contrey, the savegard wherof we doubt not but yo^u do so much tender as yo^u will not faile to do your possible endeavor towards the mainten'nce and defence of the same. We understanding your habilitie, have appointed to take of youe by waye of lone the some of twentie pounds, to be repaid againe unto yo^u between this and the feast of the nativitie of our Lord God, which shalbe in the yere a thowsand fyve hundreth fiftie-eight at the furthest. Wherefore our pleasure is yo^u shall cause the said som'e of twentie poundes to be furthwith uppon receipt herof delyvered unto o^r trustie and welbeloved John Skynner, esquier, to our use, whom we have appointed to receive the same at yo^r hands. And this our l'res of Pryvie Seale, subscribyd by the said John Skynner, confessing the receipt of the said some to our use, shalbe suffeyent to bynd us and our heyres to repay and answer the said some, unto yo^u or your assignes, at the day before appointed. And bycause we make our full accoumpt of the receipt of so much money at yo^r hands, we require yo^u in no wise to faile us herein. Geven under our Pryvey Seal at o^r manno^r of St. James, the xviith daie of September, the fourthe and fifthe yeare of o^r raine.

Rec' of Will'm Moore, by way of loane to the Quenys
Mat^s use, the sayd some of xx^{li}.

P' me JOH'EM SKYNNER.

To our trustie and welbeloved
William More.

(83.)

A Privy Seal addressed by King James the First to Sir Francis Carew, of Beddington, for a Benevolence of fifty pounds. The confession which it contains that former loans similarly levied had not been punctually repaid, will be observed by the reader.

By the King.

Trustie and welbeloved, wee greete you well. Although there be nothing more against our mind then to be drawne into any course that may breed in our subjects the least doubt of our unwillingnes to throw any burthens upon them, having already published, both by our speches and writings, our great desire to avoide it in the whole course of our government. Yet such is our estate at this time, in regarde of great and urgent occasions falne and growing dayly upon us (in no sort to be eschewed), as we shall be forced presently to disburse greater summes of money then it is possible for us to provide by any ordinary meanes, or to want without great prejudice. In which consideration, seeing no man of any indifferent judgement or understanding, can either plead ignorance how much we found the Crowne exhausted by the accidents of forreine warres and inward rebellions, or on the other side doth not observe the visible causes of our dayly expence ever since wee came into this Kingdome, wee thinke it needlesse to use any more arguments from such a Kinge

to such subjects, but may further adde one thing, which is no lesse notorious to the Realme, that, since we came to this estate, no one meanes or other of extraordinarie helpe hath beene afforded, notwithstanding more extraordinarie occasions of large expence, one falling on the necke of another, without time or respiration, than ever lighted upon any King of this Realm. A matter whereof we make not mention as proceedinge from the coldnesse of our people's affections, of whose service and fidelitie in the highest pointes wee have had so cleere prooffe, but rather as a circumstance the better warranting this course, seeing the ordinarie fourme of subsidies offered to Princes in Parliament, caried with it now that inconvenience of burthening the poorer sort of our people, which wee doe endeavour to eschew by all the wayes wee can. You shall therefore understand that in this consideration, and in respect of our opinion of your good mind towards us, howsoever the omission in the former time to repay some loane, in regard of unexpected violent necessities, might make a doubtfulnesse how that promise should be kept, we have perswaded ourselves that you will no way measure our princely resolution by the precedent accidents, nor ever doubt of us when we engage that word, yet never broken to any, which now wee doe hereby give for repayment of whatsoever this Privie Seale of ours shall assure you. That which we require therefore is, that within twelve dayes after the receipt hereof, you will cause the summe of fiftie powndes to be delivered to Sir George More, Knight, whom we have appointed to be our collector in our countie of Surrey. The loane whereof we do desire to be untill the foure and twenty day of March which shalbe in the yeere of our Lord God 1605; for assurance whereof we have directed these our letters of Privie Seale unto you, which, with the hand of our sayd collector testify-

ing the receipt of the same summe of fiftie powndes, shall binde us, our heires and successors, for the repaiment thereof, and shall be an immediate warrant to our Exchequer to pay the same unto you upon the deliverie of this our Privie Seale unto our sayd receipt.

Given under our Privie Seale at our Palace of Westminster the last day of July in the second yeare of our reigne of England, France, and Ireland, and of Scotland the eight and thirtieth.

THO. KEMYS.

To o^r trusty and welbeloved
S^r Frauncis Carewe, Knight.

(84.)

Robert Livesey, of Tooting, Sheriff of Surrey, complains to Sir George More of his extreme impoverishment, by *Privy Seals* and a severe sentence in the Star Chamber.

S^r,

I firste yeilde yo^u manie thanks for yo^r curtesie and kyndenes in gratefieng the Justices of Assice wth venison, which I had done longe synce, but that yo^u were so soone dep^rted from th'assices.

The previe seale menc'oned in yo^r l^res, recevyd by the bearer herof, being for no lesse than £100, as that was in the 39th yere of o^r late sovereign ladie Queene Elizabeth, paid to yo^r handes, I have likewise recevyd, I then made humble request to the lorde admyrall to have been eased of £50 therof, but his Lordshipp sayde precisely that I

shulde lende yt all, at w'ch tyme theare were 29 Justices of the Peace that had no previe seales. If I might be repaide I wolde moste willingly lend it to the kynges ma^{tie}, for otherwise I am utterly unable to lend upon his highnes previe seale nowe sente me.

The severe sentence given agaynste me in the Starre Chamber hath urged me to borrow upon interest £1000 to pay to a man unto whom I never did owe one grote, nether had I anie of his goodes, nor nevar was previe to the Shirife's doings of Nottinghamshire, and others heare agaynst hym, and what proves so evar their honors had agaynst me, to induce them to bring me w'thin the compasse of conspiracie, are utterly untrew. There is £500 more unpaide, w'ch they lye in wayte untill I be oute of the Shirrewicke (Sheriffwick) to have of me. This is the disgrace I receyve for my 34 yeres service in the comission of the peace : besides my utter ympoverishment, I am in debte £5000. I bowght a maner of Sr Robert Markeham, w^{ch} coste me £6000 in money, and an other maner, wherof I still owe to citizins of London £3500 ; my credit hath bene moche more than myne owne substance, and gladly wold I sell this maner if I coulde to see my dettes discharged. I have bene sicke and diseased this half yere, and ympottent bothe of legges, ffcite, and hands, w^{ch} I thinke I shall never recover. Theare

have bene no Shirifes chosen oute of Surr' synce I had it, but Mr. Gardyner and yo^rselfe, and Sr Edmonde Boweyar, and notwithstanding theare are in Surrey a score and mo' men of farr greater lands then I am, that never had yt, yet it is layde upon me againe, being aged and ympotent. I do not receyve above £250 rent, the rest of my substance is 2000 shepe, w^{ch} may be worth so manie ryalls, and they are estemed at I thinke to yeilde me above £2000 a yere in profitts. I have bene charged yerely manye yeares wth £30, by p^uvisions taken of me ; but my greatest greif is that my lordes do so moche mystake me bothe in condiçions and in liveing. What charges soever may herafter come agaynst me, my feble body must endure ymprisonment, w^{ch} is like in shorte tyme to depreve me of my life. God for his son Christes sake after this lief graunte me lief everlasting unto whose heavenly tuicion I com^{en}d yo^u, this laste of August 1604.

Yo^r unfortunate ffrend,

ROB'T LYVESEY.

To the right wo^rshippful my especiale goode ffreind Sr George More, knight.

(85.)

Receipt for 1126*l.* 11*s.* contributed by way of loan, by the Knights, Gentlemen of Surrey, &c. for the use of Frederick Elector Palatine and King of Bohemia, and of his Queen Elizabeth, daughter of James I. The marriage of this Prince with our English Princess, in 1613, had cost the King, or rather the Nation, 100,000*l.* The Elector's acceptance of the Bohemian crown, in 1619, afforded a pretext* in the following year for a Benevolence to support him against the powers who opposed his elevation.

18 : 8^{bris} (Octobris) 1620.

Wee underwritten, the Ambassador extraordinary, and the Agent for the King of Bohemia, do acknowledge to have received from the hands of S^r George Moore, S^r Edmund Bowyer, Sir Nicholas Carew, Sir Francis Stidolph, S^r Thomas Gresham, and S^r George Stoughton, Knights, and Francis Drake and John Howard, Esq^{rs}. the summe of eleven hundreth twenty six pounds eleven shillings sterling, being monyes contributed by way of loane by the Knights, Gentlemen, and others of that County of Surrey, to and for the use of the King and Queene of Bohemia. Witness o^r hands, the daie and yeare above written. [1126^{li} 11^s 4^d].

ABRA' WILLIAMS.

Since that receipt aforesayd I have received from S^r George More, Knight, ye som'e of forty pounds for the service above mentioned. Witness my hand,

ABRA' WILLIAMS.

* Vide Tindal's Rapin, vol. ii. p, 201.

(86.)

Policy of Elizabeth in maintaining the principles of the Reformation; the Ecclesiastical Commission, Popish Recusants, Sectaries, &c.

Elizabeth, on her accession to the Throne in 1559, found the Realm in a most divided state relative to matters of Religion. Mary had, to the utmost of her power, reversed all that the pious Edward had effected for the liberation of men's consciences from the errors inculcated and maintained by the Church of Rome, and the arbitrary dominion over them which it assumed, as of divine right. Surrounded by the enemies of the Reformed Church on all sides, she found herself constrained for its safety, that of her Government, and even of her own life,* to adopt a

* The extent of this danger, and the loyalty of the English to their Protestant Queen, may be gathered from a MS. in this collection, intituled, "The Declaration of an Association entered into by several persons of Surrey, for the preservation of the life of Queen Elizabeth, which hath been most traitorouslie and devilishlie sought, and the same followed most dangerouslie to the perill of her person, if Almighty God, her perpetual defender, had not revealed and withstood the same." The subscribers to the above instrument, in language for which the extent of the danger, and malice of the disaffected, may form the best apology, "vow, in the presence of the eternal and everlasting God, to prosecute such person or persons to the death, with their joint or particular forces, and to take the uttermost revenge of them, by any means they can devise for their overthrow and extirpation." The paper is signed by the principal gentry and other persons of the county of Surrey; about 180 names in all. We have been informed by the Deputy Keeper of the State Papers, Robert Lemon, Esq. F.S.A. (a gentleman so well read in historical MSS.) that a similar declaration is extant in the archives of that department, signed

vigorous policy, and to restrain with severity, whether Romanists or Puritans, the enemies of the newly established Church.* The Romanists were ready to embrace any opportunity which might offer, to restore the secular power of their Pontiff within the Realm of England; the

by the whole of the Privy Council. Another, to the same effect, is printed in the Harleian Miscellany, to which is assigned the date 1585.

* We have found among the MSS. the following paper; is it to be wondered at, that the religion which could sanction such barbarities should, on its losing its secular power in this kingdom, subject the loyalty of its votaries to suspicion, their persons and property to some legislative severities? We say this without wishing to justify, in all instances, a retaliation; which bore, however, no proportion to the cruelties from which it had its rise.

“The names of the Shyrefes of Surrye and Sussex that dyd burne the Inosents, wth the names of such whom they brent.

“Imp’imis, the second yere, of the reygne of Quene Marye, Mr. John Coveart, being Shyref, dyd burne Dyreke Harman, John Sander, Thomas Everson, and Richard Hooke.

“Item, (the thyrd yere,) Mr. Wyll’m Sanders, being Shyref, dyd borne Thomas Harland, John Oswald, Thomas a Rede, Thomas Havington, Thomas Hoode, mynyster, John A’Myll, Thomas Donget, John Foxeman, Mother Tree, John Hart, Thomas Randalle, Nycoles Holden, w^t a Show maker [shoe-maker], and a Coryer [Currier].

“It’m, (the fowarth yere,) Sr Edward Gage, (being Shyref,) dyd borne Stevene Grotwyke, Wylym Morant, Thomas King, Richard Wodman, George Stevens, Margret Mores, James Mores, Dyenes Burges, Wylyam Maynard, Alexander Hosmar, servant, Thomas Ashedowne’s wyf, and Grove’s wyf.”

Thus about thirty persons, in the county of Surrey only, were consigned for imputed heresy to the stake.

Puritans denounced the reformed religion as a remnant of the old corrupt system which had been so lately, but, as they asserted, imperfectly subverted. Illustrations of the above line of policy on the part of the Queen, are evident in various documents preserved at Loseley. The first is a transcript of the "Grand Commission Ecclesiastical for the whole Realm." Among the Commissioners named are the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishops of London, Winchester, Ely, Worcester, St. David's, Norwich, Chichester, Rochester, the Bishop Suffragan of Dover, Thomas Smyth, Francis Walsingham, Thomas Godwin, Alexander Nowell, John Whitgift, Thomas Bromley, &c. The instrument was published under the Great Seal, and tested by the Queen at Gorhambury on the 23d of April, in the 18th year of her reign (A. D. 1576). It first recites what are termed "the four Statutes," 1st. "The Acte for restoryng to the Crowne the auncient jurisdycon over the State Ecclesyastycall and Spyreytuale, and abolyshinge of all foreign powere repugnant to the same;" that constitutional principle on which the independence of our monarchy, and our real liberties, have by all subsequent experience been found to be based. 2d. The "Acte for the unyformytye of Common Prayer and Service of the Churche, and admynystrac'on of the Sacraments;" by which our most admirable Liturgy was established in its present form. 3d. "An Act for the assurance of the Queenes Majesties royall power over all states and subjects within hyr Domynions." 4th. "An Acte to reforme certeyn dysorders toching mynysters of the Churche." The Commissioners are empowered to inquire by jury, by witnesses, and "other ways and means," into all infractions of the above Statutes; into all singular, heretical, erroneous, and offensive opinions, seditious books, contempts, conspiracies, false rumours, slanderous

words, &c. ; into enormities, disturbances, misbehaviours, frays, &c. committed in any church, chapel, or church-yard ; to order, correct, reform, and punish any persons wilfully and obstinately absenting themselves from church, and such Divine service as by the Laws and Statutes of the Realm is there appointed to be said. The penalties prescribed for such misdemeanours by the Act of Uniformity, to be levied by the Churchwardens for the benefit of the poor of their respective parishes ; to punish incests, adulteries, fornications, disorders in marriages, &c. Power is given to the Commissioners to fine and imprison offenders ; the obstinate to be visited with excommunication, and other ecclesiastical censures ; bond or recognizance to be taken for the appearance of offenders ; the oath of supremacy prescribed by the first of the four Statutes recited is to be tendered ; the refusal by any individual to take such oath to be certified to the Court of King's Bench. To all processes, orders, &c. issued by the Commissioners, or any three of them, a seal is to be affixed, engraved with the rose surmounted by the crown, the letters E. R. on either side the same, and round the circumference this legend, Sigil : Com'issar : Reg : Ma : ad cas' : Eccli'ast.

Original documents* have been selected to shew how

* We have taken the liberty to pass over without entire transcription many of these documents ; among them several informations taken by Sir William More respecting sectaries, which shew that, as most human measures, essentially good, are subject to some alloy of evil, so schism and fanaticism began early to assail the English Reformed Church. The most active fanatical sects of the day were, we believe, those styled the Family of Love and the Anabaptists. We have selected, from a string of absurd and ridiculous tenets recorded in the MSS.

these powers were acted upon; and in this place it may be observed that no comparison can justly be drawn by those who are disposed to pronounce the above measures of a severe and persecuting character, between the times when true religion had just emancipated herself from the shackles of a tyrannous superstition, rooted by ancient usage most strongly in the hearts of many, and those in

the following as specimens. A cobbler of Deepden, the author of a fruitful schism, taught "that there ought not to be any prescript form of prayer, but that at every assembly the minister must devise a new order; that the prayers in the book of Common Prayer were generally wicked; that the thing preached in England was not *the Gospel*; that it was not lawful to seek the reformation of these things by her Majesty, the Parliament, or the Bishops, but that the common people may and must reform by their own authority." Democratical principles in our own days could go no further. Another information reports, that any person received as a member of the sect was to have all his goods in common with the rest of his brethren. When they assembled before their elder for hearing the Scriptures read and expounded, he addressed them thus: "All you that are but weak, and not come to perfection, withdraw yourselves, and pray that you may be made worthy," &c. : upon which these "*weaklyngs*" retired. "When a questyon is demanded of anye of them, they doo of ordre stave a great whyle ere they do aunswere, and comonlye theyre fyrst worde shall be Surelye, or So!" Evidently the rudiments of the Yea and Nay of Quakerism. They decree all men to be infants under thirty years of age. If asked if an infant should be baptized, "they say Yea," meaning that until that period they are yet in their infancy. One of the most amusing and probably well-founded charges against them, was, "that their bishops, elders, or deacons, doe increase in welthe, but theyr dyscyples become poor."

which she has been long cherished by equal laws, confirmed by a grateful experience of the blessings she has conferred, and when a confidence in her just merits has induced her to relinquish much of her political ascendancy, in the generous endeavour to conciliate men of all opinions. May such concession never be successfully perverted to weaken her influence, to introduce anarchy under the form of liberality, and to make that anarchy the anvil on which to reforge fetters for the body politic! for it must ever be remembered that true religion, united with just and vigorous government, is the only source of real and rational liberty, and that the licentiousness of infidels, of libellers, and seditious demagogues, subject the good and loyal for the time to the most bitter of persecutions, and end at the last in the establishment of arbitrary power. History points at Cromwell and Napoleon as apt illustrations of the axiom.

Confinement of Henry Wriothesley, second Earl of Southampton of that name, at Loseley, as a suspected Papist.

On the 16th of June, 1570, Lord William Howard, Sir Francis Knowles, and Sir William Cecill, addressed letters, as Lords of the Council, to Mr. Becher, Sheriff of London, signifying that the Queen's Majesty, having cause given her to conceive some displeasure towards the Earl of Southampton, had thought proper to commit him to his the Sheriff's custody; that he was to cause him to be lodged in some convenient place within his house, and to allow him to have conference with none save such his domestic attendants as he should have selected to wait on

him; that he should neither write or receive any letters which should not be subjected to the Sheriff's inspection; that he might be allowed to walk in the Sheriff's garden in the absence of strangers, provided that gentleman, or one of his trusty servants, were with him.

On the 15th of July following, the plague then raging in London, the Council signified to the Sheriff the Queen's gracious pleasure that the Earl, not being in very good health, should be removed from his custody, and transferred to that of Mr. More, of Loseley, who received orders to repair to London, and take the Earl into his custody,—a charge of no small personal trouble and confinement to Mr. More, who was at the same time instructed to bring him to conform to the use of the Common Prayer.

The reports of Mr. More to the Council on this subject, are curiously minute. The uniting in the Common Prayer was considered at that period a sort of test of the loyalty of suspected persons. Southampton had married the daughter of Anthony Browne, Viscount Montague. This nobleman exerted all his influence to obtain the release of his son-in-law; nevertheless he remained in durance at Loseley for three years, when he was permitted to remove to the seat of the Viscount at Cowdray, in Sussex, with permission occasionally to inspect the progress made in a seat which he was erecting for himself in Hampshire, provided he were absent for only one night at a time. Southampton's confinement at Loseley was made as agreeable to him as circumstances might admit. His lordship, after his enlargement, continued on the most friendly terms with Mr. More, afterwards Sir William. In 1573 he announces to him, in a letter dated from Cowdray, his lady's delivery of "a goodly boy," who became afterwards the heir of his title, and the munificent patron of Shakspeare.

(87.)

The Earl of Southampton to Mr. More. He is anxious
to be removed from London.

MR. MORE,

After my ryght hartly come'dacions, I have by
this berer sent unto you the counsell's letters,
wherby you shall p'ceyve that I am apoynted to
continue wth you for a time. I assure your geste
(guest) cumeth wth no very good will, having
rather to be at my house, if it so plesed them;
but sins it is ther plesur, that I were owght
(out) of the town,* otherwise I ame glad they have
placed me wth so honest a gentleman and my
frend; and so desiring you to cum to morowe,
I bid you farwell wth hartly comendacions to yo^r
wife. Fro' Londo', the 16th of July, 1570.

Y^r loving ffriend,

H. SOUTHAMPTON.

To my loving ffriend

Mr. More gev this.

* On account of the infectious disease then prevailing, Mr. Becher, the Sheriff of London, to whose custody the Earl had at first been committed, informs Mr. More, in a letter dated 10th of August 1570, "that the sickness of plague had in-croached nearer his house, being in Cornhill and Lombard Street;" that it was of the nature of a burning ague, but that few died of it. It is therefore probable that the disease so frequently recurring in London, to which the name of *plague* is assigned by the compilers of ancient chronicles, was in many instances but an epidemic fever, varying in its degree of malignity.

(88.)

Viscount Montague to Mr. More. Begs him to inquire of his son-in-law the Earl of Southampton, if he can do any thing more in his behalf.

W^t my herty comendations, understanding yesterdaye night fro' my dowghter that the state of my L. of Southampton with you is butt as before with Mr. Becher, I thoughtt itt my parte, after his so many dayes abode there, to send to you, as well thatt his L. may understand my care and desyre to here of his helth, as also to knowe whether his L. wolde any thinge further to be by me donne in his behalf. And so I wishe you hertely well to doo. ffro' my howse att Cowdrey, the xxiiij of Julii, 1570.

Yo^r lovinge ffrend,

ANTHONY MOUNTAGUE.

I wolde soner have sent to my L: savinge that I thoughtt I shoulde have herd before this fro' yow, the state and mater of his com'itting unto yow.

To my loving ffrend
Mr. Wm. Moore, Esquyer.

(89.)

The Council to Mr. More, desire to be informed by his private letter if the Earl of Southampton attends Common Prayer in his house.

After our very hartly comendations, we have thought meet, for good considerations, to require yo^u to signifie unto us by yo^r private l^re, whether the Earle of Southampton, at presente remaying in your howse, doo cume to Co^mon Prayer or not; and in case he have not so doon alredy, then we require yo^u, as of yo^rself, to move and pswade him thereunto, and of that he shall doo or hath doone, and shall answer thereupon, we pray yo^u to advertise us with convenient speede. And so we byd yo^u fare well. ffrom Wyndes', the xvij of Octob^r, 1570.

Yo' loving frends,

W. NORTH. F. BEDFORD. R. LEYCESTER.
 W. HOWARD.
 F. KNOLLYS. JAMES CROFTS. W. CECILL.
 WA. MILDMAY.

To o^r very lovinge frende.

Wm. Moore, Esquier.

(90.)

Mr. More to the Lords of the Council, in reply to the preceding.

My dewtye unto yo^r honorable LL. (Lordships)

humblye remembred, yt may plesse the same to be adv'tysed, imedyatlye after the E. of S. came into my charge, I sygnefyd unto hy' that usuelye I had Com'on Prayer twice ev'ye daye in my howse, at the w^{ch} I wold wyshe his L. to be. Whereunto he aunsweryd me, that as he was restreyned of his libertye in my howse, he had no disposyc'on to come out of his chamber to praye, but rather to occupye hymself there in prayer, thinking it to be no great differ' (difference) to do th'one or th'other, and therefore desyred me to thinke that that he dyd not absent himself from the same as of one that contempnyd the service, for not onelye he had usually Com'on Prayer in his own howse, but also at his beyng in the Courte dyd there frequent the same; and so requysted me therew^t to be satysfyed. Within short tyme after I declared unto hym, that sins thorowgte his remeynyng w^t me, I was inforsyd so to kepe home, as nether I nor my familye could be at any service abrode, I dyd determyne to have one well lernyd to enstruct them one daye in my howse, of the w^{ch} I thought better to gyve hym knowledg before, then upon the sodden to move hym to come unto the same. He aunswered, that syns I was so determyned, he wold wyllynglye be by; and so at the tyme poynted he cam and stayd the service, from the beginning to th'end; and latelye I agen declared to his lordship that I mynded to doe another service in my howse, to w^{ch} he sayd

he wold wylyngly here when soever I wold. And now, accordyng to yo^r LL.'s comandment sygnefyed unto me by y^r l'res, I eftsons moved hy' to come unto the Co^mon Prayer, usyng suche p'swasons as I could to lead him thereunto. Wherunto he aunsweryd me that he had absented himself from the service for no other respect then before declared, and that sins I dyd so earnestlye begge hym thereunto, he would wylynglye be present at hit, and so came that daye unto my p^lyer (parlour), where our prayer was, and was present at the same.

Indorsed, "To y^e LL. of the Counsell,
for y^e E. of Southampton."

(91.)

Viscount Montague to Mr. More, his daughter purposes to make suit for her husband's liberation.

Wth my herty comendations, I can nott a litell merveyle that, my L. of Southampton havinge delt and written as lately you knowe he hath, no resolutions followeth of his release. I here a pursuivant was w^t you w^h letters touchinge him, whether for good or no I knowe nott, more than thatt by y^r message my dawghter had cause to hope the best. If there appere to you no likelihod of his dyschardge, I pray yow send me worde by this bearer what yow thinke, to th'end his wyff may stay no

longer, but for dyschardge of her dutye to make sute as she maye. I trust and make my selff assuryd he hath and dothe not wauntt yo^r best best meanes to further him. And so byd yow hertelye fare well. Fro' my howse att Cowdrey, the last of October, 1570.

Yo^r lovinge ffrend,

ANTHONY MOUNTAGUE.

To my lovinge ffrend Mr.

Wm. Moore, Esquyer.

(92.)

Draft of a Letter from Mr. More to the Earl of Leicester, interceding on behalf of the Earl of Southampton.

My dewtye unto yo^r honorable L. remembred. It may pleyse the same to be adv'tysed that my L. of Southampton sueth that he understand what successe the erneste sute of yo^r L. and of others, latelye had to the Quen's most excellent ma^y for his enlargement. He ys falen into that hevynes and pensivenes of mynde, as that I see yt wyll eyther brede in him some present sicknes, or some great inconvenyens hereafter. I have used y^e best psuacons I can to staye him from the same, but it lyttle p'valythe, and his answeere ys, y^t al-beyt his restraint of lib'tye ys verye painfull unto him, because he doutyth the same to be soch dis-comfyрте to my La. his wyff as may bee to her great harme, yet the indygnaco' and dyspley-

sure of her highnes w^{ch} he thinkethe vehemently
 torneth ageynst hy', because he seythe his frends
 earnest labor unto hyre grace in his behalf can
 take no better place, dothe so farre passe the
 other in greefe of mynde unto him, as that his lyf
 seemeth to him verye tedyous. Of w^{ch} I tho^t yt
 my dewtye to adv'tyse yo^r L. bycause I perceave
 hys hope of qualyfycac'on of the quen's ma^{ts} dys-
 pleys^r agenst hym restythe chyflye in you, by
 whose good care if he may effect the same, it shall
 not onelye be greatlye to his comfote, but also
 bind him in honor to be at yo^r commandment
 duryng his lyf.

(93.)

The Council signify to Mr. More the Queen's pleasure that the
 restrictions on the Earl of Southampton's liberty may be
 somewhat relaxed.

After our hartie comendacons. Whereas, upon
 the humble submission of th'erle of Southampton,
 the Queenes Majesties gracious pleasure was, that
 he should be sett at more lib^{tie}, her highnes hath
 made speciale choise of you wth whome he might
 for the tyme remayne, till some farther order be
 taken: w^{ch} we have thought good to signifie
 unto you, desiringe you as well to pmett unto
 him th'accesse of my lady his wief, his other frends
 and s'vaunts w^{ch} shall repaire un^{to} him, as
 otherwise suffer him to goe some tymes abrode w^t

them for takinge the aier, so that it be wth yo^r likinge and in yo^r company. And hereby we mynde not to charge you in any respectt wth his diette or otherwise in any sorte, but that he eyther beare them him self, or see you well satisfiied and contented, as to his estate and in right apteyneth. And for that he hath desired to have lib^{tie} to repayre some tymes to an howyse of his in Hampshyr w^{ch} nowe is in buildinge,* her Ma^{ty} is veary well pleased that he may now and then do so, so that it be in yo^r presence and cumpany, and that he retorne to your hows the same night againe. And so desiringe you hereof not to faile, we bid you right hartily farewell. ffrom the Starre Chamber, the fifte of Maye, 1573.

Yo^r lovinge ffrends,

W. BURGHLEY. E. LYCOLN. T. SUSSEX.

R. LEYCESTER. T. SMITH.

R. SADLEIR. WA. MILD MAY.

To o^r lovinge ffrende

Mr. Moore.

* He was erecting a seat near Odiham in Hampshire. In a letter to Mr. More, dated from Cowdray 1st Nov. 1573, he says, "I beg you will do so much as send for your glassier and tell him that nowe I am redy for him at *Dogsmerfeld*, and if he cannot presently serve my turne I must provide some other, for that some of the house must be forthwith glased before the frost, and my glasse and all other things is there redy."

(94.)

The Council signify to the Earl of Southampton her Majesty's permission that he should remain under certain restrictions with his good father-in-law the Viscount Montague at Cowdray.

Aft'r o^r hartie comendac'ons to yo^r L. The Quens Ma^{ty} ys well pleased and contented that you shall remayne at Cowdraie, wth your verie good ffather-in-lawe the Vicount Montague. And ffurther, at yo^r and yo^r ffrendes earnest request, p^s also contented that yo^r Lordshipp may repaire to yo^r howse w^{ch} ys in buildinge, in such sorte as you did when ye were at Mr. More's, p^{ro}vided alwaies that, by reason of the distance of y^e places ye cannot well returne in one daie, ye do not by this p^{ro}mission remayne there above one night, till her Ma^{ts} ffarther pleasure shalbe knowen to the contrarie. And this shalbe yo^r and Mr. More's sufficient warrant in y^t behalf, and so we bide yo^r right hartelie ffaire well. From Grenw^{ch}, the xiiijth of Julie, 1573.

Yo^r loving ffrendes,

W. BURGHLEY. T. SUSSEX. F. BEDFORD.

R. LEYCESTER.

(95.)

The Earl of Southampton to Mr. More, communicates the comfort God hath sent him after his long troubles, by the birth of a goodly boy. This child became afterwards his heir, and has the honour to be recorded as a liberal patron of our immortal and unequalled poet Shakspeare.

After my most hartly comendacions, both to you and your good wife. Although yt is so happed by the sudden sickness of my wife, that wee could not by possibility have her present as we desired, yet have I thought good to imparte unto you such comfort as God hath sent me after all my longe troubles, w^{ch} is that this present morning, at iij of klok, my wife was dd. [delivered] of a goodly boy (God bless him!) the w^{ch}, although yt was not wthout great perell to them both for the present, yet now, I thank God, both are in good state. Yf your wife will take the paynes to visit her, we shalbe mighty glad of her company; and so, w^h my hartly comendations to your son Polsted and his wife, and to good Mr. Soudar, if he be with you, I end for this time, bidding you hartely farewell. From Cowdray, this pres^t Tuesday 1573.

Your assured ffrend,

H. SOUTHAMPTON.

To my assured frend Mr. William
More, Esquire, Losly, geve thes.

(96.)

Copley, of Gatton.

Thomas Copley, Esq. of Gatton, in Surrey, was a popish recusant. He seems to have retired into the Spanish Netherlands with other persons disaffected to the English Government and the Reformed Religion. Camden, in his *Annals of Queen Elizabeth*, gives the following incidental notice of this individual : *

“ Don Lewis Zuniga de Requesens, who succeeded the Duke of Alva ” (in the government of the Netherlands) “ bent himself wholly to recover (if it were possible) the sea coasts, which the Duke of Alva had, by a notable oversight in so great a captaine, neglected, whereby the Low Country Warre was so many years prolonged. But, forasmuch as he was unprovided of shipping (for the Spanish shippes, which by ayde of the English were brought into Flanders a little before for that purpose, had miscarried, being rent and foully-weather beaten), he sent Boisshot into England to levy, with the Queen’s leave, ships and sailors against the Hollanders and Zelanders. But he prevailed not, for the Queene would not thrust her ships and sailors into danger in another man’s cause, and publicly she commanded that no man should man out ships of warre but by her license first obtained, and that the English sailors should not serve under other princes. Boisshot therefore made suit that she would not be offended if the English Exiles in the Netherlands served under the Spaniards in sea fight against the Hollanders.

* Translated by R. N. Gent. ann. 1635, p. 181.

She in no wise allowed that those English *Rebels*, for so she called those whom he termed *Exiles*, should serve under the Spaniards, nay she hoped Requesens would not favour them. Certainly she prayed him he would not, and namely Thomas Copley; for him the Spaniards purposed to send forth to make prize of the English and the Netherlanders, having loaden him with the titles of Great Master of the Maes, Lord of Gatton and Roughtey."

These were sounding *noms de guerre*, and might pass very well in a foreign service, although the two last were but appellations of Copley's manors in Surrey;* one of them a notorious borough, whose rottenness was of much antiquity, as it appears to have been a mere nominal corporation in the time of Elizabeth,† the privilege of which has been swept away by a recent grand experiment in political economy.

* The letters of marque granted to him as "*Don Thomas Copleus*," by the representative of the King of Spain in the Netherlands, "*Don Luys de Requesens, Comendador Mayor de Castilla, del Consejo de Stado, Gubernador, y Capityne Generale de los Estados de Flandres*," are extant in the Loseley collection; which circumstance seems to bear presumptive evidence of a seizure at least of his papers, by the vigilant policy of the Queen's ministers.

† We here insert the following letter in confirmation of this observation.

"After my very hartly comendations, wheras my LL. (Lords) of the Cowncill do understand that Mrs. Copley hathe the nomynatio' of the two Burgesses ffor the town of Gatton, beinge a p'cell of her joynture. It is not thought convenyent, for that she is known to be evill affected, that she should beare any swaye in the choise of the said Burgesses, her Ma'ts pleasure beinge suche, as by o'r l'res hathe be' signyfyed unto you, that a specyall choise should be had for this

(97.)

Copley to the Sheriff and Justices of Surrey. Demurs to subscribe to the Act for the Uniformity of Common Prayer; insists on the infallibility of the Church of Rome, and on the impossibility of it having been so long suffered to continue in error and blindness.

After my right hartie comendac'ons unto you all. For that the true knowledg how God should be served, and the true order of Administrac'on of the Sacram^{ts} was knowen, practised, and established in the Church of God longe befo^r the Acte of Parlement was made whereunto I should now subscribe, and that the referring as it were of the originall and true setting furthe therof, to the said

present Parlement of fyt p'sons, known to be well affected in relygo' and towards the estate. Theyr LL. (Lordships) have thought good therefore youe should recommend unto the s'd burgers Will'm Waad, one of the clerks of her Ma'ts Pryvy Cownsell, and Nycolas Fuller, a Cownsell at the Law, whome if they shall not be willinge to make choise of for theyr Burgresses, at the leste you must se that care be had they there may discret p'sons be chosen, and well affected. Thus hopinge this shall suffyce, I byd you hartely fare well. ffrom Winchest' the xxvii of Sept. 1586.

Yo'r lovinge ffrend

FRA. WALSYNGHAM.

To my verie lov'ng'e f'des S' W'm More,
and S'r Tho's Browne, K'ts, and Ric.
Bawstocke, Esq.

act so latelie made, should seme a great derogac'on to y^e Christian faithe, and a great slander and discredit to the Church of God, that the same should be so mannye ages after ignoraunt how God should be servyd, or a false teacher of his people, which cannot be, sence th'Apostle saithe that the same is columna et firmamentum veritatis, and because wthout a faithles mistrust in God it maye not, in my opinion, in word or thought be doubtyd, that God, who being truthe it self, and promising that he would be w^t his Church, not after fifteen hundred years only, but omnib's dieb's usque ad consumac'em seculi, by all daies to the worlds eand, and to instructe the same into all truthe, w'ch words admit no intermission, would, contrarie to his divine promise, suffer such long and generall error and blindnesse in his church as is bye some imagined. For theis and div'se other great causes (too many in a l're to be rehersed unto you.) I cannot yet by any serche fynde suffycient matt' to psuade me wth saif co'science to that w^{ch} is at this p'sent required of me; amongst others, I see the great daunger of displeasure, restraint, and moche hindraunce and trouble, that is lyke herbie to growe unto me wthout the great mercye and favour of my lords of the privy counsaill. Neither am I so sencelesse or stonie but that I fele the grief therof, and gladlie would avoyd the same and do wth all my hart as others do, beinge I know much wyser than my self, if I could do it wthout

feare of daung^r and by offence of God and my conscience, not being pswadyd in this point as some others perhaps be. Wherfor I most instantlie requier yo^u all, if it may be, to grant me long^r respite for th'enforming of my co'science in this case. If yo^u cannot so do, then for excuse of my not subscribing at this present to send up even this my l're to my Lords and others of the p'vie councell, whose honors I trust will, of their great m'cye and goodnes, have favorable considerac'on of this my doing, not proceeding, I protest before God, of any obstinacye but only of meare feare to offend my co'science. And farther that I might fynd so moche favor and friendship at yo^r hands as that you would be contentyd for neighbourhod to afford herew^tall to my said Lords a few favorable lynes from yo^rselves in the favor of me yo^r poor neighbour and loving frend, w^{ch} I doubt not should pcure me more grace at there Lordships' hands in this behalf then any myne owne privat sute can do. In w^{ch} y^r ffrendlie doing, as by yo charitable compassion therin appearing of y^r neighbor's affliction, you should singularly please God and avoid from yourselves and others the danger w^{ch} th'Appostle admonisheth yo' of in theis words, " Peritur infirmus in tuâ conscientîâ frater, propter quem Christus mortuus est; sic autem peccatis in fratres et percutietis conscientiam eorum infirmorum in Christum," w^{ch} syning agaynst Christ weare, as ye see, daungerous to

such as should urge me to the offence of my co'science in this case, so shall I herin have cause to acknowledg my self muche beholding to you all in gen'all, and especiallye to suche of you in particular as I shall understand to be furtherers of this my reasonable sute, as knoweth the Almightye, of whom I hartlie wish unto you all the love, feare, and true knowledge, w^t prosperous successe in all y^r worldlie affairs to his honor, xxiii of Novemb. 1569,

Y^r lov^s neighbor and assueryd pore friend,

THO. COPPLEY.

To Sr Henrie Weston, knight, highe sheriff of the Co. of Surrey, and to the justices of y^e peace of y^e sayd Shere assemblyd at Dorking, and to ev'y of them.

(98.)

The Lords of the Council to the Justices of Surrey. Massing priests go disguised from place to place, and in whispering manner maintain sundry of her Majesty's subjects in superstition and error.*

After our verie hartie comendac'ons. The Quene's Ma^{tie} being given to understand, that as

* The vigilance exercised at this time by the local Magistrates, may be inferred from a letter from Sir William More to Secretary Walsingham, forwarded with a book which a

well wthin that Countie as in diverse other parts of the Realme, there be certaine lewd and evill disposed persons w^{ch} do remayne obscurely in secret places or els verie secretly do goe from place to place, disguised in apparel, eith^r after the maner of serving men or of artificers, wheras they be indeede popishe and massyng preasts, and doe under that visor, in whispering maner howld and maynteine sondrie of hir Mat^s subjects in superstition and error: some of them p^tending to have authoritie from the pope to reconcile men and woe-men to the Church of Rome, and to divert their due obedience and allegiance from our most gracious Ladie the Quene, o^r undoubted soveraigne. A kynd of people and a maner of practise over long used and in no wyse anie more to be suffred. And therefore hir Mat^s pleasure is, and in hir highnes name wee earnestly requyre and chardge you to conferre earnestly together and to use all good meanes possible that you can for the diligent inquirie from tyme to tyme, and finding owt of suche disguised p^{so}ns. And where you shall fynd anie vehement p^sumption that anie suche p^{so}ns shalbe likely to hawnt, some of you that shall inhabite nearest unto the place so suspected, callyng unto you the constable or some other publique officer

countryman had dropped in a shower of rain under Guildford Park pale, and which being picked up and dried, was brought by the finder to Sir William, who thought the circumstance of sufficient importance to claim official notice.

shall make searche in the howse that shall be houlden so suspected, and use as good discretion as you can to fynd yf anie suche bee there, or by any presumptions uppon matters likely that anie suche person hathe been there, the w'ch maye bee conjectured most sonest, yf there shall be fownd there in that place anie masse bookes, superal-taries, or anie other suche thing belonging to the masse. And yf anie offendor in that case shalbe by suche meanes found, you shall apprehend them. And of yo^r doynges in this behalfe, besydes th'ad-vertisyng of us by yo^r l^res, you shall informe the L. Bushoppe of the Diocesse or the ordinarie, and take sufficient order for the com'itting and forth-comyng of suche as you shall fynd to be offenders, that they maye be answerable according to the qualitie of their faults. And so nothing doubtyng of yo^r good discretions herein, wee byd you har-tely farewell. From the Court at Hatfield the vth of Septemb^r 1578.

Yo^r loving frends,

R. LEYCESTER.

W. BURGHLEY.

F. KNOLLYS. JAMYS CROFT.

THO'S WYLSON. F. WALSYNGHAM.

To o^r loving frends the Sherif and
Justic's of Pece, in the Countie
of Surrey.

(99 .)

Thomas Fryer, of London, Doctor of Physic, has compounded with her Majesty, for a certain yearly sum not to come to church. A document, intituled, "A note of several livings of such recusants now remayninge in the Countie of Surrey as are of habitie, and of such sommes of monie as they offer to pay yearlie into her Majesties receipt, set down under their hands, the 9th of March, 1585," shews that many Romanists were willing to purchase similar permission at the sacrifice of a fourth part of their yearly income, if their own statements of the amount might be considered, under such circumstances, to be tolerably correct. Certificates from the Churchwardens to the Justices, that certain individuals had conformed, by attending divine service in the parish church, are at this period not unusual.

Where' Thomas Fryer, Doctor of Phisicke, dwellinge w'thin the Cytye of London, ys required by yo^r l^re of this instante to be before youe at Dorkinge on Thurseday nowe next cominge, as touchinge his not cominge to Churche. It may please yowe to be advertised that the sayd Mr. Fryer hath ben allreddye called before the M^r of the Rolls and Sir Owyn Hopton, knighte, lieutenant of the Tower, Commissioners appoynted for the same cause, w'thin the Cyttye of London and the Countye of Midd. before whom he hath compounded and agreed to paye unto her Ma^{tie} a certen yearely some of money for his nott cominge to churche, as by the certyficat thereof, delyvered unto the Lordes of her Ma^{ties} pryvie councell,

dothe appeare, w'ch by the comaundement of the
Mr of the Rolls I am willed to signifie unto yo^r
mastershipps. At London the xviith of Maye
1586. Yo^r w^rshippes humbly to com'aunde,

HENRY CLERKE,

the Clarke of the Peace in the
Countye of Midd.

To the Right worshippingfull Sr
Will'm More, Sir Thomas
Browne, knightes, George More,
Robert Lyvesey, and Edward
Bellingham, Esquiers, and to
every of them.

(100.)

Petition of the Parishioners of Ewell to Sir William More, relative to the miserable state of their poor vicarage. The patrons of churches bequeathing the advowsons and tithes to monasteries rendered such churches vicarial and pensionary. At the suppression of the monasteries, the tithes, which ought to have been *restored to the churches*, were given to laymen, and the Church has ever since suffered under this unjust impoverishment and alienation of its goods: now, it would seem, irremediable without invading the rights of long-established property.* The subjoined paper may be illustrated

* Among the MSS. is a copy of the form of a grant by the King, of the Rectory and Church of Great Bookham, an appendage of Chertsey Abbey, to Sir Christopher More, of Loseley. The instrument is in Latin, and is remarkable as not being an executed grant, but having the following petition prefixed:

“ To the King our Sovereine Lorde. Please it your high-

by Aubrey's account of the state of spiritual instruction at Ewell at a later date; he says, "It is a market-town, not much above 10 miles from London, in a Christian kingdom, and such a kingdom, where the all-saving Word of the ever-living God is most diligently, sincerely, and plentifully preached; and yet amidst this diligence, as it were in the circle and centre of this sincerity, and in the flood of this plenty, the town of Ewell hath neither preacher nor pastor: for, although the parsonage be able to maintain a sufficient preacher, yet the living *being in a layman's hand*, is rented out to another for a great sum, and yet no preacher maintained there. Now the chief landlord out of his portion doth allow but 7*l.* yearly for a reader; and the other, that doth hire the parsonage at a great rent, doth give the said reader 4*l.* the year more, out of his means and courtesy; and by this means the town is served with a poor old man that is half blind, and by reason of his age can scarce read; for all the world knows that so small a stipend cannot find a good preacher books, and very hardly bread to live on, so that the poor souls dwelling there are in danger of famishing for want of a good preacher; for a sermon among them is as rare as warm weather in December or ice in July, both of which I have seen in England, but seldom." *Hist. and Antiq. of Surrey*, vol. ii. p. 242. This, and the three documents subsequently selected, shew the humble and subjected state of the parochial Clergy at this period.

To the right worshippingfull Sr William Moore, knight.

In all humble man'er that wee maye, the pochioners and inhabitants of Ewell, in the Countie of Surr', moste entirelie beseech your worship in the behalf of our poore

nes, of your most noble and abundant grace, to grant your gracious l'res patents under your grete sele, in due fourme, to be made according to the tenoure hereafter ensuyng. "Rex nibus, &c."

vicar Richard Williamson. That whereas his vicaridge of Ewel is pentionarie but viii^{li} by the yeare in money, as by a composition made therof about the yeare of our Lord God 1458, more at large appeereth, w^{ch} said composition remayneth in the Bishop's registrie at Winchester, amongst other things there to be seene; and about fortie yeares passed, for that none was able to lyve upon y^t said pension, it was augmented for the smalnes therof iiiij^{li} by the yeare, w^{ch} maketh but xii^{li} in the whole, and altogether cumeth not unto iiij^s by the weeke, the tenthes and subsidies deducted; the said pention can not finde (for the smalnes therof) no learned Minister to lyve on, but he be constrayned to begge for his said living, a thinge more lamentable than can welbe spoken of without teares. The high prises of al thinges now growen within these seaven skore yeares, when the said composition was made, at what tyme and long sithens a bushel of wheate was not above vi^d, and so in al like prises of oother things, but now at iijs. ; the Church a Deanrie Church, the great number of com'unicants, about halfe a thowsand of us, besides the multitude of youth catechises, w^{ch} is also great; his continual residence among so many, and no oother stay of lyving for him the said vicar, constrayneth us to appeale unto your woorshipe, being chosen for this present tyme a special member for the bodie of our Countie of Surr', to helpe forward in the moving and prosecuting of all causes lamentable, of w^{ch} we suppose there is none of like nature (considering the great charge) to be redressed at this instant, as this our sayd vicaridg of Ewel. May it therfor please your woorship to take regard of this most pittifull cause, that by your sayde wisdom soom good course may be taken to establish a perpetual competent portion for him the sayde vicar and his familie to lyve on, and also to be able to mayntayne hospitalitie amongst the poore needie of

his said chardge, when occasion shal require it, w^{ch} augmentation may wel be deducted out of the said psonage fruites, w^{ch} one Mr. Saunders, gentleman, wholie reapeth. Wherefore if it may stand with your worships good liking, the pention being in no wise able to relieve him the said vicar, nor none other, that the said pention may die and surcease, and y^t he and his successors ppetual may be lefte to the vicaridge tiethes, of the said charge, together with the glibe landes geven and lefte to the same church for the better mayntenance of the incu'bents there for ever. And we shal daylie pray for your woorship in al godlines long to continue to the good pleasure of the Almightye.

Signed by Saunders Bray, John Dickins, Allan Tayler, William Smith, George Douce, John Collins, and by the marks of Edward Moonter and William Parks, churchwardens, and of six other parishioners.

Indorsed, "The humble petition of the Inhabitants and Parishioners of Ewel, in the Countie of Surr', neere to Nonesuch, for the reliefe of the moste miserable state of their poore vicaridge there."

(101.)

John Cowper, Esq. of Capel, in Surrey, (Serjeant-at-law,) to Sir William More. The bearer, the minister of the parish where he dwells, is desirous to marry a maid of the same parish. Her Majesty's injunctions prescribe that a minister cannot marry without the licence of his diocesan and two justices of the peace. Requests Sir William More's assent. He has consulted divers of the minister's parishioners, who have no objection.

After my very hartly comendacons. S'r, the berer hereof, beyng the minister of the p'she wher I dwell, beyng w'oute a wife, ys very desyrous to mary a mayde dwelling in the same pish; and for as much as by her Mat^{ies} injunccions a minister cannot marry but by th'examinacon and allowance of the Bishop of the dioces, and two justices of the peace nere unto the place wher the sayd minister and woman do dwell, I am for hym to desyr yo^r assent therunto. The man is of honest and good conv'sacon, and the woman is of good yeres, towards xxx, and a very sober mayd and honest, and so reported of by the substantiallest men of this parish, where she hath dwelled almost seven yeres. He hath the good will of her mother, her father being dede, and of her master, w^t whome she last dwelled, and of her ffrends, and of the pish wher he serveth, for I sent for divers of them to know ther oppinions of the matter before I wold wright, and before you sygnify yo^r assent to my L. Bushopp (unto whome I have also written) by a word or two from you. I am sory that I cannot come by yo' as I goe to London. I must ride into Buckinghamshire on Monday or Tuesday next, and from thear to London, where I hope we shall mete. Ther be more wytnesses founde oute; John Polsted was the elder brother. Thus desyryng you to make my hartly comendac' to my good Lady and Syster

Polsted, I tak my leave. From Capell this xviii of
 Octobre.

Yo^r cossyn and assured ffrend,

JOHN COWPER.

It is out of dout that Polsted is maryed.

To the R^t W^l and his very g^d
 freind S^r John More, knt. at
 Losely, gyeve this.

(102.)

Robert Cole, Vicar of Epsom, exculpates himself to Sir Wil-
 liam More from certain uncharitable imputations. A letter
 dictated with all the simplicity which Shakspeare (who
 studied his characters from real life) has attributed to the
 parish priest, Sir Hugh Evans, in the Merry Wives of
 Windsor.

In most humble wise, right worshippefull Syr,
 my duetye reme'bred, most humbly praysinge
 God, and givinge your worshipe thanks for your
 favorable ayde, and furdernore in the easinge and
 releasinge of my molestations by Mr. Nicolas
 Saunder and other ungodlye people, through his
 procureme't uncharitablye practised agaynst me, in
 causinge me and my wife to be indighted for ba-
 rators and troublesome people, to my great dif-
 faminge and cost to travis (traverse) the same; for
 as knoweth God, I woulde very gladly live in
 peace with all people: for I prayse God I have
 dwelte amoste this xx yeare in the parishe of Eb-

same, and neither man nor woman can justlye saye that I at any time caulled or reviled, sithens I came to that parishe, any man or woman, Sir, (reverence of your worshippe), no not with suche like worde as knave or drabe; neither have I smitten any maner of person exceptinge children, the whiche I have taughte in learninge, and those of my owne househould, but have bin glad alwaies to make peace and agreement betwene any of my neighbours which have bin at any discorde. But because I willed the church wardens accordinge to the articles geven them from the ordenary to present Mr. Nicolas Saunder for not reacevinge the holye comunion, and that he was upon there presentment sited to appeare before Mr. Doctor Lowen, and because he did not appeare at the court daye he stode excommunicate, wherfore the sayde Mr. Saunder procured great molestations agaynest me by all meanes he could devise, to my great impoverishinge and undoinge, and yet is like to continew yfe God stire not up such good men as your worsh'pe is, to mitigate his ire and suppress his malice, the which I pray God graunt the same to be finished. Furdermor, right worshippefull Syr, I trust you shall finde my wife to be of honest behavioir, and that I am welcontented that she shalbe at your worshippes appoyntinge and placinge as to your worshippe shall seme most convenient, both for her, and my honesty. Thus comightinge your

worshippe w^t yours to the tuicion of allmighty
God. From Ebsam this iijth of Aprill 1580.

Your obedient in Christ,

ROBERT COLE, *Vicar of Ebsam.*

To the Right worshippingfull Syr Wil-
liam More, knight, high Shreve
of Sussex and Surre, deliver
these.

(103.)

Matthew Parker, Archbishop of Canterbury, to Sir William
More. The Vicar of Chertsey has been openly put in the
stocks!

After my hartie comendac'ons, I am sued unto
by one Will'm Newman,* Vicar of Chartezey, in
the Countie of Surrey, that wheare' one Mr.
Cooper being of late made Justice, as he saith,
sent for him by the Cunstables in her Ma^{ties} name
to cum before him, belike refused to goe to him,
as thinkinge he had noe matter toward him but
eccl'iasticall, and was afterward by a warrant ar-
rested, and by vertue therof putt into the stocks
openlie, and beinge comaunded to appeare before
him, alledged for that he refused to paie unto the
poore mans boxe suche a somme as the parish-
oners sett uppo' his head (as he saith) contrarie to
justice, his benifice being but worthe xvi^{li}, wheron
he is also resident, and being contented to paie ii^s

* He was presented to the vicarage of Chertsey in 1568.

to the poore, not otherwise hable to doe yt. He was in fine bounde over to the Quarter Sessions on Tuisdaie, being the xxth of Aprill, when he, coming before the Justices, his petic'on and complaint coulde not be heard, but rejected, and soe commaunded to the White Lion in South'arke to putt in suertie to appeare at the next gaole deliverie. This is the sum of his complainte. I am pswaded that the gentlemen, Justices of the Peace, will doe noe ecclesiasticall person wronge nor extremitie, although it was heard that he was putt openlie in the stocks; but bicause I doe not knowe his demerites, I can saie little in yt, but promised that I woulde write to you in this matter, as heare I nowe doe, praienge you to consider of this cause. And thus I bid yo^r worship hartelie well to fare as myself. From my house at Lambith this last of Aprill.

Yo^r lovinge frende,

MATTHEW CANTUAR.

To the worshipfull my lovinge frend
Mr. More, Justice of the Peace.

(104.)

Pecuniary Compensation made by Visitors.

Mrs. Ursula Worseley (afterwards the wife of the great Sir Francis Walsingham) to Mr. Mills, from Appuldercombe, in the Isle of Wight; makes an arrangement to be communicated to Mr. More, previous to a proposed visit to her house, respecting the charges she expects him to defray for keeping

of her household: no uncommon practice in this age, as appears by the subsequent letter.

ffather Mills, after my hartye comendac'ons, theis are desieringe you, that when Mr. More and Mr. Cressewell cometh into the Ile, and as I suppose first to yo^r house, to have me in remembrance to them on theis points following, w'ch I trust shall seme bothe reasonable and requisite to be considered of, that is, first to have my chambre fre to mye selfe, allso to have parte of the chardges borne for the keepinge of the howse and the whole familie fro' the deathe of my late husband until this feste of St. Michell, and I trust allso upon yo^r remembraunce, theye will so consider that I shall have a geldinge fre to mye self; theis points I thought hit good to remembere you of, to the intent that through yo' communicac'on had wth them, whose frendshippe I nothingse doubt, theye maie the better throughlie conseder of hit, so that at their cominge hether they maye be the lesse troubled, and the better quieted and contented what ordre soever they shall take in the premisses. Thus, beinge boulde allwaies to troble you, desieringe you to make my hartie comendac'ons to my mother Mills, I comitt you to God. From Applercombe the xvth of Septembre 1565.

Y^r lovinge daughter to comand,

URSULA WORSLEY.

To the worshippfull and mye approved
ffreind Mr. Milles geve theis.

(105.)

Thomas Asteley, from the Court at Farnham, proposes to visit Mr. More.

Mr. More, now that ye have hadd good time to think of the matter we comūned off, it behoveth me to procure spedie answer from you consarnyng the same, for that the season of the yere crepes fast away that houshold provisio' shuld best be bought at, as ficshe, butter, chees, grayne, wood, and cole, w^t suche like, wherfore theas be brefflye to dezier you so instantlye as I may or can so to frend my request as I may think my self beholdyng unto you, and I will not be unthankfull. The number my wiffe must of nesessite have are five w^t her selff, ii children th'eldyst five yere of age, a man s'vant and a woman s'vant ; and I must have, as (if) I may have leave to come to you, ii s'vants and iii horses. Al this ye must consider off like a frend, and so rate the price accordyng to your good co'sience, as ther be no dout but that wee shall verie well agree, for w^t you I wold spend and live more liberally than in manny places ; in any wise reffarr nothing to mee, but co'clude in your lett^r your price and determynacion.

I here ye have rome sufficient besides your new byldyng,* and I will, if you will so have it, fornishe

* He alludes to a considerable alteration or reconstruction of the mansion at Loseley, between 1562 and 1568.

holye a chamber for my selff, and a nother for my mayd and childeren, w^t beddes, hangings, and all that thear to belongithe. Thus hopinge for your frindly answer I com'it you to God. From the Cort at Farnam this xxv of August.

Yours to my power,

THOMAS ASTELEY.

To my verie good frend Mr. More
at his house beside Gilford, this
be deliv'd.

(106.)

Toby Matthew, afterwards Archbishop of York, to Sir William More, respecting a promised visit to Loseley. He was much acquainted with George, the son of Sir William, when both were at the University of Oxford. He had a great inclination to marry Sir George More's sister, Mrs. Polsted, the widow of Richard Polsted, Esq. but she preferred Sir John Wolley, Latin Secretary to Queen Elizabeth, whom she espoused.

Sir,

If I kepe not promis in coming so soone as was appointed, I praie you let some bodie els then my selfe beare the blame thereof. Mariage matters are suche in everie condic'on, that not only mariengs and buriengs but very christenings also be verie combresome. Mrs. Polstede will not let me departe, with this bearer ; and you knowe, Sir, it standeth me upon especially nowe, not to discon-

tent her any waie. Suite * is in some sorte a ser-
vitude, or at least a service. I wolde right gladly
tarie at Losely until yo^r returne ; but as the sooner
I departe and the seldomer I repayer, the better
for you and worse for me, so am I nowe in a maner
enforced though humbly, yet abruptly, to take this
leave, not of my ladie, but of yo^rselfe, beseching
thus mucche further to be beholden as that you will
make my dutifull and bounden reme'brance to my
good L. of Winton, to whose L. I in particular, or
Colledge in generall, is greatly beholden. The
Lorde God spede you ev' well. Stoughton, 9 De-
cemb. 1576.

Yo^r worship's bounden and assured to com-
'aunde in Christ,

TOBIE MATTHEW.

To the right worshippfull Sr Will'm
More, knight, my verie good frende.

(107.)

Simon Trippe, a physician, to Mr. George, afterwards Sir
George More, respecting a professional visit he was about to
make at Loseley. The letter exhibits the prejudices which
physicians of the time entertained for administering or avoid-
ing remedies on certain particular days. They much govern-

* Mr. Matthew's suit was of an amatory nature, therefore
not so tedious as Falstaff describes the waiting at Court "for
obtaining of suits" to be.

ing their practice by notions drawn from the absurdities of judicial astrology.*

Ihus (Jesus).

Mr. George More, I am hartely sorry for the suspected mischance happened at Losley, but I hope there is more feare than hurt, and yet in these causes good to mistrust the worst. As for my comming to you upon Wensday next, verely my promise being past to an old pacient of mine, a very good gentlewoman, one Mrs. Clerk, w^{ch}

* We found among the MSS. at Loseley a curious little MS. volume, of a small quarto size, sewed up in a cover of parchment, which had formed part of an ancient book of church music. In this book was contained a Latin grammar, a Treatise on Judicial Astrology, various medical receipts and precautions, forms of making last wills and testaments, not omitting that of leaving legacies to religious-houses. It had probably been the manual of duties appertaining to a monk. The writing was the character of the fifteenth century. Of the medical receipts, and the astrological precautions, some of which are assigned to Master Galien (Galen), leche, we give the following specimens: "*For all maner of fevers. Take iii drops of a woman's mylke y^t norseth a knave childe, and do it in a hennes egge that ys sedentere (sedentary, or sitting), and let hym suppe it up when the evyl takes hym.—For hym that may not slepe. Take and wryte yese words into leves of lether: Ismael! Ismael! adjuro te per Angelum Michaelum, ut soporetur homo iste; and lay this under his bed, so y^t he wot not yerof, & use it allway lytell & lytell, as he have nede yerto.*" Under the head, "*Here begyneth ye waxinge of ye mone, and declaryth in dyvers tymes to let blode, whiche be gode. In the furste begynynge of the mone it is profetable to yche man to be letten blode: ye ix of the mone, neyther be (by) nyght ne be day, it is not good.*" In another place: "A

now lieth in great extremity, I cannot possibly be wth you till Thursday. On Fryday and Saterday the signe wilbe in the heart, on Sunday, Monday, and Tuesday in the stomake, during w^{ch} tyme it wilbe no good dealing wth yowr ordinary phisicke untill Wensday come sevenight at the nearest, and from that tyme forwards for 15 or 16 dayes passing good. In w^{ch} time yf it will please you to let me understand of your convenient opportunity and season, I will not fail to come along presently wth your messenger. Howbeit, yf this turne be not supplied by some other in the meane space, I had rather it should be 2 or 3 days after Michelmas, because now I am utterly unfurnished of horses, and cannot hire any for money, but such jades as will not cary a man 10 miles owt of ye towne w^{thout} tiring; and I meane now at Way Hill Faire, w^{ch} shalbe at Michelmas, to store myself againe for my owne saddell at the least. And so, praying you to take my just excuse in good

woman that is borne in the signe Taurus is fayer of lokyng, of semelye and wel schape, and brune of coloure, grete eyen, fayre here, and many sekene she schall have, and moche schaffer (chaffer) for she byes and selles, and she schall have iii hosbonds, and on of them shal dwell with a grete lorde, and she shal have a childe yat shal be hurte w^t fire, or ellys w^t hote water, and she shal be besy and studyous in her werkes; and these ben her stronge poyntes, as it is aforsaid, and over (more-over) on a friday she shal dye of the squynsey." Such in ancient days, as in modern, were the absurdities of those who would be wise beyond God's Providence, and dealt in the witchcraft of the stars!

part, and to remembre my humble comendac'ons
to your selfe and all the good company at Thorpe,
I commit us to God. Winton, Septemb. 18, 1581.

Your worships assured lovinge frind,

To the woorshipfull my very good SIMON TRIPPE.
frinde Mr. George More at
Thorpe, these be d'd.

Royal Visits.

(108.)

Sir Anthony Wyngfeld to his friend Mr. More. The Queen has determined to come to Loseley; he will find the visit a very great "trouble and hinderance;" advises him how to get himself excused from the honour. Queen Elizabeth was certainly several times at Loseley. We may gather from the letters subjoined, once before the year 1577,* in 1583, and again in 1591.

It may be to lytte you understand that after I had advertysyd my Lord chamberlyne what fewe smal romes and howe unmete yo^r howes was for

* Probably in 1567, as it appears by the subsequent letter of Lord William Howard to the Mayor of Guildford, that her highness was about to come thither that year. The same date may probably be assigned to Wyngfeld's letter.

After my very hartie comendac'ons, whereas the Quene's matie myndeth to be at the towne of Gilford about the xvijth daie of this moneth, where she will make her abode by the space of v daies. I have thought good therefore to praie you to shewe me so moche frendshyp as to take for me and to my use some close or pece of grounde whierein is good grasse for x or xii geldings that I have, w^{ch} have been owte all this somer. I wold have hit to my self only, and no man to put any horse or

the Quenes mat'y, he dyd thys daye send off unto her mat'y, who thereupon determined to go unto the manor hous, and now apone the soudone ys changed, and now is detarmend to come unto yo^r hous, and for that ytt shalbe a grete trouboul and a henderanes unto you, I have sponkene w^t my lorde Clyntone in your cause, and he douthe thynke ytt good that you should come and declare unto my lord off Lystere (Leicester) yo^r estate, that magystye myte not come unto yo^r hous, and thus w^t my very herte thanks for my good entertaynement, and my like comendasyones, I byde you hartely farewell. From the Courte thys second of August.

By yo^r asseueryd frend,

ANTHONY WYNGFELD.

To my worshupfull frend Mr.

More be thys delevaryd.

(109.)

Henry Goringe, Esq. of Burton, in Sussex, to Sir William More. Her Majesty is coming into Sussex, and will lie at

geldinge besides, and wthall of suche a one as will warraunte my geldinge; and I will geve hym honestly for hit. Yf any man shall com' to take hit from you, I praye you ans^wr that hit is taken all ready for me, and hit shalbe sufficient. And I will not faile to requite your frendshipp, wth any thing that shall laye in me. From WyndSOR the vth of August 1567. I praye you send word of yo^r doinge herein by this bringer.

Yo^r loving frend,

“ To my very loving frend the Maior
of the Towne of Guildford.”

W. HOWARD.

his house. Desires to know what order was taken when her Grace was at Loseley, and if the house were furnished at that time with her Highness's own wine, provisions, &c.

After my verie hertie comendac'ons unto youe, whereas I understande the Quene's Ma^{tie} hath lyen at yo^r howse, and now jestes (gests*) is forthe of her mat^s comminge unto these ptes of Sussex, by the which it semethe her gracis meaning is to lye at my howse two nights. Thes ar therefor to desyer youe (for old acquayntaunce and frendshipe that hath byne and is betwen us, the whiche yt pleasethe youe to renew at our metinge, cawsethe me to be the bolder to wryte unto youe thes few lynes) to be adv'tyssyd what order was taken by her Mat^s offycers at that tyme that her grace was wth youe, and whether yo^r howse were furnyshed wth her highnes stufe, wyne, beer, and other p^{vc}'on, or that yo^u purveyd for the same or any pte thereof. I am altogether unacquaynted wth the order, and therefore I make bold of you as of my very ffrend to troble youe herein. Thus leving youe to the tuic'on of the lyving God, I byd youe hartely farwell. From Burton this xth of Julye 1577.

Yo^r lovinge ffrend,

HENRY GORINGE.

To the right worshippfull and his
very frend S^r Will^m More, knight.

* Gests of the royal progresses were the lists of stages set down to be observed in daily course of the journeying; several instances of these may be seen in Nichols's Progresses of James the First.

(109.)

Sir Christopher Hatton to Sir William More. The Queen is coming to Loseley for four or five days ; he is to see every thing in it well ordered, &c.

Sr,

I pceave by her matie that she hath an intention about ten or twelve dayes hence to visite yo^r house by Guylforde, and to remayne there some foure or fyve dayes, w^{ch} I thought good to advertise you of, that in the meane whyle you myght see every thinge well ordered, and your house kept sweete and cleane, to receave her hygnes whensoever she shalbe pleased to see it. I have ben hertofo^re informed that you had some sycke of the infectione the last yeare, and of other dangerous diseases of late in it, w^{ch} is now reported here as a misinformation, and far otherwyse than the brute [bruit] declared, whereupon her matie is now the willinger for her recreacioⁿ to spende some fewe dayes there, as you shall more p^ticularly understande from tyme to tyme, as I shall finde her to contynewe her deternynatioⁿ. In the meane whyle, wishinge you all prosperitie and comfort, I comitt you to God Fro^m the Court at Otlands the 4 of Aug. 1583.

Yo^r very lovinge assured frend,

CHR. HATTON.

To the right w^{sh}ip^l my very good
frende Sr Will^m Moore, knight.

(111.)

The same to the same. The Queen has determined to abridge her intended journey. Will sleep a night at Loseley. Sir William is to make due preparation, and to send away his family.

Sr,

Her ma^{tie} fyndynge the could season of the yeare to growe on faster than she thought of, is now pleased to abridge the journey w^{ch} first her highnes intended. In w^{ch} respect, she is at this present resolved, uppo' tewsdaye next, w^{ch} shalbe the xxvijth of this moneth, to dyne at Okynge, and that night to go to bed to yo^r house, w^{ch} I have thought good to geav you notice of, to th'ende you may take order to see it made sweete and meete to receive her ma^{tie}, and that in the meane tyme you may avoyde yo^r famely, and prepare every thinge ready agaynste the daye prefixed as to yo^r owne discreto' shall seeme most needefull for her ma^{ties} good contentatio' at her repayre thether. And so I comitt you to God. Fro' the Court at Otlands the xxiiijth of Aug. 1583.

Yo^r very lovinge assured frende,

CHR. HATTON.

Her Ma^{tie} meaneth not in this journey that the Sheriffe of the Shere shall attende on her; nevertheless, for that I take it she wyll passe through Guylford, it shall not be amisse that yourself, accompanied wth Mr. Lyfeild and some oth^r gentilme' there

aboute, doo prepare at that tyme to geav yo^r attendance there on her ma'tie.

To the right worshipful, &c.

Sr W^m More, knight.

(112.)

Lord Hunsdon to the same. The Queen is determined on a progress to Portsmouth. Will be at Loseley on a certain day. Lord Hunsdon desires to know where she can lie between Sir William's house and Cowdry, &c.

After my harte comendac'ons, I have thought good to let you understand that her Ma'ty is resolved to make a progresse this yere as far as Portesmouth, and to begin the same y^e 22nd or 23rd of this m^onthe, and to come by yo^r house. She is verie desyrus to go by Petworth and Cowdry, yf yt be possible; but none of us all can sett her downe anie wher to be at betwene yo^r house and Cowdry. And therefore I am to require you that you will set this berer some way for her to passe, and that you will let some one of yo^r owne men, who is best acquaintyd wth those wayes, to be his gujde, that he may see whether they be fit for her Ma'tie or noe. And whether yt be best goeing from yo^r howse to Petworth and so to Cowdry, or els from yo^r howse to Cowdry. And yf you can set her downe anie place betweene yo^r howse and Cowdry that may serve for one night, you shall do her a great pleasure, and she will take it very thank-

fullie at yo^r hands. But I have thought good to let you understand that, though she cannot passe by Cowdry to Petworth, yet she will assuredlie come to yo^r howse, and so towards Portsmouth such other waye as shall be sett downe to her, and therefore I pray yo' advertize me by this berar of yo^r full knowledge and opinion therein. And so I commit you to God. In hast this xth of Julii 1591.

Yo^r lovinge ffrende,

J. HUNSDON.

To y^e right worshipfull my verie
lovinge ffrende S^r William Moore,
knight, theis.

(113.)

Draft by Sir William More of his Answer to the preceding.
A visit of Edward VI. to Cowdray House, in Sussex, incidentally noticed.

With remembrance of my dewtie unto yo^r honorable Lordship. Understandinge by yo^r letters her Ma^{ts} good pleasure in purposinge to visite my poore house, I am most hartelie glade thereof, and accompte myselfe infinitely bounde to her highnes favo^r therin. And whereas yo^r Lo. doth require to be adv'tised from me of some fitte place betwene my howse and Cowdray for her Ma'tie to lodge in one nighte, yt maie please you to understande that ther is not anie convenient howse for that purpose standinge neare the way from my howse towards Petworth or Cowdrey. Onlie ther

is a little howse of Mr. Lawrence Elliott's distant three miles from myne,* the direct waie towards either of the said plac's and wthin tenne miles of Petworth and eleaven of Cowdray, to w'ch howse I directed Mr. Constable by a servaunt of myne, who hath viewed the same and canne make reporte to yo' Lo. thereof. From thence ther is another, the like howse, in Shillinglie,† of one Bonner's, distant five myles the direct way to Petworth, and about a myle out of the waie to Cowdrey, where King Edwarde dyned in his waye from Guildford Parke to Cowdrey.

Indorsed, "To the Lord Chamberlyn, concerning her Mat^s visit 1591."

Purveyance for the Royal Household.

(114.)

By this paper it appears that the provisions necessary for the Royal Houshold were taken up in counties adjoining to the Court, at a stipulated price, sanctioned by the Lords of the Council. The justices of peace directed the quota to be supplied by individuals in their districts; and the requisition, it will be seen, was peremptory.

Extract from articles of agreement and composition had and made the iiiijth day of April, a^o xxxv^{to} Elizabeth, betwene the right honorable the Lordes of her Mat^s most honorable P'vie Councill, being authorized by commission

* Busbridge near Godalming.

† Now the seat of the Earl of Winterton. At that period it belonged to the Earl of Arundel; and Bonner was probably his tenant.

for that purpose on the behalf of her Ma'tie, and the worship^{ll} George Moore, Robarte Livesay, and Edmund Bowyer, on the other partye, beinge authorized to compounde and conclude for the deliverye of certen provisions towarde th'expences of her Mat^s moste honorable howse oute of the countye of Surrey, as hereafter followeth :

Ferste, that one hundreth fatte and greate veales of th'age of vi weekes and uppwardes shalbe delivered at the cowrt gate, as followeth, viz. xxvi^{to} Aprilis xv, xiiij^{to} Maii xxx, xvi^{to} Maii xxv, xiiij^{to} Septembris xxx, all at vi^s viii^d the peece.

Item, that tenne good fitches of bacon, without gamondes, to be deliv'ede at the Courte gate uppon Good Fridaie at xii^d the peece.

Item, that fiftie fatte and good lambes shalbe deliverde at the Corte gate, viz. p'mo Maii xxv, and xx^{mo} Maii xxv, at xii^d the peece.

Item, that xvi d. (doz.) capons, at iiij^s the d., x d. hennes at ii^s the d., xxx d. pullets, at xvij^d the d., v d. geese, at iiij^s the d., and c. d. chickins, at xii^d d. shalbe delivered at London or elsewhere uppon ane monethes warninge given to the compounders, or to any two justices of peece of the said sheire.

Item, that redie money shalbe paied for the said veales, bacon, lambes, and poultere, ymmedyaltie uppon the receipte of the same.

It'm, if anye pson or psons inhabitinge wthin the saide sheire shall wilfullye refuse to paie and contribute towarde these provisions, of composic'on w^{ch} shalbe rated by the justices of peace of the said sheire, or the more p'te of them, that then, uppon certificat thereof from them to their honors, a pursevante shalbe sent downe to apprehend and bringe before their honnors all such psons so refusinge, to answer their contempte.

Item, yt shalbe lawfull at anye time for the said sheire, havinge served this composition aforesaide one whole yeare, to breake the same at their pleasures, uppon halfe a yere's warninge given from the justices of peace, and compounders for the saide sheire, unto the officers of her Mat's Greencloth, and so likewise on the behalf of her Ma'tie.

JO. PUCKERINGE, W. BURGHELEY, C. HOWARD,
J. HUNSDON, T. BUCKEHURST, J. FORTESCUE.

(115.)

The Earl of Leicester, as Lord Steward of the Household, to the Justices of Surrey, concerning the abuses perpetrated by the Purveyors of Provisions for the Court.

After my verie hartie comendac'ons, the Queen's most excellent Ma'ty having an especiall care yt hir good and loving subjects shuld not be grieved, injured, and wronged by y^e lewd dealings of any her ministers, and now namely, purveyors, who of longe time (as it is supposed) under pretence of her Mat^s Comission, have abused their office, contrary to y^e lawes of the Realme in yt case pvided. And forasmuch as it hath pleased her Ma'ty to call me to the place of Lord Steward wthin her most honorable howse, and to give me speciall charge (as a principall offic^r, unto whom the reformaçon of such abuses doth chiefly appteyne) to have care herof, I am therefore hartily to praye you and ev'y of you yt at yo^r next assembly and

meeting together, you make diligent serche and inquire, as well of all disorders and misdemeano^r committed by any purvey^r or caryer of comission for any p^rvision for the service of her Ma^{ty} howse, as also what somes of money any p^rson or p^rsons can clayme by bill, taile (tally), or debenture, for any p^rvisions whatsoev^r, from the xvth year of hir most gracious raigne untill this p^rnt tyme, but most especially for theis fower years past, y^t not only severity of punishm^t may be used upon the offenders, to the good example of others, but also y^t all p^rsons having specialties as aforesaid to make demand for money due for p^rvisions so taken and not payd for, may make their repaire or true certificat before me and other her officers of the Greencloth, where the matter shall be duly examyned, to y^e better satisfacc^on of all those unto whom any such somes of money shall appere to be due. And for y^t the disorder of purveyors hath ben long tyme complayned of, and y^t I wish rather a clear extinguishm^t of them for the ease of the Country, then w^t severity still to punish such offenders assorted in an evill custom of misdemeano^r: as her Ma^{ty} herself, of hir own most gracious inclinac^on towards all her loving subjects, is desirous to ease them of those takers and purveyors, if her howse might otherwise be p^rvided for, as for my p^rte, through yo^r good industrie and care, I thinke it may be; so will I also adde my best endeavour therein, if y^t some two or three of you doe repair before me and the rest of

the Greencloth, to offer such reasonable service unto her Ma'ty (by way of composic'on) of p'visions as yo^r Countrey doth best yeeld; where, I doubt not, but upon such conference as we shall have together, we shall grow to some such good agreement as shall tend as well to her subjects' great quietnes and to hir owne more agreable service w^t you and my also great contentac'on. Thus praying you to have especiall care of the p'misses, and to use what expedic'on conveniently may be therin, I bidd you hartily farewell. From the Court, this last of January 1587.

Y^r verie loving frend,

R. LEYCESTER.

To my very loving frends the high
 Sheriff and Justices of Peace of
 the County of Surrey.

(116.)

Henry Sledd, Queen Elizabeth's fishmonger, to Sir William More: wishes to buy some carp out of his pond at Loseley for the Queen's table.

Right worshippingfull, my dutie remembered, wherein I understand by one pson, a carryar knowen to y^r worship, that you have certain carpe w^{ch} you wolde make sale of, w^{ch} if it please you I will gladly buy yf they will serve my torne. And that is this, scantlinge xiiij inches, xv and xvi inches, beinge well fyshed, I will geve your worship xii^d a

pece one w^t another, and for above xv inches xvi^d a pece to xvii and xviii inches, and for above xviii inches xviii^d a pece. The firste of them, all charges received, will stand me in xvi^d [each] at the least before I shall have them home. And yf it please you to shewe yo^r ponde and fetche your fyshe home to yo^r howse, I will send downe my tonnes unto you y^t yo^r w. maye have one of them to carry the fyshe home to your howse. And upon sighte of yo^r fyshe, yf I see they be more worthe then I have before sett downe I will mend the pryce. But in any wyse I wolde have the greatest and best to serve her majestie w^tall, althoughe I pay the mor for them. I wolde gladly have them the weeke after twelf daye, wherof I crave your worship's answer, and so I humbly take my leave. London, this xxi of December 1581.

Yo^r worshippes to com'aund,

HENRIE SLEDD.

I have sent yo^r w. by this bearer a firkin of no worse oysters than I serve her ma^{tie} wthall.

The Plague.

So accustomed were the people to the recurrence of this dreadful scourge, that a belief was common among them that it returned to visit them every twenty years. In the visitation in 1665, known as the Great Plague, which we may cursorily notice, these apprehensions were increased by the pretenders to astrology, who disseminated

an opinion, which was listened to by the multitude with much credulity, that the disease originated from conjunctions of the planets. One of these seers, John Gadbury, who wrote a tract on the Great Plague in 1665, (a copy of which is in the British Museum,) says that the true causes of the plague are to be found no where but in the heavens; that astrologers with good reason affirm that all popular diseases are irritated by Mars and Saturn. He then cites instances of great conjunctions of the planets, terrible comets, eclipses, and other phenomena, producing plague.

The plague was an acute, epidemical, contagious, and raging fever, generally destroying life within four or five days. It was accompanied with tumours, or small red spots like flea-bites, which latter were peculiarly called the *tokens*.

Some of the regulations adopted with a view to preventing the spreading of the plague must rather have promoted its destructive effects; for no sooner was one person in a house taken ill of the disorder, than the whole of its inmates were shut up in it; a guard placed at their door, who was the only person through whom they could obtain the necessaries of life; the portal was marked with a large red cross, and over it the inscription, "*Lord have mercy upon us,*" truly, indeed, applicable to their hopeless situation, when, in immediate contiguity to the dying and the dead, they were left in dumb despair to expect their own summons from the destroying angel of the pestilence.

We have seen in the possession of the intelligent antiquary, Mr. Lemon, whom we have before had occasion to notice, an original plague bill, or return of deaths by this disorder, intituled, "London's Lord have mercy upon us. A true relation of the plagues or visitations in London, with the number of all the deceased that were buried, viz. the

first in the year of Elizabeth, anno 1592 ; the second in the year 1603 ; the third in the never to be forgotten year 1625 ; the fourth, anno 1630 ; the fifth, this now present visitation, 1636, which the Lord of his mercy deliver London and England from." The bill is headed by a curious woodcut, representing the open fields, into which bodies in coffins or in shrouds are brought out for interment. A waggon appears in the foreground, employed as a funeral car. The angel of the Lord is represented in the clouds over the east end of St. Paul's cathedral, displaying in one hand a flaming sword, in the other a scourge composed of numerous lashes. A "bare-ribb'd death" in the foreground brandishes a huge dart, and shews an hourglass, in a triumphant attitude, as he exults in the enlargement of his empire.

(117.)

Charles Howard, Earl of Nottingham, to Sir William More, and his son George More, Esq. as Justices of Surrey. Precautions to be used against the Plague, the Queen having determined to reside in the county the most part of the summer. We select this from various notices of the above disorder occurring in the MSS.*

After my very hartye comendations, whereas her mat^{ie} hathe determyned to make her resydence

* We will briefly recapitulate a few of the remainder. A petition from the inhabitants of Guildford, dated 17th September, 1563, begging him to cause that the fair at Catherine Hill should be stayed on account of contagion. This, it appears, by a letter from Cecil, inclosing the Queen's official letters

wthin the Countye of Surr' duringe the most pte of this som^r, and hath comaunded me to signifie unto you that her highenes pleasure is, that you upon receyte heareof forthewyth gyve order and direction unto all maiors, balyfes, constables, headborowes, and other officers to whom it may aperteyne wthin yo^r division that they and ev'ye of them in hir matie's name charge and comaunde the Inhabitants wthin their severall offices and lymytes not to receyve any childe borne in London, the suburbes and confynes thereto adjoininge, to be norced in any of their houses, nor any Inhabitantes wthin the sayd places to come to make their dwelling, aboode, or sorjoniynge wthin their houses or teneme'ts hereafter, duringe the tyme of such contagious in-

was granted with some difficulty. The fair was procured by charter dated the 2d of Edward II. to the founder of the chapel on Catherine Hill, Richard de Wauncey, Rector of St. Nicholas, Guildford, to be held yearly on the feast of St. Matthew. The chapel itself is now a picturesque ruin.

A letter from the Lords of the Council to the Sheriff and Justices of Surrey, dated 15th November, 1574, forbidding them to allow the people to resort to plays and shews at that time of contagion. This resolution must have been principally levelled at the theatres and bear-gardens on the Bankside, Southwark.

In 1592, R. Sothebie writes to Sir William More that the Law Term was kept at Hertford on account of the plague, and that lodgings in that town were in consequence so scarce that 5*l.* the week had been offered for a chamber, and none to be had. This sickness is noticed by Stow in his "Summarie," who says that there was no Mayor's feast that year by reason of the infection.

fection and sicknes, upon payne of imprisonment and hir matie's grevous displeasure. And also yf any houses or places wthin their sayd offices or lymytes be at this instant infected or suspected of infection, that you cause suche care to be had as they may be p^{ro}vided of suche necessaryes as the pties infected may not have cause to straye abroad for their releefe, or other their necessarye busynes to be don elswher, to the greate hurte of other places now free. And thus, not doubtinge of yo^r vigilante care and spedye delygence herein, do bydde you most hartelye farewell. From my house at Haylinge, this first of May 1593.

Your lovinge frynde,

C. HOWARD.

To his lovinge fryndes Sr Will'm
More, knighte, and m^r George
More, Esquyer, Justices of hir
matie's peace wthin the Countye
of Surrye gyve these.

The Armada.

What a crisis for England's Monarch and England's Church was the year 1588! The unquenchable light of the Gospel Religion, cherished by its mild disciple Edward VI. and obstructed by the sanguinary bigotry of Mary, had again burst forth with overpowering effulgence under the auspices of her successor Elizabeth, that truly English lion-hearted Queen. Confident in the goodness of her

cause, secure in the love of her Protestant People, she despised, crushed, and dissipated, by the force of her political character, all treasons secret or avowed, and held on her royal course of government in that unruffled firmness and self-possession, through cloud or sun-shine, well expressed by her favourite motto, *Semper eadem*. The regicidal plans of Babington, sanctioned and approved by Mary the Scottish Queen, had been discovered and expiated on the scaffold. Mary herself, the rallying point of these machinations, by a policy apparently severe, were it not always to be considered that between her life and Elizabeth's there was no real alternative, had also suffered the extreme penalty of state treason.* Elizabeth had by these measures "scotched" the hydra serpent of dark and cruel superstition, "not killed it." The Pope, the Duke of Parma, Philip of Spain, and the Duke of Guise,

* Speaking of the plans for invading England and murdering Elizabeth, Miss Aikin says, "Babington entered into both plots with eagerness, but he suggested that so essential part of the action as the assassination of the Queen ought not to be trusted to one adventurer, and he lost no time in associating five others in the vow of Savage, himself undertaking the part of setting free the captive Mary. With her he had previously been in correspondence, having frequently taken charge of transmitting to her by secret channels her letters from France, and he immediately imparted to her this new design for her restoration to liberty and advancement to the English throne. There is full evidence that Mary approved it in all its parts, that in several successive letters she gave Babington counsels or directions relative to its execution, and that she *promised to the perpetrators of the murder of Elizabeth every reward which it should hereafter be in her power to bestow.*"—Memoirs of the Court of Queen Elizabeth, vol. ii. p. 167.

concerted at one blow to subjugate the English nation and dethrone the Queen.

During five years had preparation been making in the ports of Spain, and of the Spanish Netherlands, for the outfit of that expedition, which for its overwhelming character had been styled by the self-erected temporal High Vicar of Christianity on earth, the *Invincible Armada*; a fleet of one hundred and thirty ships, the aggregate burthen of which was about 160,000 tons, conveying an army of thirty-two thousand men, provisioned and appointed with a due proportion of warlike stores and ammunition, and contrary to the custom of civilized warfare, with implements for the torture of the heretical English. Don Alonzo Perez de Guzman, Duke of Medina Sidonia, Knight of the Order of the Golden Fleece, commanded this formidable expedition. The Prince of Parma in the Spanish Netherlands, prepared that part of the fleet destined to convey the cavalry, an arrangement dictated by the shortness of the distance between England and the Flemish coast; flat-bottomed boats for carrying horses over the shallows, and landing them on the shore, casks, piles, and planks for floating bridges, and all the ordnance materiel of a great army, were collected under his direction. Nor were the spiritual thunders of the Vatican silent on this occasion, formidable when backed by such "infallible artillery." Sixtus Quintus, the Pope, sent Cardinal Allen into the Netherlands, an Englishman whom the University of Oxford, like the sun warming the venomous adder, at an earlier period had nurtured for a bad cause, and who now became the Pope's superintendent for ecclesiastical matters in England; through him was fulminated sentence of excommunication against Elizabeth, of deposition from her throne, and absolution declared to all her subjects from their

allegiance.* To complete the malicious absurdity of these spiritual denunciations for secular ends, a crusade was published against the Protestant Queen and her subjects, as in earlier times against Turks and Infidels.

Elizabeth was unappalled by these demonstrations ; she looked in firm and humble reliance towards Him

“ Whose red right arm reduces kings to dust,
And strikes the sceptre from the tyrant's hand.”

and His protection she invoked by solemn public prayer and humiliation. Her bold and active spirit saw, however, that these supplications were but the preliminary means to sanctify her active courage. She was to go forth against the Philistine of Rome with a stone and a sling, but she knew that stone and that sling must be wielded, and that Providence would do the rest. Through all her kingdom sounded “ dreadful note of preparation ;” “ fire answered fire ” from England's beacon-crowned hills. The yeoman took his bow, the hedger his bill from the rafters of his hut, the caliver was given to the dexterous youth—all was discipline, courage, and union in the cause of God, of Country, and the rightful inheritance of—

* How just and comprehensive an abstract has Shakspeare given us of the spirit and decrees of these insolent unhallowed instruments !

“ Then by the lawful power that I have,
Thou shalt stand curs'd and excommunicate ;
And blessed shall he be that doth revolt
From his allegiance to an heretic ;
And meritorious shall that hand be called,
Canonized and worshipped as a saint,
That takes away, by any secret course
Thy hateful life,”

King John, Act iii.

“ This royal throne of kings, this scepter'd isle,

This precious stone set in the silver sea,

* * * * *

This blessed plot, this earth, this realm, this England !”

Elizabeth chose for her High Admiral at this juncture Charles Howard, Baron of Effingham in Surrey, afterwards created Earl of Nottingham ; he had been educated to a seafaring life, and was the son of a distinguished naval commander.* Drake was her Vice-Admiral. To Lord Henry Seymour, son of the Protector Somerset, was assigned the task of watching the movements of the Prince of Parma on the Belgic coast. Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester was her Lieutenant-General by land,† she assuming

* Of Lord William Howard, created Baron Effingham and Lord High Admiral by Queen Mary, in the first year of her reign. He was soon after, by special commission, constituted Lieutenant-General and Commander in Chief of her royal army. His services to the Queen in Wyatt's Rebellion have already been noticed, p. 128. He was sent for the purpose of escorting Philip of Spain to the English shores, when he was on his way to celebrate his nuptials with the Queen. He fell in with the Prince's fleet of 160 sail in the Channel, the Spanish Admiral bearing his nation's colours at the main-top. Howard, who knew what belonged to the maritime rights and dignity of England, and had an English spirit to assert them, received the Spanish Admiral with a shot, and obliged him to lower his colours to the ensign of St. George, before he would pay any compliments to the Prince of Spain.

† The provision for the land defence was two armies, one of 23,000 men, under the command of the Earl of Leicester ; the other of 36,000, under Lord Hunsdon, which last was considered as the Army Royal, or Queen's Body Guard. She inspected Leicester's army, encamped on the rising ground near the Church at Tilbury, in Essex, riding down the lines, with a marshal's

the supreme military command in her Person Royal. Some negotiations for peace were set on foot by Spain, the truncheon in her hand, the sword of state carried before her by the Earl of Ormond. The reader will not perhaps be displeased at finding, in this place, the following copy of an original letter of Leicester, penned a few days previous to this occasion; which has been before, but less correctly, printed by Lord Hardwicke, in the Miscellaneous State Papers from 1501 to 1726, vol. i. p. 575.

“ My most dere and gracious Lady! Hit is most trew that these enymies that approach your kingdome and person ar your undeserved foes, and beinge so, hatinge you for a righteous cause, ther is the less fear to be had of their mallyce or their forces, for ther is a most just God, that beholdeth the innocency of your hart; and the cause you ar assayled for is his, and his Churches, and he never fayled any that faythfully do put their chiefe trust in his goodness. He hath, to comfort you withal, geven you great and mighty meanes to defend yourself, which meanes I dowbt not but your Majesty will tymely and princely use them, and your good God, that ruleth all, will assist you and bless you with vycory.

Hyt doth much rejoyce me to find by your letters your noble disposicion, as well in present gathering your forces, as in imploying your owne person in this dangerous action. And bycause it pleaseth your Majesty to aske my advyce touching your army, and to acquaint me with your secrett determynacion for your person, I wyll plainly, and according to my pore knowledge, delyver my opinion to you. For your army, hit ys more than tyme it were gathered and about you, or so nere you, as you may have the use of hit uppon few houres warning: the reason ys, that your mighty enymies ar at hand, and yf God suffer them to pass by your flete, you ar sure they wyll attempt their purpose in landing with all expedition. And albeyt your navye be very strong, yet, as we have always hard, the other ys not only farr greater, but their forces of men much beyond yours; elles were yt in vayn for them to bring only a navye provyded to kepe the sea; but so furnyshed as they both kepe the seas

better to gain time for perfecting the measures for prostrating England, as she had lain five centuries before, at

with strength sufficient, and to land such a power as may gyve battell to any prince; as no dowbt, if the Prince of Parma com fourth, their forces by sea shall not only be greatly augmented, but his pouer to land shuld the easilyer take effect, whearsoever he wyll attempt; therefore yt ys most requysytt for your Majesty to be provided for all events, of as great a force every way as you can devyse. For there ys no dalyaunce at such a tyme, nor with such an enymye. You shall hazard your owne honor, beside your person and countrey, and must offend your gracious God, that gave you these forces and pouer, and wyll not use them whan ye shulde. Now for the placing of your army, no dowbt but I thinke about London the metest, for my none parte, and suppose others wylbe of the same minde; and that your Majesty doe furthwith give the charge therof to som spetyall nobleman about you, and lykewyse to place all your chefe offycers, that every man may know what he shall doe, and gather as many good horses, above all things, as you can, and the oldest, best, and assuredst captens to lead; for therin wyll consist the greatest hope of good success, under God. And as sone as your army ys assembled, that they be, by and by, exersised, every man to know his weapon; and that ther be all other things prepared in readynes for your army, as yf they shuld march uppon a day's warning; spetyally cariages, and a comyssary of vyttells, and your master of ordnance. Of these things, but for your Majesty's comandment, others can say more than I, and partly ther ys orders already sett douen.

Now for your person, being the most deinty and sacred thing we have in this world to care for, much more for advyce to be geven in the direction of yt, a man must tremble whan he thinks of yt; spetyally finding your Majesty to have that princely courage to transport yourself to your utmost confines of your realme, to mete your enymyes, and to defend your subiectes. I can not, most dere Queene, consent to that, for uppon

“the proud foot of a conqueror.” These of course had no effect, accordant with their ostensible purpose, and on

your well doing consists all, and somme for your hole kingdome, and therefore preserve that above all; yet wyll I not that, in some sort, so princely and so rare a magnanymytye shuld not appere to your people and the world, as yt ys. And thus far, yf yt please your Majesty, you may doe, to draw yourself to your howse at Havering, and your army being about London, as Stratford, East Ham, Hackney, and the vyllages thereabout, shalbe always not only a defence, but a reddy suplye to these countreys, Essex and Kent, yf need be; and, in the meane tyme, your Majesty, to comfort this army, and people of both these countreys, may, yf yt please you, spend two or three days to se both the camp and forts. Hyt ys not above fourteen miles, at most, from Havering, and a very conveyent place for your Majesty to lye in by the way, and to rest you at the camp. I trust you wylbe pleased with your pore Lyvetenant's cabyn; and within a myle ther ys a gentleman's howse, where your Majesty may also lye. You shall comfort not only these thousands, but many more that shall hear of yt. And thus farr, but no furder, can I consent to adventure your person. And by the grace of God, ther can be no daunger in this, though the enymye shuld pass by your flete. But your Majesty may, without dishonor, retorn to your owne forces, being but at hand; and you may have two thousand horse well to be lodged at Romford, and other vyllages near Havering, and your foote-men to lodge nere London.

Lastly, for myself, I se, most gracious Lady, you know what wyll most comfort a faythfull servaunt; for there ys nothing in this world I take that joye in, that I doe in your good favour, and yt ys no smal favour to send to your pore servaunt thus to vysett him. I can yeld no recompence but the lyke sacrifice I owe to God, which ys a thankful hart, and humbly, next my soule to him, to offer bodey, lyfe, and all, to do you acceptable servyce; and so wyll pray to that God, not only for present vycory over all your enymyes, but longest lyfe, to se

the 29th of May * 1588, the Spanish Armada set sail from their rendezvous, before the Castle of Belem at the mouth of the Tagus. They were beaten back by adverse wind, and but for a sudden change of its direction would have been assailed on their own coast by the gallant Lord of Effingham. He with excellent judgment hastened to the English coast to avoid the chance of the Spanish Fleet passing by him, and falling on it unprotected. He returned therefore to Plymouth Harbour.

We shall not in this note particularly enter into the details of the several actions which took place in sight of the English or French shores, as our ships hung on the rear of the huge crescent into which the Armada was formed, extending seven miles from horn to horn. As a novel mode of describing this defeat we shall recapitulate the positions and circumstances of the opposing fleets, as they are laid down in a set of maps descriptive of the approach and retreat of the Armada, published immediately after the

the ende of al those that wysl you evyll, and make me so happie as to doe you som serveyce. From Gravesend reddy to goe to your pore but most wylling soldyers, this Saturday, the 27th July.

Your Mates moost faythfull
and ever obedyent servaunt,
R. LEYCESTER.

“I have taken the best order I can possible with the Lyvetenants of Kent, to be present at Dover themselves, and to kepe there three or four thousand men, to suply my Lord Admirall, if he com thether, and with any thing elles that there ys to be had. I wysl ther might be some quantity of more powder to lye in Dover for all needs.”

* A copy of the pamphlet, intituled, “Orders set downe by the Duke of Medina, Lord General of the King's Fleet, to be observed in the voyage towards England,” &c. being a transla-

event.* Chart 1st. Shews the invading fleet in a compact crescent, the horns converging eastward, by the scale twenty-five miles off the Lizard Point in Cornwall, a light vessel stationed off Fowey Harbour is making a signal by gun-fire of its approach. This was on the 20th of July 1588, when the fleet was first descried by the captain of a roving vessel, Thomas Fleming. Another vessel in advance of the Spanish fleet takes up the signal, sails towards Plymouth Harbour, and repeats it by the discharge of a gun when off the Ram Head. The wind is marked on the chart as two points southward of the west.† The Spaniards of course run down the Channel right before the gale. No direction of wind could therefore be more favourable to them or likely calculated to detain the English Admiral hermetically locked in Plymouth Harbour, and thus to neutralize his force. But we shall see how his naval tact turned this adverse circumstance to account, by Chart 2d, which shews his fleet towed out of the harbour. He himself lent a helping hand, thus encouraging his men by personal example to the labour, then taking

tion, printed in 1588, of the Spanish original, is extant at Loseley. These articles are curious, and shew the naval discipline of the Spaniards at the period: they have been reprinted in the *Harleian Miscellany*. They are authenticated as made in the Galleon *Saint Martin*, at the road of Bellini, the 28th of May 1588. This was *Sidonia's* ship. Among the directions for action is the following, "that every ship shall carry two boates laden of stones, to throw in the time of fight on the decke, fore-castle or toppes."

* "Expeditionis Hispanorum in Anglia vera descriptio, A.D. 1588, Roberto Adamo, Authore." Royal Library, British Museum.

† The nautical reader will excuse us if we should err in technicalities.

advantage of the tide, he beat up to windward unperceived under the shore, as far as Fowey, thus ingeniously getting in the rear of the Spaniards, and gaining what is called by seamen the *weather gage*, that is, the advantage of the wind, he was thus enabled to assault his enemy and draw off at pleasure. Nelson's manœuvre at the battle of the Nile was not more masterly than this. Howard's ships are now seen bearing down on the heavy Spanish galleons, and raking them from stem to stern.

Chart 3d. Shews the *invincible* Armada broken and divided, one horn of the crescent about twelve miles south of the Ram Head, the other horn clustered in a confused mass about fifteen miles from the Start Point.

Chart 4th. Again they have rallied into the crescent form fifteen miles south of the Start. Plymouth, Salcombe, and Dartmouth are sending out ships to reinforce the English fleet.

Chart 5th. The Armada still in a crescent, Sidmouth bearing north about twenty-four miles from its extreme horn. The Berry Point or Head N. W. nineteen miles. The crescent has now assumed a straiter line; the English fleet are engaging its rear and north flank about four miles off the Bill of Portland. Vessels are coming out of Torbay, Painton, and Exmouth to support them.

Chart 6th. The fleets are still engaged off the Bill of Portland. The Armada have re-formed the crescent and are chased by the English fleet in four divisions when twenty miles off the western extremity of Wight.

Chart 7th. The four divisions engage, the Spaniard Dun nose, Isle of Wight, bearing north about fifteen miles.

Chart 8th. The fleets now approach the Sussex coast; the Spanish fleet is still in the crescent form twenty miles South of Beachy Head, the English chase them as before in four divisions. Numerous vessels from Portsmouth, St. Helen's, Little Hampton, Shoreham, New Haven, Pe-

vensey Bay, Rye, Dover, Sandwich, Deal, Walmer, and the back of the Goodwin Sands, are under sail to join the English. The Spanish fleet are now seen in a cluster close upon the French coast off Calais, where they anchored, The English about a league half in their rear.

Chart 9th. Exhibits them in the same position, the wind still a little southerly of west. Eight fire-ships are now seen bearing down upon the Spaniards, having run between them and the French coast, thus gaining the weather gage. These fire-ships are said to have been devised by the Queen. They were dispatched at two o'clock on the morning of the 28th of July.

Chart 10th. The wind has shifted to the southward, the Armada in the crescent form, the larboard horn ten miles distant from the Goodwin. The English vessels hotly engage them. A large Spanish vessel, pursued by English boats, takes shelter under the batteries of Calais, which fire upon the boats. This literally graphic description concludes with one general view of the course of the Spaniards from their appearance off the Lizard to their retreat by the North of the Orkney Isles. They now encountered the anger of the elements. A portion of the fleet intending to touch at Cape Clear in Ireland, with a view of procuring water, of which they were much in want, was wrecked upon the Irish shores. Of the hundred and thirty ships which had sailed from Lisbon, only fifty-three returned to Spain.

In that part of their course encircling the British shores, they had sailed about 1,200 miles "the water walled bulwark of our isle," by the spirit of the Queen, the courage and union of her subjects in a glorious common cause, unhurt. Thus a noble example of unshaken confidence in a just cause was bequeathed to Englishmen under all future public dangers threatening her constitution and monarchy.

The Queen and her people gratefully acknowledged the protecting hand of Providence, and the medal commemorating the defeat of the Armada bore the pointed and pious sentence, "Afflavit Deus, et dissipantur."

Notes from various Documents preserved at Loseley, of precautionary measures and preparations of defence against the Spanish Invasion.

Under the first head was the committing of all recusants to safe custody: "Insomuch as diverse of them most obstinantlie have refused to come to the church to praiers and divine service, for which respects, being so addicted, yt is hardlie adventured to repose that trust in them which is to be looked for in other good subjects; and it is also certaine that such as should meane to invade the Realme, would never attempt the same but upon hope which the fugitives and rebels abroad doe give and assure them of those badde members that allreadie are knowne to be recusants, it is therefore thought meet, in these doubtful times, they should be looked unto and restrained, as they shall neither be able to give assistaunce to the ennemye, nor that the enymye should have any hope of relief and succor of them." The most obstinate and noted persons were therefore to be committed to prison "for their safe keeping; the reste that were of value and not so obstinate, to be referred to the custodie of some ecclesiastical persons, and other gentlemen well affected, to remaine at the charges of the recusants, in

such sorte as they may be forthcoming, and kept from intelligence one with the other.”*

By a previous mandate, the Council had directed that such persons should be “unfurnished of their armour.” The Justices of Surrey were directed, “at one selfe same time, to be agreed on between them, to repair in person, with as great secrecy as possible, to the houses of the principal recusants within the county, there to demand and seize such armour† and weapons as they might find;” among which “jacks, and all privy coats,” were to be comprehended; leaving with them, notwithstanding, such due proportion only of bows, arrows, and blackbills, as might seem necessary for the defence of their houses. They were also to make inquiry and certify, without partiality, of the yearly revenue of all such persons. Depots of powder, match, &c. were established in the principal towns of maritime counties. Beacons were to be established, and well watched, especially those in the maritime parts. Sir Francis Walsingham seems to have directed the military measures adopted at this juncture. Under his signature were issued orders for putting in strength the powers of the realm. All able persons were to be mustered and trained, under skilful muster-masters, to marching and the use of weapons. Pioneers were to throw up defensive works at landing-places; shot, i. e. musqueteers, were to be sent on horseback, though the

* Letters from the Lords of the Council to the Lord Admiral, Lord Lieutenant of Surrey, dated 4th January, 1587-8.

† A Letter from the Council to the Lord Lieutenant of Surrey, dated 13th April, 1588, directs the armour seized to be sold, for the purpose of supplying a deficiency for furnishing the trained bands. The purchase-money was to be paid over to the owners of the armour.

horses should be but mean, that they might reach the coast, in case of alarm, with the greater expedition.

The instructions from the Council to the Deputy Lieutenants, &c. relative to the musters in Surrey, prescribed that horsemen should especially be supplied for defence of the realm. Every man appointed to keep horses for demi-lances, was to have in readiness for every demi-lance a sufficient horse; or a very large gelding, with a strong leather harness, and a steel or strong bolstered saddle; the arms for the rider were a demi-lance staff,* sword, and dagger. The light horsemen to be armed with a case of pistols. The bands in the county of Surrey reserved for the defence of her highness's own person, were to consist of such persons as would themselves, or by the aid of their families and friends, bear the charges of training, with the exception that powder was to be supplied them at the expence of the Government.

A return was made by each hundred of the county of the name of every person capable of bearing arms, and they were classed under the different arm which they could use. Thus in the return for the parish of Wonersh, in the hundred of Blackheath and Wotton, were enumerated, pikemen selected 6 names, bill-men selected 8, bill-men of the best sort 20, bill-men of the second sort 42, archers selected 10, archers of the best sort 3, archers of the second sort 5, gunners 11. These returns applied, we imagine, to the *posse comitatus*, or *levy en masse*. A requisition was sent to the county for a certain number of men, specifying the number required of each weapon. This was answered by a certificate from the local authorities of the number

* "Affright the welkin with your broken staves!" says Richard III., in the play, to his cavalry.

raised. The original demand was then abated; and any deficiency after such abatement was to be supplied. The number of infantry required from Surrey was at first 4000; this proportion was afterwards reduced to 2000; shot 400, bows 600, bills 600, corselets (with pikes) 400. Of the shot, the strongest and squarest men were to exercise musquets, the least and most nimble harquebuses;* and the characteristic economy of Walsingham, is evinced in the provision that the training should be performed with the least possible expence of powder.†

* Falstaff says: "Care I for the limb, the thewes, the stature, bulk, and big assemblance of a man? Here's Wart—(you see what a ragged appearance it is)—he shall charge you and discharge you with the motion of a pewterer's hammer. Come, manage me your caliver. Exceeding good! O give me always a little, lean, old chapped, bald *shot*." And Shallow adds to his description of a nimble fusileer, he knew "a little quiver fellow, and he would manage you his piece thus, and would about and about, and come you in rat! tat! tat! would a' say, bounce and away would a' go, and again would a' come. I shall never see such a fellow!" See Henry IV. Part II.

† The following curious document shews how well this provident minister had acquainted himself with the minutest details of the subject:

An Order for the readie and easie trayning of Shott, and the avoyding of great expence and wast of powder.

The leaders and captaines who are appointed to instructe and traine them shall cause an holbert to be sett up in the plaine, whereby every shott maie passe in that order w'ch the frenche men call '*à la file*,' or as we terme yt in ranke, like wild geese, and so passing by the halbert, to present his piece, and make offer as though he would shoote, and those w'ch doe not behave themselves w'th their pieces as they ought, maye receyve p'ticler instructyon and teaching. This exercise

Provost Marshals were appointed for the different counties, with the charge of apprehending all straggling soldiers, mariners, vagrants, and masterless persons. In cases of riot or rebellion, this officer was invested by his warrant from the Crown with the power of summary execution of offenders. The emergency of the state arms the Crown with extended prerogative, as is evinced by the impressing, in time of war, men for the service of the navy.

Such were the preparations for repelling the foreign invader: a cause in which every true English spirit was bent up to its full height.

would be used two or three metings at the least for ignorant people, in w'ch time may be discerned those that cannot frame themselves in any likelihood to prove shott, in whose roomes the captains maie require others to be placed who are more apt thereunto. Afterwards to teach them how to hold their peeces, for endaugering themselves and their fellowes, to put in their matches, and to acquainte them w'th false fyers, by priming only the panne, and not charging the piece, w'ch will enure their eye w'th the flashe of fyer, embolden the p'tyes, and make every thing famillyer and ready unto them. Then to geve the piece half his charge, and acquaint them in skyr-mishing wise to come forward and retire orderly againe. After to procede to the full charge, and lastly to the bullet, to shoote at a marke, for some tryfle, to be bestowed on him that best deserveth the same. W'th this order and pollecy, men shall in shorter tyme be exercised, and w'th the tenthe p'te of the charge, to the great ease of the cuntrye, and saving of powder, for that in this manner yt is found that two pound of powder will serve one man for the foure daies' exercise of trayning. And a nonber w'ch, by reason of the churlyshenes of their peeces, and not being made acquainted therew'th by degrees, are ever after so discouraged and fearefull, as either they wincke or pull their heads from the peece, whereby they take no p'fect levell, but shoote at random, and so never prove good shotte.

FRA. WALSYNGHAM.

(118.)

Letters under the Signet of Queen Elizabeth to the Lord High Admiral, Lieutenant of Surrey. The Spanish army has put to sea, in order to invade and make a conquest of her Realm. He is to call together the best sort of gentry under his lieutenantcy, to declare to them the emergency of the time, and the preparations necessary instantly to be made.

By the Quene.

To o^r right trustie and wel beloved the Lord Howarde, o^r Highe Admirall of England, Lieutenant of o^r Countie of Surr', and in his absence to the Deputie Lieutenants of the same.

Right trustie and well beloved Counsellor, we greet yo^u well. Wheras heretofore upon the advertisement from time to time from sondrie places of the great p^{re}parac'ons of forraine forces, wth a full intenc'on to invade this o^r realme, and other o^r domynions, we gave o^r directions unto yo^u for the preparinge of our subjects wthin yo^r lieutenantacie, to be in aredines and defence againste anie attempte that might be made against us and o^r realme, w^{ch} o^r directions we finde so well p^{er}formed as we cannot but receive great contentment therbie, both in respect of yo^r careful proceedings therein as alsoe of the great willingnes of o^r people in gen'all to the accomplishment of that whereunto they were required, shewinge therbie ther great love and loyaltie towardses us, w^{ch} as we accept moste

thankfullie at ther handes, acknowledginge o'selves infinitlie bounde to Almightye God in that it hath pleased him to blesse us wth soe lovinge and dutifull subjects. Soe would we have you make it knowne unto them, forasmuch as we finde the same intenc'on not onlie of invadinge but of *makinge a conquest also of this o' realme*, nowe constantlie more and more detected and confirmed as a matter fully resolved on, beinge allreadie an army put to the seas for that purpose, (although we doubte not but by God's goodnes the same shall prove frustrate,) we have therefore thought meet to will and require you forthwth with as much convenient speed as you maie, to call together at some convenient place or places the best sorte of gent' under yo^r lieutenantage, and to declare unto them, that, consideringe their great preparac'ons and threatnings nowe burst out in action upon the seas, tendinge to a purposed conqueste, wherin everie man's pticular estate is in the highest degree to be towched in respecte of cuntrie, libertie, wief, children, landes, lief, and that which is speziallie to be regarded, for the profession of the true and sincere religion of Christ, we doe looke that the most pte of them should have upon this instant extraordinarie occasion, a larger pporc'on of furniture both for horsemen and footmen (but spetiallie horsemen) then hath been certified, therbie to be in ther best strength against anie attempt whatso-

ever, and to be imployed both about o^r owne p[']son* and otherwise, as they shall have knowledge given to them, the number of w[']ch larger p[']porc[']on asson as you shall knowe, we require yo^u to signifie to the rest of o^r privie counsell. And hereunto as we doubt not but by yo^r good endeavor they wilbe rather conformable, so alsoe we assure o^rself that Almighty God will soe blesse ther loyall hartes, borne towards us ther loving sov[']ayne and ther naturall cuntrie, that all the attempts of anye enemies whatsoever, shalbe made voide and frustrate, to ther confusion, yo^r comfort, and God's high glory. Given under o^r signett, at o^r mannor of Greenwich, the xvij daye of June 1588, in the xxxth yeare of o^r raigne.

(119.)

The Council to the Deputy Lieutenants of Surrey. The Spanish Fleet is on the seas; it is doubtful what course they will take or where the landing will be attempted. The forces of the county are to assemble on the beacons being fired.

After o^r hartie comendac[']ons. Wheras the Spanish Fleet have nowe of late been discovered

* The Queen by letters under her privy seal, to the Sheriff and Deputy Lieutenants of Surrey, had been pleased to signify that, in consequence of the zeal and alacrity the bands of footmen of that county had exhibited in their training, they should be employed only for the "guard of her person royal."

againē on the seas and it is doubtfull what course they maie take, and in what place of the realme they maie attempte to lande. Theis are to give yo' knowledge thereof, to the intent, wth all diligence the forces of that county, under the lieutenant'cy of o' verie good Lo. the Lo. Admirall, be directed to come to such place or places as hath bene heretofore thought meet, or as you shall thincke fittest to be in a readines upon the fyinge of the Beacons, to resorte to impeache such attempte as the enemye maie make to set on lande his forces in any place, accordinge to such direction as yo^u have heretofore received in that behalf. We pray yo^u likewise to give spetiale direction for the avoydinge confusion, that noe other psons be suffered to assemble together besides the ordinarie bandes, and that good order be given to the watches kepte in every thorowe-faire towne, to stay and apprehend all vagabonds and rogues and other suspected psons, that are like to passe upp and downe to move disorders. And if anie such be found wth anie manifest offence tendinge to stirre trouble or rebellion, to cause such to be executed by martiall lawe. And because the greatest doubte is that the enemy will attempt to land in some place of Essex, to w^{ch} place her Ma^{tie} hath sent o' verie good Lo. the Erle of Leycester, Lo. Steward of her Ma^{ts} Howshold, Lieutenant of that County, to have the charge of such an armye as is appointed to encounter wth them there in that county,

her pleasure is that you shall forthwith send into Essex, to the town of Burntwood, the number of 8 lances ande 99 light horse, to be conducted by such as have the charge of them, to be there the 27th of this monethe, where the said Erle of Leicester shall take them in charge. Wherein nothinge doubtinge but you will have that care w^{ch} apptayneth, we bidde you hartelie farewell. From the Co't at Richmonde, the 23 of July 1588.

Yo^r verie lovinge freindes,

CHR. HATTON.

WM. BURGHLEY.

FRA. KNOLLYS.

FRA. WALSINGHAM.

T. HENEAGE.

JO. WOLLEY.

Furthermore, upon further resoluc'on her Mat^s pleasure is that you shall send from thence the number of 1000 footmen, to be ledd by the captens and officers, to be at Stratford on the Bowe near London, on the border of Essex, by the 29th of this moneth, and that some spetiall pson maie have the generall charge to conducte them thither.

To o^r verie lovinge friends W^m
Howard, Esquier, Sr Thomas
Browne, Sir W^m More, Sr
Frauncis Carewe, Knight, De-
putie Lieuten'ts for the Coun-
tie of Surrey.

(120.)

The Council to the Gentlemen and Captains that have the leading of the infantry out of Surrey. The forces appointed for the guard of her Majesty's person grow to such numbers that they cannot be conveniently victualled and quartered about London. The leaders of the bands from Surrey are ordered to march them back into the county, taking order that they be in readiness to set forward with armour and weapons on a second warning.

After o^r hartie comendac'ons. Wheras you were directed to have the conduction of those companies w^{ch} are sent hither out of the countie of Surrey, forasmuch as the forces w^{ch} are to repaire hither out of divers other counties of the realme, to furnish those armies w^{ch} her Ma^{tie} hath p'pared as well for the resiting and wthstandinge the attempts of the enemie, as for the safe gard and defence of her Mat^s person, doth growe to so great numbers as that speedy provision cannot bee made for the victelling of them here, and convenient lodginge as so great a number will require, in so short time as was first lymitted by o' l^{res} for their repaire hither, We have thought good to lett yo^u understand y^t it is her Ma^{ts} pleasure, and so by vertue hereof doe require yo^u uppon sight of these our l^{res}, to retourne againe unto the saide countie, wth those forces yo^u have brought from them, and that nevertheles order bee taken that they maie bee in good readines wth all their armor and weapon uppon such direction as you shall re-

ceive from hence uppon a new warninge to repaire
hither. Wherin prayinge yo^u not to faile, wee bid
yo' hartelie farewell. From the Court at St.
James, the 8 of August 1588.

Yo^r loving freinds,

W. BURGHLEY.

J. HUNSDON.

F. KNOLLYS.

T. HENEAGE.

FRA. WALSYNGHAM.

J. WOLLEY.

To o' very loving frends the Gentⁿ
and Capitans that have the
chardge of the leading and con-
ducting the ffootemen that are
sent out of the Countye of
Surrey.

(121.)

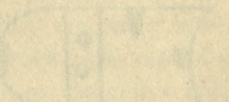
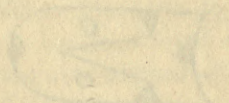
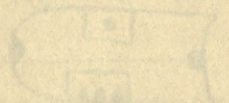
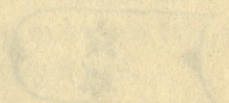
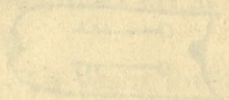
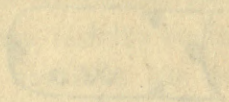
The Lord Treasurer Burleigh to Sir William More, relative to
her Majesty's intention of bestowing some cost in building on
the site of the dissolved friary at Guildford. Shews the at-
tention of this great man to the most minute subjects.

Sr,

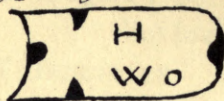
17 August 1591.

This other daie at my being at Guilford, when
I vewed the Friorie theare, I made a rude trick
thereof, in manner of a platt wth mine own hand,
at w^{ch} time a servant of yo^{rs} or Mr. Wolleis beinge
present, and being a mason, as I remember, he
offered him to mak the same more parfitlie, and to

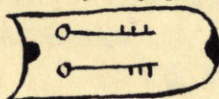
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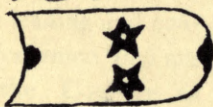
Lorde Wyllm Howard



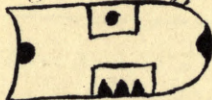
Lorde of bachurste



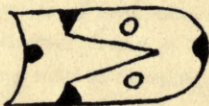
Lady Lyncolne



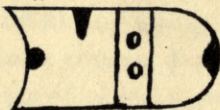
Wyllm Morcelquire



the Vynteners



the dyers



*Specimen of Swan Marks,
from a Roll preserved at Loseley, vide p. 305.*

bringe or send yt to mee. Since w^{ch} time, havinge not herd from the partie nor knowinge whoe he is, I hertelye praye youe to inquir for him, and if the platt be made by him to send yt to mee, or yf yt be not done to cause him to hasten yt, for that I finde hir Ma^{tie} to continue hir good purpos to bestowe som cost thear. And so I commend mee hertelie to youe. From the Cort at Cowdraie this xvijth of August 1591.

Yo^r vearie loving frend,

W. BURGHLEY.

I pray you cause y^e height of a spryng to be taken of water being in a corn feld, under a hedge north-est fro' y^e Freary house.

To the most worshipfull my verye
lovinge frend Sr Will'm Moore,
knight.

Office of Master of the Swans for Surrey.

The following documents relate to the privileges of the above office, to which Sir William More was appointed. An original roll of swan-marks has been found among the MSS. The beaks of the swans were notched with stars, chevrons, crosses, the initials of the owners' names, or other devices. Hence some have inferred, with very little reason, when the monstrosities of heraldry are taken into account, that the sign of the swan with two necks implied nothing more than a swan with two *nicks*, or distinctive notches on its beak. In the roll of swan marks extant at Loseley are given the marks used for the swans of Lord William Howard, Lord Buckhurst, Sir Henry Weston, Francis Carew, Esq. William More, Esq. and other principal persons resident in Surrey. Also the marks of the Dyers and the Vintners Com-

panies, who have still, we believe, the honour of being curators of the swans on the river Thames. The same officer who marks the swans for the above civic companies marks them also, at a stipulated payment, for the King. The expenses are about 300*l.* per annum.

My very good cosin, I cold not mete you at Horseley, according to my apointment, being, by letters from Sir Robert Cecill, comaunded to assist my Lorde Tressuř (Treasurer) about her Maties servis at London, w^{ch} held us there til Satterday none. So as that night we were to go to the Court.

But to satisfy your desier for the swans, I did a good while sins, upon the motion of my Lady Woolley, stay the granting thereof, and received it for you. The old rent of the hole Shere of Surrey is £10. 10*s.* So I was to have let it had not your desier have staid it. The body of the Tems running through the Shere is to be excepted, but all the branches ar to pass w^{tin} your graunt. But this order must be kept, that the upping of all those swans, near or w^{tin} the said branches of Tems, may be upped all in on day w^t the upping of the Tems, w^{ch} is referd to Mr. Mailard, of Hampton Courte, who hath the ordering of the Tems. So as if it pleas you from time to time to send and confer w^t him (al thinges strictlie kepe in their due course), or if upon occasion you shold not be redy to come unto Mr. Mailard upon his upping day, then Mr. Mailard desiers that you will geve reasonable notice and warning to them

what dayes you will uppe the swans w^tin the said branches and then he wil take order accordingly, for otherwise great inconveniens, as he saith, may folowe. If I may understand of your desier to have this graunt of Surrey for the swans, I will send you a draught in paper of the same graunt in suche sorte as al the rest of the Sheres are graunted. And so I wish you hartily wel this 28 of July 1593.

Your very loving cosin and frend,

T. BUCKEHURST.

To my very loving frend and co-
sin Sir William Moore, knight.

(122.)

The same to the same. Perquisites of the office of Master of
the Swans enumerated.

My very good cosin,

Toching the office of swans in Surrey, I cannot advertis you w^tout sight of my boke toching that matter, w^{ch} is at London, who was the auncient farmer of that Shere, nor whether he held it upon accompt, or for a rent certain, but that the auncient rent was £10 for the hole shere, that I have a note of w^t me in my boke of receipt of rents, w^{ch} I alwaies cary w^t me. The profit of that office growes diversly as by divers bokes and orders, as wel printed as written, may apere, w^{ch} if you take the office upon you I wil send you. For

all straie swans, all swans unmarked, all wild swans, all tame swans that fly, all swans of felons, owt lawed persons or traitors, and many other, are the master of the swans right. He is also to have xii^d for every growne bird and al ameracements and penalties that shalbe inflicted for any offenses w'ch at any session for swans shalbe set upon them, and many other rights and benefits belong to the master of the swans, w'ch I can not here recite. Besides by the comission under the greate seale w'ch is alwaies to be granted by the order of the master of the swans and the comissioners also by himself to be named, is that comission that is also authority to conserve the fish of al rivers and waters, and also the fowle in them, and to punish tho offenders in bothe these cases by amercement and otherwise. The benefit of w'ch amersments go also to the master of the game, so as even to name his power to p'tecte fishe and fowle in al rivers and other waters in the Shier where we dwell, is a matter of comoditye unto us. Toching any rent to be paid I wil not for this yere require any but upon accompt, to yeld so much, your charges deducted as you shal make. And then your lease must begin from halowtide next, and the rent is paiable but ons a yere, viz. at alhalowtide come twelf month and not before, being xl^s, and the leas shalbe that upon a yeres warning you shal leave it, becaus I wil not bind you to your los (but do wish it both pleasure and profit unto you); and now, if I may understand from you that you will accept it w^t

these condic'ons, I wil caus a draught of the leas to be made and sent unto you. And so I wish you hartely wel this 29 of July 1593. Your very loving cosin and assured friend,

T. BUCKEHURST.

To my loving frend and cosin Sr
Will'm Moore, knight.

(123.)

R. Maylard, the Master of the Swans on the Thames, to Sir William More, as Master of the Swans for Surrey, relative to Upping (now corruptly called Hopping) the Swans within their respective limits on a certain day. The struggles of the swans when caught by their pursuers, and the duckings which the latter received in the contest, made this a diversion with our ancestors of no ordinary interest.

May it please you, Sr, this morning I received a l're affirmed to come from you, but no name thereunto. Wherin yo' request me to com to Perford to conferr w^t yo' touching the upping of swannes, w'ch I wold most gladly pforme, yf I were not throwghe very earnest busynes letted of my purpose, ffor to morrowe being Tuysdaie I take my journey along the river of Thames at Gravesend.* And then uppon the first Mondaie in August I com westward towards Wyndsor. Wherefore if it maie please yo^u to send to my howse to Hampton Court what daies you meane to appointe for driving the river of Weybridge and Molsay, it

* Many swans were anciently kept below bridge. In ancient views of the Port of London, they are usually represented as swimming in that part of the river.

shall suffice, to th'end the gamesters maie have knowledge thereof, that they may attend accordingly. I do thinke it wold greatly satisfie them yf yo' did appointe the same upon Tuesday the viith of August, for upon that day they wilbe at the entrance of these rivers. And so prainge you to ꝑdon me for my absence at this tyme, I humbly take my leave. Hampton Courte this Mondaie xxxth of July 1593.

Yo^r poore frend to comaunde,

R. MAYLARD.

To the R. W. Sir W. Moore, knt.
at Pirforde.

(124.)

Sir Julius Cæsar to Sir William More (as keeper of Farnham Park, a demesne of the Bishopric of Winchester). From the subject of this paper it appears that the gentlemen of the Temple drank their wine out of earthen pots. Many of the bottles and drinking vessels of this time were of German manufacture. Wine glasses, which we may infer, from a passage in Shakspeare, were a fashionable luxury, came from the same quarter, and were of the make of what are now called hock glasses. The earthen bottles or pitchers were generally surmounted by a bearded head, probably representing Silenus, a decoration affording a lasting source of allusion for our old dramatists. Their sides were embossed with allegorical figures and moral inscriptions. Of these we have some curious examples in our own possession.

After my hartie comendac'ons, &c. Wheras in tymes past the bearer hereof hath had out of the

parke of Farneham, belonging to the Bishoppriock of Winchester, certaine white clay for the making of grene potts usually drunk in by the gentlemen of the Temple. And nowe understandinge of some restraint thereof, and that you (amongst others) are authorized there in divers respects during the vacancye of the said Busshopricke ; my request therefore unto you is, and the rather for that I am a member of the said house, that you would in favour of us all p'mytt the bearer hereof to digge and carie away so muche of the said claye as by him shalbe thought sufficient for the furnishinge of the said house wth grene potts as aforesaid, paying as he hath heretofore for the same. In accomplisment whereof myself, wth the whole societie, shall acknowledge o^rselves muche beholden unto you, and shalbe readie to requite you at all tymes hereafter wth the like pleasure. And so I bid you moste hartelie farewell. Inn^r Temple this xixth of August 1594.

Y^r assured freind,

JUL. CÆSAR.

To the right worshipful Sr W^m Moore,
knight, geve these.

(125.)

John Caryll to Sir William More, enquiring after a hawk by her marks. The Carylls were an ancient Surrey family, whose principal residence was the manor house of Tangley, in Wonersh parish, a homestead from the Saxon times, at this

day an interesting specimen of Elizabethan architecture, though now a mere farmhouse. Falconry was still in much esteem at the period when this letter was written. Gwillim, in his first edition of his Treatise on Heraldry, recites a number of terms of hawking, in order, he says, that gentlemen when coming together for "that noble recreation and delight," should express themselves properly. Vide Display of Heraldry, p. 237, edit. 1638.

Right worshipfull, after my hearty comendacions, understanding that you have an hawke of myne, these are to desire you to delyver the same to this bearer, who can tell you the markes of her. Thus doying you shall comãd me to pleasure you in the like againe if it shall lie in my power to pfourme the same, as knoweth God, who have you in his keepinge. Scribled in hast from Shipley, this xiii of August.

Yo^r assured frend to my power,

JOHN CARYLL.

To the right wor^{full} Sr Wyll'm
Moore, knight, geve these.

(126.)

Mr. Wolley (afterwards Sir John Wolley), Latin Secretary to the Council, to his father-in-law, Sir William More. The Council are deliberating about the marriage of the Queen with the Duke of Anjou, a project very unpopular with the English. Relates her conversation relative to him, &c.

All our menes here arre sett a syde and not once thought upon, by reason of an earnest con-

sultation wherupon the counsell sittethe every daye aboute the Frenche marriage, as presentlye they do now wher I write these l'res, aboute w^{ch} matter having had long speach yesterdaye with her ministers, she fell in speach of yow with greate good liking and comendation, willing me to send you word that she dyd perceyve that wher the yonge sorte of men wanting experience and trust did forgett there dowties, such old servauntes as you are would remember themselves, as she still had and presentlye dyd fynd profe by you, unto whose trust she durst comitt her life. My Lord of Leicester likewise told me, before I spake with her, of the very good opinion she had of yow, w^{ch} he did ever seeke to encrease! The rest I will tell you at our next meeting. I have receyved l'rs out of Irland, that the rebells have abandoned ther forte, and arre gone into the woddes. These arre all the newes we have. The parliame't ys not yet proroged. The Frenche boke I lefte once with you, of the prince of Oranges declaration to the Estates, I wold fain you brought with you. And so with our dowlifull comendations to you and my ladye, and good M^r Knolles, I comitt us all to almighte God. At the Courte the 6th of October 1579.

Yo^r assured loving sonne,

J. WOLLEY.

To the right worshepful my very good father S^r Will'm More, knight, this be delivered.

(127.)

Secretary Wolley to Sir William More. Requests a greyhound for the Lord Admiral.

Sir, I have spoken with Mr Secretarye toucheng your sute, who with many good words hath promised to do the best he can, although, as he sayeth, the Quene be for this tyme out of tast, as he termeth yt, for sutes. He shal be rememberd of yt as occasiõ maie serve from tyme to tyme. My Lord Admirall hath required me to send unto you for one of yo^r grate greyhowndes, w^{ch} he menneth, as I think, to bestow upon some greate friend, he ys very loth to begge yt of yow, saving that he sayth he wilbe yo^r debter for a better turne. I thinke he meaneth yo^r greate whitt greyhound; I think good yo^u shold send yt with as much spede as ye maye. Monsieur ys mutch lokd for heare oute of hand; I will send you word when I understand more of it.

This daye was the first daye of my wives goinge abrode, who was very favorably welcomẽd of her majesty, and has byn very well all this daye.

I have no newes to write unto yow, therefore yelding yow hartly thanks for yo^r great cortesy, praying you to recom'ed me to my lady and good Mr Knolles, with the rest of owrs, I comitt us all

to Almighty God. At the Courte the ix October
1591.

Yo^r assured loving sonne in law,

J. WOLLEY.

To the right worshipp^l my verie good
ffather Sr Will'm Moore, knighte, at
Loseley, geve these.

(128.)

Sir Christopher Hatton to Mr. Wolley. He is to take the air
to purge himself from the infection of the small pox, before
he approaches the Court.

My good M^r Wolley, I have acquaintyd hir
Ma^{te} w^t yo^r nessesitye of dewtyfull absence wher-
wth as her highnes is graciouslye satisffyd, soe dothe
she advise yo^u too be carefull too avoyde the con-
tagion towards yo^r selfe and wiffe soe nere as yo^u
can. Hir H. wold yo^u should remove from that
place wher the smalle pocks were, to take the
freshe and clere ayre, the better to purge ye from
the infection, w^{ch} beyng done (w^t convenient
leasure and good tyme) ye must retourne at yo^r
good pleasure. Yo^r good state of helthe, together
wth yo^r best wiffe, makethe me much more glade
then sory for this mischance. Yo^u have necessary
libertye longe too enjoie yo^r owne, w^{ch} lovinge
may yo doo, I pray God. Suerlye, Sir, the affayres
have run in soo uncerten a course as I can wright

yo^u nothyng ether of Portugall or of Fraunce. Cambrey is taken, and victualid by Mons^r. who hath likewise put his p[']son w^t other good forces intoo the towne. I leave the circumstances, for they are too longe too wright; I pray God they be good, or at lest voyde of evell. The Vicount of Terwyn, wth many brave gentlemen of the religion, are taken prysoners, w^t a good number of the same cut in peaces. God blesse yo^u and yo^r shrew. Hast, this xxvith of August 1591.

Yo^r trew frend right loving assuered,

CHR. HATTON.

(129.)

Mrs. Wolley from the Court to her father Sir William More.

Sir, I have sent this berer to bringe me worde how you and all yo^{rs} doth. M^r Wolley comendes him to yo^u and we wishe us both with ye. There is noe newes to send ye, onlye the Quene goeth no further then Rychmonde, by reason that the mesells and the small pox is so ryfe at Chertsey and at Weyebrydge; as yett there is no certeynty of the remove. Her ma'tye tould M^r Wolley yesternight, that she would this yere com' to neyther his house nor yo^{rs}, but the next will see yo^u both, wth manye good wordes of yo^u and my brother; wee hope verye shortlye to meete yo^u at

Pyrisford, when the Queene removeth. So, with remembrance of my dutye, praying yo^u to comend me to all the good companye there, I humblye take my leave. At the Cort this vth of September, 1595.

Your loving and obedyent daughter,

ELIZABETH WOLLEY.

To the right worshipful my very
lovinge ffather S^r Will^m Moore,
knight, geve these.

(130.)

The same to the same. A curious enumeration of various courtier-like attentions which she wished to observe, and of some little characteristic particulars of the Queen.

Syr, The daye you went from the Courte at night, her Ma'tie dyd enquire of me for yo^u and was sorye, when I tould her that yo^u were gon home to your owne howse, that you had so troublesome a jorney, w^{ch} if her Ma'tie had knowne you would have taken that nyght, she would have had a lodging provyded for you, beinge lykewyse sorye that she had no longer tyme to entertayne you. Yesternight in the eveninge her Ma'tie went abroad a hawkyinge, and S^r Robert Cycill's hawke killed three partriches, w^{ch} he presented the Queen wth, and myself being in place,* her Ma'tie

* That is, on duty. Lady Wolley was one of the Ladies of her Majesties Privy Chamber.

gave them me, wth expresse charge that I should send them to yo^u this daye against dyner, desyrnge you to eatte them for her sake. Since, S^r Rob^t Cycill begged them of me, w^{ch} I could not deny him of, I have sent this messenger of purpose to yo^u, praynge yo^u to take knowledge of the receypte of the partryches, and to certify yo^u of this her Ma'ties greate care of yo^u, to the end that yo^u maye, by yo^r l^re wrytten to me, take notice of this her highnes' good affec'on to yo^u, w^{ch} I would have wrytten somewhat brief, that I maye shewe yt to her Ma'tie. She hath comaunded me to send for my sonne; notwthstanding if yt shall please you to forgett yt, I meane to forgett also to send for him. In the meane tyme I praie yo^u to gyve charge that he may practise his Frenche, for feare her Ma'tie shall call to me for him agayne. She sayeth she will pose him in his learnynge. I pray yo^u therefore to cause Mr. Pyke to see him take paynes between this and then. So praying you to comend me to my brother and the rest of the good companye there, wth remembrance of my dutye, I humblye take leave. At the Court, this xvith of September, 1595.

Yo^r loving and obedyent daughter,

ELIZABETH WOLLEY.

To the right worshipfull my very
loving ffather, S^r Will^m Moore,
knight, at Loseley.

(131.)

The same to the same. Her Majesty has worn the gown he gave her, &c.

Sr, Yesterdaie I sent Nicke to London to see how yo^u did, thinking yo^u had taken phisike. I am verie glad to heere you are so well after your long and wearie jerneye, I pray you shorten yt at your next going to London, and lye all night at Pirford. Synce my commyng to the Corte I have had manie gracious wordes of her Matie, and manye tymes she bad me welcom wth all her hart, evere since I have waited. Yesterdaye she wore the gowne you gave her, and toke therby occasion to speake of yo^u, sayng er long I should find a mother-in-lawe, w^{ch} was herself, but she was affrayd of the tow wydows that ar ther wth yo^u, that they would be angrye wth her for yt, and that she would gyve ten thowsand poundes you were twenty yeeres younger, for that she hath but few suche servauntes as you ar, wth many mor gracious speches both of your self and my brother, w^{ch} is too long to write, and thereffor will leave to tell you when we meete. My Lo. Admyrall came to me and bad me welcome wthall his harte, and tould me he had seene you, willing me to comaunde him in any ffriendshippe he can shewe unto me. I thought good at this time to use no further speches unto him. I went to my Lo. of Buck-

hurst and gave him humble thanks for his kind usage of yo^u, he did assure me he would be a most ffaythfull freind both unto yow and to myself, sayeing, if he could be assured of my friendship, he had rather have yt than any other lady that serves in the place, w^{ch} I did assure him of. My brother is verie much bownde and beholding to my Lo. Chamberlen and my La. Warwicke, I will tell you wherfore when I see yo^u next. Thus hetherto I have had a good beginning at Cort, and have no doute but to contynew yf frends be constant; if they ffaile it salbe thorough no desarte of myne, for I will lyve very warilie amongst them. The Queene, as she sayeth, will dine wth my lady Edmonds on Tuesday nexte, and retorne again at night, w^{ch} I can hardlie believe; if she doe, I meane to wayte upon her. My Lord Thresorer lyes heere very ill of the goute, and cannot stir hand nor foote, nor feede himself, the goute is so in his hands. I thinke he will not be hable to goe to London this weeke. My Lord Chamberleyn adviseth me to send hym a few partriches, w^{ch} I knowe not where to gett anye; yt might please yow to send me som, yf never so ffewe; about me ther is not anye to be gotten. I minced one myself and sent him this last night, by the advise of my lord Chamberleyne, w^{ch} he made his supper of. So humbly preying to commend me to my good brother and the rest of my ffreindes there, wth remembrance of my dewtye,

I comytt us all to God's hollye protection. ffrom
the Cort, this Sundaye morninge.

Yo^r loving and obedient daughter,

ELIZABETH WOLLEY.

To the right worshipful my very
loving ffather, Sr William More,
knight, at Loseley.

*Original Letters relating to the clandestine marriage of
Mr. John Donne, afterwards Dr. Donne, with Ann More
of Loseley.*

Ann More, younger daughter of Sir George More, of Loseley House, in Surrey, was born 27th May 1584, and in 1600, her seventeenth year, was married to John Donne, the celebrated scholar, poet, and ultimately divine.

Donne, an accomplished gentleman by education and travel, twenty-six years of age, and of a handsome person, had attracted the notice of the Keeper of the Great Seal, and Lord High Chancellor of England, Sir Thomas Egerton, afterwards Baron Ellesmere, who appointed him his private secretary.

The Chancellor had married the sister of Sir George More, Elizabeth, widow of Sir John Wolley, of Pirford, both of whom have been noticed as attached to the court of Queen Elizabeth. Ann More, Lady's Wolley's niece, being on a visit at York House in the Strand, the residence of the Chancellor, became acquainted with Donne, and this acquaintance gave rise to a mutual attachment. Sir George More was apprised of this circumstance, perhaps by his sister; for women are discerning in matters of this nature. He hastened to remove his daughter from

the neighbourhood of the court to his mansion at Loseley; the precaution was too late, on account, says Walton, the biographer of Donne, "of some faithful promises which were so interchangeably passed as never to be violated" by either party. The first of the following letters will be found remarkably to confirm the correctness of this assertion.

The lovers at length found means to contract a marriage clandestinely; and Henry Earl of Northumberland, the friend and neighbour of Sir George More, undertook, as an act of favour to Donne, with whose merits he was well acquainted, to break the matter to Sir George.

"This news," says Walton, "was to Sir George so immeasurably unwelcome, and so transported him as though his passion of anger and consideration might exceed theirs of love and error, that he presently engaged his sister, Lady Ellesmere (he should have said *Egerton*, as her husband was not yet raised to the peerage,) to join with him to procure her Lord to discharge Mr. Donne from the place which he held under his Lordship; which he not only did, but committed Donne, Mr. Samuel Brooke, the priest who married him, and Mr. Christopher Brooke, who gave the lady away, to prison. Of the two last-mentioned gentlemen, the first had been Donne's fellow student at Cambridge, and was afterwards Master of Trinity College, and the last was his chamber-fellow at Lincoln's Inn. On this occasion it is well known Donne subscribed a letter with his wife, "John Donne, Anne Donne, *undone!*"*"

* It is evident from this play on the monosyllable which forms his name, and from several passages in his works, that he was undoubtedly called *Dunn*, and not according to the ordinary pronunciation of his surname at the present day, *Don*.

The inedited letters of Donne in the Loseley MSS. chiefly relate to the romantic passage of his life which we have above detailed, and there is one from Mr. Christopher Brooke to the Lord Chancellor Egerton, on the subject of the incarceration to which his share in the matter had subjected him. Donne, with much importunity, procured the liberation of himself and his friends, and remained long after in a condition of poverty and dependence, pressed by the wants of an increasing family. Sir Francis Wolley, of Pirford, his wife's first cousin, generously supported her and her husband in his own house, and supplied their worldly wants until his death, before which he had effected a reconciliation of them to their offended parent Sir George More.

Providence, who had destined Donne for His own peculiar service, soon after bettered their condition. At the earnest desire of King James he entered into holy orders, for which he had eminently qualified himself by his studies, his learning, and his appreciation of the duties of the sacred office. His wife died in child-bed in 1617, to the inexpressible grief of her husband, leaving to his care seven out of twelve children. He promised them he would never give them a step-mother; which promise, says Walton, he most faithfully kept, "burying with his tears all his earthly joys in his most dear deserving wife's grave, and betook himself to a most retired and solitary life."*

Indeed, in the sentence of the Ecclesiastical Court confirming his marriage, a copy of which, dated 27th April, 1602, is extant in the Loseley Papers, his name is throughout written *Dunn*, and in his own letters which follow, the participle *done* is uniformly spelt d-o-n-n-e.

* The following copy of his wife's epitaph, in Latin, is among the Loseley MSS. It had, in all probability, been sent

The first appearance of Donne out of his own house after the death of his wife, was to preach in his church, St. Clement's in the Strand, where she lay buried. His text was from the Lamentations of the Prophet Jeremiah, "Lo, I am the man that have seen affliction;" and he begins one of his divine poems with the same strain:—

" I am the man which have affliction seen,
Under the rod of God's wrath having been !"

The sight of their reverend pastor, bending but submissive under this severe blow, surrounded by his bereaved family, drew from his auditors showers of sympathizing

by Donne to Sir George More, who was himself a good classical scholar, for his perusal :

Annæ

Georgii	{	More, de	{	filia,
Robert:		Lothesley,		soror,
Willelmi		Equit.		nept.
Christopheri		Aurat.		pronept.

Feminæ lectissimæ, dilectissimæq'

Conjugi charissimæ, castissimæq' ;

Matri piissimæ, indulgentissimæq'

xv annis in conjugio transactis,

vii post xii^m partum (quorum vii superstant) die,

immani febre correptæ,

(quod hoc saxum fari jussit

ipse, præ dolore infans,)

maritus (miserrimùm dictu) olim charæ charus

cineribus cineres spondet suos,

novo matrimonio (annuat Deus) hoc loco sociandos,

Johannes Donne,

Sac: Theolog: Profess.

Secessit

A^o xxxiii^o ætat. et sui Jesu

CIODCXVII.

Aug. xv.

tears. His solemn engagements, however, as the minister of Christ, were sufficient to recall his spirit to its duties; strengthened by the hope of that "exceeding weight of glory" which was to compensate the comparatively "light afflictions of the moment."

The King, who knew how to esteem a sincerely pious and honest man, when he could find one, and who feared that this blow would undermine Donne's health and shorten his life, appointed him to attend on the Lord Hay, his ambassador to the Princes of Germany, with a view of dissipating his grief by travel.

He returned, his sorrow alleviated, and his health improved, and was shortly afterwards invested by the King with the deanery of St. Paul's.

His Majesty commanded him to wait on him at his dinner hour on a certain day; and before he sat down to table, said pleasantly to him, "Dr. Donne, I have invited you to dinner, and although you sit not down with me, yet I will *carve* for you of a dish that I know you love well: for knowing you love London, I do therefore make you Dean of Paul's; and when I have dined, then do you take your beloved dish home to your study, say grace there to yourself, and much good may it do you!"*

Donne continued in the zealous and conscientious discharge of his duties until 30th March 1631, when he expired of a lingering disease, in the sixtieth year of his age, having been ten years Dean of St. Paul's.

The prose compositions of Donne exhibit great depth and originality of thought, clothed in forcible and appropriate expression. Traces of the energies of his mind will be observed in the letters which follow.

His poetry abounds with figures suggested by an imagination of the brightest class; but it is greatly deteriorated,

* Walton.

and rendered perhaps altogether unpalatable to the reader of the modern school, by the vice of his day, the sedulous pursuit of far-fetched quaint conceits. One of the most remarkable productions of his pen is his "*Biaθavatos*; a declaration of that paradox or thesis, that self-homicide is not so naturally a sin that it may never be otherwise." It was published during the Civil Wars by his son, who says in the dedication to Philip Lord Herbert, that "it was written long since by his father, forbid both the press and the fire, but he could find no way of defending it from the one but by committing it to the other; for since the beginning of the war his study had been often searched, and all his books, and almost his brains sequestered, by their continual alarums, for the use of the Committee; two dangers seemed to impend over his father's MS.—either that it should be utterly lost, or published and fathered by one of those wild atheists; who, as if they came into the world by conquest, own all other men's wits, and are resolved to be learned in spite of their stars." This treatise is replete with learning and research, but it appears only adapted for the perusal of persons of well fortified understanding; with others it might be misconstrued into a justification of that crime against which the Almighty "has set his canon." Donne was doubtless aware of this danger, and therefore forbore to give it to the world. He had much of the enthusiast in his temperament, but it was attempered by solid sense.

The literary man's beloved meed, to outlive in fame the narrow span of this stage of existence, had a powerful influence over him, and he had not the affectation to disguise it. But a few days before his death he consented to put off all his clothes, to be attired in his winding-sheet, and standing on an urn of wood made for the purpose, to be delineated by an artist in this position, with a view to

forming a correct sepulchral effigy of him, according to the fashion of the day. If we recollect rightly, this very monument is among some few which, in a fractured state, have survived the ruin of old St. Paul's, and is preserved in the crypt underneath the present church.

Donne's letters in the Loseley MSS. are sealed with the crest of his family, a sheaf of snakes. On taking orders he is said to have exchanged this device for one of his own imagining, Christ fixed to an anchor instead of a cross: with this he caused several seals to be engraved, which he circulated as presents among his friends. In allusion to this circumstance, he wrote a copy of Latin Verses, headed, "To Mr. George Herbert, sent him with one of my seals of the anchor and Christ. A sheaf of snakes used heretofore to be my seal, which is the crest of my poor family."



The Latin verses begin,

Qui prius assuetus serpentum fasce tabellas
Signare (hæc nostræ symbola parva domus).

and the English paraphrase of them,

Adopted in God's family, and so
Our old coat lost, unto new arms I go,
The cross (my seal at baptism) spread below,
Does by that form into an anchor grow.



One of the seals is here represented from Gent. Mag. 1807.

In a letter to his friend, Sir Henry Wotton, Provost of Eton, also extant among the Loseley MSS. without date, but written after the death of his wife, and his elevation to the Deanery of St. Paul's, he alters his former mode of subscription to that of

*your very true friend and
humble servant in Chr. Jes:*

J. Donne

(132.)

Mr. Donne to Sir George More.

Sr,

If a very respective feare of yo^r displeasure, and a doubt that my L. whom I know owt of yo^r worthiness to love yo^w much, would be so compassionate wth yo^w as to add his anger to yo^{rs}, did not so much increase my sicknes as that I cannot stir, I had taken the boldnes to have donne the office of this letter by wayting upon yo^w myself to have given yo^w truthe and clearnes of this matter between yo^r daughter and me, and to show to yo^w plainly the limits of o^r fault, by w^{ch} I know yo^r wisdome wyll proportion the punishm^t. So long since as her being at York House this had foundac'on, and so much then of promise and contract built upon yt as wthowt violence to conscience might not be shaken. At her lyeng in town this last Parliam^t, I found meanes to see her twice or thrice. We both knew the obligac'ons that lay upon us, and we adventurd equally, and about three weeks before Christmas we married. And as at the doinge, there were not usd above fyve persons, of w^{ch} I protest to yo^w by my salvation, there was not one that had any dependence or relation to yo^w, so in all the passage of it did I forbear to use any suche person, who by furtheringe of yt might violate any trust or duty towards yo^w. The reasons why I did not foreacquaint yo^w

wth it (to deale wth the same plainnes that I have usd) were these. I knew my p^sent estate lesse then fitt for her, I knew (yet I knew not why) that I stood not right in yo^r opinion. I knew that to have given any intimac^on of yt had been to impossibilitate the whole matt^r. And then having these honest purposes in o^r harts, and those fetters in o^r consciences, me thinks we should be pardoned, if o^r fault be but this, that wee did not, by fore-revealinge of yt, consent to o^r hindrance and torment. S^r, I acknowledge my fault to be so great, as I dare scarce offer any other prayer to yo^w in myne own behalf then this, to beleeeve this truthe, that I neyth^r had dishonest end nor meanes. But for her whom I tender much more then my fortunes or lyfe (els I woould I might neyth^r joy in this lyfe, nor enjoy the next), I humbly beg of yo^w that she may not to her danger feele the terror of yo^r sodaine anger. I know this letter shall find yo^w full of passion; but I know no passion can alter yo^r reason and wisdome, to w^{ch} I adventure to com^{en}d these particulers; that yt is irremediably donne; that if yo^w incense my L. yo^w destroy her and me; that yt is easye to give us happines, and that my endeavors and industrie, if it please yo^w to prosper them, may soone make me somewhat worthyer of her. If any take the advantage of yo^r displeasure against me, and fill yo^w with ill thoughts of me, my comfort is, that yo^w know that fayth and thanks are

due to them onely, that speak when they informac'ons might do good; w^{ch} now yt cannot work towards any party. For my excuse I can say nothing, except I knew what were sayd to yo^w. Sr, I have truly told yo^w this matt^r, and I humbly beseeche yo^w so to deale in y^t as the persuasions of Nature, Reason, Wisdome, and Christianity shall inform yo^w; and to accept the vowes of one whom yo^w may now rayse or scatter, w^{ch} are that as my love ys directed unchangeably upon her, so all my labors shall concur to her contentment, and to show my humble obedience to yo^r self.

Yo^{rs} in all duty and humblenes,

J. DONNE.

From my lodging by y^e Savoy,

2^o Februa: 1601.

To the right wor. Sr George

More, kt.

(133.)

The same to the same.

Sr,

The inward accusa^õns in my conscience, that I have offended yo' beyond any ability of redeeming yt by me, and the feeling of my Lord's heavy displeasure followyng yt, forceth me to wright, though I know my fault make my l^rs very ungracious to yo^w. Almighty God, whom I call to witnesse that all my grieffe ys that I have in this manner offended yo^w and him, direct yo^w to be-

leeve that w^{ch} owt of an humble and afflicted hart I now wright to yo^w. And since we have no meanes to move God, when he wyll not hear or prayers, to hear them, but by prayeng, I humbly beseech yo^w to allow by his gracious example, my penitence so good entertainm't, as yt may have a beeliefe and a pittie. Of nothings in this one fault that I hear sayd to me, can I disculpe my selfe, but of the contemptuous and despightfull purpose towards yo^w, w^{ch} I hear ys surmised against me. But for my dutifull regard to my late lady, for my religion, and for my lyfe, I refer my selfe to them that may have observed them. I humbly beseech yo^w to take of these waytes, and to put my fault into the balance alone, as yt was donne wth out the addicon of these yll reports, and though then yt wyll be to heavy for me, yett then yt wyll less grieve yo^w to pardon yt. How litle and how short the comfort and pleasure of destroyeng ys, I know yo^r wisdome and religion informs yo^w. And though perchance yo^w intend not utter destruction, yett the way through w^{ch} I fall towards yt is so headlong, that beeing thus push'd, I shall soone be at bottome, for yt pleaseth God, from whom I acknowledge the punishm't to be just, to accompany my other ylls with so much sicknes as I have no refuge but that of mercy, w^{ch} I beg of him, my L., and yo^w, w^{ch} I hope yo^w wyll not repent to have afforded me, since all my endevors, and the whole course

of my lyfe shal be bent, to make my selfe worthy of y^r favor and her love, whose peace of conscience and quiett I know must be much wounded and violenced if yo^r displeasure sever us. I can p'sent nothing to yo^r thoughts w^{ch} yo^w knew not before, but my submission, my repentance, and my hartly desire to do any thing satisfactory to your just displeasure. Of w^h I beseech yo^w to make a charitable use and construction. From the Fleete, 11^o Febr. 1601.

Yo^{rs} in all faythfull duty and obedience,

J. DONNE.

To the right wor. Sir Geo.

More, kt.

(134.)

Mr. Donne to the Lord Keeper Sir Thomas Egerton.

To excuse my offence, or so much to resist the just punishm^t for ytt, as to move yo^r L^p to wth-draw y^{tt}, I thoughte till now were to aggravate my fault. But since yt hath pleasd God to joyne wth yo^w in punishing thereof wth increasing my sicknes, and that he gives me now audience by prayer, yt emboldneth me also to address my humble request to yo^r L^p, that yo^w would admit into yo^r favorable considerac'on how farr my intentions were from doing dishonor to yo^r L^{ps} house; and how unable I am to escape utter and

present destruction, if yo^r L^p judge onely the effect and deede. My services never had so much worthe in them, as to deserve the favors, wherwth they were payd. But they had always so much honesty, as that onely this hath staynd them. Yo^r justice hath been mercifull in making me know my offence, and yt hath much profited me that I am dejected. Since then I ame so intirely yo^{rs} that even yo^r disfavors have wrought good upon me; I humbly beseeche yo^w that all my good may proceed from yo^r L^p. And that since Sir George More, whom I leave no humble way unsought to regaine, referrs all to yo^r L^p, yo^w would be pleasd to lessen that correction w^{ch} yo^r just wisdome hath destind for me, and so to pittie my sicknes and other misery, as shall best agree wth yo^r honorable disposition. Almighty God accompany all yo^r L^{ps} purposes, and bless yo^w and y^{rs} wth many good dayes. Fleet, 12^o Febr. 1601.

Yo^r L^{ps} most dejected and
poore servant,

J. DONNE.

To the right honorable my very
good L. and Master S^r Thomas
Egerton, knight, L. keeper of
the great Seale of England.

(135.)

Mr. Donne to Sir George More.

Sr,

From yo^w, to whom next to God I shall owe my health, by enjoyeng by yo^r mediac'on this mild change of imprisonm^t, I desire to derive all my good fortune and content in this world; and therefore wth my most unfeyned thanks, p'sent to yo^w my humble petic'on, that yo^w would be pleasd to hope, that as that fault w^{ch} was layd to me of having deceivd some gentlewomen before, and that of loving a corrupt religion, are vanishd and smoakd away (as I assure myself owt of their weaknes they are), and that as the devyll in the article of o^r death takes the advantage of o^r weaknes and fear, to aggravate o^r sinns to o^r conscience, so some uncharitable malice hath presented my debts doble at least. How many of the imputac'ons layd upon me would fall of, if I might shake and purge myself in y^r p^rsence. But if that were donne, of this offence committed to yo^w I cannot acquit myself, of w^{ch} yet I hope that God (to whom for that I hartily direct many prayers) wyll informe yo^w to make that use, that as of evyll manners good lawes growe, so owt of disobedience and boldnes yo^w wyll take occasion to show mercy and tendernes. And when yt shall please God to soften yo^r hart so much towards us,

as to pardon us, I beseech yo^w allso to undertake that charitable office of being my mediator to my L., whom as upon yo^r just complaint yo^w found full of justice, I doubt not but yo^w shall also find full of mercy, for so ys the Almighty pattern of Justice and Mercy equally full of bothe. My conscience and such affection as in my conscience becomes an honest man, emboldneth me to make one request more, w^{ch} ys, that by some kind and comfortable message yo^w would be pleas'd to give some ease of the afflictions w^{ch} I know yo^r daughter in her mind suffers, and that (if yt be not against y^r other purposes) I may with y^r leave wright to her, for wthhowt yo^r leave I wyll never attempt any thing concerning her. God so have mercy upon me, as I am unchangeably resolved to bend all my courses to make me fitt for her, w^{ch} if God and my L: and yo^w be pleased to strengthen, I hope neyther my debts w^{ch} I can easily order nor any thing els shall interrupt. Almighty God keepe yo^w in his favor, and restore me to his and yo^{rs}. From my chamber, whether by yo^r favor I ame come, 13^o Feb. 1601.

J. DONNE.

To the right worp^{ll} (worshipful)

Sir George More, knight.

(136.)

Mr. Donne to Lord Keeper Egerton.

Onely in that coyne, wherin they that delight to do benefitts and good turnes for the works sake love to be payd, ame I riche, w^{ch} ys thankfullnes, w^{ch} I humbly and abundantly p'sent to yo^r L'p. Beseeching yo^w to give such way and entertainm^t to this vertu of mercy, w^{ch} ys allways in yo^w, and allwayes awake, that y^t may so soften yo^w, that as yt hath wrought for me the best of blessings, w^{ch} ys this way to health, so yt may give my mind her cheife comfort, w^{ch} ys yo^r pardon for my bold and p'sumtuous offence. Almighty God be allwayes so wth yo^w in this world, as yow may be sure to be wth him in the next.

13 feb. 1601.

Y^r L'ps poore and repentant servant,

J. DONNE.

To the right honorable my very.
good L. and Master Sr Thomas
Egerton, knight, L. Keeper of
the great Seale of England.

(137.)

Mr. Christopher Brooke, who gave Anne More away on her clandestine marriage, to the Lord Keeper Egerton, by whom he had been committed to the Marshalsea.

May it please yo^r good L'p,
What myne offence is, being singled out by it

selfe, none can better judge then yo^r Honour, whoe understand what man can understand, and justly censure greater every day. And perhaps it should bee indiscreetly done, to offer to yo^r L[']s eares (filled necessarily every houre wth the complaints of the whole realme) such circu'stances, as might diminishe this poore fault of myne. Therefore I spare; yet will be bold, my Lord, to say that they are as many as those y^t can bee founde out to aggravate the same. My Lord, it was injoynd y^t I should make some submission. I have drawn one out of my hart, and writt it wth myne owne hande, and sent it to his Grace and the rest of the Comissioners for those causes, wherein I have confessed myne offence against the canon lawes, and constituc'ons provincially of this realme, and have testified my sorrowe for the whole fact. What other satisfacc'on I (but such an offender as I am) should make, I knowe not, but I allwayes submitt my selfe. ffor Sir George Moore (my Lord) I knew then neyther his person nor his estate, much lesse y^t worthy favour in w^{ch} (yo^r L[']p wittnes) he standeth wth yo^r Honour. ffor, my Lord, if I had (as unwise as I am), I would have chosen rather to have undergone for Mr. Donne some other more apparent daunger. And pardon me a word for him, my Lord; were it not now best y^t every one whome he any way concerns should become his favourer or his frind, whoe wants (my good Lord, but fortune's hands and

tonge to reare him upp, and sett him out? ffor my part, my L. besides these other thinges, I am held from the sittinge at Yorke, already foure dayes since begunne, where (in my silly fortune, such as it is,) my profitablest practise lies. And I protest, my Lord, y^t thereby I am indaungered to loose my mother's favoure, whome I seeme to forsake in her greatest businesses, whose favoure is the best part of my strenght and meanes of well doinge. Whereffore my humble request unto yo^r L^p is, y^t youe would bee soe good unto me as to discharge me and suerties of y^t recognisance of 1100^{li}. That when it shall please his Grace and the rest to deliver me from the Marshalsea, whereof I have hope I may noe longer, my L. bee staid from those businesses in the cuntry, whereof I have nowe more, then yet in all my lyfe I ever had. Thus I most humbly take my leave, and betake yo^r L^p to God's protecc'on, this 25th of Februar. 1601, from the Marshallsea.

Yo^r Honours in all humble service
ever to bee comanded,

CHR. BRUKE.

To the Right Honourable Sr Thomas Egerton, knight, Lord keeper of the greate Seale of England.

(138.)

Mr. Donne to Sir George More.

Sr,

If I could fear y^t in so much worthynes as ys in yo^w there were no mercy, or yf these waights opprest onely my shoulders and my fortunes, and not my conscience and hers whose good is dearer to me by much then my lyfe, I should not thus troble yo^w wth my l^rs; but when I see that this storme hath shakd me at roote in my Lord's favor, wher I was well planted, and have just reason to fear that those yll reports w^{ch} malice hath raysd of me may have trobled hers, I can leave no honest way untryed to remedye these miseryes, nor find any way more honest then this, out of an humble and repentant hart, for the fault donne to yo^w, to beg both yo^r pardon and assistance in my suite to my L. I should wrong you as much againe as I did, if I should think yo^w sought to destroy me, but though I be not hedlongly destroyed, I languish and rust dangerously. From seeking p^rferments abrode, my love and conscience restrains me; from hoping for them here my Lord's disgracings cut me of. My emprisonm'ts, and theirs whose love to me brought them to yt, hath already cost me 40*l*. And the love of my frinds, though yt be not utterly grounded upon my fortunes, yet I know suffers somewhat in these long and uncertain disgraces of myne. I therefore

humbly beseech yo^w to have so charitable a pittie, of what I have, and do, and must suffer, as to take to yo^r selfe the comfort of having saved from such destruction as yo^r just anger might have layd upon him, a sorowfull and honest man. I was bold in my last letter to beg leave of yow that I might wright to yo^r daughter. Though I understand therupon, that after the Thursday yo^w were not displeased that I should, yet I have not, nor wyll not wthowt yo^r knowledge do yt. But now I beseech yo^w that I may, since I protest before God, yt is the greatest of my afflictions not to do yt. In all the world ys not more true sorrow than in my hart, nor more understanding of true repentance than in yo^{rs}. And therefore God, whose pardon in such cases is never denyed, gives me leave to hope, that yo^w wyll favorably consider my necessityes. To his mercifull guiding and protection I comend yo^w, and cease to trouble yo^w. Mar. 1601.

Yo^{rs} in all humbleness,
and dutifull obedience,

J. DONNE.

To the right worshipfull
Sr George More, knight.

(139.)

Mr. Donne to Sir Thomas Egerton. An elegant and pathetic letter.

That offence w^{ch} was to God in this matter, his mercy hath assur'd my conscience is pardoned. The comission^{rs} who minister his anger and mercy, incline also to remitt yt. S^r George More, of whose learninge and wisdome I have good knowledge, and therefore good hope of his moderac'on, hath sayd before his last goinge, y^t he was so far from being any cawse or mover of my punishment or disgrace, that if yt fitted his reputac'on he would be a suter to yo^r L^{'p} for my restorynge. All these irons are knock'd of, yett I perish in as heavy fetters as ever, whilst I languish under yo^r L^{'ps} anger. How soone my history is dispatched! I was carefully and honestly bred; enjoyd an indifferent fortune; I had (and I had understandinge enough to valed yt) the sweetnes and security of a freedome and independency; wthowt markinge owt to my hopes any place of profit. I had a desire to be yo^r L^{'ps} servant, by the favor w^{ch} yo^r good sonn's love to me obtain'd. I was 4 years yo^r L^{'ps} secretary, not dishonest nor greedy. The sicknes of w^{ch} I dyed ys, that I begonne in yo^r L^{'ps} house this love. Wher I shal be buried I know not. It ys late now for me (but y^t necessity, as yt hath continually an autumne and a wytheringe, so yt hath ever a springe, and must put

forthe,) to beginne that course, w^{ch} some yeares past I purposd to travaile, though I could now do yt, not much disadvantageously. But I have some bridle upon me now more, more than then, by my marriage of this gentlewoman; in providing for whom I can and wyll show myself very honest, though not so fortunate. To seek p^rferm^t here wth any but yo^r L^p were a madnes. Every great man to whom I shall address any such suite, wyll silently dispute the case, and say, would my L. Keeper so disgraciously have imprisond him, and flung him away, if he had not donne some other great fault, of w^{ch} we hear not. So that to the burden of my true weaknesses, I shall have this addic^on of a very p^rjudiciall suspic^on, that I ame worse then I hope yo^r L^p dothe think me, or would that the world should thinke. I have therefore no way before me; but must turn back to y^r L^p, who knowes that redemption was no less worke than creation. I know my fault so well, and so well acknowledge yt, that I protest I have not so much as inwardly grudged or startled at the punishm^t. I know yo^r L^ps disposic^on so well, as though in course of justice yt be of prooffe against clamors of offenders, yet yt ys not strong inough to resist yt selfe, and I know yt selfe naturally enclines yt to pitty. I know myne own necessity, owt of w^{ch} I humbly beg that yo^r L^p wyll so much entender yo^r hart towards me, as to give me leave to come into yo^r p^rsence. Affliction,

misery, and destruction are not there; and every
wher els wher I ame, they are. 1^o Martii, 1601.

Yo' L'ps most poore and most
penitent servant,

J. DONNE.

To the right honorable my very
good L. and master S^r Thomas
Egerton, knight, L. Keeper of
the Great Seal of England.

(140.)

The same to the same.

The honorable favor that yo'r L'p hath afforded
me, in allowinge me the liberty of myne own
chamber, hath given me leave so much to respect
and love myself, that now I can desire to be well.
And therefore for health, not pleasure (of w^{ch} yo'r
L'ps displeasure hath dult in me all tast and ap-
prehension), I humbly beseeche yo'r L'p so much
more to slacken my fetters, that as I ame by yo'r
L'ps favor myne own keeper, and surety, so I may
be myne owne phisician and apothecary, w^{ch} yo'r
L'p shall worke, yf yo^w graunt me liberty to take
the ayre about this towne. The whole world ys
a streight imprisonm^t to me, whilst I ame barrd
yo'r L'ps sight; but this favour may lengthen and
better my lyfe, w^{ch} I desire to p^rserve, onely in
hope to redeeme by my sorrowe and desire to do

yo^r L^p service, my offence past. Almighty God dwell ever in yo^r L^ps hart, and fill yt wth good desires, and graunt them.

Y^r L^ps poorest servant,

J. DONNE.

To the right honorable my very good Lord and Master Sr Thomas Egerton, knight, L. Keeper of the Great Seale of England.

(141.)

Dr. Donne to his brother-in-law, Sir Robert More, dated in 1614. The allusion which it contains to the consequences attendant on his stolen match, after a lapse of several years, shews the lasting impression they had made on his mind.

Sr,

Since I had no other thinge in contemplac'on when I purposed thys journey, then my health, me thinks yt ys a kinde of phisick to be so longe about that, and I grow weary of phisick quickly. I have therfore put off that purpose, at least tyll the K. come into these parts. If yo^r horse (w^{ch} I returne by thys carryar of Gilford) have not found as good salads in o^r Covent Garden, as he should at Lothesley, yet I beleeve he hath had more ease then he should have had there. We are condemned to thys desart of London for all thys sommer, for yt ys company not houses which

distinguishes between cityes and desarts. When I began to apprehend, that even to myselfe, who can relieve myself upon books, solitairnes was a litle burdenous, I beleaved yt would be much more so to my wyfe, if she were left alone. So much company, therefore, as I ame, she shall not want; and we had not one another at so cheape a rate, as y^t we should ever be wearye of one another. S^r, when these places afford any thing worthe yo^r knowledge, I shall be yo^r referendary. Now my errand ys onely to deliver my thanks and services, accompanied w^t yo^r poore sister's, to yo^r selfe, and all y^r good company. 10 Aug. 1614.

Yo^{rs} ever to be commanded,

J. DONNE.

I praie, S^r, give thys note enclosed to my lady yo^r mother; it ys of some parcells w^{ch} she commanded my wyfe to buy for her, w^{ch} are sent down at thys tyme by y^e carryar.

To the right wor. S^r Robert
More, knight, at Lothersley.

(142.)

Dr. Donne (then Dean of St. Paul's) to Sir Henry Wotton,
Provost of Eton.

Sr,

Thys ys y^r quietus est from me; it ys yo^r assurance that I wyll never trouble y^w more about any place in yo^r colledge. But thys quietus est must

bear date from the end of the chapter ; for in the letter, I must make a suite of that kinde to yo^w, in w^{ch} I know yo^w wyll give a good interpretation of myne ingenuity, that I would not forbear even the troublinge of yo^w, when I had a way presented to me, to do any service to yo^r noble family, to whom I owe even my posterity. Sr, at y^r last election, Sr Rob. More (to whom I have the honor to be brother in law) had a sonne elected into yo^r schools, and hys place ys not falln, and so o^r hopes evacuated that way. Because yt was my worke at first, I would faine perfit y^t, and I am in the right way of perfitinge yt when I addresse myselfe to yo^w, who have a perfit power in the business, and have multiplyed demonstrations of a perfit love to me. That w^{ch} was then donne, was donne by way of gratitude by Mr. Woodford, one of the then opposers, to whom I had given a church belonging to our Pauls. And for y^e favor w^{ch} y^w shall be pleased to afford us herin, I offer yo^w mother and daughters,* all y^e service that I shall be able to doe to any servant of yo^{rs} in any place of any of o^r churches. Our most B. Savyor blesse yo^w w^t all his graces, and restore us to a confident meetinge in wholesome place, and direct us all by good ways to good ends. Amen.

Yo^r very true frinde and humble
servant in Chr. Jes.

J. DONNE.

* That is, any preferment in the cathedral church or its dependencies.

From Sr John Davers (Danvers) house at Chelsey (of w^{ch} house and my : arlils at Hanworth I make up my Tusculan) * 12 Julii, 1625.

To the Honorable K^t and my
most honored frinde Sr Henry
Wotton, provost of Eton.

(143.)

Original Letters of Edward Lord Herbert of Cherbury.

The four following Letters of Edward Lord Herbert of Cherbury, are addressed to Sir George More, whom he calls his *father*, for reasons which we shall subsequently state. Brief as these letters are, they are highly characteristic of the extraordinary personage who penned them, and as autograph specimens of his epistolary style are singular curiosities. They are dated from Eyton in Shropshire, one of the seats of his maternal ancestors, the Newtons, where he was born in the year 1581. He died at London in 1648, and was buried at St. Giles's-in-the-fields.

His character has been summed up by Walpole in the Advertisement to that most amusing piece of autobiography, his *Memoirs*, which survived in a MS. form, the chances of upwards of a century, and was printed at Strawberry-hill in 1764.

“As a soldier,” says his editor, “he won the esteem of

* The reader will observe that this is a classical allusion to the villa of Cicero, Tusculanum, near Tusculum, the delightful spot called by the modern Italians *Frescati*.

those great captains the Prince of Orange and the Constable de Montmorency. As a knight his chivalry was drawn from the purest founts of the Fairy Queen. Had he been ambitious, the beauty of his person would have carried him as far as any gentle knight can aspire to go. As a public minister he supported the dignity of his country even when its Prince disgraced it; and that he was qualified to write its annals as well as to ennoble them, the history I have mentioned (his Life of Henry VIII.) proves. Strip each period of its excesses and errors, and it will not be easy to trace out or dispose the life of a man of quality into a succession of employments which would better become him. Valour and military activity in youth, business of state in the middle age, contemplation and labours for the information of posterity in the calmer scenes of closing life: this was Lord Herbert.* To this eulogy we shall add some traits of his character and his opinions derived from himself.

“I was born,” says Lord Herbert, “at Eyton in Shropshire, being a house which, together with fair lands, descended upon the Newports by my grandmother, between the hours of twelve and one of the clock in the morning; my infancy was very sickly, my head continually purging itself very much by the ears; whereupon also it was so long before I began to speak, that many thought I should ever be dumb.

“The very furthest thing I remember is that, when I understood what was said by others, I did yet forbear to speak, lest I should utter something that were imperfect or impertinent. When I came to talk, one of the first inquiries I made was, how I came into this world? I told my nurse, my keepers, and others, I found myself here, indeed, but from what cause or by what means I could

* Advertisement to Life, p. xi. edit. 1809.

not imagine. When I came to riper years I made this observation, which afterwards a little comforted me, that as I found myself in possession of this life without knowing anything of the pangs and throes my mother suffered, yet doubtless they did no less press and afflict me than her; so I hope my soul shall pass into a better life than this, without being sensible of the anguish and pains my body shall feel in death; for as I believe then I shall be transmitted to a more happy state by God's great grace, I am confident I shall no more know how I came out of this world than how I came into it." This may be considered very philosophical, although not very orthodox reasoning; other passages, however, shew that Lord Herbert's mind, prone to adopt singular opinions, was yet imbued with some of the great truths of Christianity. "None," he says, "can justly hope for an union with the supreme God, that doth not come as near to him in this life in virtue and goodness as he can; so that, if human frailty do interrout this union, by committing faults that make him incapable of his everlasting happiness, it will be fit, by a serious repentance, to expiate and emaculate those faults, and for the rest trust to the mercy of God, his Creator, *Redeemer*, and Preserver, who being our Father, and knowing well in what a weak condition through infirmities we are, will; I doubt not, commiserate those transactions we commit, when they are done without desire to offend his divine majesty, and together rectify our understanding through his grace."

To many Christians this confession of his faith may appear imperfect, because he has omitted altogether any direct mention of man's original corruption; yet probably that might be so far admitted in the writer's own mind, as to require, in his opinion, no particular notice in defining a general rule of conduct.

Of his accomplishments, he informs us that he was skilled in medicine, fencing, and horsemanship. He cured one of his servants of a malignant pestilent fever, when he had been given over by all the physicians, by administering to him a pill the size of a hazel-nut, of one of his rare recipes; and one of his relatives of an hydrocephalous disease that swelled his head and eyes to a frightful extremity, by a decoction of two diuretic roots, which subdued the complaint, and reduced his features to their proper proportions.

As his accomplishments were rare, so were some of his bodily peculiarities, which, although scarcely credible, he calls God to witness were true. He increased considerably in stature after he was twenty-one years of age. He was lighter when weighed in balances than men of smaller size than himself. He had a pulse in the crown of his head; and it was well known to those who waited in his chamber, that the shirts, waistcoats, and other garments which he wore, were sweet beyond what can either be easily believed or observed in any else. The same sweetness was observable in his breath before he took tobacco. From all these relations it may be observed that, notwithstanding his lordship's good sense and education, he was not proof against that most seducing of human foibles, personal vanity. This propensity leads him into various amusing details of ladies who irresistibly became enamoured with him, and who were in the habit of wearing his portrait in miniature secretly about their persons without the sanction of their lords! He wrote a treatise, "De Veritate, &c." or on Truth, and how it may be distinguished from probable, possible, and false revelation, which was much commended, he says, by the learned Grotius, and other theological writers of the day; and it is not a little singular (so prone is the human mind to self-

deception) that while he was gravely discussing so important a subject, with the air of a sound and unbiassed judgment, he put the question of publication or suppression of his volume to one of the most extraordinary tests which a mind, preserving its pretensions to sanity, could conceive. "Being thus doubtful," he says, "in my chamber, one fair day in the summer, my casement being opened towards the south, the sun shining clear and no wind stirring, I took my book *De Veritate* in my hand, and kneeling on my knees, devoutly said these words:— 'O thou eternal God! Author of the light which now shines upon me, and Giver of all inward illuminations, I do beseech thee, of thy infinite goodness, to pardon a greater request than a sinner ought to make. I am not satisfied enough whether I shall publish this book, *De Veritate*; if it be for thy glory, I beseech thee give me some sign from heaven; if not, I shall suppress it.' I had no sooner spoken these words, but a loud, though yet gentle noise, came from the heavens (for it was like nothing on earth), which did so comfort and cheer me, that I took my petition as granted, and that I had the sign demanded; whereupon also I resolved to print my book. This, how strange soever it may seem, I protest before the Eternal God is true; neither am I any way superstitiously deceived herein, since I did not only clearly hear the noise, but in the serenest sky that I ever saw, being without all cloud, did, to my thinking, see the place from whence it came."

No one in this relation will, I think, feel disposed to suspect Lord Herbert of wilful falsehood; it remains therefore for us only to conclude that his ardent imagination had so worked upon his frame as to produce a temporary delirium. He was, indeed, the living *Don Quixote* of his day; he had all the good sense of Cervantes'

hero on subjects which did not touch on his personal accomplishments, his chivalry, and theological opinions.

His matrimonial alliance was as remarkable as the other circumstances of his life. At the age of fifteen, while he was a student at Oxford, a marriage was concluded for him by his relatives with the rich heiress of Sir William Herbert, of St. Julian's, Monmouthshire, herself in her twenty-first year, and solemnized 28th Feb. 1598. He repaired again to Oxford, continued his studies, and before he attained the age of twenty-one had "divers children." He then formally communicated to his wife his desire to travel, and parted with her, some reluctance being expressed on her side, for the Continent.

We are now to notice the sense in which Lord Herbert, in the following letters, calls Sir George More his father, an epithet, the reasonable application of which puzzled us exceedingly, until it was explained by a document in Sir George's own hand in these MSS. It is well known that the crown, until the time of Charles II. on the death of any of its tenants *in capite*, took possession of the estate until the heir came of age, when he paid a relief for its livery. Hence was established the court of wards and liveries, and the king had the power of appointing a guardian to the minor, which guardian enjoyed during his non-age the profits of the estate, providing only for the minor's support and education. These wardships were therefore much sought for, and purchased for a pecuniary consideration. Sir George More of Loseley, from a family connexion probably, of which we have not found any distinct trace in the MSS. obtained the wardship of Lord Herbert of Cherbury, who subscribes himself Sir George's "adopted *son in name*, but natural all other ways." We suspect that a sister of Sir George More, who had married a Shropshire knight, Sir George Manwaring of

Ightfield, had for a second husband Sir Francis Newport, maternal uncle to Lord Herbert of Cherbury, as Sir George styles Sir Francis Newport his brother, in a document extant in the Loseley MSS. which appears to be a recapitulation of his claims as guardian upon Lord Herbert's estate at the time we suppose when he came of age; it is headed, "The case between my son and me is this." It is remarkable that this paper corrects a passage in Lord Herbert's *own memoir*; in which he states, that his mother, perceiving his father's disease mortal, thought fit to send for him home, and presently after his father's death to desire her brother, Sir Francis Newport, to hasten to London, to obtain his wardship for his and her use jointly, in which application he succeeded. Whatever the private understanding between the parties might be in respect of the receipts of the estate, Sir *George More*, and not Sir Francis Newport, was Lord Herbert's guardian. Sir Francis however appears to have contributed largely to the expense of procuring his wardship.

Sir George More says in the paper to which we have above alluded, "My son being under age at the time of his father's death, I procured his wardship (with much trouble to my brother Sir Francis Newport), beside the expense of 800*l.* in the obtaining of it, and being thus possessed of it, whereas I might have married him without disparagement for 3000*l.* I did not only *not marry him for money*, as well I might have done, but with expense of almost 1000*l.* more, the particulars whereof are hereto annexed, procured him a marriage with not much less than 30,000*l.*, in sure confidence that, when by his marriage he should be enabled, he would give me good satisfaction for the value of his marriage, and all other summes thus for his good disbursed, which he performed accordingly, and as sufficiently as then, by reason of his

non-age he could, he made his assignment of certain leases which, in his wife's right, he was possessed of, to my brother Sir Francis Newport, in these terms. ' Know ye, that I, Edward Herbert, as well for and in considerac'on of divers great summes of money by Frauncis Newport, my loving and careful uncle, disbursed for and towards procuring my wardship, as also divers other great summes for me, and to my use, and for my occasions disbursed and expended, have demised, graunted, assigned, and set over,' &c. These sums were advanced to Sir George More for the purpose above cited; and some of them Sir George refers to, as having been obliged to repay to his brother Sir Francis, he wanting them to complete a purchase he had made.

The whole property of Lord Herbert and his wife appears at length to have devolved to Sir George More's management; for he states in his draft of Memorial, that Lord Herbert's *wife's estate* was so entangled with great debts, that the breath of a single creditor might have overthrown it; and that with many griefs of mind and hazard of his own estate (if Lady Herbert had died without issue) he paid them.

(143.)

Lord Herbert to his father in wardship Sir George More.

Woorthy father, yf I were perswaded that you did *amare ex judicio*, and not *judicare ex amore*, your good opinion of mee would make mee shewe more to deserve the continuance of it, then the greatest discouradgement of my little habilityes could prevaile to the breakinge of my weake beginnings.

Least you should think this countrey ruder then it is, I have sent you some of our bread, w^{ch} I am sure wilbe dainty, howsoever it be not pleasing: it is a kinde of cake w^{ch} our countrey people use and made in no place in England, but in Shrewsbury, yf you vouch safe the tast of them, you enworthy the countrey and sender. Measure not my love by substance of it, w^{ch} is brittle; but by the forme of it, w^{ch} is circular, and *circulus* you knowe is *capacissima figura*, to w^{ch} that mind ought to bee like, that can most worthily love you. Yet I would not have you to understand forme so as though it were hereby *formall*; but, as *forma dat esse*, so my love and observance to be *essentiall*; and so wishing it worthy your acceptance, I rest

Your sonne that honoreth your worthe,

HERBERT.

Scribed *raptim* as you see, and hope will pardon.

Eyton, this 17 of August 1602.

To the right worthy and his honorable freend Sr George More, knight, his beloved father, &c.

(144.)

Noble Knighte, I perceyve your love placed in this our famely to be as faithfull in continuance, as it hath bene excessive in greatnes, when you will

send to find us out in a corner among the *toto divisos orbe Britannos*; such a love in these dayes wants an example, and is not like to be pattern'd; only to us it is a comfort, that desire at least to be thankfull, that, seinge it was begune w'thout our desert, we need not stand doubtfull of our selves, as knowinge that his worthy disposition that beganne it of himselfe, will continue it as undeservedly as hee did unmatchedly enter into it. This small testimony doth your many kindnesses challenge at my hands, who doth more honor your virtues than the pied outside of any hereditary nobility.

I heare of your indeede royall intertainment of the King; * a happines able to make you forget yourself much more your remote freends, were it not you.

I am very sory to heare of the increase of the plague, w'ch, besides many inconveniencies, will hinder our meetinge this many a day, I feare. I

* King James and his Queen were entertained at Loseley on the 12th of August, 1603, a few days before the date of this epistle. See Nichols's Progresses of King James I. p. 251, where will be found a sonnet written by Mr. Thomas Fowler, the Queen's Secretary, "*upon a horologe of the clock,*" (i. e. instrument for telling the hour connected with the cloche or bell,) "at Sir George More's, at his place of Loseley." The Editor slept in 1829 in a room in the house, still called the King's Chamber. The horologe and cloche remain in a turret of the southern side of the building.

pray God to stay his heavy hand, in whom I wish
both our preservations, as

The sonne that lives more then half
in his lovinge father,

HERBERT.

Montgomery Castle, this 28 of August 1603.

I pray you present my due salutations to your
Lady, and S^r Robert Moore and his lady, not for-
getting good Mr. Polsted.

To that worthy knight S^r George
More, at his house, Loseley,
in Surry, &c.

(145.)

If absence (noble knight) could affoord frends
a better testimony of love then remembrance, or
remembrance expresse itselfe in a better fashion
then in letters, to you especially, to your nought
needinge selfe, (if eyther invention or example
would have yeelded mee a newer meanes,) my in-
gaged love would not have omitted the execution
of it to your worthy selfe, unto whom the greatest
service I can professe is to little to be performed;
but where meanes scant the manifestation of
more, let your acceptance make that good, w'ch
my ability could make no better. I pray you
thinke not that, because my letter contains not
any essentiall busines, that therefore it is merely

formall, but rather that my thanckefulnes would disclose it selfe in any shape sooner than forgoe the least occasion to shewe howe many waies hee is

Yours,

HERBERT.

Montgomery Castle, this 12 of October 1603.

To my much honored father Sr
George More, Loseley, in Sur-
rey.

(146.)

Your continuall remembrance of us (noble knight), though it cannot adde to the opinion of your worthy love (onely in respect of your selfe worthy); yet it may confirme it, yf there can bee a confirmation of that w^{ch} is held most assured.

The barrenness of this countrey, as in all other thinges, is dilated into the scarsity of any occurments fitt your intertainninge, much unlike your parts, where all good varietyes warringe amonge themselves distract the minde in their choyce, of some of w^{ch} as you have made mee partaker, so the most acceptable beyond comparison was to heare of your health.

Yf there be a Parliament shortly, yf I can, I will be one of the number, a burgesse or somethinge, rather then get out, for I thinke I shall give away my interest in this sheere to another;

not makinge doubt to meete you there, though once in my hearinge you seemed to be weery of your beeinge of the House.

So wth the protestation of an unfained affection to do you any acceptable service, I rest

Your adopted sonne in name, but naturall
all other wayes,

HERBERT.

Montgomery Castle, this 4 of December 1603.

I must give my lady great thankes (for in my letter I have testified of you) for my little brother.

Mr. Henry Morrice remembers his love to you, wth many thankes for your kind entertainment of him when he was wth you.

To his most honored father S^r

George More, knight, at Loseley, geve these.

(147.)

Sir Nicholas Throckmorton to his father-in-law Sir George More. This and the following are letters wholly of a domestic or familiar character. He married Mary elder daughter of Sir George, and in 1611 succeeded to the estate of his maternal uncle, Sir Francis Carew, possessor of the ancient seat and manorial demesne, Beddington, in Surrey. He adopted the surname of Carew in addition to his own.

Right worshipfull S^r, I received by this bearer, Smalpeece, thirty pounds, and have signed and

sealed the quittance which he brought with him for the receate of it. I humbly thancke you for your care and love allwayes towards my wife, her childe, and my selfe, which God be thancked are all well and in health; little Besse doth nowe lyke well of her nurse, though at the first she was a little frowarde. My cosen Leigh with his wife com'ends them humbly unto you, my wife and my selfe remember our humble dewty unto your selfe, my Lady, and S^r William, with comendations unto all our brothers and sisters. Thus wishing you all happiness your selfe desyreth, I comite you to God. Addington, this present Wensday 1600.

Your lovinge sonne in lawe,

N. THROCKMORTON.

To the right worshipfull and my
 very lovinge father in lawe S^r
 George More, knight, at Lows-
 ley, geive these.

(148.)

Sir Nicholas Throckmorton requests pecuniary assistance from his father-in-law. He hints at his future expectations, no doubt from Carew of Beddington.

S^r,

My humble dewty remembred, I receaued y^r letter by this bearer, by which you will me to

write unto you the just tyme of my desyre to have the money I spake unto you for. I protest unto you that to supply my occasions both for debts and other necessaryes, to have it presently would not so much as searve my turne to cleere my selfe, but for that I have hitherto streyned my credite to the uttermost, and nowe am at the last cast. My plate is all to pawne, credite I have none, livings or revenewes to my company small or rather none; you knowe wheron I doe hope and to whome I am indepted, which may frustrate my hopes, if I should not content and please; wherefore I pray you doe dewly consider my case and y^r daughters, for whome I am sorry (she otherwise desearvinge) should light on soe hard a fortune as myne is (and hath bine hetherto). Noe lesse than £200 at Midsomer next can make me shew my face in any company, and a hundred at Michaelmas next, which if I cannot have I must leave my cuntry, and my wife and children to the parish. Thus desyring you to pitte my case and y^r daughters and hers,* I comite you to God. Beddington, this present Tewsdays, 1604.

Your loving sonne-in-lawe,

N. THROCKMORTON.

To the right worshipfull and my
very loving father in lawe Sir
George More, knight.

* He means the case of her offspring.

(149.)

The Council to the Justices of Surrey, commanding them to proclaim King James.

After o' very hartly comendac'ons. Forasmuch as it hath pleased God to calle out of this life to his mercie o' late dearest Sovereaigne Queen Elizabeth, by meanes whereof there remaineth unto us no further authorite, then by provisionall care to apply o^r uttermost helpe and endeavo's for the p^servation of peace and tranquillitie, and to make the better accompt and representation of the State unto the Kinge o^r Sovereaigne that nowe is, wee doe therefore give yo^u advertisement thereof (as we have donne unto others of the like place and qualitie), to the end that all and every one, according to their severall degrees, may as dutifull subjects joyne in the like care, and endeavor for the welfare of the same. And because there is nothing that can more surely and strongly bynde and maintaine the safety of the realme, and of other domynions therto appertayning both against the pernicious desseignes of forraine and comon enemyes of the State, and against domesticall and inward troubles, then a speedy resolution wth a firme unitie in the acknowledgment and profession of our present Souveraigne and King, namely, James the Sixt, King of Scotland, and nowe also James the

First, King of England, France, and Ireland. Wee doe herewth sende unto yo^w a proclamation, which as all persons of the nobillitie of this realme that at this time and place can presently be assembled, and the generall and firme consent of the Cittie of London, the cheefe place of this kingdome, and all other good subjects, either of greater or meaner quallitie, out of an assured conscyence both for the good of the State and of the rightful Sovereigne, have receaved; so is it very necessary the effect and substance thereof be forthwith published, and proclamed in that countie, w^{ch} we pray yo^w that yo^w will cause instantly to be don as yo^w tender yo^r duty to the King o^r Souvraigne, and to the State; and so wee bid yo^w very hartily farewell. From the pallace of Whitehall, at Westm^r, the 25th of Marche, 1603.

JO. CANT., THOS. EGERTON, C.S., T. BUCKHURST, NOTINGHAM, NORTHUMBERLAND, GILB. SHREWSBURY, WILL. DERBY, E. WORCESTER, ED. SUSSEX, PEMBROKE, E. LYNOLNE, RIC. LONDON, ANTHO. CICESTRENS., RO. HEREFORD, JO. NORWICH, THOS. LAWARRE, ED. CRUMWELL, RO. RICHE, W. KNOLLYS, E. WOTTON, J. STANHOPE, RO. CECYLL, J. FORTESCUE, J. POPHAM.

To o^r loving friends the Sheriff and Justices of Peace of the County of Surrey, and every of them.

(150.)

The Earl of Nottingham to Sir George More and the rest of the Verderers of Windsor Forest. The King is heavily displeased at the spoil made by swine routing in the woods, so that he is greatly endangered in enjoying the diversion of the chace. Hunting was a most favourite diversion of James the First. Harris censures him for neglecting state matters for its enjoyment, and quotes a letter addressed to Sir Ralph Winwood by the Lord Chamberlain, which says, "the King finds that *felicity* in a hunting life that he hath written to the Council that it is the only means to maintain his health; which being the health and welfare of us all, he desires them to take the charge and burthen of affairs, and foresee that he be not interrupted or troubled with too much business."

After my hartie comendations. The Kinges Ma^{tye} having bⁿ lately abroade in a huntinge in Birchwood and other places in Surrey Ballywick, is hevely displeased att the spoyle that swinne have made by rootinge great hools in the woods and fforrest, soe his hignes cannot ryde w^{thout} great dainger, whereuppon his Ma^s commaund was that the keper should destroye and kyll such hoggs as they should find there. But bycawse it maye be a heavye punishem^t for some of the inhabitants to loose their swine, I doe in his Ma^{ts} name praye and require yo^u furthw^h to repaire to those places and to call before yo^u the inhabitants, and straightly to examyne them whoe they are that kepe those swyne that doe that spoyle, and to en-

joyne them that are the offenders furthwth to sett men on wourk to fyll upp those holes and rowted places againe, w^h a further commaund that they forbear to putt furthe their swinne any more to doe the like uppon paine of losse of them, and further ponishem^t uppon themselves. Wherein yo^u must bee very carefull wth expedic'on to see a reformat'ion hereof, least the kinge finding it undonn att his comeing thither do laye the blame uppon you. Whereof I rest assured of yo^r readines. And even soe do bid yo^u farewell. From the Courte att Greenew^h the 1 of June 1608.

Yo^r verie lovinge ffreinde,

NOTINGHAM.

The kyng wylbe that way w^{thin} these 14 dayes, before w^{ch} tyme it must be donn.

To my verie lovinge ffreinds Sir George Moore, knight, and to the rest of the Verderers of Surrey Ballywick, in the fforest of Windesor.

(151.)

Regulations for the Treasurer of Henry Prince of Wales. Confirmed under his own signature. It has been observed by the Prince's biographer, Dr. Birch, that "in the government of his household and management of his revenues, his example deserved to be imitated by all other princes. He not only gave orders, but saw almost every thing done himself, so that there were scarce any of his domestics whom he did not

know by name."* He was particularly careful that all his domestics should be of the Communion of the Church of England, considering that the best pledge of faithful service was the profession and practice of a pure and reasonable religion.

HENRY P.

For the better assurance of the Princes treasure, and to be certified monethely unto his highnes, theis pointz following are fit to be considered and allowed of, viz.

Imprimis, it is conceyved to be necessarie that every accomptant to the prince for payment of anie monies unto his highnes treasurie, doe first fetch a debet on charge, from the auditor generall, before hee make payment of his monies.

It'm, that immediatlie after payment into the treasurie, that the accomptant do presentlie bring the receaver or treasurer acquittaunce to be entred with the said auditor, or els no discharge to be given to the accomptant.

It'm, that everie officer or servaunt of the princes highnes or other person whatsoever, having ffees, wages, annuities, or penc'ons out of his highnes treasurie doe first bring a debentur or note from the auditor generall, to be delyvered to the treasurer or receaver before paiement be made of the same, or els noe allowance to be given for payment therof.

It'm, that everie privy seale or other warraunt whatsoever, be first brought to the said auditor to be entred with him of record, that therbie hee maie from tyme to tyme make forth debenturs or notes for payment therof. And that no allowance be given to the treasurer or receiver for payment of anie such monies, without such de-

* Life of Henry Prince of Wales, p. 393.

bentur or note be first brought signed with the hand of the said auditor.

It'm, that perfect books be daylie and weeklie kept by the said auditor generall as a counter roll of all the receipts and payments of his highnes treasure by the handes of his treasurer or receavor generall, both for his highnes better satisfacc'on, and also for a more perfect charging and discharging the said treasurer uppon his accoumpt and justificac'on of his cleere, honest, and just dealing in his place and office, to his great credit.

It'm, as in the Kyng's Mat^s affaires of this kynde, soe likewise in this of his highnes it were requisit that at the end of every moneth, and at all other tymes, trewe certificats be by the said treasurer and auditor generall delyvered, both togeather, unto his highnes owne handes, conteyning the severall somes received and disburssed, and the remaynes likewise. By which his highnes shall receive great benyfitt in knowing whoe is paid and whoe not. And by that w^{ch} remayneth not only to be assured what his treasure is from tyme to tyme, but alsoe the better therebie at tymes to direct his payments and distribute his bountie as shalbe best agreeable to his wysedome.

Lastlie, that his highnes pleasure maie be that where any receavor or other accoumptant shalbe behind in aunswering and payeng into his highnes receipt such somes of money as they and every of them shall or might have received or shall be chargeable with ; in such case the said auditor generall, by perusing the records remayning in his custodie, doe his best indeavour to discover the same, and theruppon to give notice therof unto his highnes or to his councill for revenewe ; to th'end a messenger maie be fourthwth sent for them, to receive such rebuke and punyishment as their offence shall meritt.

M^d these articles have bin perused and considered of by his highnes the xxiiij daie of June 1611, and by him allowed in all points to be observed and kept.

(152.)

William More to his father Sir George More, requests that he may be furnished with a horse to attend the Prince (Henry) to the Paper Mills. This letter is curious for the incidental notice which it contains of the costly style of dress adopted by the courtiers of the day, and the prevalence of duelling.

Sr,

I knowing asuredly the greate care and desire wherewith you are afected concerning the dutifull service which I doe infinitely owe unto his suferan highnes my royall prince and master, it semeth to me verie conveniente and fitt that at this time I certifie you of his journey to-morrow to the paper milles, whither all of his attendance goe to waite upon him ; and I alsoe with the reste, if it shall plesse you to furnish me with a horse, will therin execute my dutie as far as in me lies, both in respecte of you, youre credit, and also for my insuing fortunate (as I hope) præfermente, which dutie rather then I will faile dilligently to my power performe, I will foregoe all plesures, comodities, and prefermentes what so ever to gain this only, which will be unto God acceptable, unto you cumfutable, and unto me most profitable ; in which stedfaste opinion, that you maye the better assure you,

selfe of my continuall constancie, I heere proteste before God and you, that I præfer the performance of this my duty towards you and him before anie fortune and præferments what soe-ever can betide me, which othe when I shall faile to keepe stedfaste wether to you or him, I desire God that he will no longer lett me brethe nor you no longer vouchsafe to acknowledge me your sonne, but thinke me one misbegotten, and not woorthie of so woorthie a title, but rejecte and refuse me and laye me open for a miscreante unto the wide worlde. The monie which I have last receaved I have disburste, that I can give you accounte of it all, and hope to your owne good likinge, whereof my man can allsoe informe you as well as my selfe, and therefore now waiting that thing which will furnish a man whith all things, I doe heere informe you of that which I wante, not of that which I doe superfluously desire, for if I goe not with him I knowe not what to doe heere, because all that are aboute him doe goe with him or sumwether else, for in his absence ther is allowance for none heere, and bysides soome of the new made gentlemen, as I maie so call them, I mene sutch as accounte those only gentlemen that put on moste sutes of apparrell, though peradventure before they came to the coorte they scarce ever saw a sute of sattaine, I say sutch men will not stick to objecte to my fase, as I have not allreadie wanted sutch scandalles; that if I were soe mutch befrended as my plase shewed me to be, I woulde

borrowe a horse, or else if I were well monied I wolde hire a horse; these scandalls, although I have receved, yet I make the les accounte of them because they proceede from sutch persons as I have above denominated, yet I thought good to make it knowne unto you, because I mighte the sooner avoide sutch reproches, for I assure you that ther is not so much as a groom about the prince who keeps not a horse. Thus hoping you will take in good parte what I have heere related unto you, beeing confirmed therunto by sutch reproches and my shames, as I can noe other waie remeddie, unles I woulde adventure to loose my life, or the princes service, and you displeasure,* or all of them, and shoulde by sum blooddie meanes seeke to be the annoiaunce of sum of them, which I will never doe God willing, although I think I could defend myselfe as well as sum of them, if there unto I were inforsete, but God forbid that I should soe much sinn againste God, soe unplesing unto you, and hurtefull unto myselfe. Thus hoping that you will shortely furnish me with these necessaries, I here ende, desiring God that he will bles you with his blessed protection, and desire your benediction. From Grenewitch the fiveth of June.

Your sonn in all dutifull obedience,

W. MORE.

To the right worshipfull his verie
 lovinge father S^r George More,
 at his howse in the Strann these
 be d'd.

* i. e. displeasure.

(153.)

The Earl of Nottingham to Sir George More, about the setting up the summer pole at Guildford. This letter alludes to the ancient May Games, when a May pole was erected in every town of note, and a summer king and queen chosen to preside over the sports. The puritan spirit against which King James directed his Book of Sports, seems about this time to have brought the May pole into some discredit. To these scrupulous doctrines the Earl alludes in the phrase "*pure councils.*"

Sr,

Synce the Mare of Gylford and Mr. Awsten weer w^t me ther is comme to me Smalpece and Ri. Brikelson, who douth afyrm that they never ment to have sett up the som'er pole, in souch sorte as reported to me, but that they did desier to sett it up in souch sourte as it hath bene donne in many other plases and is yousedly [usually] done, and that they did desier the Mayrs good wyll in it, wych wold in no wyse grant it; they say that ther was on ther [one there] put up befor wth the K. M^s armes and other arms, and that it was pluked downe in contempte, wych if it be trew, it was a verry leude parte, and if that now you dow misslyke that any should be sett up, and that it procedeth upon ther pure concels, I know then that it is a gret error in them, and a thyng weych wold be much mislyked; therfor, s^r, I pray you and the rest, w^{ch} I did wryt unto, to understand upon what ground this denyall is of

the Mayre, and why it shuld not be as well aloood ther as in all other plases. If it had the picture of any saynt I shuld mislyk it as much as any, but the arms of his Ma^{tie} or any other arms of noblemen or gentelmen I dow not see but that it is hon'able [honorable]. Therfor I pray you and the rest to louke well into it, and if ther be no other cause but to have the Mares good wyll, they are desierous to have it, and to dow it with his consent and favor, the denying of it wold bred more supision then I wold wysh him. You, and the rest, in your wysdoms wyll desarne that wych I can'ot; and soo levyng it to you and the rest to order it, soo as ther gro no disquyetnes, I dow hartely bid yo' farewell. Your assured lovyng frend,

NOTINGHAM.

To my especyall lovyng frend
Sr George More.

Original Documents relating to Sir Walter Raleigh.

The first of these is a letter from Francis Aungier, a gentleman of Surrey, probably addressed to Sir William More, describing the trial of the accused in the conspiracy for deposing James the First, and placing Arabella Stuart, daughter of Charles Earl of Lennox, the King's uncle, on the throne. Among them was Sir Walter Raleigh. The law was strained, or rather disregarded, on this occasion, in order to find Raleigh guilty. He remained a prisoner fourteen years in the Tower after this conviction; and the King, in the declaration which he thought

necessary to publish to the world, of the motives which induced him at length to put him to death, observes, as a magnanimous instance of his own clemency, that he not only for that offence spared Raleigh from execution, but allowed him to live as *in liberâ custodia* in the Tower. That enlargement which the King's mercy, however abundant, would not concede, Sir Walter at length obtained on the prospect of discovering gold mines in Guiana, of the produce of which one fifth part was to be rendered to the crown. For this purpose the King "*freely, fully, and wholly*" set him at liberty, in the terms of the original instrument addressed to Sir George More, as Lieutenant of the Tower. Yet the expedition exciting the jealousy of Spain, heightened by the collision which took place on the banks of the Orinoco between Sir Walter's force and the Spaniards, King James had the meanness to excuse himself to Gondemar, their ambassador, by alleging that he had expressly forbidden Sir Walter to interfere with the Spaniards in that quarter; and on his return from the expedition, without succeeding in the object proposed, the King basely resolved to make him the scape-goat from Spanish indignation, by reviving and carrying into execution against this enterprising and intellectual Englishman the obsolete and remitted sentence of *death* for high treason! On referring to Sir Walter Raleigh's commission from the King for his voyage to Guiana, printed by Rymer,* it will be observed that not one single word is therein said about the Spaniards or their rights in South America, whereas, in the proclamation concerning Sir Walter Raleigh and his voyage, issued *after his return*, the King asserts his tender caution for Spanish rights in these terms: "We did by express limitation and caution restrayne and forbid them and every of

* Fœd. tom. xvi. p 195.

them (i. e. Sir Walter and his brother adventurers) from attemptinge any acte of hostility, wronge, or violence whatsoever, upon any of the territories, states, or subjectes of any forrayne princes with whom we are in amity, and more peculiarly of those of our deare brother the Kinge of Spayne, in respect of his domynions and interestes in that continent."* Nay it has been said, as a further proof of the weakness and subservience of the King to Spanish politics, that, before the expedition set sail, Don Diego de Sarmiento, Count Gondemar, was fully apprised of its object!

(154.)

Francis Aungier, Esq. of Clandon, afterwards Lord Aungier, to
 The conspirators to depose King James have
 been arraigned, &c.

Sr,

This day was an arraignment of seven prisoners, Mr George Brooke, Sr Gryffyn Markh'm, Sr Edward Parham, Mr Brookesby, Mr Copley, and two preests, Watson and Clark. The treasons were surprising of ye king's person, emprisoning hym in ye tower or castell of Dover, removing of divers of ye counsayll namely my L. Chancell'r, my L. Treasurr, my L. Cecill, and my L. Chief Justice. Mr Watson ye priest was appoynted to be L. Chancellr, Mr George Brook L. Treasurr, Sir Gryffyn Markh'm Secretary, and my L. Gray Earle Marshal and Mr of the Horse. The king was to be deytained in prison one quarter of a yeare, and in the meane tyme three things to be effected, first, ye pardon of all ye actours, the tolleration of religion,

* Fœd. tom. xvii. p. 92.

the reformation of abuses in y^e state, namely, y^e removing of divers of y^e counsayll, and y^e placing of divers Catholicks in those roomes, the emprisonm't of y^e Mayre and Aldermen of London, and taking hostages of them to have y^e City on there syde. These treasons were proved by y^e confession chiefly of Watson, Copley, and Clark, and of M^r George Brooke and S^r Gryffyn Markh^m. M^r George Brooke would have excused hymself by a warrant from y^e king to sound y^e dep'ty of the intentions of the other practisers, but he could not make it good. S^r Gryffyn Markh^m confessed his consent to surprise y^e king's person, but w^hout intention of hurt to him, acknowledged his faute, desired to sacrifice his lyfe in any desperate service for y^e kyng, yf not, then y^t he might be beheadyd, as he spake caryed himself w^h great resolution and lyke a man. For Watson it evidently appeared y^t he is a most trayterous villayn, and y^t he drew all y^e rest into there treasons. Copley did deale more ingenuously, and so did Clark; Brookesby was sounded by one Greene, and promised ayde for y^e surprise of y^e king's person, butt brought none; there was no evydence against him but his owne confession. S^r Edward Parh^m was brought in by Watson, who informed hym y^t my L. Gray, wth other puritans, intended to surprise y^e king's person, and required of hym, yf he would ayde y^e rescue of y^e king, w^{ch} he promysed uppon warning, but after y^t he never heard of Watson so; he only by hymself was acquitted, and the other six

found guilty of high treason. Now in y^e discourse of this treason it appeared y^t there were two severall treasons sett on foote at once, the one was called y^e by, and the other the mayne, the by was the surprising of y^e king's person, and the other the murthering of y^e king and his children, w^{ch} they called the mayne; the mayne was S^r Walter Rawley's treason, and my L. Cobh'm's; and it appeared this day, by y^e evidence gyven, y^t my L. Gray is deeply touched wth y^e by: namely, y^t he promised ayde of 100 resolute gentlemen to surprise y^e king, and to employ a regiment in this action, w^{ch} y^e king entended to gyve hym for Ostende; it appeared also y^t he was privy to y^e mayne treason, for w^{ch} I am very sorry. It appeared evidently by y^e evidence geven this day, y^t Mr. Brooke and Watson y^e priest, was pryvye to y^e mayne, and that S^r Gryffyn Marckm' also knew of it. My L. Cecyll shewed hymself very honorable in making way to y^e acquittall of S^r Edward Parh'm, who, for any thing y^t appeared, knew not of any treason intended for y^e surprise of y^e king, but was abused by Watson, and made to believe y^t my L. Gray, who was one of his conspiracy, had a plott agaynst y^e Papists; this honourable dealing of my L. Cecill did cause a great and extraordinary applause in divers of y^e hearers, by clapping of handes. S^r Edward Parh'm hath had better happ then any man thes 45 yeares, to be acquitted upon an arraym't of high treaso', but next to God he must thanck S^r Frauncis Davey, y^e foreman of

y^e jury, who first made y^e motion for him, other-
 wyse it had passed *sub silentio*, and next he must
 thank my L. Cecill. On Thursday next S^r Wal-
 ter Rawley shall be tryed for y^e mayne, and as some
 say Mr. Brooke agayne, and on Tuesday y^e next
 weeke the L. Cobh^m and y^e Lord Gray come to
 there tryall; yf I can I will be a hearer of both,
 yf God will, and by y^e first messenger I shall ad-
 vertise you of some p^ticularytyes thereof. So
 praying you to tak in good p^t this short and cur-
 sory report, I leave you to God's good p^tection.
 From Wynchester this 15th of Novemb' 1603.
 Y^r assured loving frend,

FRA. AUNGIER.

No superscription. Probably Sir George More.

(155.)

Original Royal Warrant, addressed to the Lieutenant of the
 Tower, requiring him to permit Sir Walter Raleigh to go
 abroad to make preparations for his voyage.

JAMES R.

Wheras S^r Walter Raleigh, Knight, hath been a most
 humble suitor unto us, that wee would give him leave to
 undertake a voyage by sea upon his owne costs and
 charges, to whose request in that kind wee have been
 graciously pleased to condescend. These are therefore to
 will and require you forthwith to permitt him to goe
 abroad, with such a keeper as you shall apoynt to attend
 upon him, eyther in London or elsewher, to the end that
 he may by that fredome the more conveniently furnish
 himselfe with shippinge, and other necessary provitions
 for that voyage. And for your soe doeing this shall bee

y^r warrant. Geven under our signet at Whitehall, the
19th day of March 1615.

To our trustie and welbeloved
S^r George More, Knt. Lief-
tenant of our Tower.

(156.)

Original Royal Warrant, addressed as the preceding, fully and wholly enlarging Sir Walter Raleigh, notwithstanding any attainder or judgment given against him.

James, by the Grace of God Kinge of England, Scotland, Fraunce, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, &c. To our trusty and well-beloved Sir George More, Knight, our Lieutenant of our Tower of London, greeting. Whereas Sir Walter Raleigh, Knight, haveing benn heretofore by order of our Lawes convicted and attainted of high treason by him committed against us and our States, since which tyme, through our princely clemence, wee, forbearing to execute uppon him the penaltie of our lawes, have notwithstanding continewed him prisoner in our said Tower, where he still remaineth as prisoner in the custody of you our Lieutenant there. And whereas, by l^res under our signett to you our said Lieutenant heretofore directed, wee comaunded you to suffer the said Sir Walter Raleigh to goe abroad with his keeper through our citty of London or elsewhere, which accordingly you have doon, as wee are informed, and which wee well lyke of and approve by these p^rsente. Now wee, out of our princely compassion, being graciously pleased that the said Sir Walter Raleigh shall be noe longer continued prisoner in our said Tower, but forthwith be fully enlarged and delivered out of the same, in hope he maie and will prove

serviceable to us and our State; wee therefore will and comaunde you, our said Lieutenant of our said Tower, ymediately upon the receipt of theis p'sente, fully and wholly to enlarge, deliver out of our said Tower, and sett at lib'tye the said Sir Walter Raleigh, the aforesaid conviction, attainder, condempnac'on, or judgment given and passed against him, or any com'andement, order, or direc'ion from us or our Privy Councell, or otherwise conc'ning the same, to the contrary thereof in any wise notwithstanding. And theis p'sente shall be your sufficient warrant and discharge in this behalf. In witness whereof, wee have caused theis our l'res to be made patent. Witness ourself, at Westm', the thirtieth day of January, in the fourteenth yeare of our raigne of England, Fraunce, and Ireland, and of Scotland the fiftith.

Coppin.

p b're de privato sigillo.

Overbury's Murder. The Earl and Countess of Somerset's confinement in the Tower, and trial, as accomplices therein, &c.

The following documents, with the four original letters of King James to Sir George More, who had been appointed to the office of Lieutenant of the Tower, in the place of Sir Gervas Elwes, form a singularly curious elucidation corroborative of the statements of some writers on the secret history of James's court, respecting that mysterious affair the murder of Sir Thomas Overbury.

Robert Carr, or Kerr, a Scottish gentleman about twenty years of age, of a handsome person, and elegant, according to the fashion of the day, in the style of his attire, (a matter of no small importance in the King's eyes,) attended on the anniversary of his Majesty's Ac-

cession a tilting at the court in the character of page or esquire to the Lord Dingwall.

In these martial lists every champion assumed some quaint distinctive device and motto, which his page was to present for the inspection of the King before the feats of chivalry began.

Carr, mounted on a fiery horse, and bearing his lord's device, approached the King for this purpose, when his steed, curveting and plunging at the sound of the trumpets, the glitter of the arms, and murmur of the assembled crowd, threw him, and in the fall his leg was fractured.

He was removed to a house in the neighbourhood of Whitehall, visited by the King himself, attended by his own surgeons, and, as marked for a future royal favourite, soon loaded with the inquiries of the courtly crew, to such an oppressive degree that the King was obliged to issue particular orders that he should be left in quiet until his recovery could be perfected.

James knighted him, made him a gentleman of his bed-chamber, and took the pains himself to give him lessons in the Latin tongue. The Earl of Dunbar, the King's ancient confidant, dying about this time, Carr was appointed Lord High Treasurer of Scotland in his room, and elevated to the dignity of Viscount Rochester, not without exciting the jealousy of the Prince of Wales, who beheld in him a dangerous rival in his father's favour.

The Lord Treasurer, Robert Cecil, Earl of Salisbury, had formed an alliance with the family of Howard, by marrying his elder son, William Lord Cranbourne, to Catherine, elder daughter of Thomas Howard, Earl of Suffolk, the Lord Chamberlain, second son of the last Duke of Norfolk, and was further instrumental in marrying the Lady Frances Howard, another daughter of the

same stock, to the Earl of Essex. This last was a match of a most premature nature, the bride being only thirteen years of age, the bridegroom fourteen. Thus affianced, the young Earl of Essex set out to travel in foreign parts, and his Countess returned to the care of her mother.

Her father being Lord Chamberlain, and her mother not altogether of that unblemished character, which in the female sex is always accompanied by a prudent circumspection, the Countess of Essex was suffered to mix, at the early age above mentioned, in all the vanities and temptations of a profligate court; the danger of which measure was heightened by her acknowledged beauty, which soon constituted her the idol of general admiration, and the object of amorous addresses.

Henry Prince of Wales was himself one of her unlawful suitors; but the lady lent a more complacent ear to the aspirations of the King's new favourite, the fortunate page, now Earl of Rochester.

In the mean time, after an absence of three or four years, her husband Essex returns; he finds the affections of his youthful consort to all appearance cold and indifferent towards him; she declines to live with him as his wife, and he attributing this unwillingness to the diffidence of youth, applies to her father to prevail on her to abandon so unreasonable a line of conduct.

The first principles of virtue in the Countess being undermined, her mind revolted at the idea of retiring with her husband to his seat in the country, or residing with him on conjugal terms.

A belief in the arts of necromancy is well known to have characterized this age; a creed which had the king himself for its patron, and rooted superstition for its source. Nay, there is little doubt but many practised and studied it from a confidence in its efficacy, and thus

had really dealings with the Prince of Darkness, as far as the gross impiety and turpitude of such attempts could place them in connexion with him.

The Countess determines to apply to some black magician of the day, in order to divert the affection of her husband from her, debilitate his body, and heighten and inflame the illicit passion of Rochester. Shakspeare has caught the prevailing idea of the time, which attributed such power to love potions, and beautifully described their effects, in his *Midsummer Night's Dream* :

“ Having once this juice,
I'll watch Titania when she is asleep,
And drop the liquor of it in her eyes.
The next thing then she waking looks upon,
Be it a lion, bear, or wolf, or bull,
Or meddling monkey, or busy ape,
She shall pursue it with the soul of love.”

The Countess of Essex finds a willing assistant in a profligate woman, Mrs. Turner, who introduces her to Dr. Forman, of Lambeth, a reputed wizard. He is made acquainted with the nature of the case, and of the operation required from his spells. He produces several little images, intended to represent Viscount Rochester, the Earl of Essex, and the Countess herself, assuming a power of working upon them by these forms, sympathetically.

He dispenses also his philtrous doses, to be administered to the respective parties; and Mrs. Turner having an inclination for Sir Arthur Manwaring, a gentleman of the Prince's household, some of the love-powder was secretly administered by her intervention to him, by the effect of which they believed he was made to ride fifteen miles in a dark night, through a storm of rain and thunder, to visit her. The most absurd circumstances are turned to matters of credence by the superstitious, and

Providence often chooses to confound the wicked by a false confidence in their own machinations.

The Countess was equally credulous as to the operation of these doses on her own husband and on Rochester, and observed with admiration their effects, although the licentious passion of the one which she encouraged, and her coldness towards the other, were quite sufficient to fan the lawless flame on one side, and extinguish conjugal affection on the other, without the aid of the Sidrophel of Lambeth.

The Earl of Essex, however, now beginning too plainly to observe the misdirected inclinations of his wife, interfered once more with her father, to point out to her the obedience due to him as a husband, and, fortified by his authority, removed his Countess to his seat at Chartley, one hundred miles from the court.

On her arrival there, she affected to be overcome with a deep melancholy, refused all society whatever with the Earl, shut herself up in her chamber with her female attendants, and stirred out only in the dead of the night.

In the mean time, she continues to receive and administer Forman's damnable compositions to her husband, by means of her corrupted agents. He, wearied at length with her humour, and thinking he had married one either lunatic or possessed of a devil, even let her return to the Court, as the sphere most suitable to her phantasies.

The Earl of Salisbury now dying, Rochester becomes principal Secretary in his stead, manager of all court business, and dispenser of all court favours.

In the mean time the Countess of Essex, hastening to consummate the objects of her machinations, institutes a suit for a divorce from her husband, on grounds which prove her to have been destitute of the bare assumption of an outward modesty, and submitted to such a proce-

ture, at a court commissioned for this particular cause by the king, as forbids the pen of history at the present day from entering minutely into the record of her profligacy.*

A jury of grave matrons return a verdict favourable to the allegations on which her suit is founded, and the Commissioners, the Bishops of Winchester, Ely, Coventry and Lichfield, and Rochester, Sir Julius Cæsar, Sir Thomas Parry, and Sir Daniel Dun, sign a sentence of divorce, in which the sacred name of the Source of all purity and created being is invoked as a sanction to a decree, the details of which are superlatively disgusting.

* A curious notice of this suit, corroborative also of the Countess's dealings with the professors of the black art, will be found in Winwood, which shows that those practices had nearly proved an obstacle to her divorce. The writer of the letter in which it is found (Mr. John Chamberlayne), after stating there was a rumour of a divorce to be prosecuted this term between the Earl of Essex and his lady; and to that end he was content to confess (whether true or feigned) infirmity in himself, &c.; continues, "but there happened an accident that hath altered the case; for she having sought out a *certain wise woman*, had much conference with her, and she, after the nature of such creatures, drawing much money from her, at last cozened her of a jewel of great value, for which being apprehended and clapt up, she accused the lady of diverse strange questions, and in conclusion that she had dealt with her for the making away of her lord, as aiming at another mark; upon which scandal and slander the Lord Chamberlain and his friends think it not fit to proceed in the divorce."—Mr. John Chamberlaine to Sir Ralph Winwood. Memorials, vol. iii. p. 453. This *scandal and slander*, I suppose, was hushed up, for the suit proceeded.

† See Wilson's *Life of James the First*, p. 69.

The Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London, to their honour, declined acting, although named in the commission.

The King favoured the whole proceeding, in order, doubtless, to gratify the inclinations of his favourite; nor was, indeed, this the first time he had been instrumental to a divorce on a similar plea.

The Earl of Rochester had for his secretary and confidential friend one Sir Thomas Overbury, a man, it is said, presuming much on the power of his master, and building, like other inferiors, a sort of pride on that foundation, highly repulsive to the noblemen of the court.

Rochester consults his secretary on the matter of his proposed marriage with the divorced Countess, not so much, it may be presumed, with a view of really taking advice, but rather (like the old man in Moliere, who asks counsel of a friend about marrying a young girl,) for approbation. Overbury, however, had the decent honesty boldly to counsel his master against marrying the wife of another man, divorced at her own instance on such allegations.

Overbury's opinion was soon, however, divulged to the Countess by her lover, and by the Countess herself to her great-uncle, Henry Howard, Earl of Northampton, an old and lofty courtier, who thinking his family insulted by this interference of so mean an instrument as Overbury, and his niece's prospects of a powerful alliance put in jeopardy, is said to have sanctioned a plot to ruin Overbury at court, and finally to dispatch him by poison. Such were the fruits of good counsel given to the wicked.

The King purposing to send an ambassador to a foreign court, Rochester recommended Overbury for the charge, who was appointed by the King accordingly. At the same

time Rochester advises Overbury to decline the office, telling him that it would separate him from an indulgent master, and through his influence from much higher prospects at home. Overbury, in consequence, declines the commission, and Rochester, in accordance with the preconcerted plan, fails not privately to incense the King against him for such an act of disrespectful presumption. James, little disposed to yield one iota of that implicit obedience which he conceived was due to his own earthly divinity, ordered Overbury to be forthwith committed to rigorous confinement in the Tower.*

* The following account of this transaction is found in a letter inserted in Winwood's interesting Memorials, the colouring given to it is somewhat different, owing perhaps to the writer being unacquainted with the underplot.

Mr. John Packer to Sir Ralph Winwood.

“ Right honourable, London, 22d April, 1613 O. S.

“ Since I wrote to my lady there is fallen out an accident whereof I thought fit to advertize your lordship. Yesterday, about six of the clock, my Lord Chancellor and my Lord of Pembroke were employed by the King to speak with Sir Thomas Overbury, and to make him an offer of an ambassage into the Low Countries or France, which he would. Wherto he made answer that he was not capable of such employment, for want of language, nor able to undergoe it by reason of his weakness, being so exceedingly troubled with the spleen, that if he had a long letter to write he was feign to give over, therefore he should not be fit to attend to any business, as in accepting this offer he must be forced to do; and whereas it was alleaged that his Majesty intended this for his good and preferment, he would not leave his country for any preferment in the world. Some say he added some other speech which was very ill taken. This report being made to the King, he sent my Lord of Pembroke for the Lords who were in Council (my Lord Chancellor

The Countess of Somerset had now lost one of her minor instruments, who might have been useful in the last stage of the tragedy for which Overbury was destined. The conjuror Forman was summoned by sudden death to that invisible world with which he pretended to have intercourse.* Mrs. Turner, of all her diabolical machinists

staying still with his Majesty) to whom he declared, when they were come, that he could not obtaine so much of a gentleman and one of his servants, as to accept an honourable employment for him. In conclusion he gave them order to send for him and to send him to the Tower, where he is close prisoner. Now for my Lord of Rochester, who had but newly begun to leave his chamber, he knew nothing till all was done and he gone, which your lordship may imagine did much perplex him." Winwood's Memorials, vol. iii. p. 447.

The rigour of Overbury's confinement is shewn by a passage in another letter, addressed by Mr. John Chamberlaine to Sir Ralph Winwood, which says, "Sir Robert Killigrew was yesterday committed to the Fleet from the Counsayl table for having some little speech with Sir Thomas Overbury, who called to him as he passed by his window, as he came from visiting Sir Walter Raleigh." Ibid. p. 455.

That the King and Rochester understood one another very well, with regard to Overbury's committal, may be inferred from another passage in this letter, which says, "Some say my Lord of Rochester took Sir Thomas Overbury's committing to heart. Others talk as if it were a great diminution of his favour and credit, which the King doubting would not have it so construed, but the next day told the Council that he meant him dayly more grace and favour, as should be seen in a short time, and that he took more delight and contentment in his company than in any man's living." Ibid. 453.

* In Lysons's *Environs of London*, under Lambeth, we have the following Memoir of Forman :

"Sept. 12, 1611. Simon Forman, gent. buried. This was For-

alone remained. She bethought herself of her deceased husband the physician's man, Weston, well acquainted

man, the celebrated astrologer ; he was of a very respectable family, being the grandson of Sir Thomas Forman, of Leeds, knight, and great-grandson of another Sir Thomas Forman. He was born at Quidham, in Wiltshire, in 1552, and was apprenticed to a druggist in Salisbury. He afterwards set up a school there, and having acquired the sum of forty shillings, set off to Oxford, where he became a poor scholar at Magdalen College, and continued there two years. He then applied himself to the study of physic and astrology, and after having travelled to Holland for that purpose, settled in Philpot-lane, where his practice was opposed by the physicians, and he was four times fined and imprisoned. To obviate these difficulties he went to study at Cambridge, where he took a doctor's degree and got a license to practise. Being thus fortified against all future attacks, he settled at Lambeth, where he openly professed the joint occupation of a physician and astrologer. ' Here he lived,' says Lilly, ' with good respect of the neighbourhood, being very charitable to the poor, and was very judicious and fortunate in horary questions and sicknesses. He was much resorted to by all ranks of people ; among others the famous Countess of Essex applied to him for his assistance in her wicked doings, and wrote many letters to him, in which she calls him dear father, and subscribes herself your ' affectionate daughter Frances Essex.' Lilly says, that Forman would frequently lock himself up in his study to avoid her, but the contrary appeared upon the trial of the Countess of Essex and Mrs. Turner for the murder of Sir Thomas Overbury. Upon the Countess's trial a book of Dr. Forman's was produced, in which he made all his visitors write their names with their own hands, before he would proceed to exercise his art. It is said that the recital of the names produced much mirth in the Court, and that the Chief Justice Coke found his own lady's name upon the first leaf. A strange

with the power of drugs, and she found him ready, on the promised reward of two hundred pounds, to apply them to any purpose. Shakspeare had good precedent in this man for the conduct of his starved apothecary, in a case not half so culpable :

“ Come hither, man. I see that thou art poor.

Hold, there are forty ducats :—let me have

A dram of poison ; such soon-spreading geer

As will disperse itself through all the veins.”

Sir Thomas Monson, the head Falconer to the King, who was afterwards committed and tried as an accessory to the murder of Overbury, was employed to recommend this fellow to Sir Gervase Elwes, the Lieutenant of

story of Dr. Forman's death is thus told by Lilly. The Monday night before he died, his wife and he being at supper in their garden house, she being pleasant, told him that she had been informed, he could resolve whether man or wife should die first. ‘ Whether shall I (quoth she) bury you or no?’—‘ Oh Trunco !’ for so he called her, ‘ thou wilt bury me, but thou wilt sore repent it.—‘ Yea, but how long first’—‘ I shall die,’ said he, ‘ on Thursday night.’ Monday came, all was well. Tuesday came, he was not sick. Wednesday came, and still he was well ; with which his impertinent wife did twit him in the teeth. Thursday came, and dinner was ended, he very well ; he went down to the water side, and took a pair of oars, to go to some buildings he was in hand with in Puddle Dock. Being in the middle of the Thames he presently fell down, only saying ‘ an impost, an impost,’ and so died ; a most sad storm of wind immediately ensued. He died worth one thousand two hundred pounds, and left one son named Clement. Dr. Forman published several works on the Philosopher's Stone, Magic, Astrology, and Natural History, two treatises on the Plague, and some religious tracts. Some of his MSS. on Astrology are in the British Museum. Dr. Forman's pupil and successor was Dr. Napier.”—See Lysons's *Environs*, in *Surrey*, vol. i. p. 303.

the Tower, and Elwes introduced him to Overbury, as an attendant.

Overbury's food was dressed in the Lieutenant's kitchen; and the latter is assured by the Earl of Northampton that it will be acceptable to the King to have him removed.

One Franklin furnished the drugs which were mingled with Overbury's food; and it was given in evidence on the trial that corrosive sublimate was introduced into the salt which he took with it. Jellies were prepared and sent him by the pretended kindness of the Countess of Essex and Mrs. Turner, by the hands of Sir Thomas Monson.

The Countess being freed from the bond of her first contracted marriage, and her husband obliged even to repay her portion, for which purpose he is constrained to sell one of his patrimonial estates, her marriage with Rochester is celebrated at the court with great pomp. She appears in the habit of a virgin bride, her beautiful tresses flowing over her shoulders to her feet; the King gives masks at Whitehall to celebrate these unhallowed rites, and the City is expected to pay their compliments to these two minions of his favour. A stately banquet is prepared at Merchant-taylors' Hall, whither the bride and bridegroom ride covered with jewels and costly attire, in public procession, by torchlight, followed by the courtiers of either sex.

In the mean time Overbury,* cut off from all communication with his friends, languishes under the slow but deadly operation of the poisonous drugs mixed with his

* A letter from Overbury to Rochester is printed in Winwood's Memorials, (vol. iii. p. 478,) bitterly reproaching him with ingratitude, and telling him that all his reward for services done to him is "a prison, upon such terms that never man suffered yet."

food, and a dose daily administered by Franklin as a medicine, until death puts an end to his sufferings. Rochester in the following year was elevated to the titles of Earl of Somerset and Baron Brancepeth.

The workers of these iniquities did not, however, long revel in their success with impunity. The old Earl of Northampton shortly afterwards died. Somerset found a rival in George Villiers, who had begun to attract the King's notice. The Queen regarded Somerset with a very inauspicious eye; and Sir Ralph Winwood, the Ambassador to the States, now Secretary of State, willingly becomes the instrument for searching into the misdemeanors of the tottering favourite. Franklin, the apothecary who furnished the poisonous drugs to Weston, to be administered to Overbury, being taken sick in Holland made an open confession of the whole matter, and Sir Ralph Winwood is made acquainted with the circumstances, which soon become the subject of public conversation.

The King, seeing perhaps a good occasion now to be rid of Somerset, sends for the Judges of his Courts, and gives them the strictest charge to examine into the facts of the alleged murder, and kneeling down, imprecates the curse of God on himself and his posterity, if he does not bring the perpetrators of it to condign punishment. The Chief Justice Coke issues his warrant for the apprehension of Somerset, who flies to the King at Royston for redress from such an insult. The latter received him, it is said, with the cool observation—"Thou must go, then man! for if Coke send for me, I must go too." Still he dissembles, in the due style of what he termed "*kingcraft*," sufficiently to attend him to the head of the stairs, and to exclaim, "For God's sake, when shall I see thee again? On my soul, I shall neither eat nor sleep until

you come again!" Somerset replied he hoped to return to the court again on Monday, it being then Friday. The King then putting his arms round his neck, and lolling on him, as he descended the stairs with him, added, "For God's sake, then, give thy lady this kiss for me!" and kissed him, which salutation he repeated at the stair foot. Somerset was scarcely entered his coach, when the King turned on his heel, exclaiming, "Now the de'il go with thee—I shall never see thy face mair."

On Somerset's arrival in London he was committed to the Tower, to the custody of Sir George More, and his Countess was restrained under charge of Sir William Smyth at the Blackfriars. The accomplices in the murder were first arraigned, and suffered; being Weston, Mrs. Turner, and Sir Gervase Elwes. The latter, indeed, obtained some pity, as he had been only the passive accomplice of the deed. He was convicted on some few expressions contained in a letter from him to Northampton, and bore in his dying words a strong testimony to the force of conscience. "At my arraignment," said he, "I pleaded hard for my life, and protested mine innocence; but when my own pen came against me, I was not able to speak, but stood as one amazed, or that had no tongue."*

* In Winwood's Memorials are given two letters from Sir Gervase Elwes to the Earl of Northampton; one seems to be written as a sort of blind, and to be meant for inspection in case of searching the Lieutenant's papers; the other, in the Earl's hand, for pretty obvious reasons, is not signed with his name, and runs as follows. "Worthy Mr. Lieutenant, Let me intreat you to call Lidcote, and three or four of his friends, if so many come to view the body, if they have not already done it, and so soon as it is viewed, without staying the coming of the messen-

When Somerset's trial was about to come on, Weldon relates that Sir George More telling him he must go to trial the next day, he exclaimed, "They must carry me in my bed, then; for I shall not go to trial, nor dare the King bring me to any!" These words so alarmed the trusty Lieutenant, that late as it was, twelve at night, he took boat and proceeded to Greenwich, where, on his arrival, finding all the household retired to rest, he went to the back stairs, and knocking violently at the door, John Loreston, one of the grooms in waiting, started from his slumber, and demanded who knocked so boisterously at such an hour. *Sir George More.* "I must speak with the King." *Loreston.* "He is *quiet*" (a Scottish phrase for *asleep*). *Sir G. More.* "You must awake him then, for I have matter of great import for his Majesty's ear." Sir George was accordingly at length introduced into the presence, and the King hearing his relation, exclaimed, "On my soul, More, I know not what to do! Thou art a wise man, help me in this great strait, and thou shalt find thou servest a thankful master." Sir George accordingly returns to the Tower, tells Somerset that he found the King full of grace and mercy towards him, but that he must

ger from the Court, in any case, see it enterr'd in the body of the chapel within the Tower instantly. If they have viewed, then bury it by and by, for it is time, considering the humours of that damn'd crew, that only desire to move pity and raise scandals. *Let no man's instance move you to make stay in any case, and bring me these letters when I next see you. Fail not a jot herein as you love your friends, nor after Lidcote and his friends have viewed stay one minute, but let the priest be ready, and if Lidcote be not there, send for him speedily, pretending that the body will not tarry. Yours ever.*"

"In post haste at 12."

Memorials, vol. iii. p. 482.

make his appearance to satisfy the preliminary forms of justice, and he shall then return without further proceedings had. It is added that two servants were kept in readiness by Sir George all the time of Somerset's arraignment, with a view to smother his voice if he uttered any thing to impeach the King; in order that he might be taken away from the bar, we suppose, as one distract: and it is not a little remarkable, that the King, in the following letters, dwells much on the idea of Somerset being mad, if he should say the King had any share in the poisoning.

What impartial mind can altogether acquit James under these suspicious circumstances? He might, without a direct participation, have heard hints from Somerset, while in the height of favour, that Overbury was not likely to be in a condition ever again so flagrantly to disobey the commands of a gracious sovereign; and like one of his predecessors, whose story our great Bard has so strikingly drawn,

“ It was his curse to be attended
By slaves that took his humours for a warrant,
To break within the bloody house of life,
And on the winking of authority,
To understand a law; to know a meaning,
Of dangerous Majesty; when perchance it frown'd,
More upon humour than advised respect.”

The King, says Weldon, on the day of trial sent to every boat he saw, for news how the cause was proceeding, cursing (according to his custom) all those which brought none. At length arrived one with the news of Somerset's condemnation; then this great master of kingcraft became calm. Weldon states all this *on the authority of Sir George More's own relation*, who told him the story, he says, without any injunction of secrecy; and this might well be, from the indifference with which Sir George More's services appear

to have been requited by King James, as is evident from some documents in the Loseley collection. Before we pass to the interesting autograph letters of the King, and the other papers extant at Loseley relative to Overbury's matter, it may be well to add that the Earl and Countess of Somerset, notwithstanding the King's solemn declaration at the first institution of the proceedings, which has been cited above, were admitted to his mercy. They became indifferent to each other, and lived apart in obscurity and neglect, the objects of public contempt and execration. She died before her husband, of a decay so loathsome, that historians have noticed it as a manifest visitation of heaven upon her crimes.

(157.)

The Council to the Lieutenant of the Tower. Permission granted to the Earl of Somerset to see an agent relative to his private business, in the Lieutenant's presence, and not otherwise.

After o^r very hartie commendac'ons, wheras humble suite hath bin made unto us that Thomas Emerson may be admitted access unto the Earle of Somersett, now prisoner in the Towre, to confer wth him touchinge the rents of his lands, and other his domesticall affaires. We have therefore bin moved heereby to will and require you to suffer the said Thomas Emerson to have access and confer wth the said Earle concerninge the rents of his lands, and other his domesticall affaires, in your presence and hearinge, and not otherwise, for w^{ch}

this shalbe your warrant. Dated at Whitehall, this
22 of Novemb. 1615.

Your loveinge friends,

T. ELLESMERE, Canc. LENNOX.

EDW. COKE.

To the Lieutenant of the Toure.

(158.)

The Council to the same. The Countess of Somerset is to be removed from the Blackfriars, where she is *restrained*, and committed close prisoner to the Tower.

After o^r verey hartie comendac'ons, forasmuch as it is his Ma'ties pleasure that the Countesse of Somersett be removed from the Blacke friers, where she is restrained, to the Towre of London. This shallbe to will and require you to repaire to the place of her restraints, and there to receive from the hands of S^r William Smyth, K^t. the person of the said Countess of Somersett, and to carie her to the Towre, ther to remayne close prisoner under your charge, admittinge such persons to attend her as are now wth her at the Blackfriars, to be shutt up close wth her, as is usuall in such cases, together wth such honorable usage as is convenient and fittige a prisoner of her quality, for w^{ch} this shalbe your warrant. From the Court at Whitehall, the 27 of March, 1616.

Your verey loveinge friends,

T. ELLESMERE, Canc. LENNOX.

E. ZOUCH. EDW. COKE.

Lieutenant of the Towre.

(159.)

The Council to the same. The Countess of Somerset has made humble sute for a divine to be admitted to her, to afford her spiritual consolation, and for permission to walk in the garden adjoining the place of her confinement.

After o^r verie hartie com'endac'ons, uppon humble sute made unto us for a preacher to be admitted to the Countesse of Somerset, nowe prisoner in the Tower, and that she may be suffered to walke in the garden adjoining to her lodging, for her health. These shalbe to will and require yo' to make choise of som discreete and sufficient p'son to have accesse to the said lady, to reade prayers and to preache unto her, in yo^r presens and hering; and also in yo^r presens, and not otherwise, to suffer her to walke in the said garden, at fit and convenient tymes: ffor w^{ch} this shall be yo^r warrant. And so we bid yo' ffarwell. From Whytehall, the viith of Maye, 1616.

Yo^r very loving frendes,

T. ELLESMERE, Canc.

E. ZUCHE.

EDW. COKE.

Lieutenant of the Tower.

(160.)

Sir George Villiers, afterwards Duke of Buckingham, to the
Lieutenant of the Tower, concerning the same matter.

Sr,

Whereas his Ma^{tie} was pleased to give leave to the Ladie Knollys to repayre sometimes to the Tower, and to see her sister, the Countesse of Somerset, but not to have any speach wth her saving only in yo^r presence and audience. Now his Ma^{tie}, considering that, by reason of her often accesse and long tarrying, it will be a great inconvenience to your self to be tyed to such continueall attendance upon them, is pleased that the presence of yo^r owne wife, or yo^r sonne's wife, shalbe sufficient for that purpose, at such tymes as yo^r self shall have occasion to be absent, or thinke it fitt to wthdrawe yo^r self from their companie. And so I rest

Yo^r very loving frend,

GEORGE VILLIERS.

Grenewich, the 18 of June 1616.

(161.)

The Council to the same. The Countess to be allowed the attendance of her cook and butler.

After o^r very hartly commendations. Whereas humble suite hath ben made unto us by the Countesse of Somerset that her cook and bottleman may be admitted to attend her in the Tower.

This shalbe to will and require yo' to suffer the said cooke and bottleman to attende upon the Countesse of Somersett, in such manner as the E. of Somersett's cooke and bottleman do now attend him. Yo' may likewise suffer yo^r Ladie to accompanie the Countesse at all times as shalbe requisite. For w^{ch} this shalbe yo^r warrant; and so we byd yo^w hartily farewell. From Whitehall, this of Aprill, 1616.

Yo^r very lovinge freindes,

T. ELLESMERE. LENOX.

E. ZOCHE. EDW. COKE.

(162.)

Sir George Villiers to the same. He has spoken with the King on the subject of the Lieutenant's letter touching the Earl and Countess of Somerset. Communicates his Majesty's pleasure thereon.

Sr,

I have moved his Ma^{tie} upon yo^r letter touching my Lord and my Ladie of Somersett, who for the first point is contented that you lodge them as neare one to the other as may conveniently be; but for lodging them together in one lodging, he desireth to know yo^r opinion, and what you thinke fitt to be done in that case before he yield unto it.

Touchinge the other point, of free accesse to my Lord by his friends, according to his gracious

favor yielded to my Ladie in that kinde, his Ma^{tie} doth not well understand yo^r meaning therein, remembring that all w^{ch} he graunted to my Ladie was in the tyme of her distresse, that her sisters might come to her. His Ma^{tie} therefore desireth to understand yo^r meaning in that point more plainly, what his desire is, and wthall yo^r opinion; being willing to graunt him as much favo^r therein as may stand wth his own hono^r, and the safetie of the Tower, in regard of the example w^{ch} other prisoners would perhaps insist upon for themselves. And so, expecting your answeare, I rest
Yo^r very loving frend,

GEORGE VILLIERS.

Woodstock, xxvth of August, 1616.

To my very worthy frend Sr
George More, the Lieutenant of
the Tower of London.

(163.)

The King to Sir George More; an autograph and confidential letter. He knows how he has urged Somerset to confess his crime, and thus honour God and the King, and leave the King some place for his *mercy to work upon*.

Goode Sir George,

As the onlie confidence I had in your honestie made me, without the knowledge of any, putte you in that place of truste quhiche ye nou pos-

sesse, so muste I nou use youre truste and se-
 creatie in a thing greatlie concerning my honoure
 and service. Ye knowe Somersette's daye of
 tryall is at hande, and ye knowe also quhat faire
 meanes I have usid to move him, by confess-
 ing the trewth, to honoure God and me, and
 leave some place for my mercie to worke upon.
 I have now at last sent the bearare heerof, an
 honeste gentleman, and quho once followid him,
 with suche directions unto him, as, if thaire be a
 sponke of grace lefte in him, I hoape thaye shall
 worke a goode effecte. My onlie desyre is, that
 ye wolde make his convoye unto him in suche
 secrete as none living may knowe of it, and
 that, after his speaking with him in private, he
 may be returned bakke againe as secreatlie. So,
 reposing myself upon your faithfull and secrete
 handling of this busiensesse, I bidde you hartelie
 fairwell.

JAMES R.

Endorsed in S^r George More's hand,

“9th of May, about one of the clock
 in th' afternoone, 1616.”

(164.)

The King to the same; autographic and confidential. If So-
 merset will *yet* before his trial *confess*, the King will perform
 what he *has promised* towards him and his wife.

Goode Sir George,

Although I feare that the laste message I sent to

youre infortunate prisoner shall not take the effecte that I wishe it shoulde, yett I can not leave of to use all meanes possible to move him to doe that quhiche is both most honorable for me, and his owin best. Ye shall thairfore give him assurance in my name, that if he will yett before his tryall confesse cleerlie unto the comissionars his guilteinesse of this fact, I will not onlie performe quhat I promised by my last messinger both towardis him and his wyfe, but I will enlarge it, according to the phrase of the civill lawe, *quòd gratiæ sunt ampliandæ*. I meane not that he shall confesse if he be innocent, but ye knowe how evill lykeliie that is, and of youre selfe ye may dispute with him, quhat shoulde meane his confidence nou to endure a tryall, quhen as he rem'bers that this last winter he confessid to the Cheefe Iustice that his cause was so evill lykeliie, as he knew no iurie coulde quyte him. Assure him that I proteste upon my honour, my ende in this is for his and his wyfes goode; ye will doe well lyke wayes, of your selfe to caste out unto him, that ye feare his wyfe shall pleade weaklie for his innocencie, and that ye fynde the comissioners have, ye know not how, some secreate assurance that in the ende she will confesse of him; but this must onlie be as from your selfe, and thairfore ye muste not lette him knowe that I have written unto you, but onlie that I sent you private worde to deliver him this message. Lett

none living knowe of this, and if it take goode effect, move him to sende in haste for the comissioners to give thaim satisfaction, but if he remaine obstinate, I desyre not that ye shoulde trouble me with an ansoure, for it is to no ende, and no newis is bettir then evill newis, and so fair well, and God blesse youre labours.

JAMES R.

Endorsed in Sir George More's writing,

" 13th of May 1616."

(165.)

King James to Sir George More, as Lieutenant of the Tower ; an autographic and confidential letter, relative to the Earl of Somerset. If he would send him any message concerning the *poisoning* it need not be private ; if he has any thing else to communicate, the King cannot with honour receive it till *after* his trial, which may serve the Earl's turn as well.

Goode Sir George,

I am extreamlie sorie that your unfortunate prisoner turnis all the great caire I have of him, not onlie against himselfe, but against me also, as farre as he can. I cannot blame you, that ye cannot coniecture quhat this maye be, for God knowis it is only a trikke of his ydle braine, hoaping thairby to shifte his tryall ; but is easie to be seene that he wolde threattin me with laying an aspersion upon me of being in some sorte accessorie to his cryme, I can doe no more (since God

so abstractes his grace from him), then repete the substance of that letre quhiche the Lorde Haye sent you yesternight, quhiche is this: if he wolde writte or send me any message concerning this poysoning it needis not be private; if it be of any other bussienesse, that quhiche I can not now with honoure ressave privatlie, I maye doe it after his tryall, and serve the turne as well; for excepte ather his tryall or confession præcede, I cannot heare a private message from him, without laying an aspersion upon myselfe of being an accessorie to his cryme, and I praye you to urge him by reason, that I refuse him no favoure quhiche I can graunte him, without taking upon me the suspicion of being guiltie of that cryme quhair of he is accusid; and so fairwell.

JAMES R.

(166.)

The King to Sir George More; a confidential letter, all in his Majesty's own hand. If Somerset still refuses to go to trial, he must do his duty, as being in his custody. If he appear, however, to be distracted in his wits, (that is, perhaps, if he should allege any thing against his Majesty; see the King's former letter, p. 403,) his trial may be adjourned, &c.

Goode Sir George,

For ansoure to youre straunge newis, I ame first to tell you, that I expecte the Lorde Haye and Sir Robert Carr have bene with you before this tyme, quhiche if thaye have not yett bene,

doe ye sende for thaim in haste that thay maye first heare him, before ye saye any thing unto him, and quhen that is done, if he shall still refuse to goe, ye must doe youre office, excepte he be ather apparantlie seike or distractid of his wittes, in any of quhiche cacis ye maye aquainte the Chancellaire with it, that he may adiorne the day till Mondaye nexte, betwene and quhiche tyme, if his sikenesse or madnesse be counterfitted, it will manifestlie appeare. In the meane time, I doubte not but ye have aquainted the Chancellair with this strainge fitte of his, and if upon these occasions ye bring him a little laiter then the houre appointed, the Chancellaire maye in the meane tyme protracte the tyme the best he maye, quhom I praye you to aquainte like wayes with this my ansoure, as well as with the accident, if he have saide any thinge of moment to the Lorde Hays, I expecte to heare of it with all speede; if other wayes, lett me not be trubled with it till the tryall be past. Fairwell.

JAMES R.*

Superscribed in another hand.

To o^r trustie and weel beloved
S^r George More, knight, o^r
leuetenant of o^r Towre of
London.

* These letters were found carefully preserved in an envelope, on which, in the handwriting of the time, is the following note:

“ These 4 letters weare all of Kinge James his owne hand

(167.)

Inventories of the Earl of Somerset's effects.

A warrant was addressed by the Lord Chief Justice, Sir Edward Coke, to Sir Henry Fanshaw, and others, dated 19

wryghtinge, sent to Sir George More, Liffennant of ye Tower, (beinge putt in to that place by his owne apoyntment, without ye privitie of any mann,) concerninge my Lorde of Sommersett, whoe beinge in the Tower, and heringe that he should come to his arayngment, begann to *speake bigg wordes touchinge on ye Kinges reputation and honnour.* The Kinge therefore desired, as mutch as he cowld, to make him confes the poysoninge of Sir Thomas Overberry, and so not to come to his arrayngment, but to cast him selve on his mercy. But beinge a courtiour and beaten to these courses, woold not ; ffully imagininge that the Kinge durst not or woold not bryng him to his tryall. The gentlema' ye Kinge sent in one of ye letters to my Lord was Walter James, sometime my Lorde's secretarye. But ye Kinge, althoughe he was the wisest to woorke his owne endes that ever was before him, for all that cowld not woorke on Somerset. But that he ever stode on his innocency, and wold never be brought to confes that he had any hand with his wyfe in ye poysoninge of Overberye, knewe not of it, nor consented unto itt. And I have often taulked with Mr. James, his chyfe servant, about it, who ever was of opinion yt my Lord was cleere, and his Ladye only guiltie, for one time Mrs. Tournour tolde him, that litell did my Lord knowe what she had adventured for his ladye : but ye trueth is, King James was wearye of him ; Buckinghame had supplied his place."

In another part of the envelope were added these words, which shew how highly these royal documents were prized by the family of More of Loseley : "Sir George More's my ffather-in-lawe's legacie, who in his life time made mutch account of these letters, being every word King James his own wryghtinge."

November, 1615, for the examination of the Earl of Somerset's papers and effects; and a return was made by the parties delegated for the purpose, under the head of "An Inventory of the Goods and Evidences of the Earl of Somerset, shewn to them by Mr. Walter James, his servant, at his lodgings at Whitehall." Among other things, were enumerated letters patents in a box, of the creation of Sir Robert Carre to be Viscount Rochester, Baron of Brancepeth, and Earl of Somerset; title deeds, and other documents relating to lands in the counties of Dorsetshire, Devonshire, Surrey, Northampton, Westmorland, and Essex, the fruits of the bounty lavished on the Earl by royal favour; a general account of all the manors, lordships, tenements, and hereditaments of the Earl of Westmorland, among these the manors of Brancepeth, Durham, Raby, Staindrop, Bywell, Bolbec, in the county of Northumberland, &c. About sixty manors in all are enumerated, besides patents for the Constablership of Rochester Castle, &c.

We specify some articles of the furniture: "A bedstead with gilt pillars, the furniture purple velvet, lined with yellow damask, trimmed with lace, fringes, and cawl-work of gold; another furnished with white velvet, lined with carnation velvet, trimmed with silver; another bed of green velvet; another of crimson damask, trimmed with gold; a pavilion of cobweb lawn, embroidered with silk flowers; large Persian, Turkey, and Egyptian carpets; tapestry hangings representing the wars of Troy; two of Roman story, thirteen feet deep; two Irish harps; a theorbo in a case; a lute, said to be my lord's man's. In the bowling-alley* were the following pictures: the

* This must therefore have been a gallery inclosed from the weather, as places set apart for the diversion sometimes we believe were, or an apartment taking its name from the former appropriation of its site.

story of the Shepherds, a little long piece; three Wise Men, a great table; Sampson and Dalilah; the Woman taken in Adultery; the story of Lazarus; of the Creation; Venus and Cupid; Susannah and the Elders; Isaac blessing Jacob; Queen Sheba coming to Solomon; Bacchus, Ceres, and Venus; Venus and Adonis; (all these are also specified as *great tables**;) Christ and the Woman of Samaria; a great Labyrinth; a piece of St. Lawrence on the gridiron."

In another inventory of the Earl's furniture are found, "a dozen pictures of a yard broad, or thereabouts; ninety-nine of lesser size; five whole-length portraits."

Among the items of apparel, his "Parliament robes of scarlet; his robes for an Earl, of velvet; his robes of St. George, as a Knight of the Garter; doublets and hose, of cloth of gold, laced all over with black sattin lace, of tawney velvet, embroidered with gold and bugles; a doublet and hose of silk program, laid with two gold laces; a pair of green sattin bullion hose, laid with open gold lace; a doublet and long hose of black taffata, cut upon tinsel, with two embroidered laces; a riding-coat of scarlet, lined with velvet; a doublet of black silk mockadoe; a jerkin and hose of tawney uncut velvet; a doublet of white cloth of tissue, with gold flowers; a doublet and bullion hose, embroidered with seagreen silk; an ash-coloured sattin doublet, pinked; a scarlet coat embroidered, crimson lined; a cloak of ashcoloured velvet uncut, embroidered and tissued with gold and silver, and lined with plush of gold and silver."

These are but a few specimens of the Court favourite's wardrobe, which presents nearly fifty doublets and hose,

* This is the usual term for pictures at this period, from the French *tableau*.

twenty-five cloaks, some dozen of jerkins, riding-coats, hose not attached to the doublet, &c. ;* a gredaline (qu. Geraldine ?) cloth of gold doublet, embroidered with silver, a nightgown of tawney velvet, embroidered with gold, and lined with unshorn velvet ; a tawney sattin waistcoat, embroidered with gold.

A return was made of his stud, and stable equipage, by Mr. Edward Moule, who I conclude was the chief groom of his stable, and who appears to have been commanded by his Majesty to present several of the horses to his courtiers. The following is a transcript of the document, headed "Mr. Moule's Note. Imprimis, Bay Minion, which by his Majesty's command I am to deliver to the Prince's highness ; Black Denny to Lord Danvers ; Pied Burleigh to Lord Norris ; White Steward to Sir Charles Howard ; Grey Stallion to Sir Robert Carr ; Grey Barbary to † To the servants such horses

* The following note is attached to the inventory of such things as were said to be Mrs. Turner's (see p. 382), "In the chamber at Whitehall over the little parlour. An ash-coloured sattin nightgown ; another of changeable taffata ; a black taffata strait-bodied gown ; others of sattin, watered sattin, &c. ; a black shag nightgown ; an old taffata petticoat ; three waistcoats ; a gown of wrought program ; six smocks ; two laced aprons ; a square of needlework pearls.

† We would supply the hiatus in the MS. by giving the horse to Villiers the King's new minion, who supplied the place of unhappy Somerset. Well might the latter then have been supposed to exclaim, like Shakspeare's second Richard :

"Rode he on Barbary ? Tell me, gentle friend,

How went he under him ?

Groom. So proudly, as if he disdained the ground !

Somerset. So proud that *Buckingham* was on his back !

This

as they usually rode on. A coach lined with scarlet; a black velvet embroidered coach-cloth; a foot-cloth of the same; a saddle of watchet velvet, embroidered with gold and silver; another of crimson velvet, laced with silver."

The residue of the stud was given to Mr. Moule, in compensation for money laid out by him, to defray charges of horses, tradesmen's bills, &c.

Of jewels, and other costly ornaments in the custody of Sir George More, the following is a list, entitled,

"A Note of the Jewells in my custody.

18 buttons, each having 4 table diam^{ts} and 9 small diam^{ts}.

16 buttons, each having 8 small diam^{ts}, that cirkles a space for a great diam^t.

A hatband of black velvet, having 20 peeces wth diam^{ts}.

12 barrs of a hatband, each having 10 small diamants.

A purse of gould enameled blew, wth pearles and rubies.

A garter of the order, the letters of small diam^{ts}.

Two other garters of the order.

A large agot George, composed round wth diam^{ts}.

A George wth an agot having a Roman head, composed on the one side wth diam^{ts}, the other wth rubies.

A small white agot duple George.

A duple George, wth stones, diam^{ts}, and rubies.

Two small Georges wthout stones.

A great George with stones.

The collar of the order, wth a George at it, set w^h diam^{ts}.

The Earle's coronet.

A knife, a spoone, and forke, of a greene and white stone garnished w^h gold.

A chaine of 60 round peeces, each having 3 small dia-

This hand hath made him proud with clapping him!

Would he not stumble? Would he not fall down

(Since pride must have a fall), and break the neck

Of that proud man that did usurp his back!"

mants, w^{ch} I have delivered to Mr. Herriot* by my Lord's comaundm^t, it being not paid for, and valued at £250.

A garter and George my Lord hath at the Tower.

A table diamant, at pawne for £100, w^{ch} my Lord delivered unto me to pawne for £150.

A stone cup and cover, garnished wth gould cage worke in a painted box.

An agot pott in a gilt case, garnished wth gould.

An agot boate cup and cover, set in gould in a gilt case.

An agot cup set in gould, wth stones, in a black leather case.

An agot cup and cover set in gould, wth doggs of gold on the foot therof.

A mother-of-pearle cup and cover, set in gould in a black leather case.

A cup and cover, the foot and cover of gould, and set wth stones, in a red leather case.

A bason and ewer, Norromberg worke, gilt, the ewer like an olophant, in black leather cases.

Another bason and ewer, Norromberg work, wth a great rugged pearle in the middest of the bason, the ewer round, w^h a sprigg like a braunch on the topp, in black leather cases."

Of gold plate, the Earl appears to have had about 120 ounces; of silver, white and parcel gilt, upwards of 3,000. Besides this, he had at pawn with divers goldsmiths in London, (being perhaps a sort of banking deposit, for it will be recollected that the goldsmiths were our first bankers,) upwards of 5,500 oz. more of plate gilt and white. Among the items of these we find a cistern and a snow-bottle, (an apparatus, it may be presumed, for ice,) and 24 fruit-dishes. These extracts may serve to shew the splendour of Somerset's domestic state before his fall.

* George Herriott, the king's goldsmith. See Sir Walter Scott's Nigel.

*Imprisonment of Sir Thomas Monson, as concerned in
Overbury's murder.*

Sir Thomas Monson, some documents of whose committal on the matter of Overbury follow here, was Head Falconer to the King, and employed, as has been stated, p. 389, to recommend Weston to Sir Gervase Elwes, as a fit attendant on Sir Thomas Overbury. King James, being at supper at Royston, after Somerset was gone, said to Sir Thomas, who was in attendance, "The Lord Chief Justice hath sent for *you*." He asked, "When he might have the honour to wait on his Highness again." The King significantly replied, "*When you can*." Monson was arraigned at Guildhall; but the Lord Chief Justice Coke venturing on some expressions, "That more would be discovered by his trial than the mere death of a private individual," hinting either at Northampton's assuring the Lieutenant of the Tower that the death of Overbury would be acceptable to the King, or that Overbury's death had something of the retribution of heaven in it, for that he had been concerned in a similar atrocious crime against Prince Henry, whose death was not without suspicion of poison,—this exordium reaching the ears of the King, the trial was stopped by his order, the Chief Justice brought into disgrace, and Monson eventually enlarged.

(168.)

The Council to the Lieutenant of the Tower, the Bishop of Ely may have access to Sir Thomas Monson.

After o^r very hartie comendaçons. Wheras

humble suite hath ben made unto us by Sr Thomas Munson, K^t. now prisonner in the Tower, that the Lo: Bp. of Elie might be admitted accesse unto him, to conferr and resolve him of some pointes concerning his conscience in religion. We have thereupon ben moved hereby to pray and require yow to suffer the Bp. of Elie to have accesse to Sr Thomas Munson, at such time as yow shall thinke fitt and convenient, to confer and resolve him of such pointes and doubttes as may concerne the satisfacc'on of his conscience in religion, and for no other cause, and yow to be present at the conference, and not to suffer other discourse. ffor w^{ch} this shalbe yo^r sufficient warrant. And so wee byd yo^u hartely farewell. ffrom Yorke house, this of Januarie, 1615.

Your very lovinge freinds,

T. ELLESMERE, Canc. LENOX.

EDW. COKE.

Postscript. Mr. Lieutenant, you may forbear to bee p'sent at the conference.

Lieutenant of the Tower.

(169.)

The same to the same. Sir Thomas Monson may be allowed pen, ink, and paper.

After o^r hartie comendaçons. Whereas humble suite hath bin made unto us by Sr Thomas Moun-

son, Knight, now prisoner in the Tower, for pen, ink, and paper to be allowed unto hym, thereby to signifie in writing unto us, certaine his desires, theis shall bee to require yo' to suffer hym, the said Sr Thomas Mounson, to have pen, ink, and paper for that purpose, he making to you an account of the paper given unto hym. ffor w^{ch} this shall be yo^r warrant. ffrom Whitehall, the xith of Maye, 1616.

Yo^r very loving frendes,

T. ELLESMERE, Canc.

E. ZOUCHE.

EDW. COKE.

To Sir George More, Knight,
Lieutenant of the Tower.

(170.)

Sir Ralph Winwood to Sir George More. Sir Thomas Monson's imprisonment to be relaxed.

Hys Ma^{ty} is graciously pleased that Sr Thomas Monson, now prisoner in the Tower, by reason of the long vacation, showld have som release of hys close imprisonment, both to enjoy more freedom of th'ayre, and to have liberty to conferr wth such as shall have occasion to repayre unto him, in the presence of the Lieutenant, or some suche

person as shall be deputed by him. For w^{ch} thys
shalbe yo^r warrant. Greenw^{ch}, the 18th June.

RAPHE WINWOOD.*

To S^r George Moore, Knight,
Lievtenant of the Tower.

(171.)

The Chancellor and Attorney General to the Lieutenant of the
Tower. Certain other indulgencies are to be allowed to his
prisoner.

After o^r very hartye comendaçons, you shall
understand that it is his Ma^{ts} pleasure that S^r
Thomas Mounson, Knight, now prisoner in the
Tower, shall have license to resort to the church
there in tyme of prayer or divine s'vice, as like
wise unto yo^r table for his dyett, † wth such libertie

* On this paper is the following note :

“ 22d July, 1616. We understand, by Mr. Lieutenant, that
upon the receyt of this warrant he p'mytted you to waulke upon
the wall and within the garden, which was as much as we con-
ceyve he mought doe by his warr't.

“ And furder, we signify his M's pleasure to be, that Mr. Lieu-
ten't p'rmitt you at yo'r best lyking to waulk in any open place
within the Towre, observing neverthelesse for mattir of action
or conference the lymitacions mencioned in his former warr't.

T. ELLESMERE, Canc.

FR. BACON.”

† It appears by the following document that state prisoners
bore the expenses of their table while confined in the Tower.

“ Received of Sir Thomas Mounson, Knight Barronnett, by

as is usuall for others in the like case, until his Mat^s furdere pleasure be knowne. Of w^{ch} his Mat^s gracious favo^r we require you heereby to take notice, and to afford him the same accordingly. ffor w^{ch} this shalbe yo^r warant. ffrom Yorke howse, this xii day of September, 1616.

Yo^r very loving ffreinds,

T. ELLESMERE, Canc.

FR. BACON.

To o^r loveinge ffreind Sr George
Moore, Knight, his Mat^s Lieu-
ten't of the Tower of London.

(172.)

Chancellor Egerton, Viscount Ellesmere, to Sir George More.

Written during the Chancellor's last illness. This eminent lawyer, the patron of Bacon and of Coke, the Chancellor of Elizabeth, and of her successor on the British throne, died at York House on the 15th March 1617. His prudence and integrity were his shields against those turns of fortune by

the hand of Richard Tomsoun, one of his Ma'ties yeomen warders of the Tower, and kyper to the said Sr Thomas Mounsonne, the some of ffour score poundes of lawfull monye of England, and it is ffor ffive mounthes dyett, ending upon Monday the xxiith of April, 1616. I say received this xxth of Aprill aforesaid.

Underneath the above is a receipt for three weeks dyett, ending Monday 27 May 1616, dated 28 May.

Another receipt for 16*l.* to about 28 June 1616, for "dyet;" paid to the Lieutenant's man Mr. Carwood.

which so many public men have been overwhelmed. To adopt the words of an esteemed modern biographer,* the fullness of his faith and his hopes of immortality were frequently expressed in the apostolic language, "Cupio dissolvi et esse cum Christo."

After my very hartie comendaçõs. Where I have troubled y^e w^h the custodye of some wrtings concerninge myself and my poor gyrles, I fynde now occason t^o make some alterac'on in the same; wherefore I praye y^u sende the same saffè unto me, so soone as convenientlye yo' can, and when I mete w^h yo' next I will acquaynt y^u of my intencion herein, and howe farre I meane to trouble yo' w^h some care for them when I am gone. My Oxff' journey is disappoynted, by reason of some payne in my feete, and (w^{ch} is worse) in my raynes; the stone I feare, how so ev' those that feele it not psuade [me the contrary].† This tragedye, w^h such actors, is not fytt for the co^rt, nor for Oxff. at this season, and therefore I kepe hoame, and, if I be hable, meane to attende his Ma^{tye} at Windesore, yf I can, in pson, yf not, w^h my prayer. And so I co'mett yo' to y^e grace of God, and rest yo^r loving brother-in-lawe and most assured frende,

T. ELLESMERE, Canc.

To the R. wo^r my very lovinge
frende Sr George More, Knight,
at Loseley.

* Chalmers.

† Effaced in MS.

Particulars of Sir George Chaworth's, afterwards Viscount Chaworth's, Embassy to the Infanta Isabella Clara Eugenia, Archduchess of Austria, the daughter of Philip the Second of Spain, and devoted partizan of the Romish faction, to condole with her, on the part of his sovereign, James the First, on the death of her husband, the Archduke Albert.

Albert VI. Archduke of Austria, Governor and afterwards Sovereign of the Low Countries, born 13th November, 1559, was the sixth son of the Emperor Maximilian II. and Maria of Austria. He was intended for the church, and was at first Cardinal and Archbishop of Toledo. In 1583 the Government of Portugal was conferred on him; and his conduct so much pleased Philip II. King of Spain, that he made him Governor of the Netherlands. He arrived at Brussels in February 1596. Shortly after he took Calais, Ardres, and afterwards Hulst, which surrendered the 18th of August in the same year, 1596. Portocarero, Governor of Dourlens, surprised Amiens 11th March, 1597, but King Henry IV. retook it on the 3d of September in the same year. Albert renounced the Cardinalship, and married in 1598 Isabella or Elizabeth Clara Eugenia, daughter of Philip II. and Elizabeth of France. This Princess brought him as a dowry the Netherlands and Franche Comté. The year after they set out from Spain, and arrived in Brabant in the month of August. The peace between France and Spain, concluded at Vervins, made him renew the war against the Dutch. There was a battle on the 2d of July, 1600, near Nieuport. The Archduke at first killed 8 or 900 men left in charge of the bridge, and without suffering his soldiers, fatigued with a long march, to take breath, proceeded to attack the

enemy; but he was vigorously received by Maurice Count of Nassau, and defeated. Albert some time after laid siege to Ostend, which was not taken till the 22d September, 1604. This memorable siege having lasted three years three months and three days, Albert had only for his victory a plot of earth, which had cost the lives of more than 100,000 men, immense sums, and two considerable towns; for Maurice, during the siege, had taken L'Ecluse, Grave, and some other places. The Archduke then turned his thoughts to peace, which began by a truce of eight months in 1608, and was continued by another of twelve years in 1609. He employed this truce in regulating the government of his provinces, where his goodness and gentle carriage had won him the hearts of his people. He died without issue 13th July, 1621, æt. 62.

Chaworth's MS. contains various details of Court manners, costume, and etiquette. The reader will not be surprised to find some portion of the Ambassador's narrative occupied by that important part (in those days, at least) of the outfit of a complimentary mission, the labours of his tailor. He narrates various particulars of his journey, and reception at the court of the Infanta. On his return, he writes to the Duke of Buckingham concerning his Majesty's promise to create him a Viscount of England. The Duke's cupidity in disposing of honours conferred by his Majesty, at stipulated bribes to himself, is exposed. His unjust and overbearing influence with the House of Commons remarkably demonstrated. Sir George Chaworth is at length created, to his disappointment, a Viscount of Ireland only, by the title of Baron Chaworth, of Trim, in the county of Meath, Viscount of Armagh. We have not discovered by what connexion or circumstance Lord Chaworth's Diary has been preserved at Loseley.

The Diary.

The accompt and annotations of all things, chardges, and accidents w^{ch} befell me in my ymptoiment to y^e Infante in y^e qualitie of his Ma^{ties} Ambassador Extraordinarie.

Anno Dom. 1621.

The King's sum'ons to me.—This sum'er, y^e K. being in pgress at Rugford, in Notting'shire, y^e L. Admirall, Marq^s Buckingham told me y^e K. had ymptoime't for me, and com'anded my attendance about 5 a clock that afternoone, being Sundaie, about y^e 12th of August. I was called in to his Ma^{ties} bedchamb^r, where his Ma. taking me by y^e hand, sayde, "Come, George Chaworth, you must knowe I have taken notice of yo^r caryadge, and because it hath beene noble, I have made choice of you for my Ambass^r to Bruxells, yf ther be occasion, for yf other Princes send to condole (as I hear they doe), then must I needs doe y^e lyke, and therefore make yo^rselfe readie, and drawe in yo^r frends, for I must deale playnely wth you, you are not to looke to make a fortune of this ymptoiment, for it ys not one that I wille stowe cost on to make a shew. And I have beene offered to have it executed for an 8 or 900^{li}. ("Have I not?" sayeth he, turning to Marq^s Bucking^m."* "Yea, yea," said he)—but I make choyce of you as a gentleman that hath always caryed

* Here ys to be remembred howe ye Marq's intended to have put this ymptoiment upon S'r H. Rich (who since ys El of Holand) but his Ma'ie wold have me, intending it as a foundation for honor to me, but ye Marq's was malevolent to me.

yo^rselfe well, and will have a regard to carie this for my honor, and yet be a good manager of my purse, for, by my troth! I am straungly besett for monie on all sydes, and must take other and stricter courses then I have."

I replyed, "Sr, I most humbly thanke yo^r Ma.; and lett me assure yo^r Ma. whatsoever you please to ympleie me in, I will p^rforme faythfully and frugally. I have beene a good husband of my own estate, and yo^r Ma. shall not fynd me unthriftie of yo^rs."

Wth that his Ma. clapped me on y^e cheeke, and sayde, "Goe thy waye, thou art an honest man. So soone as I heare more of this matter (for yet I am not certaine) you shall have dyrections: but make no words."

Three dayes after, in y^e Thorney Woods, as his Ma. was hunting, I asked him yf it were his pleasure I shold staye behind him in y^t cuntrie, or shold goe along wth him? He answered, I must needs be at Woodstock, for y^t there he shold be resolved.*

The King's first dyrection to ye Secretarie.—Att Woodstock, after 4 daies wayteing on y^e Marq^s, I dyd receive fro his Lo^p his lett^r to Mr. Secretarie, Sr G. Calvert, w^{ch} was in substance onely to signefie y^e K's choice of me for y^t service, and that he shold p^rpare all things for y^e purpose.

I dispatched this lett^r, wth one of my owne, p^rsently to Mr. Secret^r, and I made my returne to my owne house, to carye up my wyfe wth me, and to settle my estate there, w^{ch} I dyd in y^e space of 8 dayes; hasted upp, but there found I nothing done by Mr. Secret^r, but onely that

* Here wants howe I ov'tooke ye K. at Sir Will. Pope's and howe he no sooner sawe me y'n he rane to me, and bad me "hast, hast awaie."

he had writt touching my allowance, what he by former p^rsidents found requisite for me to have allowed me.

I went ymedyately to Windsor (where I mett y^e King), and making my attendance howrely on y^e Secretarie, who (in my 4 dayes attendance there) gott my byll signed for my allowance, both in pres't monie and in dayely allowance, w^{ch} he then delivered me, haveing made my sayde allowance by daye to begin a munth before. The byll was this.

The King's warrant for my monie in press.—James, by the gra. of God K. of Eng^d, Scot^d, Fraunce, and Ireland, to y^e Tresurer and Under Tresurer of o^r Excheq^r for the tyme being, greeting. Wheras we have appointed o^r trustie and welbeloved servant, S^r G. Chaworth, K^t. one of y^e gentlemen of our chamber, to be o^r Ambass^r Extraordinarie unto our good sister, the Infanta Archduchess of Austria, to condole for y^e decease of o^r late good brother y^e Archduke of Austria, and are pleased to allowe unto him for his entertainment y^e sum of 5 marks by y^e daie. We doe hereby will and com'and you, out of y^e Treasure from tyme to tyme remaineing in y^e receipt of o^r Excheq^r, to paie, or cause to be paied, unto y^e sayde S^r G. Ch. or his assignes, y^e allowance of ffyve marks by y^e daie, before mentioned, to begin from y^e 20th daye of August last past, and to continue untill his returne to your p'sence.

And furthermore, we doe hereby will and com'and you, out of o^r Tresure aforesayde, forthwth to paie, or cause to be payed, unto y^e sayde S^r G. Chaworth, or his assignes (ov' and above his sayde entertainment), y^e sum of one thousand pounds, for y^e better furnishing himselfe for the charges of his transportation and sending of letters, wthout anie accompt or other charge to be sett uppon him or his assignes for y^e same, or anie part therof. And these or letters shalbe yo^r sufficient warrant or discharge in this behalfe. Geven under o^r privie scale, at o^r palace of

Westminst^r, y^e 12th of Septemb^r, in y^e 19th yeare of our raigne of England, France, and Ireland, and of Scotland y^e 55th, 1621.

Endorsed, To y^e Tresurer and Under Tresurer of o^r Excheq^r for y^e tyme being.

With this prive seale or warrant fro' y^e K. I p^rsently dyd goe to y^e Chaunc^r of y^e Excheq^r, (who was then y^e L. Brooke), who sent it to S^r Ro. Pye, and he made me this w^ar^rant, and sent it me wth y^e Chaunc^{lers} hand to it; but it wanted y^e Tresurer's, and because he was not in towne, I sent it to his Lop (who was then y^e L. Vicecount Mandevile). My man's chardges were to and from him 5s. Theyr order was this.

Sir G. Chaworth sent Ambassa^r to the Archduchess of Austria, for his transportatio['].

The L. Tressu^{rs} and Chaunc^{'lor} of y^e Excheq^r warant for my monie.

Order ys taken this 17 of Septemb^r 1621, by virtue of His Ma^{'ties} Letters of Privie Seale, dated the 12 of y^e same, that you deliv' and paie of such his Ma^{'ties} treasure as remain w^{'thin} yo^r charge, unto S^r G. Chaworth, Kt. one of y^e Gent. of his Ma^{'ties} Chamber appointed to be his Ma^{'ties} Ambassa^{d^r} Extraord^r unto his good sister y^e Infanta, Archduchess of Austria, to condole for his Ma^{'ties} late good brother y^e Archduke of Austria, y^e su['] of £1000, &c. And these, together with his assignes acquittance, shalbe yo^r dischardge herein.

MANDEVILE.

F. BROOKE.

The charge of my prive seale.—For this I payed, to the signett 1^{li}. Drawing y^e byll 10s. Privie Seale 1^{li}. To the clarks 12s. Payed to and fro' Woodstock 3^{li}. To and fro' Windsor 18s. 8d.

So soone as I had this signed by y^m, I sent it to S^r Ro.

Pye, cheefe teller in y^e Excheqr, who so soone as might be sent me an acquittance, wth word that I shold send for my monie. The ffees wherof were these :

My chardge at my receipt of my monie in y^e Excheqr. — Sr Ro. Pye, his ffee 11^{li}. Sr. E. Warder 25s. payed. Sr F. Edgcott at 15s. a' c^{li}. 7^{li}. 10s. To his man 10s.

Nowe I was called on by the Secret. and ye Lords to be readie and gone, w^{ch} I dyd make all hast possible to. Therfore I first furnished myself wth companie. I carried wth me from hence gentlemen that were my companions, onely three, Sr Gyles Bridges, brother to y^e Lord Chandois, Mr. Ph. Manwaring y^e K^s cupbearer, Mr. Yonge, a civill gent. but I had at least four others, whom I found on y^e other syde. I dyd covett Mr. Ro. Sutton and Sir Jo. Stanhope, who cost me sending for them 7s. And now I consulted wth y^e gent. of my companie to be all in a sute (because we went murners) and I dyd conclude, because I went to a Spanish murning court, to goe suted in y^e stuff they murne in in winter, vid. rugg bayes, but for y^e fashion to keepe to our owne, this was held good and wrought good acceptance there.

What cloathes I made for my journey.—First, I furnished myselfe wth a cassack, breeches, and cloak of black cloth, called ffrench blew, verie fyne, and a stuff doblett of black perpetuana. These were to be as my rydeing cloathes, wth slyvers of welch cotton ov' y^e breeches, and a ryding coate wth wyde sleeves ov' y^e doblett when I jorneyed. The cloake and cassake being hansomely folded upp and putt into a blacke cotton cloake bagg and carryed by one of my pages.

Draper's byll of my black cloth.—Of fyne fflaunders black cloath at 24s. y^e yard, 5 yards for y^e cassack, breiches, and cloak, 6^{li}. 6s. And for y^e syde murneing cloake of the same cloth 3 y'ds and a halfe, 4^{li}. 4s. 4 yards

and a halfe of fyne bayes to lyne y^e cloake wth, at 4s. 6d. 1^{li}. 3d. And 2 yards q^r for to lyne y^e cassack, 10s. 2d. Note. That this parcell of cloth, y^t is 3 yards and a halfe, was for a cloake, a syde one to murne and goe in there, w^{ch} shold be suteable to y^e sayde ryding cloathes; and wearing stockins, would have shewed us another sute of apparele, but I fund y^m there so generally in bayes, as I dyd nev' weare y^t cloake; but at my comeing awaye onely ware my ryding sute wth my short cloake and boots, being much comended therby.

The Tayeler's Byll of my Bayes sute.—Too yards of perpetuana, for a doblet for this ryding sute 5s. 8d. An elne of yellow taffatey sarsnet, to lyne it wth, 8s. Bayering, canvas, and stiffning, 5s. Buttons for y^e doblett, 22d. Quarter and a half of black taffatey, 3s. Stitching, silke and sowing, 20d. 4 yards of dutch bayes at 16d. (should be 1s. 4d.) y^e yard, to lyne it with next y^e sarsnett, 5s. 4d. 4 yards and a halfe of holmes, to laye next y^e stuff on y^e outsyde, 5s. 8d. For ribbin 15d. Hooks and eyes, and hoopeeng 18d. Makeing this sute, doblet, and hose onely 11s. Note, y^t the taylors accompt for y^e cloake and cassack ys on y^e next page but one.

Item, one yard and a halfe of black Coxall Bayes to lyne y^e cassack wth, 3s. 4d. 6 yards of Coxall Bayes, black, to make y^e ryding coate wth y^e same, and to have it lardge, wth wyde sleeves, at 2s. 4d. y^e yard, 14s. 7d.

Howe my sone was suted, and the chardge of his cloathes.—I suited my son Gilbert also for ryding like myselfe in all poynts: but onely I dyd not buye him a syde cloake of cloth, but onely y^e ryding sute lyke my owne. Three yards and a halfe of fyne black cloth, at 16s. y^e yard, 56s. Then 4 yards 3 quarters of black bayes for his cassack and cloake, at 4s. 6d. y^e yard, 21s. 4d. For his ryding coate of black Coxall bayes, and for y^e slyvers of his breeches 4

yards, 9s. 4d. Cooke y^e taylere's accompt for makeing this sute, in y^e other syde following.

These things for ryding bein^g in hand, I went then to furnish myself wth y^e black bayes w^{ch} I was to goe and murne in there. And I was advised to gett a Pennistone uncottond, and to have it cottoned on purpose on both sydes, w^{ch} I dyd; and so cloathed myselfe and my sone in that bayes, in syde cloakes, cassocks, and breeches, as followeth: for 17 yards of fyne doble shagg bayes, for Gilbert's murning cloake, cassock, hose, and for myne also, both lardge and verie fyne, at 6s. 8d. y^e yard, 5l. 13s. 4d.

Tayler's byll for my ryding cassack and ye cloake onely.
—Imprimis, draweing y^e cassack and cloake 5s. For 23 dozen of verie fyne fflaunder hayre button, at 6d. y^e doz. 11s. 6d. Stitching and soeing silke, 4s. 6d. Makeing the cassack, wth 23 doz. of botton holes, 7s. 6d. A long button, 1s. Makeing y^e cloake, lyned wth bayes, 4s. Imp'mis, for 2 yards of black dutch saye, at 5s. 8d. y^e yard, for y^e doblett, 11s. 4d.

Tayler's byll for my murning syde cloak, hose, cassack, and doblet therto.—An elne of sea-greene taffetey to lyne it wth, 8s. 3 yards of black jeans ffustian to laye next y^e stuff, 3s. A quarter and halfe of black taffetey for y^e skerts, 3s. Buttons, 20d. Bayes to laye next y^e inner lynceing, 20d. Draweing y^e cloake, 3s. 8d. Hookes, eyes, and ribbands 20d. Item for 17 doz. of flat hayre buttons for y^e cassacke onely, 4s. Stiching and soweing, 3s. 8d. 4 yards and a halfe of holmes to lyne y^e hose wth, 5s. 6d. Of dutch bayes to joyne to y^e outsyde 4 yards, 5s. 4d. Buckerom to y^e cassack and canvas to y^e cape, 18d. Makeing y^e cassack, hose, and cloake, 9s. 8d. Makeing y^e doblett, 7s. Spurs varnished, 3s.

The Tayler's byll for Gilbert's cloth ryding black sute.—One yard and a halfe of perpetuana for his doblett, 8s. 6d. Buttons for it 3 doz. 3s. 4d. Stiching and soweing silke, 3s. Buckeram and canvis, 20d. Dutch bayeses, 2 yards, 3s. Of holmes, 3 yards 3 qrs. for y^e hose and pocketts, 4s. Draweing y^e cloake, 2s. 6d. Makeing y^e cassack and cloake, 7s. 8d. Bayering canvis and stiffning, 2s. 8d. Buttons and silke, 2s. Stuff to lyne y^e skirts, 15d. A long button, 1s. Making his doblett and hose, 8s.

The Tayler's Byll for Gilbert's shagg bayes, cassack, hose, and cloake.—Impm's, for 13 doz. of black, flatt, plaine hayre buttons, 3s. 4d. stitching and soweing silke, 2s. 10d. Buckeram to y^e cassack, and canvis for y^e cape, 16d. Dutch bayeses to lyne the hose, 3s. Holmes, to lyne y^e hose 3 yards 3s. 9d. Ribbon 10d.

His drawers and coate. Makeing his bayes cassack and hose, 7s. 8d. Makeing the cloake, and for a long button, 2s. 6d. Hayre buttons for ye slyvers, 3 doz. 6d. Ribbon and silke for them, 20d. Makeing them both, 3s.

These my own and my son's outsydes being thus furnished, I thought meet nowe to settle y^e number of my servants, and to furnish y^m that such theyr stuff as was to be sent awaye, might be readie to goe wth my owne.

The number of gentlemen voluntaries went w' th me, theyrs and theyr men's apparells.—My number that went wth me were, Sr Giles Bridges and his foote man, Mr. Philip Manwearing and his man, Mr. Thos. Yonge and his man; with 4 others, that putt y^mselves into my trayne at Alost, Mr. Windsor, Mr. Jones, and two Mr. Penruddocks. These furnished y^mselves in black bayes murneing sutes, syde cloakes and cassacks, just like my men, and dyd furnish theyr menn lyke themselves.

*My servants had theyr entertainments.**—1. Mr. Bartholmew Brooksbie, my interpreter, who had by covenant from me his cloathes all made upp, and in monie for ye joorney, 10^{li}. 2. Mr. F. Parker, my Stuart, and sate at my table, and had his cloathes geven him. 3. Muns^r D. Boys, my sone's m^r (master), sate at my table, and had his cloathes; he was my servant before at 20^{li} fee. 4. Mr. Roger Markham of Cottham, onely to goe over with me and be wth me whylst I stayed there; he sate at my table, and cloathed himselve lyke my other servants. 5. A cooke, a ffrenchman out of Black fryers, a verie good one. He had of me his cloathes, and in monie, 16^{li}. 6. Oliver Maheut (who robbed me), and chandged his name in his flight to Mathieu Verillo; he wayted of me in my chamber, was my servant before, and now was as y^e rest cloathed by me. 7. Woodward, my coachman; 8. Geromie Mingas, my groome, [my servants before.] 9. Francis, an English boye; 10. Henerie, a French boye; they were by covenant to have nothing but their cloathes, but at severall tymes I gave them betwixt them 13^{li}. 11. Germaine, a messenger of y^e king's, for who' I hoped to have of Mr. Secret^r y^e allowance for a packet for goeing wth me, but he haveing it for goeing wth my letters I gave him onely, and he was pleased wth itt, 17^{li} 5s. He was my harbenger, and dyd me good service.

How my servants were cloathed.—Nowe haveing my number full I fell to cloathe y^m all alyke, and lyke myselve. The gentlemen also wth ruffs, and y^e groomes onely (w^{ch} were but 3) in falleing bands.

The particulars of theyr cloathes, and first of Mr. Parker's.—Mr. Parker had 9 yards q^r of shagg bayes for his cloake, cassack, and breeches at 4s. 6d. y^e yard, 2l. 1s. 7d.

* Here is omitted my entertaining Sr E. Prim, Kt. for my interpreter; but he fell sick, therefore I quitt him with his apparell, w^{ch} cost 5^{li}.

Perpetuana 2 y'ds and a q^r, for his doblett, 7s. Coxall bayes to lyne his cassack, 2 yds. and 3 q^{rs} at 2s. 4d., 4s. 1d. Welch cotton for his ryding coate and for his slyvers to ryde in, 8 yards, at 18d. a yard, 12s.

The tayelor's byll.—Makeing y^e sute, 10s. Bayering canvis, 3s. 8d. Holmes ffustin, 6 yards and a halfe, 8s. Buttons to y^e doblett, 16d. Dutch bases 3 yards, 4s. Hooks and eyes, 8d. Ribban, 1s. Silke, 14d. Buttons for his cassack, 13 dozens, 3s. 4d. Stitching for itt, 2s. 10d. Buckeram, 20d. Makeing y^e cassacke and cloake, 7s. 6d. He had further one playne ruff of cambrick, and 2 paire of plaine cuffs, w^{ch} at y^e best rate cost mee, 14s. 6d. A ffelt hatt and band wreathed, 6s. Hangers of Spanish leather, verie good ones, 4s. Spurrs varnished as y^e Hangers buckles, 18s. Garters and ribbons for shoo-tyes, 8s. Gloves, black ones, 1s. Shoos, 3s. Spurrs, 18d. Good black worstead stockins, 6s. Dressing and varnishing his sword . . . All his is 7^{li}. 13s. 10d. Oliver Meheut cost me as much, 7^{li}. 13s. 10d. Woodward as much, 7^{li}. 13s. 10d. Gerome Du Boyse as much, 7^{li}. 13s. 10d. And for another ruffe and cuffs 14s. 6d., 8^{li}. 17s. 8d. The cooke cost me as much, 7^{li}. 13s. 10d.

The too pages had instead of cassacks (w^{ch} all of us had) pages coats wth syde skirts so as y^e p'portion and allowance to y^m was as great as to y^e others; therefore, both of y^m together cost me double so much as Mr. Parker, w^{ch} ys 15^{li}. 13s. 10d. The interpriter as much, 7^{li}. 13s. 10d.

Nowe I will sett downe what other chardges I was att for all man'er of things, and for the preparation for my jorney, even to y^e daie of my setting forwards.

For ruffs 4, and ruff cuffs 5 payre of verie fine cambrick, lardge and good, at 5^{li}. 10s. The lyke for Gilbert, 5^{li}. 10s. Sending to my cosen Sutton for his compenie, 3s.

The lyke for Sir Jo. Stanhope, 18*d*. Black Spanish leather hangers, 5*s*. Spent going to Gorumberie for my monie, 12*s*. Too trunks, y^e one 18*s*. y^e other at 9*s*., 27*s*. 6*d*. Lace for my night cubbert cloathes, 2*s*. 3*d*. Ribbaning for poynts, 16*s*. 6*d*. Gloves (whyte), 5 payre, 5*s*. 6*d*. A cabbinnett, 16*s*. For a coach to y^e Spanish Ambassadors, 16*s*. For another coach 14*s*. To y^e shoo maker for boots and shooes onely for this occasion for myselfe and my sone, 4^{li}. 3*s*. To y^e sempstress for making bands, cuffs, and some pettie linin for this occasion, 58*s*. For boate hyer to seeke ship, 18*d*. To my cuttler, for a fayre black rapier and varnishing other weapons, 3^{li}. 4*s*.

Item, to y^e dauncer for teaching Gilbert cursies * at this tyme 10*s*. For black gloves 3*s*. 6*d*. For a beaver hatt and black band 53*s*. For a felt hatt for myselfe and another for my sonne, and black bands, 28*s*. For two dozen and a half of scutchions of all my coates of armes, wth y^e subscription of my ambassie, 5^{li}. † To y^e cooke, for dressing a supper on tryall of him, 5*s*. Meate for y^e supper 9^{li}. 9*s*. A boate to goe about my monie, 1*s*. Dogg cuppells, for 3 cupple of spaniells y^e I carried wth me, 4*s*. For 3 payre of fyne playne welted boote hose 33*s*. For as manie for Gilbert 28*s*. A hatt case wth a lock 4*s*. A blacke saddle, a hunting padd, 44*s*. A cabbinnett, wth pens and inke in it, 16*s*. hott waters 7*s*. A case for y^m 9*s*. A male, 10*s*. † A night stuff bagg 8*s*. Ffor too night cuppord cloathes of cambrick, the one laced, y^e other onely hem'ed, 30*s*. By this time, I received this underwritten lett^r from Mr. Trumbull, y^e K^s agent at Bruxells.

* Bows, or in the phrase of the day, "to make a leg."

† To leave at inns on his route.

‡ A travelling coffer, or bag. Chaucer's Pardoner had "reliques and pardons in his *male*." Hence our word *mail* for the conveyance of letters.

My Lord,

I am a stranger to yo^r L. and it maye be imputed to me for a p'sumption to troble you wth my unprofitable lett^{rs}. But y^t certaine report I heare of yo^r worth, good p'ts, and noble extraction, shall wth your L's favor pleade for my excuse. And these few words shall assure yo^r Lo^p that at yo^r aryvall on this syde y^e sea, that I will doe you all humble and faithfull service. I praie yo^r Lo^p to oblige me so far as to lett me understand y^e tyme of yo^r comeing into Flaunders. That I maye render yo^r L'p that respect w^{ch} ys dew to his Ma^{ties} Minister and Extraordinarie Ambassador, and suitable to y^e affection I have vowed to yo^r Lo^p.

Yf yo^r L^p shall have occasion to use y^e service of this bearer (one of his Ma^{ties} posts) in yo^r jorney, I will bouldly recom'end him unto you for an honest man, and one that ys well experienced in travelling through these cuntries. More y^e tyme will not p'mitt me saye, and I will not troble yo^r L^p anie longer, but humbly kyss yo^r Lo^ps hands, take my leave, and rest

Yo^r Lo^ps humble and affectionate servant,

W. TRUMBULL.

Bruxells, 15 Novemb. 1621. St. Vet.

To y^e R^t Honoble my verie good L. S^r Geo. Chaworth, K^t. gent. of his Ma^{ties} privie chamb^r, and his Ma^{ties} Ambass. Extraordinarie towards y^e Infanta.

I dyd thanke him for his letter verie kyndly, dyd sett him downe my intention both of setting forth and of jorneying and stayeing there. And lastly dyd desyre that, in respect he had done my L. of Doncaster that favor before, that I might for y^e short tyme of my staye be lodged in his none house.

And I gott Mr. Secret. to give y^e messenger y^e allowance for a packet (which ys 10^{li}) for y^e warning and p'pa-

ration for my coming. And this fellow Germaine dyd goe fro' me on the ffrydaie, and went to Bruxells, and returned to me on y^e Tusedaie sevensight followeing, w^{ch} was miraculous.

At y^e return of my messenger, Mr. Trumbull advised me for ease in chardg^e to cum by y^e waye of Lillo, all by sea and water to Antwerpe. But first to gett a pass from the K^s Ambass^r there, otherwayes I shold be stayed, because of y^e place I was dyrected to ; but I was so far embarqued in y^e other course (being now wthin 3 dayes of my jorney), that I cold not alter my former intention.

Nowe I sent some of my people before to Dover wth my stuff, the caryadge wherof and theyr charges came unto 42s. 10d.

The day after I sent others of my men who desyred not to ryde post, y^e cheapest waye by water to Gravesend, and so by y^e caryer* thither, who goeing thither, and theyr staye there, cost me 37s.

My jorney to and at ye sea.—Imprimis. Too coaches to carye me and my companie wth me to Canterburie in two dayes at 20s. a coach for a daie, payeing for theyre comeing back also as for theyr going, 8^{li}.

* Here shold be expressed that the daye before I went forwards I took leave of all the great persons, Keep'r, Tresurer, and all the Lo's of the Councill, and cheefly of Mr. Secret'y Calvert, who called on me dayely by the K's directions to be gone. And when I had taken my leave, then he sent me to my house my letters of credence and instructions, and then I was engaged to post away, w'ch I did ye next morning, w'ch unhappely was (and so p'ved to me) a *dismal daye*, in which, by God's favour, I will never more begin anie jorney, but till then I never was superstitious of itt or anie dayes els.

I began my journey on Thursdaie y^e 4th of October, 1621.

To Rochester.—My chardges that night I laye at Rochester, reckning all things there, 57s. 6d. My dinner at Canterburie, 11^{li}. 8s. To the clarke of the pass, 11s.

Dover.—At Dover, for thither I went that night, for I left my coaches, and tooke my post horses fro' Canterburie at 3s. a peace, 33s. For my supper, breakfast, and some small p[']vision for y^e sea there, 15^{li}. 18s. To y^e poore there, 5s. Caryng me and my companie to y^e shipp, 19s. 6d.

I sent Germaine before fro' Rochester to goe to Dover there to hyer me a good barque for my passage; he got a good shipp, for w^{ch} I dyd paie, dyvers goeing wth me, 4^{li}. To the searchers, 10s.

Calais.—Before I could get to Calais, it was lowe water, and I could not gett neare wth my shipp to land, and (after long staye in bargaineing) was forced to give y^e ffrench skippers for a long boate to lande me and my companie wth me leaveing my stuff a board until y^e tyde arose, I say they wold have 44s. And after to carye me over the creke, 3s. My supper and breakfast at Calais was 15^{li}. 14s.

Gravelin.—For 10 post horses fro' Calais to Gravelin, for y^e rest of my companie went in waggons, and so from thence to Donckerque, 3^{li}. Spent in Gravelin 6s. 9d. Geven to y^e monasterie, 11s. A waggon to Donkerq, 1^{li}. 3s.

Donkquerk.—Att Donkerque for my supper and for my breakefast, 17^{li}. 18s. To y^e soldjers 15s. 6d.

Newport.—Spent at Newport, whylst y^e waggons dyd bayte, 9s. 10d.

Ostend.—Geven Gilbert to goe see y^e armie before Sluce, 22s. My sup^r, breakfast, and meate for post horses, 16^{li}. 18s. 3d. Geven y^e servants there for ferryng, 14s. 7d.

Brudges.—To y^e waggoner, for a waggon from Donkerq

to Brudges, 2^{li}. 8s. 7d. And for 5 horses fro' Donkerque hither, 2^{li}. 12s. Tusedaie y^e 9th of October, my sup^r and my breckfast at Brudges, 15^{li}. 12s. To y^e servants 13s. 4d. To y^e poore 3s. 4d.

Hither my son'e, being dispatched betymes in the morning, spending y^e daye at y^e armie, returned to me wth this letter underwritten from y^e Generall of y^e armie, Don Inigo de Borges, who was Governor of Antwerp, but since dead.

A Monsieur, Monsieur Chaworth, Embasador del Rey
de la Gran Bretaña en Flandres.

Monsieur,

Monsieur votre fils m'a donné une votre lettre, par laquelle ay receu grand contentement et grand plaisir, d'avoir veu le portear, et demeure plein de desir de vous rendre service. Je suis marry que Mon^s votre filz n'ayt venu en saison de pouvoir voir les gens de guerre que j'ay icy, pour estre ce jourdhuy jour de monstre, et estre grand partie des gens occupée aux fortifications du quartier, et autres ouvrages. En tout ce qui sera de mon pouvoir, me trouverez tousjours prompt et desirèux de recevoir vos commandemens, comme, Monsieur, vostre tres affectionné serviteur,

DOM INIGO DE BORGES.*

De Rergerserlut, ce 19 d'Octobre, 1621.

* Translation.

Sir,

Your son has given me a letter, through which I have derived much pleasure and satisfaction, in seeing him the bearer, and I remain full of anxiety to do you service. I am vexed that your son should have come at a time when he could not see the troops which I have here under my command, for it is

He laye before Sluce cheefely to p'vent y^e Hollanders theyr takeing (by drowneing it) the Isle of Cassant, of wh. they had alreadie drowned 4,000^{li}. p an. at y^e least. But had he surprized y^e towne of Sluce, as he onely laye before itt, those of experience assured me he might have taken itt, for the Hollanders had hitherto strangeley neglected it. He had neere 1,000 men there, and was comed but 4 daies before.

Gaunt.—Payed for 2 horses fro' Brudges to Gaunt 16s. For my dinner by y^e waye that day that I came thither 11^{li}. 8s. 7d. To theyr servants, 6d. ob. For setting upp my armes, 4s. 7d. To y^e too waggoners, for too waggons from Brudges to Gaunt 2^{li}. 6s. ob. Payed for y^e cook's horse fro' thence to Bruxells 7s. My sup^r and breakfast at Gaunt 17^{li}. 18s. To a man for guydeing me to y^e churches 18d. To ye servants at Gaunt 12s. 3d. ob. For a pott of renish wyne there after all, 2s. 3d. ob. Mending a latchet of a boote 1d. ob.

Alost.—The 11th of October, being Thursdaie, (being also dismall daie,) I came to Alost, in Flaunders, where, by reason of y^e mistakeing of y^e waye, and y^e foulness of y^e daie, the waggon wth my stuff came late in, and long after myselfe, wherby, and by y^e negligence of my servants, a trunke of myne, which had good store of gold in itt, was not unladed, but wth all the rest of y^e stuff stode in y^e waggon all night, w^{ch} a villaine tooke advantage off, brake open y^e lock, and robbed it of about £350 in Eng^{sh}. gold. And by reason y^t Mr. Trumbull sent me word thither of his coming to

muster-day, and a great portion of the troops are employed on the fortifications of the quarter, and other works. In every thing that may be in my power, you will ever find me prompt and desirous to fulfil your commands, as your very devoted servant,

DOM INIGO DE BORGES.

meete me, and wishing me thence to dispatch a post for England, I was taken upp so wth my letters to his Ma. wth y^e entertainment of Mr. Trumbull, and wth discourse wth those gent. that honored me by coming thither to meete me, that I had no leasure to thinke on my loss, or to cast and search eyther who might doe it, or y^e man'er howe it was done, whereby I might have easilie beene lighted to y^e mann, who was one Olliver Maheut, a servant of my chamber, whom, for his haveing y^e Spanish tonge wth his native language (for he was a ffrench man), I had entertained into my chamber 4 munths before. This knave had an infermatie to bleede often, w^{ch} he had done all about y^e waggon in this act of theft; but I trusted others in y^e search, so as though nowe it appeared manifest, wth manie visible signes, that it was he onely, yet no man cast out a thought on him, but held him the honest (honestest) man I had, by reason of his excessive diligence, for it was rare to me, and dyd captivate all. And yet y^e first man that I myselfe nominated was he, by reason y^t there was one dropp of bludd w^{ch} I found wthin my trunke; but I was instantly dyverted by my Secretie Muns^r du Boyse, my sones tutor, wth a "Jesu! Muns^r. honest Oliver luy! non pas possible!" w^{ch} words cuming from him dyverted me utterly, and made me lose discovering it. Hence I dispatched a packett to the King.

Payed at Alost: for a new ward for my trunk 1s. Mending y^e lock 9d. ob. For my sup^r that night, y^e next daie's diner and supper, and Saterdaie's breakfast 39^{li}. 11s. 2d. Geven y^e servants there 3s. 4d.

Mr. Trumbull discreetly caused a coach to meete me before her High^s coaches came, so as I was not seene in wagons, by Mr. Trumbull's meanes. To y^e Duke of Ascote's coachman, that mett me 4 myles on this syde Brusells, 22s.

My first visit to the Infanta.—I had no sooner comed to my lodgeing but Count de Noiele (one of y^e Infanta's major domoes) came to me by her comand, to see me howe I dyd, howe I brooked my journey, and howe I lyked my lodgeing, wth her wellcome to y^e towne. I dyd instantely, both by him, and purposely by my owne good hoast y^e C. de Midleburge, beseech y^e favor fro' her Altez to graunt me audience y^e next daie, w^{ch}, though it was extraordeonarie eyther for me to demand or to be granted, yet I obtained it at 5 o'clock the next day after diner.

My Instructions.

JAMES R. Instructions for o^r trustie and well-beloved servant S^r Geo. Chaworth, kt. one of the gentlemen of o^r privie chambre, sent by us as o^r ambassador extraordinarie unto y^e Infanta Isabella, Archiduchess of Austria, Duchess of Burgundie, etc.

“Wheras we have resolved to send some fitt person unto o^r good cozen y^e Infanta Isabella at Bruxells, to condole y^e death of her husband y^e Archeduke Albert, lately deceased. We conceiving a good opinion of yo^r discretion and zeale to o^r service, have made choice of you to p^r-forme y^t office of condoleance, for w^{ch} purpose we have thought fitt to give you these short instructions, relying much uppo' yo^r discretion for y^e executio' theroff.

“You shall therefore make yo^r repaire to Bruxells wth all convenient speede, and there having audience, shall p^r-sent yo^r letter of credence unto y^e Infanta, letting her knowe that though happely you maye be one of y^e last y^t shall arive there to dischargdge this sorrowfull dutie (wherof o^r manie other great affaires have beene y^e occasion), yet we are not less sensible of y^e cause of her p^r-sent affliction, then anye other that have prevented. You shall ther^wth all rep^r-sent unto her y^e extreeme greefe we were possessed

wthall at y^e sad and unwellcu' news of y^e death of that good prince, whose pietie and other excellent virtues worthelie gained him y^e affections of all men during his lyfe, and made his loss y^e greater to his frends.

“ And although she was nearest to him in conjunction, and therefore her sorrowes wthout all doubt must be y^e greatest, yet have we no small part therin, considering y^e mutual affection we have long borne each to her person, and y^e good effects therof w^{ch} we ev^r found in his neighborhood, by his constant amitie and frendshipp towards us. But seeing y^e privilege of his qualitie could not exempt him fro' y^e com'on condition of all mortals, and y^t his age and infiramties had p'pared her long before for such a sorrowfull yssue, we make no doubt but she will nowe employ her wysdome and courage patiently to undergoe it, and to comphort herselfe in y^e remembrance of his manie virtues, wherin he was inferior to few princes. And what shall depend on us for consolation, we shall be readie to manifest according to y^e frendshipp we have ever borne to y^m both, wherof we have thought good to tender her againe y^e assurance by you, desyreing her to beleve that whersoev^r we can make y^e same appeare by effect, we will doe it wth o^r whole endeavore for her good and contentment.

[My instructions touching y^e Palatinate.]

“ And wheras we have (as you knowe) long laboured in y^e reconciliation betwixt y^e Emperor and o^r son'e in lawe for his full and entyre restitutio' to his antient hono^{rs} and possessions; in y^e pursuite of w^{ch} worke we have desired y^e frendly assistance of y^e late Archduke, and since of y^e Infanta, to y^e Emperor, wherunto they have willingly condescended, and wherof we hope to fynd some effects in y^t busynes, w^{ch} is nowe, God be thanked, in a good waye of accom'odation. You shall, therefore, at yo^r second audience

(w^{ch} wold be as soone after, as conveniently you maye obtaine) p'sent unto her o^r princely thanks for y^e favor she hath so readily done us in joyning wth us to p'cure a peace in Germanie, and in the p'fession of all other good offices in o^r behalfe, wher' we praye her for y^e zeale she beareth to y^e peace of Christendome, y^t she will continue her ayde and assistance by contributing nowe her best endeavors for y^e final p'fecting this good worke. To y^e attainment wherof, nothing can more conduce yⁿ a cessation of armes in y^e palatinate, wherunto y^e Emperor ys well enough enclyned, as we understand he hath expressed lately in his letters to her, referring the consideration therof unto her.

You shall therefore earnestly desyre her in o^r name, seeing y^t y^e meanes for saveing y^e effusion of Christian blude so much depends in her, to make demonstration of her zeale by expediteing y^t busynes untill y^e treatie may be concluded, wherin nowe she hath a faire occasion offered both to shew her Christian pietie to y^e world, and to oblige us by a curtesie w^{ch} we will allwayes really acknowledge wth reciprocally offices of amitie and affection, by y^e increase and long continuance of y^e peace and good correspondence betwixt us and y^e house of Burgundie. To this purpose we have lykewyse furnished you wth a letter apart, w^{ch} you are to deliv' unto her.

GEO. CALVERT.

Theobalds, 3d October 1621.

Att my first audience, w^{ch} was on Sundaie y^e of October, I delivered (after dew reverences made to her Highn^s) my letter of credence fro' his Matie; being fetched to her Altez^s presence by Count Emden of y^e order, and after p'sented my speech of condolence, as ys before onely transversed, as a message sent by me fro' his Ma'tie. Her Altez accepted y^e message, most kyndly asked me

manie questions of his Ma. and y^e Prince, and after descended to my owne jorney. And then I dep'ted after I had p'sented to her Altez those gentⁿ were attending me, who then were 12, as Mr. Wyndsor, Sr Gyles Bridges, Master Manwearing, and my son'e, Mr. Markham, Mr. Yonge, two Mr. Penruddocks, Mr. Jones, and Mr. Du Boyse, and Mr. Brooksbie, who was to have beene my interpreter, and Mr. Trumbulls sone, his father doeing me the hor to be my interpreter, w^{ch} was much, being the K^s agent there a long tyme. And so making her Altez 3 reverences, as I went fro' her (as I dyd when I came to her), I then turned to y^e right hand, and saluted wth one curtsie y^e nuntio of y^e Pope and y^e ambassador of Spaine, there ledgier,* who were both covered in her p'sence. Then, as I passed, I turned to y^e other syde, and saluted y^e ladyes wth severall curtesies, who were 22 of great qualeitie. I marched away, and instantly noted downe everie word and ev'ie passage betwixt her Highnes and me.

The King's Letter touching the Palatinate :

Madame ma Sœur et Cousine,

Envoyans ce gentilhomme, le Chevalier Chaworth, gentilhome ordinaire de nostre chambre, pour en notre nom se condouloir avec vous de la mort de feu notre tres cher frere et cousin, l'Archeduc vostre mary, nous avons bien voulu aussy, par mesme moyen, vous remercier des vos offices qu'il vous a plu rendre a l'instance de notre agent, ainsy qu'il nous la faut entendre pour l'avancement du traité de paix que nous avons en main entre l'Empereur et notre Gendre, en quoy nous vous priérons de continuer les efforts de vostre bonne assistance, et contribuant tout ce qui dependra de vous pour emener ce bon œuvre a fin ;

* Lieger, or accredited delegate.

au moins pour establir quant a present, durant le dict traité, une trefue au Palatinat, puisque l'Empereur a ce que nous entendons vous a deja faict scavoir par ses lettres, qu'il l'avoit pour agreable, ainsy que nous avons charge notre dict Ambassadeur de vous en faire instance plus particuliere de nostre part. Et come en cela vous ferez preuve de vostre piete et du zele que vous avez au repos de la Christenté, aussy le recevrons nous pour un tesmoinage et effet meritoire de vostre bonne amitié en nostre endroit, qui nous obligera a le recognoistre par offices reciproques de la nostre envers vous, et a demeurer, come nous serons toujours, Madame, ma sœur et cousine,

Votre tres affectionné cousin et frere,

J. R.*

A notre Palais de Hampton Court,
le 29 Septembre, 1621.

* Translation.

Madam my Sister and Cousin,

In sending the bearer, Chevalier Chaworth, a Gentleman in ordinary of our Privy Chamber, that in our name he should condole with you on the death of our late very dear brother and cousin the Archduke your husband, we have been desirous by the same means to thank you for the good offices which you have been pleased to render, at the request of our Agent, as he has given us to understand, for the advancement of the treaty of peace which we have in hand between the Emperor and our Son-in-law, in which matter we shall pray you to continue the effects of your good aid, by contributing all in your power towards bringing this good work to consummation; or, at least, to establish, during the above negociation, a truce for the Palatinat; for the Emperor, according to our understanding, has already intimated to us, by his letters, that such a course would be agreeable to him, therefore we have charged our said Ambassador to importune you more particularly in that matter

And I shold have sett down before what haste y^e ambass^{rs} residents (espetially Marq^s Bedmar, now Cardi^{al} Quena, ambass^r fro' Spaine) made to visitt me. And after my audience I returned complements to y^m, and also visited y^e other Lo^{ds} of note who visited me wth y^e great ladies of y^e court.

I was no sooner returned fro' y^e Court to my lodging, but I made my humble thanks to him y^t convoyed me, Count Embden, to her Altez presence. And also my humble and earnest suite to her, that it wold please her to graunt me another audience so soone as might stande wth y^e necessitie of her greater occasions. And after I dyd press it by other messages to her Altez. And at last it was assigned me to be on Weddensdaye next following, w^{ch} was verie soone and rare, but I pressed it y^e more earnestly, because I both had such dyrection from my m^r, and lykwyse my L. Digbie was on his jorney fro' y^e Emperor, and had sett himself to cum that way by her High^s Court, and yt was behoofull for me to have played my part before he entred his, w^{ch} dyd consist of more art then myne dyd.

My good host y^e C. Midleburge dyd convoye me this day to her Altez, and she vouchsafed to me a private audience, as they call it, when her trayne and y^e grandure of y^e Court doe not give attendance. She nowe had nobodye wth her butt 3 old ladies, and too or 3 infants, w^{ch} she

in our behalf. And as thereby you will demonstrate the piety and zeal which your entertain for the repose of Christianity, we shall moreover accept it as a meritorious proof of your good friendship towards us, which we shall feel obliged to acknowledge by reciprocal good offices towards yourself, and to remain, as we must ever, Madam our sister and cousin,

Your very affectionate cousin and brother,

J. R.

bringeth upp; and but few of my trayne were to enter wth me.

Ymediately after this audience I held my dutie to give y^e King an accompt of his errand, w^{ch} I dyd in this maner:
My letter to y^e K. from Bruxells :

May it please yo^r Matie,

By reason y^t notice was comed to Bruxells of my Lo. Digbie's returne from Marq^s Spinola that waye, and theyre expectatio of him was howrely; therefore y^e house of C. de Noiele (w^{ch} was first made readie for me) was now assigned for his Lop, as for him worthie to be first served. This constrained me staye in Alost [where I was ryfled], 5 leagues short of Bruxells, untill they were there readie for me. The 13th of this munth I came hither, and am lodged at the house of Count de Midleburge, a noble and free harted gentⁿ. And though it was agreed not with examples, I did so earnestly sollicit my request for audience wth this gentⁿ. (who ys Gov'nor of Brudges,) that I obtained it y^e next daie, being Sundaie. But because I knowe long relations, and much more repetitions, are troublesome to yo^r Matie, I have p'sumed to troble my good L. yo^r Admirall, wth y^e particulars hereof, to trye yf he that ever [I should have said *never*] dealt faithfully wth yo^r Ma. will take y^e tyme y^t maye least troble yo^r Ma. herewth. I dyd (w^{ch} I doubt ys not usually done) at my first audience move y^e Infanta myselve for my second audience, wth y^e speede that might agree wth her affaires, but by reason of other counsellis I could not have it untill Wednesdaye, wherof allso I have given accompt to my L. Admirall. I departed from my audience to convoye my L. Digbie into y^e towne, and so soone as I maye wth modestie, and the notⁱntercepting my L. Digbie's occasions wth the Infanta, (w^{ch} I understand will hold them 2 dayes,) I will labor my

leave to depart, w^{ch} at my last audience yesterdaie I dyd also move to her Altez.

More I will not now molest yo^r Ma: with, but beseech you to accept well of my service, under y^e tytles of faythfull and obedyent, w^{ch} shall ev^r labor they maye wynn fro' you y^e honor to be called good and effectuall, by

Yo^r Majestie's most devoted servant,

G. CHAWORTH.

This (for certentie y^t his Ma. shold have itt, and also see y^e other to my L. Admirall,) I did endorse in this following letter to his LoP.

My letter to y^e Marq. Buckingham, Admirall of Eng^d, from Bruxells :

My noble Lo: and Master,

I beseech yo^r LoP be pleased to delever upp to his Ma: this accompt of y^e ymployment he hath pleased to trust me wth. I certefyed yo^r Lp. before howe I was forced to contract my journey fro' Gaunt w^{ch} I intended to Bruxells, and to abyde in Alost, by reason y^t y^e notice of my L. Digbies comeing was camd thither before me, and so y^t house of Count de Noiele (p'pared for me) was nowe reserved for his LoP, and I was constrained to abyde in Alost, w^{ch} place I had no reason to take pleasure in, untill y^t Count de Middleburg's house was p'pared for me. My Lo: upp' Saturdaie, being y^e 13th, y^e Count de Middleburge mett me wth her Altezs caroaches, an Eng^{sh} myle out of Bruxells, and dyd convoe me to his owne house. Though it agreed not wth exemples, yet I earnestly importuned him to procure me audience y^e next daie, w^{ch} his Lop. obtained in my behalfe; and there came fro' Court wth him y^e Count Noyelle to viset me fro' her Altez. Uppon Sundaie y^e 14th of this munth,

after I had p'formed such reverence and respects as belong to a la: of her qualitie, I dyd present to her Altez his Ma^{ties} letters of credence, and dyd second them wth my embassie, according to my instructions; to w^{ch} her Altez made me this answer, or to this effect:

First, she acknowledged many respective thanks to his Ma: for his charitable offices it pleased him to doe her, in administring comphort to her afflictions for y^e death of *Suprimo. el. Archeduque*; and secondly, specefyed that she would strive to shew her gratitude for them in all occasions wherin she might doe his Ma: service. Afterwards she excused y^e poore entertainment (as she called itt), w^{ch} was nowe made me, laying the events of itt on y^e tyme of murneing. She nowe enquired of his Ma^{'ties} health, where he was, and how far from London. These being answered, I remembered the Princes his comands to her, of whom she enquiryed much, and as it seemed to me not out of fashion but affection, and then wth lyke reverence to her as before, I departed. I forgott to signifie that at y^e instant of my parting from her Altez, I remembred Mr. Secretaries chardge to me, of hastning my second audience so soon as I might, and therfore (though I had no warrant or example for itt) I spake myselfe to her Altez for a secong audience, w^{ch} by reason that other councells were appointed, I could not obtaine untill Weddensdaie y^e 17th of this munth, after my reverence made, and my lett^r of credence delev^d as before, I received answer to this effect fro' her Altez. That she bare so much respect to his Ma^{tie} and all things that were propounded in his name, as she was most desirous to give his Ma: satisfaction to y^e uttermost of her power, as formerly she had done in y^e cessation of arms, now requyred againe; but she was sorye this newe question was of y^t nature, as she had not powre to gratifie his Ma: therin, her hands be-

ing tyed by y^e Emperors limited comission ; but as hitherto she had done all good offices therin, so she hoped that those she was nowe on doeing shold ere it were long, procure his Ma: contentment. I dyd also at this tyme remember y^e Prince his com'ands to her Altez, and had y^e same answer in effect wth y^e other.

Of all this my Lo. I have Mr. Trumbull's testemonie, whose relation I hope wyll not differ from myne, only it wilbe y^e more worthie his Ma^{ties} and yo^r Lo^{ps} vew.

I assure yo^r Lo^p he y^s an excellent servant, worthie his master, and worthie yo^r Lo^{ps} making him y^e subject of yo^r favor and benefitt, and so I rest yo^r Lo'ps faythfull serv^t to com^d.

G. CHAWORTH.

Bruxells, Octob^r 18, St. Veteru'.

Then I labored for my dispatch and my answers in wryting, that I might be gone, but by reason that my Lo: Digbie had a visitt (for an audience I cannot call itt, having no relation to her Altez, but to y^e Spanish ministers there,) on y^e ffrydaie I cold not obtaine my takeing leave untill Sundaie.

In y^e interim I visited those great men who had visited me, ffirst y^e ambassadors, then y^e Lords of Emden, Octadio, and dyv^rs others, and last, y^e ladies, who are manie of good qualitie, and noble behavior, and passant y^e Eng^{sh} monestarie, a place w^{ch} (excepting some superstitions) ys approveable, and worthie much honor.

Sundaie being comed, I went to my takeing leave, w^{ch} I had wth all y^e grace her Altez could doe me. I had verie long discourse of all maner of subjects, and freely wth her ; and in conclusion, I begged of her her portrait, w^{ch} she yielded at first, wth a profession howe well she accepted my demeanor there, and howe readie she wold be to

doe my p^rticular any curtesie might lye in her powre. And so I kissing her garment, and getting y^t ho: to all y^e gent. of my trayne, I departed.

Then went I to take leave where before I had visited w^{ch} though it was more then I needed to have done, but by my Secret^{ri} by a message, yet it was desent, and extra-ordeonarie well taken by them all.

Nowe in respect y^e Prince had geven me a p^rticuler adress to her Altez, and I had had much discourse wth her of his High^s for this respect, and for to enter myselfe y^e more into his High^s cognisance, I held it proper for me to give him knoledge by letter of some of y^e p^rticuler concerning him, w^{ch} I dyd by this letter :

[Letter to Charles Prince of Wales.]

Maye it please yo^r Highn^s,

Seeing it was yo^r High^s pleasure to honor me wth y^e trust of yo^r words of ceremonie to y^e Infanta, out of the consequence and obligation of my dutie, I here presume to give yo^r High^s accompt therof. At my first audience touching y^e condolence, her Altez seemed to be revyved wth yo^r Highn^s name, and sayde she wold strive to shew her gratitude to yo^r High^s in all occasions, and enquired much after yo^r person, disposition, and course. To my second audience, touching y^e cessation of armes in the Palatinate, when I had sayde that your High^s joyned in his Maties request to her Altez, and wth the same earnestnes, she answered that yo^r Highnes was a prince of wonderful hope, that she dyd much ho^r you wth her hart, and she was sorie it was not absolutely in her power to graunt my demand, for she had her *manos atados* by y^e Emperor's comission; but she hoped ere long that by her endevors yo^r High^s and his Ma. shold be satisfied in yo^r

demands. And at my last audience, or leave takeing, w^{ch} was on Sundaie y^e 21 of October, in her conclusion she comanded me to com'end to yo^r High^s her best affections, and to say that she hoped and desyred that y^e good ametic betwixt y^e King and her shold (ere long) be *estrechada** by a new allyance, and gave yo^r High^s manie thanks for your good remembrance of her. Yo^r High^s knoweth that for y^e matter of busynes I was but to usher my L: Digbie, nor can yo^r High^s expect more fruit of that proportion of seede w^{ch} I had geven me, but when it shall please his Ma. by yo^r High^s favor to prefere me in trust, I am confident I shall not be y^e most unprosperous in yo^r affaires, seeing that my hart is fixed ever to be most industriously yo^r Highnes most humble and devoted servant,

G. CHAWORTH.

I nowe conferred wth Mr. Parker, my Stuart, what and to whom I shold give reward for attendance, or anie service or respect done to me or for me, and to cleere those bylls of chardges which arose since my coming from Alost.

And note that I psented y^e Infanta wth a fayre whyte greyhound, and dyv^s ladies and others with spaniels

Bylls, charges, and rewards geven and payed at Bruxells.
 —Payed to the waggoner, for one waggon fro' Calais to Bruxells, 10*l.* 8*s.* For a close waggon from Gaunt to Bruxells, 2*l.* 5*s.* 6*d.* For a horse for Jeromie from Canterburie to Dover, 3*s.* 6*d.* For lodgings abroad at Ostend, 3*s.* 6*d.* For a horse for my harbenger from Gaunt to Bruxelles, 7*s.* Spent at Alost whylst he marked y^e chambers, 2*s.* For his horse from Bruxelles to Alost againe, 5*s.* His supper and horse meate, 2*s.* 6*d.* Two payre of garters at Bruxelles for my pages, for theyr others were stolen wth my monie, 9*s.* 6*d.* Geven two pages there

* Bound closely.

19s. 9d. Geven to poore there 13s. 9d. For my doggs meate 15s. ob. Geven one for releave of post horses 6d. Geven to the servants where Jeromie lodged 3s.

Geven at my parting.—I gave a Spanish gould chayne to him of y^e Jewell-house who brought her High^s present of a jewell to me: it was a prittie one, and cost me 24^{li}. 9s. 3d. Geven y^e Count Midleburg's 3 pages 24^{li}. 1d. To an auntient gent. who was his High^s servant, and as major domo to me, 24^{li}. To y^e C. Midleburg's Stuart 15^{li}. To him y^t attended, and alwayes dyd send for and comand y^e coatches for me, 5^{li}. 8s. To y^e 3 coatchmen 40 English crowns 4^{li}. 8s. [sic.] To too valetts that ranne by me alwaye 16 crowns, which ys 2l. 8s. To y^e cooke 5l. 8s. To too under him 48s. To y^e hostler 44s. To one under him 22s. To y^e too maydes that made my bedd dayely 2l. 2s. To y^e porter 3l. 3s. To y^e butler 6 English crownes 3l. 3s. [sic.] To y^e cobberd keeper 3l. 3s. To other two footemen 2^{li}. 9s. To y^e gentⁿ harberger who came for itt 18l. To y^e Count's groomes 10l. To y^e monasterie there, to what charitable use they pleased 28l. Amongst y^e gardeners when I went thither 18l. 10s. To y^e servants where some of my servants were lodged 4^{li}. 4s.

All my rewards were given on y^e Tuesedaie night, because I was to goe to Antwerpe by y^e river the next morning betymes, and I had over night brought me by one of her Altezs Jewell-house a jewell of y^e largest syse, but of small valew, for I sold itt at y^e best rate in England for 70l.*

* It was the custom at this period for sovereign princes to present some rich jewel to ambassadors at their departure for their own courts. This may be illustrated by a contemporary anecdote of Sir Henry Wotton, who being ambassador to the Emperor of Germany, Ferdinand II. for advocating the resto-

One of her Altez's secretaries sent me my dispatches in these two letters following, from her Altez to his Ma^{tie}.

The Infanta's Letter to the King.

Tres hault, tres puissant, et tres excellent Prince, mon

ration of the Palatinate, to the Queen of Bohemia, on his departure from an abortive negociation, received a jewel from the emperor in value more than a thousand pounds, which Sir Henry presented the next day to the Countess of Sabrina, an Italian lady with whom the emperor had appointed him to be lodged and honourably entertained. The emperor took this as a high affront, and intimated his displeasure to Sir Henry; who boldly replied that, though he received his highness's gift with thankfulness, yet he found himself little inclined "to be bettered" by any gift that came from an enemy to his mistress the Queen of Bohemia. (See Walton in the Life of Sir Henry Wotton.) The infanta might have been equally offended with Sir George Chaworth's appropriation of her gift, who, in turning it to the best account, appears to have found, according to the adage, that in matters of jewelry all was not gold that glittered. The following note relative to the Infanta's gift is appended by himself to the diary.

The note of the jewel the Infanta gave me. As the goldsmiths vallewed it at Bruxells: the fashion 10*l.* 8 ounces of gold at 3*l.* 6*s.* 28*l.* 64 small diamonds at 120 French crowns 36*l.* 5 diamonds at 4*l.* 20*l.* 8 at 4*l.* 32*l.* 1 great diamond at 15*l.*—141*l.* 1*s.*

The note of the Goldsmiths of London. The middle stone 20*l.* 4 small stones about it 2*l.* 8 more at 4*l.* 16 more, 4 of them at 20*s.* a peece, and 12 at 6*s.* a peece, 7*l.* 12*s.* 24 more, 4 of them at 10*s.* a peece, and 20 of them at 3*s.* a peece 5*l.* 4 table diamonds 4*l.* The topp stone 7*l.* 10*s.* 12 small diamonds 3*l.* Gold 24*l.*—Sum total 77*l.* 2*s.* There is in all 78 diamonds. I sold this jewel to Mr. S. for 70*l.* nor could of any other possibly get so much. Though they did confess it cost at first making neere 300*l.*

tres cher et tres amé bon frere et cousin, le Cheval^r Chaworth, gentilhomme de notre chambre privée, m'a rendu la votre du 29 du passé, et en suite de la creance y portée m'a déclaré bien particulierement le ressentiment de v're Mat^{ie} sur le trespas de feu Monsieur l'Archiducq, qui est entierement conforme a ce que vous m'avez ja fait entendre precedemment par les lettres qu'il vous a plu mes écrire, aussy tost que vous aviez receu les nouvelles de mon affliction. Je me confesse singulierement obligée a v're Mat^e par tant de bons et vifs effectz de sa bonne volonté, qu'elle fait paroistre en une conjuncture que l'on recognoist mieux les vrayes amities. Aussy en conserveray je toujours la memoire et mefforcera y tout ce que je puis affin que v. Mat^e cognoisse l'estime que je fais de la continuation de sa bienveillance et le soing que je porteray de me la conserver, comme plus amplement le pourra rapporter a v. Mat^e le dit Chev^lr Chaworth. Je m'en reffere donc a luy pour prier Dieu de vous bienheurer. Tres hault et tres puissant Prince, mon tres cher et tres amé bon frere et cousin, de continuelle santé et prosperité. A Bruxelles le 29 de 8^{bre} 1621. De v. Mat^e tres affectionnée sœur et cousine,

A. ISABELLA.*

* Translation :

Most high, mighty, and excellent Prince, my very dear and much-beloved good brother and cousin, Chevalier Chaworth, gentleman of our privy chamber, has delivered to me yours of the 29th ultimo, and in pursuance of the credit thereto attached, has particularly expressed to me the regret of your Majesty at the death of the late my Lord Archduke, which entirely agrees with what you had already signified to me by the letters which you were pleased to write to me as soon as you had received the news of my affliction. I confess myself

The Infanta her Letter to the King, touching the Palatinate and Cessation of Arms in itt.

Tres hault, tres excellent, et tres puissant Prince, tres amé bonfrere et cousin, pour reponse a la seconde l're de v^{re} Ma^{te} que m'a aussy delivrée la Ch^{lr} Chaworth, gentilhomme ordinaire de v^{re} chambre privee. Il vous plaira de croire que comme je recognois que vous avez quelque satisfaction des offices que j'ay rendu jusques ores pour l'accommodement des affaires de v^{re} gendre le Comte Palatin, je rendray peyne que v^{re} Ma^{te} ayt une toute pareille a l'advenir de mes bonnes volontes qui sont entiere-ment et sincerement portée a ce que mon entremise vous apporte en ce regard tout le contentement que scauriez desirer et quelle serve pour disposer le tout a une bonne et ferme composition suivant les bonnes intentions de v^{re} Ma^{te}, que je prie Dieu de conserver, tres hault, tres excellent, et tres puissant Prince, mon tres cher et tres amé bonfrere et cousin, en parfaite santé à longues années.
A Bruxelles le 30 Octobre, 1621.

De v^{re} Ma^{te} tres affectionnée sœur et cousine,

A. ISABEL.*

singularly obliged to your Majesty for so many true and lively testimonies of your good will, demonstrated at a conjuncture when real friendships are best appreciated; of which, moreover, I shall ever preserve the memory, and shall exert all in my power to convince your Majesty how much I esteem your good will, and the care I shall take ever to preserve it, as the said Chevalier Chaworth can more amply assure you. I refer myself, then, to him, to express my prayers to God for your prosperity, &c.

* Translation :

Most high, &c. In answer to your Majesty's second letter,

*Observations, and the distances from place to place.**

It ys esteemed fro' Dover to Calais about 30 English myles, and ys usually passed in 4, 5, or 6 hours; I dyd pass it in 6 hours as I went, but (by reason of a calme and a great mist,) it was 16 houres before I could land.

Calais.—I could observe nothing here at Calais, but y^t it ys a beggerly extorting towne, ill effected to y^e Eng^{sh}, monstrose deere and sluttish, verie uncivill; the garrison there turneing dyrect beggers of all ambassadors. The best is (in y^e cource it ys in), it will not long be a towne, being so neglected at both ends (for y^e sea almost compasseth it), that y^e sea (it ys to be hoped) will revendge our quarell and regaine it, and swallowe it, being alreadie on y^e too ends at high tydes unaccessible.

Gravelin.—Thence to Gravelin ys 3 leagues and a halfe w^{ch} ys about 10 English myles; it is a prittie little town, and one of y^e strongest in y^e world, by reason (they can) drownd it round in 4 hours, so as no land shalbe wthin a myle of itt. It hath in itt a verie prittie Eng^{sh} monestarie of nuns, but so strictly kept wth such ceremonies, as they relate itt, as it ys sharpe to be beleaved, much

delivered to me by Chevalier Chaworth, &c. you will be pleased to believe that, as I perceive you derive some satisfaction from the offices which I have up to this time rendered for the accommodation of your son-in-law the Count Palatine's affairs, I will take care that your Majesty shall have precisely similar instance in future of my good will, which is wholly and sincerely directed that my intervention should afford you all the satisfaction you can desire, and tend to dispose the whole matter on a true and firm composition, according to the good intentions of your Majesty, whom I pray God to preserve, &c.

worse to be endured, by any flesh. There were 62 p^fessed whe' I was there, all handsome wome', yonge and well lykeing, liveing altogeth^r uppo' charetie uncertaine from Eng^d. They eate no flesh, ffast all fasts, when you see y^m they must winke and not speake to you: but at another grate, where they maye speake to or answer you, a boarde and curtaine are betwixt you.

Donkerque.—Thence to Donkerque ys 3 leagues and a halfe. This towne ys nothing so strong as it was; and since y^e new war, verie poore, by reason they have been hindered of ffishing by y^e Hollanders, to whom they are better affected than to theyre p^rsent governors y^e Spaniards, against whom they are apt (even to all strangers) to spitt theyr spleens. But they are best affected to y^e English, wishing that they wold receive them to theyr mercie. The most remarkable thing here is a church, w^{ch}, although y^e one halfe ys burnt down and ruin'd, yet ys it a marvelous faire one, well adorned wth good peeces and lyvely portraits. It ys strictly kept, yet I hold it possible (considering the affections of y^e inhabitants) for 400 good soldiers to take it.

Newport.—Thence to Newport ys about 3 leagues and a halfe. It ys a prittie little towne, but few inhabitants in itt, a strong garison of Spaniards strictly guarding it. It ys cheefly famous for a battaile there fought, w^{ch} cost the Scottish men deere who were of y^e partie wth y^e Hollanders: certenly it ys a poore towne, but yet some persons of good qualetie inhabitt in itt, by reason of y^e pleasure and dryenes of y^e situation.

Ostend.—Thence ys y^e lyke distance to Ostend, in w^{ch} waye you maye reckon betwixt 30 and 40 churches ruind wth so manie villages by so inhumane warr as hath in these parts beene of late years p^dominant, by reason they laye neere and along y^e sea syde and y^e shore, easie

to admitt y^e Hollanders to land in all places and at all tymes. The towne ys most famous for endureing an entyre seidge 3 years together. It ys now new built, but lowe, and ys y^e coldest towne I ever came in. Part of y^e church onely was by y^e canon suffered to stand, but no peece of a house. It ys a brave haven; and att my being there, had in itt new built and in building 20 brave shippes, I could judge none of them to be less then 800 tunns.

Bridges.—Thence I went to Bridges, w^{ch} is a faire and populous cittie, verie well built, well served wth water, and ys y^e staple towne of cloth for those cuntries. It ys 8 leagues fro' Ostend, and halfe of itt verie foule waye. This towne ys kept onely by the people and burgers themselves by a garison and watch of theyr owne, haveing undertaken to secure it fro' y^e Hollanders; therby being as it were a free towne, onely obedyent to y^e Infanta's lawes. Att this tyme, by reason y^t Sluce was beseedged, here was held a marvelous great market dayely, for both armies were furnished from hence. Here are goodly and manie goodly churches; and in St. Jhon's lyeth y^e bodies of the last Duke of Burgundie and his daughter (y^e great hayre [heiress], maryed to y^e house of Austria, and so united those cuntries to y^e Crowne of Spaine,) in too verie faire tombs.

Gaunt.—Thence I went to Gaunt, w^{ch} was 7 leagues, but not unpleasant waye, though not unperilous. This ys a goodly lardge towne, well built, but not so well, nor so well compact as Bridges, but ys of an infynyte schope wth in y^e walls, by reason ther ys contayned in y^m so much grass ground, and for corne in tyme of neede, as will sustaine y^m 3 years togeather, yf in case they were beseedged. There are here goodly churches and rare pictures in y^m, and a new one (w^{ch} ys no yll one) of the Jesuits.

But the fairest building here ys the Towne Hall, not yet finished.

Alost.—Thence I went to Alost, w^{ch} ys 4 great Duch leagues, w^{ch} ys neere 16 Eng^{sh} myles. This ys a towne of good strength, but hath no staple or tradeing belonging to it. It hath a good darke church in it, and a verie faire alter of marble, where y^e Eucharist ys kept; but of all townes in y^e world, I intend not to lodge in this, both for y^e unreasonable deernes of itt, and for my particular ill fortune in itt.

Bruxells.—Thence to Bruxells, w^{ch} ys 4 leagues, and verie fowle waye. Of this towne I could say much. It being a well seated and well watered towne as ev^r I sawe, y^e civillest people in y^e world, verie populous, of all nations that are Catholick and civill, full of brave soldjers and men active for com'and, full of verie handsome women, and y^e best fashioned that can be, full of religious orders and houses, and of those two houses of religious English women of the order of St. Bennet, in one of w^{ch} ys 42 profest nuns, besyde novices; in y^e other are but 7, being yet but new erected. The Infanta hath here a good house, and in itt a verie fyne chappell; and above in her private lodgings, a dayntie oratorie for her private prayres, full of reliques, good and auntient pictures, and rare and rich jewells and medalls. Her lodgeings and gallorie look into a prittie pleasant parke, and into verie fyne gardens, wherein are y^e most varietie of the best waterworks of y^e world. The church of St. Treguse ys y^e chiefe church in y^e towne, and a very good one, were it uniforme.

Antwerpe.—Thence I went to Anvers or Antwerpe, w^{ch} ys about 30 Eng^{sh} myles. Y^e best waye ys by water, w^{ch} ys done wth great ease, chandgeing boate at every 4 or 5 myles. This hath y^e name of being one of y^e best built townes of y^e world; but y^e cittuation I lyke not, being

extraordenarie flatt. Y^e best church ys y^t of Nostre Dame, and y^t ys a goodly one, and y^e richest furnished wth pictures that can be. The Jesuits church, w^{ch} yet ys not finished, ys a rich one, all standing on whyte marble pillers, and lyned wth y^e lyke stone; and y^e galleries both above and below wholly roofed wth brave pictures of Rubens makeing, who at this tyme ys held y^e master workman of y^e world. The streets are fayre, uniforme, and faire kept, and y^e houses high built. They have at this tyme little or no tradeing, by reason of y^e warr; but it ys a towne so placed as it ys pittie we shold not hold better correspondence and trade wth her, for it wold vent all o^r cloth at anye rate, and in y^e tyme that o^r tradeing went y^t waye, was this towne so built as nowe it ys, and at y^t tyme dyd England more flourish then it ev^r dyd, vid. in y^e tyme of Ed. 3d.

Passage to Antwerp.—Payed for y^e passage of 16 persons from Bruxelles to Antwerpe 16s., and for y^e baggage 11s. Carrying the trunk to y^e boate 2s. 4d. For myself and y^e gentⁿ wth me in y^e first place the first cess* in the first boat, 2s. 4d. To y^e poor at Vilford 6d. For my seate and some gentⁿ wth me in y^e second boate 2s. 6d. For y^e third boate 2s. 6d.; for y^e fourth and fifth boate, being short cesses, 2s. 4d. For removeing the trunk at all y^e fyve cesses 16s. 4d. For my sute and 9 gentⁿ wth me in y^e shipp to Antwerpe 5s. Geven the m^r of y^e ship 1s. 2d. For carying the trunks to y^e inn from y^e water at Antwerpe 6s. At Antwerp, for a little picture w^{ch} I gave the King, of Browgle's hand, † 6l. 12s. Geven to two coach-

* Cess, fare or payment.

† There were three painters of this name, Peter Brueghel the elder, and his two sons Peter and John. King Charles I. had a picture by the last, called "A Terrestrial Paradise."

men y^t caryed me to y^e castle 19*l. ob.* Payed for y^e picture of y^e storie of Japha' (Javan), w^{ch} I gave my L. of Buckingham, 6*l. 12s.* Geven here to y^e pages more 10*s.* For 4 meales meate here 41*l. 8s. 2d.* Geven y^e servants here 17*s. 8d.* For an old picture, w^{ch} I keepe myselfe, 3*l. 6s.* To y^e poore here 1*l. 2s. 6d.* To y^e trumpeters here 24*s.* Payed for boots here 45*s.* For etuises 35*s.* To them that brought me a great p^rsent of wyne, £4. 8*s.* Hence both as my speedyest waye of least cost and most ease, I sent my servants (except onely one page and one groome), my sone, and his tutor, and y^e gent. of qualetie that were wth me, by y^e waye of Lillo, and so to Vlissing, and so by sea to London; myselfe takeing another waye through Brebant and Artois; but it chaunced to be more troblesome and tedeous then I thought it, or ys usuall, by reason of y^e new broke out war betwixt y^e Infanta's subjects and those of Holland.

I sent a post to Lillo, Sehaunce, whylst I stayed at Anwerpe, who brought me word, that wthout a lysence fro' ye States of Medelborough, they could pass wth no goods. His journey cost 10*s.* For my servants chardges at Antwerp, after my departure, 38*s. 8d.* Geven y^e Secretarie's clerks for expedition 4*s. 6d.*

Westmunster.—Thence I went (in my waye to Gaunt) to a little village, or rather a single house called Westminster, where I was well and civilly used, and had good wyne and my lodgeing that night at no deere rate. This ys about 4 leagues or 16 Eng^{sh} myles fro' Anwerpe, and the mydd waye to Gaunt.

Gaunt.—Thence I returned to Gaunt, being about 4 leagues or 16 Eng^{sh} myles. Of this I will onely add, that it ys y^e staple towne of this cuntrie; for linnin, after it is whyted here, here being infinyte store, to be vented to all p'ts. Secondly, they hold that y^e house of Austria ought

most to respect y^m of anie towne in Burgundie; for that when as Charles was slayne, they seized into theyr hands his daughter and hæyre, and gave her fro' Lewis y^e 11th of ffrance to y^e house of Austria, by w^{ch} mariage they hold all those great and rich cuntries. Here it was affirmed to me that this cuntrie of Flaunders hath disbursed for cutting a river fro' thence to Bridges, and into y^t p^t of y^e cuntrie, above 20,000 sterling, and this of themselves onely to have com'erse w^{thin} y^mselves at most ease, w^{ch} they doe reckon wilbe worth a 1,000,000^{li}. p' to theyr cuntrie. Also that in y^e space of 2 years they had sent 30,000 ffoote and 10,000 horse to y^e war of the palatinate at y^e charge of that cuntrie onely.

For my coachman's charges there 5 dayes, in expectance to buye coach horses for me, 17*l.* 10*s.* Note, that I sent him to Bruxells to buye me six mares, w^{ch} were at thys tyme above others to be bought cheape, by reason of y^e season, and for that Montz faire was at y^e tyme; but my man sending for monie by means of Capt. Blunt, and y^e monie being deliv^d to Olliver (my theefe) to carie to Mr. Gresley (who was posting fro' my L. Digbie for Eng^d fro' Bruxells by Gaunt) y^e coquin went, and seeing Gresley mounted, returned, and retained y^e pistulls (pistoles) to himself, that therewth he might post away wth my other monie when I turned back on Bruxells.

Courtrick [Courtray].—Thence homewards. I thought good to varie my waye for satisfying my understanding, and bent my course higher fro' y^e sea by Courtrick, w^{ch} ys 8 leagues. This ys a towne w^{thin} land, consisting of merchants for linin, dyaper, damaske, and of all kynds, but all unwhyted; for otherwyse it ys in this place deere, except it be narrow (as but onely a yard broade), and then ys it cheape,—as good linin, fyne enough for sherts, at 12*d.* an Eng^{sh} yard. My supper and breakfast there cost me 3*l.* 9*s.*

Mening.—Thence to Mening to din'er, w^{ch} ys a prittie yll smelling towne, consisting altogether on bruers (brewers) standing on a good and swift run'ing water. It ys but 2 Dutch leagues from Courtrick, and thence to Lysle ys 3 leagues.

Lisle.—Where I dyd arive betymes, to see y^e towne, w^{ch} hath great tradeing, and cheefely in cambrick (where I bought a piece), and in plate of silv^r, w^{ch} they esteeme of y^e best allaye y^t can be. Heere ys a fayre church, verie rich in brass pillers and candlesticks, and well set out. The towne ys verie populous and orderly. They are encreasing the limits of theyr towne one 4th p^t, makeing at this tyme a marvelous faire dich, wall and rampart on that syde towards Mening. Here I bought a peece of cambrick for y^e rate of 7s. an elne Eng^{sh}, w^{ch} cannot be fellowed in Eng^d for a marke an elle. Here hence beare y^e names of those Lisle grogeroms w^{ch} we weare, and are of good use, being here made wth great facilitie in abundance. My supper here cost me 2l. 2s.

La Bassée.—Thence to diner to La Basée, w^{ch} ys a lyke townē as Suthwell. It ys five leagues from Lisle; hath a monasterie in it of nuns Carmelites goeing in whyte cotton, w^{ch} ys not strick enough kept. It hath in it a verie neate and hansome chappell, in w^{ch} was a verie good monument of y^e Duches of Croy in y^e midst before y^e alter made uppo' a tuchston table, kneeling upright towards y^e alter, verie neatly. I suppose this monestarie was founded by her of y^e house of Croy, and y^e towne ys y^e Duke's of Croye. Theyr armes in y^e window, genealogically sett, shew they give respect and ho^r to this place.

Bethune.—I went hence after din'er to Bethune,* w^{ch}

* In another memorandum of the writer, under Bethune, is added here, "being in the waggon betimes."

ys from La Bassée three leagues. Here I found a mountebanke playeing his prizes. And though I was here but yll lodged, yet here was excell^t wyne. In this towne ys a verie fayre church, and indefferent well sett out. A good monestarie of women, whose office I heard in y^e morning; and this towne ys verie strictly guarded, but for what reason I could not learne.

Ayre.—Thence I went to dinner to Aire, w^{ch} ys from Bethune five leagues. This ys a towne well peopled, rich, and in good trading, and industrious in y^e manufacture, hath good wyne in it and cheape. Thence after din'er to St Omere, 3 leagues, w^{ch} is extraordinarie strictly guarded, being so jealous of the ffrench as they p^rmitt y^m not to inhabit in y^e towne, and few to lodge anie tyme wthin itt. This towne ys strong, verie rich, but ill seated for health, and yet y^e earth about it seemes to be dry and well natured. They shutt theyr gates betymes, and open y^m late. There are in this town dyv^{rs} good churches, but espetially too—the abbey church, and y^e other at y^e other end of y^e towne: this latter ys rich in brass pillers and ffurniture, but y^e other is much y^e lardger, statelyer, light-somer, and better built. The abbott is alwayes to keep a live eagle; hath a good revenew for his fatt monks, and verie faire lodgeings for himselfe. But y^e most remarkable thing in St. Omer, and w^{ch} most concerneth us, ys y^e colledge of Jesuits there, w^{ch} ys, I thinke, y^e best ordered in y^e world. At my being here there were 140 youths of Eng^d, who renounced theyr names, and (as I feare) nation and nature of Eng^{sh}men. It was pittie to see y^m (for they were the fynest youths I ev^r sawe), that they shold be bredd traytors; but, excepting their religion, they are the strictest, orderlyest, and best bredd in y^e world. I came here privately to a comedie of theyr acting, called Spittacus, but they instantly knewe me, and gave me

great respect. The rector tould me had sent 50 fyner youths, and ryper than those were, y^e last yeare, halfe to Rome, halfe to Salamanca. He sayde that that house had not one penie certaine reueneue to live on, but subsisted onely on charetie fro' Eng^d. He sayde that for meate, teaching, and all things, they doe demand but 20^{li}. a year for one youth. I sawe y^m all at sup^r in excell^t order, y^e Rector desyryng a theame fro' me for y^m to dispute on extempore, I giveing y^m "whether libertie was better than restraint?" they attended instantly, and first dyd dispute in Greeke, and then in Latin, verie elegantly. To this towne ys also much resort of English women, who are madd or discontented (for halfe y^t I heard of had *lucida intervalla*). Here was excell^t good wyne, and y^e dyett cheape.

Calais.—Thence I went to Calais, w^{ch} though they call the way 8 ffrench leagues, w^{ch} ys but 8 tymes 3 myles, I found them 8 duch leagues, w^{ch} ys above 30 Eng^{sh} myles, but it ys extraordenarie good waye, through a rich cuntrie champain, yet verie full of villages on all sydes; and it ys a light earth and pleasant. This towne I have mentioned before, and that ys enough, for I can wryte no good of it.

Note that all this waie from Courtrick ys y^e cuntrie of Artois, rich and verie populous, and breeds ye best men for ye shock of y^e warr w^{ch} ye K. of Spaine hath, and they call them Walloons, speakeing a bastard ffrench, and have able and active bodies. Bruxells ys in Brabant; and all y^e other townes I passed by are in Flaunders.

Nowe I dispatched letters of my aryvall here, and of his Maties well accepting my service; and espetial letters to the Archduchess, and my good C: Middleburgh.

At Calais I gatt notice that my theefe Olliver had taken y^e waye by Mentz to Fraunce, that he was lame,

and could not avoyde takeing, being so remarkable, w^{ch} drew me to post awaye my sonne's man Du Bryse after him, w^{ch} I dyd wth all speede wth discretion, but not such hast as he ought, wherby he came to Paris some hours short of him, and no nearer than finding a note at his lodgeing of his new name, w^{ch} was Mathew Verillo, w^{ch} transversed is a just anagram of his owne name, Oliver Maheut. This his journey cost me £28.

Dover.—I was no sooner landed but we all fell on our knees, and gave God part of his dew thanks. This occasion stayed me so long in Calais, that I embarked somewhat too late, so as I was all that daie and all that night at sea hulling, wanting a wynd; and well it was I dyd so; for had ye wynd risen in ye night we had beene cast awaye, being involved amongst Dover rocks, and by reason of ye mist could not putt in untill 4 aclock in ye morning, when I happely landed at Dover. My ship cost me £3. My breakfast and 7 horse at Dover £7. 14s. To ye searchers there 5s. My harbenger Germayne's and Woodward's chardges fro' thence to London; for I left wth Woodward my linnen, w^{ch} I could not carie post, £11. 11s. So I ridd onely wth 7 post horses fro' thence to London, Mr. Mannearing being as my stuart, dyning at Rochester; all ye horses cost me £3. 14s.

I no sooner came home but, after my thanks to God, I sent to give ye Secretarie notice of my aryvall, and to knowe at what tyme he wold please that I shold wayte on him to ye King; he willed me ye next daie. It was night before I had access; and then, after that I had delivered my lettrs to his Matie, I kyssed his hand, and he gave me great com'endation for my cariadge, w^{ch} he pleased to call noble and brave, affirming it wth an oath. Then dyd he question me of all p^ticulars, both of my busynes I was sent about, and of my entertainment, and of my passing

to and fro'. In conclusion, I sayde to him, "Sr, though I can not chalendge anye meritte fro' yo^r Ma: other than good acceptance, yet yo^r Ma: hath by this my employment, I hope, receaved that satisfaction, that if hereafter you have further occasion of such imployments, you will please to use me therin as soone as another." He hearde me with a smyle, and replyed to me, "Will I not? Yes, by God, my sweet George! I shall use thee before all y^e world, for thou hast caryed thyself for my hon^r most nobely; therefore doubt it not, my deare George!" And all this whyle layed both his handes on my face, and kyssed me. And so I left him, and went to y^e prince, wth whom I had good and free discourse; and then having saluted y^e Lords there, I depted to my rest.

The intention, abstract, sum, and end of this my journey.

—The visible cause of his Maties sending me to her Altez to Bruxells, was to condole for the death of her late husband y^e Archduke Albertus of Austria, but the cheefe errand was to sollicit her High^s for a cessation of armes in y^e Palatinate, untill a treatie of peace for those parts might be concluded; for effecting of w^{ch} peace John Lord Digbie was in the summer sent ambassader extraordinarie to his emperiall Matie. He was there well receaved at Vienna, and his embassie receaved according his owne hart could wish. Yea and this was that w^{ch} y^e Emperor himselfe had long longed for, though in hon^r he could not seeke it. The King of Spaine's ambassador extraordinary in England, Count Gondemar, by his Maties dyrection had benee y^e instrument of this embassie. But to proceede. The Emperor dealt so really wth Digbie, as he tould him that both in respect of the neerenes of the place and commoditie for y^e King of England, and for her Altez worth and great understanding, and for that she,

being a woman, might (wth no dishonor neyther to his selfe or to his Catholick Ma:) yeeld to some circumstances w^{ch} neyther his Imperiall Matie nor y^e King of Spaine could well wth theyr honors yeeld unto. Therefore, I say, dyd his Emperiall Ma: referr not onely a cessation of armes in y^e Palatinate for the present, but also powre and commission to heale and end y^e question. And he dealt so really wth my Lo: Digbie, as he shewed him y^e commissions made to her, naye y^e coppie of his private letters to her [Altez], of w^{ch} my L. Digbie himselfe certefyed his Ma: fro' Vienna; and that he was advised by y^e Emp^r to visitt Marq^s Spinola by y^e waye for England, to win his favor for the treatie to be agreed of at Bruxells. Thus far y^e busynes passed fayrely and well on all sydes this yeere 1621; but takeing his leave of y^e Emperor, and being richly presented with a basin and ewre of gold (w^{ch} some say he dyd not deserve,) he departed. And in his returne he visits Heidelberge, full of a people wearyed and beaten wth warr, and jealous of most visible things, infynately needie, and almost at starveing. These men's acclamations for joye of his presence puffed him upp to cheere them, and to worke theyr ends and present desyres. Monie they needed; his plate, and all that his creditt could, he releevd them wth, and had he left here we had obtained hon^r in all this action, and a quiet determination of their miseris; but they possessing him wth a jelousie of Emperor's faith and good meaning, and for argument alledgeing the Duke of Bavaria's p̄sent armes and tretie for reduction of Count Mansfelt, who had in y^e skirts of y^e upper Palatinate about 12,000 miserable pillagers, whose ill government had eaten and devowred that people, so as they were desirous rather of anie enemie than Mansfelt, cryed out to gett him made theyr frend, wherby to oppose Count

Tilli, who had for the Duke of Bavaria taken in all that cuntrie wth a handfull of men. My Lord Digbie by this meanes, wth a desire also to be plausible to y^e Parlemt of England, whither he was comeing, whom he knew to be caryed wth a zeale in y^t cause, though somewhat blyndly, his Lop, forgetting y^e obligation he had to y^e Emp^r, naye, to his owne master's honor, and to all reallitie betwixt man and man, he solliciteth Count Mansfelt, first, to delaie of his treatie, or concluding of it, and after shewing him y^e comand he nowe had, w^{ch}, though it was over a companie of rebbells and theeves, yet it was more then on y^e other syde he could looke for, possessing him wth feare, and promising him present monie and certaine entertainment from y^e King, this man was lymed and ravished wth a still continuance in y^e wyld and barbarous course he lived in. Hé putts off; he breaks from y^e conditions w^{ch} were drawne, and upon sealing betwixt him and Bavaria and my L. Digbie, leaves him y^e monie afore-saide in Heidelberg, and cometh downe to Marquis Spinola's armie, leaving his man Grisley to bring him word when Mansfelt was enterd Heidelberg.* It ys to be imaged by anie man this could not be so secretly effected but y^e Emp^r must have intelligence of it, who could in his owne cause doe no less than stave his com'ission to y^e Infanta, w^{ch} by his letters he dyd, and after, by that tyme

* By way of agravation of y^e Emp^r's unkyndnes [displeasure], Digbie dyd after declare this his service to y^e whole Parlemt, who took any falsehood in good part that was invective against Spain. But I knowe it for noe good, naye, for most yll and false servyse, for otherwyse all things had, in short, been accommodated. But Mansfelt, at his being in England, dyd affirme he had no monie of Digbie, nor no plate, and I heard so much before: but any thing will serve to deceave us wth.

Digbie was at Spinola's campe, sent absolutely to dissolve it, for y^e reason aforesayde. Nowe came I from England to Bruxells uppon y^t ground w^{ch} L. Digbie went on fro' Vienna; but two dayes after my coming thither, after my first audience, (w^{ch} was for condoleance,) the news of this fact of my L: Digbie's doth aryve there before himselfe, who came about two dayes after, and was wellcomed accordingly by y^e King of Spaine's ministers there. The Leiger there telling him that, had he served *his* master he wold at his returne be shorter by y^e head. I dyd him here all hon^r I could, and he was formall enough to me and with reason, for that I was there his Ma^s Ambass^r, and he not in commission, but onely putt himselfe into y^e waye, expecting as good entertainment and reward as formerly he had there receaved, and, in truth, cheefely to supple y^e Spanish ministers, that the worst construction might not be made of this his last act. Hence he came wth no satisfaction neyther to them nor himselfe. And the Infanta had nowe in y^t cause not to answer me wth anie thing but her zeale to y^e cause, and her powre being abrogated, but with a promis of re-enforcing her mediation herein. But no particular man suffered more in this than myselfe; for how the world might have gone with me in y^e Court (who had served for honor 17 years) all men may judge, yf I had brought home a cessation of armes, w^{ch} undoubtedly I had done, had not this prodegie hindered me.

On his Maj^{ies} promise of makeing me a V. Count of Eng^d, by y^e voluntarie mediation of y^e sayde Infanta, Archduchesse.

To y^e high and mightie the Duke of Buckingham his grace my noble lo: and master.

Yo^r grace maye see by this, I neyther conceale nor seeke to compass any thing in this sphere wthout y^u; for as

yo^r Grace's entrance into Court stayed me fro' a cuntrie lyfe, by those hopes I had in y^e comphorts y^u gave me, so hath my sayleing ever since beene by yo^r compass onely.

These, my Lo. touching on yo^r good nature, doe assure of y^e fayth I have in yo^r favour, and will, I hope, drawe not onely yo^r attention but yo^r furtherance also to my humble request—an infant w^{ch} in yo^r Grace's absence hath received a kynd of byrth, but stayed to be baptized by y^u.

When yo^r Gre nominated me to y^t employment to Bruxells, y^t pleased you to saye it shold be but a begining of yo^r greater favour to me. That blessing made me so prosperous, as I not onely pleased his Ma: in his errand (y^e maine of my desyres), but I so gayned y^e good will of that pious princess, as not once but often I have beene moved and urdged from her to signefie howe she might confer a favour on me there or here; and (to be breefe) at last I answered, Seeing O'Melon (a man unknowne to his Ma: but as a fugetive and pentioner to a forraine prince) had by y^e strength of her Altez^s mediation obtained a tytle of hono^r in Ireland, therefore, yf her Altez thought it no wayes improper, I rather desyred to receive an obligation from her in y^t kynd *here*, then anie other bountie or grace whersoever.

Where uppon she hath by an earnest lett^r, with manie markes of her goodnes therin, importun'd his Ma: to confer a tytle of hon^r on me here at her instance. His Ma: hath geven answer lyke himselfe, as to a princess who (I thinke) ys best affected to him of all others.

I feare by this yo^r L^p sayeth, Why? and valeweth me as light as I doe myselfe. But, my Lo: His Ma^{ties} owne descent of a match by y^e Earl of Lancaster, wth a daughter of my poore house and name, ys argument enough of my bludd being capable. His Ma^{ties} holding at this daye

too Baronies w^{ch} came to y^e Crowne by that match, ys a kynd of pretence and incitation to a Prince to create, yf not to restore my house, so decayed. And lastly his Ma: approving my 18 years service, wthout reward from his renew or coffers, maye conclude this supplication to be reasonable enough.

But what ys all this wthout yo^r Grace's favor and furtherance, and except y^u please by thus honoring me to hon^r yo^rselfe, in doeing this, at a Princess her instance, for him y^t can give you nothing but himselfe—no hyre—no rewarde—(those staynes that ho^r ys now scandaled wth). I doe most lowely, therefore, beseech y^u hurt not him that honoreth y^u, but wth yo^r good word bynd a gentleman, and all his, (of no base parentage), to be to posteritie, as he hath ever profest himselfe,

Yo^r Grace's most humble serv^t,

GEORGE CHAWORTH.

Octob^r 1623.

Returning from my imploiment wth good opinion from all, and extraordinary celerity, it ys true that I dyd all y^e good offices betwixt his Ma: my great master and y^e Arch duchess her state, and all y^e Spanish nation, that I could possibly—*Facilis descensus Averni*. Everie man y^t runeth by y^e King's stirrōp can doe a greater than himselfe a displeasure in Court, sowe yll seeds easilye, w^{ch} though they prove weeds, and scent yll, yet they requyre more of strength to destroye y^m then to sowe y^m. And as in this great particuler, so in all things, I have held it my circle to possess my master's eare well, and not yll, of all men; witnes y^e case of my Lo: Stanhope, who otherwayes had been arraigned for . . . , and not beene admitted to be a Baron, and dyv^s y^e lyke, w^{ch} though I have found him and others unthankfull for y^e offices I dyd y^m, yet I have my reward in y^e remembrance therof.

So dyd I in this particular (I saye) report to his Ma: againe and againe howe noblely, howe hartely, and at howe sumptuous chardge I had beene receaved. And also how tenderly they treated wth me of my errand, howe forward and hopefull they were to streighten and strengthen y^e amitie of our nations, and how both her Altez and all y^e great ones admyred his Maties wisdom. This meeting wth his Maties good and sweete nature, opend his eares and his hart to me, made him utter much of his disposition to amitie wth to them, and saye what he sayde to me. And you may easilie imagine his Ma: being a prince so inclyned in nature to peace and amitie, dyd not burye it in his owne bosom, but dyd, both to approve his owne disposition and to make use therof, vent and utter what I enformed him to dyvers, and endeede expressly to y^e Count of Goundemar, at that tyme and long before Ambassador Extraordinarie and Resident here for the treatie of y^e mariage betwixt his Highnes y^e Prince and y^e Infanta Dona Maria of Spaine. This man (I saye) haveing this relation of myne from so good hands, and being master of his art, most industrious for his master's service, and y^e most supple to bend unto, and inquisitive to search into, y^e humors, not onely of eminent, but even of particular men, he was not long from me: but as before he had been forward to doe me y^e right of an ambassador, so nowe as a frend, and an affectant to y^e amitie betwixt our nations, he was serious to applye himselfe unto me, to seeke me and my humor, to magnefie my house and extraction, to put me in hopes of ryseing by y^e match both into hon^r and office, and urdged me particulerly to hold correspondence wth that virtuous Princess y^e Arch Duchess, sayeing she was strangely affected to my demeanour there, and y^e ho^r I dyd my nation, wth protestation of y^e powre she had, both wth his Ma: my soveraigne and master, and

wth y^e Emp^r and King of Spaine, so as both for her virtue and wysedome, and y^e comodetic of her principalitie and place of resydence, she was certaine to be y^e moderator and decider of all those great affaires now in agitation touching peace or war in y^e Palatinate, and to have y^e full decision of all y^e great affaires of Christendome. And by consequence must have a great and potent power wth his Ma: to hon^r whom she will hon^r: wth much more to this purpose.

This being infused into me, and tyme by tyme warmed and kept alyve in my memorie, seconded and dabled by Mons^r Van Male, her Altezes agent here. And also being enformed from Mr. W. Trumbull, his Maties agent, tyme after tyme, howe tenderly her Altez enquyred after me and magnefyed me—these all conjunct with y^e importunities of Mons^r Van Male to attempt her Altez in a request for my advantage, and, lastly, fynding myself well grounded in his Maties grace, and much of y^t Gundomar had sayed touchinge y^e relation of his Maties affaires to be presented and finished at Bruxells. And lastly, I knoweing y^e strayne of y^e Court, his Ma: being nowe alone in y^e Gov[']ment, his Highness y^e Prince, and y^e high and mightie great Duke of Buckingham, gone into Spaine to make an end of that treatie of y^e match; these conjoynct made me entertaine y^e thought of obtaining hon^r by the pposition of her Altez, y^e Arch Duchess of Austria, mistris of y^e Lowe Cuntries, and I had no sooner entertained y^e thought of itt, and utterd itt, but she writt to his Matie a gracious and free letter, earnestly moveing him therin; and not to leave it unblest with her owne hand* she subscribed halfe a dozen words, as appears by y^e cop-

* That is, after her Secretary had written the letter under her direction.

pie of that letter sent me by Mr. Secretie Fallie, w^{ch} in my boxe of letters I have figured wth y^e first figure.

This letter came to y^e Ambass^r Legier here, who dyd succede Count Gondomar, named Don Carolos Colonna, Gov'nor of Cambraye, wth a letter also to him, comanding him to sollicit y^e suite earnestly. This gent. is everie waye a brave man, but no wayes so proper for his imployment here as his prediccissor, yet I have reson to saye he was at this tyme forward enough to serve my turne: but it so chanced as he had but newly cumd from an audience wth his Ma: and therefore was to staye his tyme for another occasion of busynes that might give him access, being but improper for this occasion of myne only, to have audience, and this occasion was delayed on this accident of y^e Marq^s Ynojosa his coming Ambass^r out of Spayne, to adv'tise y^e K. of his High^s safe aryval there, and for the perfecting and poynts of y^e mariage, to joyne wth Don Carolos in takeing y^e King's oathe. For this occasion, I saye, Don Carolos stayed from pressing his access; but goeing to meete his companion at Dover, they both had an audience passant at Greenwich, w^{ch} y^e Marquess himself made so short as he sayde verie little, but onely deliv'd his letters of credence. This I sawe myselfe was noe tyme for my affaire, yet the Ambass^r sent to me to excuse y^e not doing itt, but promised y^e next assuredly shold be y^e daye. About 8 dayes after, they had both together a joviall audience at Greenwich, and it chanced to be in y^t same roome to y^e garden at end of y^e gallerie, where 19 years before I was knighted by y^e same hand y^t received y^e lett^r. His Ma: had no sooner read y^e letter but he laughed lowde and hartely, sayeing, "A Vice Count! a Vice Count!" and prayed y^e Ambass^r to assure her Altez that in this or any thing els he shold never fayle in her desyres of anie thing that was in his powre, and prayed him

also to certefie her that she could not have placed her desyres to honor anie gent. in ye world of whom he had a better opinion, and so he wold manifest.*

Wth this ye Ambass^r held himselfe well satisfyed, expecting his Maties owne prosecution hereof. But herein were two gross errors; but whether my want of sollicitation was guiltie therof or no I knowe not; ye one that Don Carolos dyd not call for answer of ye lettr, and ye same to be writt from his Ma: w^{ch} he had bydden him wryte, and ye other was that he dyd not call hard to have a byll signed. Certenly he was not altogether ignorant of ye King's tardienes to doe those things [that] concerne his owne good, and much more those that he ys engaged by his lipps onely to doe.

The progress nowe came on, but yet before itt ye Ambass^r dyd declare to me that his Ma: had invyted y^m both to meete him ye 5th of August at Salisburie, where (sayeth he) wilbe a fit oportunetie for re-inforcing his Maties proms for yo^r advantage. He importuned me to be present; but my cosen Mis. F. Maners being newly cumd out of Italie wth ye Countess of Arundell, her father lately dead, her mother in ye cuntrie, because of my putting her to journey, she nowe had none to relye on for her comforts, or conveyance to her mother, but I, who for this occasion, and for haveing appointed long before to jour-

* Here ys to be reme'bred, that before ye King's p'gress, or my going for ye cuntrie, w^{thin} 4 dayes after ye Ambass^r's speaking to ye K. I myselfe dyd take occasion, his Ma: being alighted att his hunting in Puttney Parke, to let him knowe I understood both of ye obligation I had unto her Altez, to D. Carolos, and espetially to his Ma. for his gracious answer to him. Ye K. answered, "Yea, it ys true, G. Chaworth, wth all my hart, but it cannot be done in this place;" and so I putt him to his coach.

ney at such a certaine daye wth my wyfe into y^e cuntrie (in w^{ch} little appointments I was ever too curious), I dyd not go wth or after y^e Court this progress, but relyed upon my L. Ambass^{rs} owne sollicitation of my errand.

But I dispatched my boye wth a letter of salutation to him, w^{ch} might putt him in mynd of me. Yet so unhappily it fell out as Don Carolos fell verie sick by y^e waye, so as, though he went to Salsburie, yet was he not able to goe to Court untill y^e last daye of theyr dep'ture thence, when he dyd onely reme'ber his Ma: for my affair, who answered another tyme he wold doe itt. And so because of my absence, and my L. Ambass. sicknes, this cause received a putt off at this tyme.

At y^e end of y^e progress I returned to Court, and there I found not so much as anie to have a notice of this my cause, w^{ch} Mr. Secret^{ri} Calvert held strange; "For," sayeth he, "though I kept y^e letter secrett, w^{ch} his Ma: com'itted to my hands, yet I feared he wold have talked of itt as he doth of all other things, w^{ch} doth give me assurance he intends to doe itt," and dyd wish me therefore to sollicit y^e Ambass^r to urdge a conclusion.

No sooner was y^e King settled in y^e South, but her Altez sent new letters, not onely to y^e old Ambass^r, but also to y^e Marq^s of Ynojosa, (because y^e mayne of all busynes laye nowe on him,) com'anding y^m both to press his Ma: for confirming me in y^e hon^r she had demanded and his Ma: promised for me. But y^e truth ys, about this tyme they were at theyr wytt's end, for everie daye they had posts signefying y^e yll goeing of y^e treatie in Spaine, on occasion of Buckingham's discord wth his fellow minion, Count Olivares; and anon, a certentie of y^e Prince his returne thence w^{thout} the lady, or affiance to her. The distraction of this cause might well dislocate my cause, and putt theyr braynes to other worke. So as in

deede they laye ydle therin, though they had access for other errands.

The 6th of October, his High^s y^e Prince happely returned wth infynete acclamations of us all, from all Princes his Ma^{ties} Allies came Ambass^{rs} of congratulation of his happie returne.* And amongst y^m came D. Diego Mexia, fro' her Altez. This man ys Generall of y^e Ordnance in Lowe Cuntries, in y^e place of Count de Buquoi, defunct (who perished in y^e war of Hungarie against Bethlem Gahbar). This Ambass^r also had it in com'ission expresse to sollicit her Altez request for my hon^r; he shewed it me, and he had it in his hand to shew his Ma: at his private audience. He stayed here wth his traine, w^{ch} was y^e bravest and richest that ever was seene in Eng^d, manie of y^m being comandars, all soldjers, and most of y^m bare y^e markes therof, some halting, some hurt in y^e face, some in y^e bodie and armes, by shott. I saye he stayed here about 10 dayes. He dyd sollicit my cause; and, as he himself told me, his Ma: spake tenderly of me, giveing him many comendations of me, and freely promised it shold be done.

But I knoweing w^{ch} waye was next to y^e wood, told him playnely, *if he dyd not win Buckingham to itt ther wold be nothing don.* He verie bravely answered he had in chardge to see it done, and therefore he wold treat wth Buckingham for itt. He dyd itt, and his Grace replied to him that she (i. e. y^e Infanta) could not in Eng^d have chosen one more worthie of hon^r than myselfe, both in

* Here ys to be reme'bred that y^e Duke of B. was no sooner at Court but I dyd humbly acquaint him wth her Altez's favour, and his Ma'ies p'mised grace, and besought him to give fewell to y^e fyre; who answered me at Hinchinbrooke he wold satisfye me at London: but urdging his assent, he sware itt. The letter ys in y^e page before this narration.

my blood and service to his Ma.; besyds he had a particular engagement of debt to me for y^e love and fayth I had ever borne him, and therefore he needed not doubt but I shold have his uttermost service in anye thing, much more in this, being but my meritt. Att this discourse he invyted him (wth his traine) to supper; but they had before been invyted to Carlile's, where happened that w^{ch} gave a blow to my busynes, as I conceive. Being at my L. of Carlile's at sup^r, and after they were well warmed wth wyne, Buckingham fayrely breakes wth y^e Viscount of Gaunt, C. Ceningham, y^e D. of Arscott's brother, and one or too more of y^e cheafe of y^m, to be lovers and frends of y^e Hollanders, to shake of y^e yoake of Spayne, and to make y^mselves free Lords, as they Hollanders had done. This they enformed theyr cheefe y^e Ambass^r of; and howe he tooke it may be imagened. He hasted awaye home, as was tyme; but yet againe, at y^e feast his Grace made him at Yorke House the night following, at parting wth him he dyd reme'ber his Grace of me; whose bludd (guilty of attempting to injure a Princess that had honord him by seekeing him) was curdled, but yet replied yes to him, wth some complements to y^e former effect. But soone after dyd y^e Duke heare of exceptions taken against him by y^e State at Bruxells, and it was playnely excepted against, to himselfe by Mons^r Van Male, her Altez agent here, y^e Marq^s Ynyjosa also telling him roundly of y^e unnoblenes of y^e fact at y^e El of Carlile's. By this little and short ende y^u maye imagen y^e Duke's Gr. wold have an eye to me, or anye that wished endifferent to that syde, that we shold not prosper wth sunne shyne from y^t court.

But notwthstanding, by virtue of y^e sayde lett^{rs} fro' her Altez, dyirected to y^m both, my Lo^s Ambass^{rs} wold assaye his Ma: and so dyd at Whyte Hall, at y^e begyning of this Parlement. To whom y^e K. answered, it was not his

fault that it was not dispatched. Uppon w^{ch}, at theyr next oportunitie, they dyd move Buckingha' to gett it done. His Lop then pleased to answer, that itt was true I was in my owne proper person well worthie y^t and more, but y^e truth was there were alredie too manie nobilitie in England, and espetially that tittle was too great for my ffortunes, whose meanes were not yet enough for itt. I have reason to believe this to be his answer, though he had none to give itt; for y^e multitude, he hath alreadie, since that daye, encreased y^t ranke too (:—Vic^t Tonbridge (a man worthie of much more), and Vicount Saye, a man obnoxious to y^e K. in all his regalitie, to y^e orders of our church, and to my L. himself in y^e last Parlemt, for w^{ch} (God knoweth howe justly) he suffered 3 months imprisonment and more; but though I suffer in y^e example, I am glad of this one and single example of his Lp^s pardoning one man against whom he had conceived displeasure, for y^e K. himselfe sayeth of him, "He were a fyne man yf he could *forgive*." But that ys not y^e worst of itt; he will not forgive his owne thoughts and his yll imaginations of anie man: as in particular his cloude against me, who never thought him yll, ever dyd him all service, and y^e best offices I could to my Mr, whose open eare I had 10 years before he came to Court; and when he looked in, I dyd what laye in me to open a wyde dore to him for that throne, wherin he doth nowe sytt so high, as he doth misknowe his frends and himselfe also.

The Parlemt cumd, and in y^e first weeke y^e pposition being a breach wth Spaine, a war dyvertive, &c. and the Prince y^e seconder of all Bucking' could pfound. These yll and unpeaccable spirits entering y^e stage, it was nowe more then tyme I shold sett downe wth my busynes, and eyther crush it in y^e cradle or lull itt a sleepe untill another and fitter season. So dyd my L. Ambass^{rs} hold

meete, so dyd Mr. Secretarie advyse me. And here I leave it in y^e hands of God y^e givear of all things, beseeching him to make me contented wth whatsoever degree it pleaseth him to place me in, high or lowe, rich or poore. So be itt.

That Speech w^{ch}, upon occasion of replye, I chaunced to speake in y^e Parlement held in Feb. 1623, touching treaties and breach of peace, by a warr wth Spaine.

Mr. Speaker,

It hath beene urdged, not onely to have y^e K. declare y^e treaties broken, but (out of great suspicion) to have itt declared by his Ma: what treaties, and wth what prince. Others have beene importunate to pvyde that his Ma: maye have no powre at all ov^r y^e monie. And yet all doe agree in strife of drawing y^e sum to as little a pportion as they maye. To these purposes I will crave yo^r pardons yf I agree wth no man hath spoken before me.

For y^e treatie of y^e match (so much urdged to be broken), who seeth not that alreadie it ys broken? And so broken as ys impossible ev^r to be peced againe. Yea, for my part, I am confident it ys as much disjoynted as yf two armies were allreadie in y^e feeld. And y^t of y^e Palatinate all of us conclude it to be but a contingent of y^e other, nor can be wthout y^e other; therfor I conclude this dispute maye end, seeing both these treaties are at an end alreadie, and (under correction) I conceave it manifest. The K.'s last speech to us at Whyte Hall, with y^e explanation, ys also a playne declaration of y^e breach and end of these treaties.

The King's Ma: hath then before hand done that thing for us on w^{ch} (wth such strong desyres) we dispute. And therefore we ought to leave to suspect him, or to put conditions on him.

There ys a third treatie or truce wth Spaine, long since made no wayes contingent to these others, w^{ch} for my part I understand not to be broken, and I thinke I maye saye, woe to them that counsell itt, nor wish I us to be guiltie of advyseing his Ma: to violate his truces and oathes geven for y^m. We have little more hold for our owne tranquillitie; and y^e same potion maye be ministered to ourselve y^t we p'pare for others. And yf this treatie breake (as I see it to be y^e marke manie shoot at), I dare assure y^u, though his Ma^{ties} demand of six subsidies be a great scar-crowe amongst us, yet this breach would feare us worse, and cost us a dearer then six and six subsidies.

And for that poynt w^{ch} hath beene so earnestly pressed for (Holland's p'sent releefe), I am not of theyr mynds that urdge y^m to be eyther in so desperate estate, or to be had first in consideration before Eng^d; for whosoever considireth howe one peece of ground, no lardger then this palace, held out three years, yeelding not untill 150,000 p'sons perished before itt, and were buried in y^e place; or that in these 3 years past there hath not one place beene gained from y^m, then y^u maye conclude that they will not be ov'runne this year, no more then Rome was built in a daye.

But, Sr, I had rather wave that cource, and advyse us us first to destroye those enemies we have at home, by our rectefying ourselves, and all those throng of abuses in y^e Courts of Justice. Lett us cutt off all theyr unjust exactions, all theyr extorting ffees, and unnecessarie chardges for petitions and what not! And when we have perfected good lawes for y^e com'on good, let us tye to them a present to his Ma: of two subsidies and 4 fifteens, freely to be disposed by himselfe. And at our next meeting at Michelm^s, lett us then pursue our former protestation of maintaining a war, yf ther be one.

And I dare awarrant y^u his Ma: will in y^e interim both see his navie so rigged as it shall keepe all enemies at y^r armes, and (yf he see occasion) he can (wthout breach of y^e greate Treatie) relieve y^e Hollanders, wthout our public act to tye him to allot it for that use. And y^e sayde corruptions being abrogated, we shalbe bett^r able at Michelm^s to give two than we are now one subsedie for a war, yf God punish us wth one; but, for my part, yf a war ensue upon our petition, w^{ch} you nowe urdge, were I to chuse, I had rather be in y^e office of Admirall of Eng^d then K. of Eng^d; but I beseech y^u expound me rightly, as he that ys a true Eng^{sh} man, loveing my owne cuntrie's good in a dyrect lyne before all others, and doe positively affirme (uppon sure grounds) the waye to benefitt itt ys to p̄serve it in peace wth all Christian nations, and to roote out home corruptions; and yf this agree not wth y^e present humor of y^e House, I aske yo^r pardons, but am comforted therin, in that it agreeth wth charitie.

This was no sooner utter'd, w^{ch} God knoweth I uttered from my owne hart upon y^e p̄sent occasion, and wholly un̄meditated, but I sawe y^e house on fyre for itt, and because I understoode well the indisposition of some there to runne and carye tales to Court, and misinterpret all that sounded not to theyr owne tune, I thought good to anticipate y^m by telling my owne tale to my owne M^r, therefore I p̄sently (as before I had often done) writt my lett^r to his Ma: lying at Otelands, certefying him y^e schope of that morning's worke, and p̄ticularly of my p̄t therin, and howe I feared a misconstruction therof. His Ma: sent me worde that he thanked me.

But wthin 4 dayes after y^e El^e of Kelly, his Ma's good servt and councellor, and Groome of his Stoolle, came to me, being sent expressly from his Ma: to tell me that

much exception was taken to my speech, not onely by Buckingham, but by dyv^s others, and espetiallie by Carlile, who said it was y^e most malicious one y^t could possibly be utter'd; that they labored my com'itment on com'and from Court, but his Ma: wished me send him a coppie of it yf I could, but in anye case to leave out all words w^{ch} might suffer yll interpretation, and then lett his Ma: alone, he wold awarrant me I shold have noe harme. This was y^e early message to me fro' his Ma: and accordingly I dressed one up that night, and sent it his LoP, who y^e next morning, being Sundaie, gave itt his Ma: who p̄sently sent for Bucking', Carlile, with Conwaye y^e Secretary, yea, and for y^e Prince, (whom also they had too much exasperated against me,) and in all their p̄sences caused it to be reade. Y^e Prince sayde nothing at all, Bucking' grumbled, and Carlile sayde as he had sayde before, although I confess I had left out all the bitterness of itt, as may appeare by some coppies w^{ch} I published purposely, both into y^e cuntrie and in London. Dayely dyd I attend in Court and Parlem^t, and was tould by all that I was bound to y^e King, who had sworne to y^m that had (he) beene in y^e House of Parlem^t he wold have spoken just my words. But all were not of his good mynd; for when they could doe me noe harme wth him, they irritated an old chalenge against me, of my mis-election in y^e towne for w^{ch} I served (w^{ch} was Arundell), and after I had sate in y^e house 6 weeks an old chalenge was revyved to y^t place, and though I had 16 witnesses to cleere and justefie my election, yet y^e Committee entred to y^e hearing y^e cause, but just at sunne sett, and being then darkeish (before Ester), they made it such a worke,* and in one quarter of an houre, wthout soe much as heareing one wittnes for me, or more then one wittness against

* He means a *dark* business.

me, they sentenced my election voyde; naye, they, to make sure I shold not be in, allowed another election to be good in my roome, and dyd not order a new writt for a new election, as is just and usuale, so powrefull was y^e verie humor of y^e Duke in that House at y^t tyme.

For all this, I went and sate in y^e House y^e next morne, and when that report was made I denyed to wthdrawe unheard, and so bouldly deliv'd my mynd concernyng the unjustnes of that act as nev^r was done in y^e House, and so Mr. Secret^ri Calvert affirmed to myself publicly, with this, that it was not my election was against y^e sense of y^e House, but my former speech, so as they were glad to be shutt of me, givinge me y^e tittle of a Royalist. Yet here y^e sound of this ceased not in my eares; for when I came to wayte on y^e King my m^r, at y^e pulling on his boots, in y^e bedchamber at Theobalds, in Ester weeke, y^e Duke could not hould, but upbrayded me for my speech in Parlet, sayeing it was against y^e King; and I opposing, and his Lo^p growing hotter in it, after that his Ma: had argued a whyle in my behalfe, he brake out in impatience, turneing to y^e Duke, and sayeing, "By y^e wounds, you are in y^e wrong! for he spake my soule; therefore speake noe more of this matter, I chardge you." But his most vindictive nature hath infynitely revenged it-selfe uppon me, even for his conceived displeasure against me, for cause I nev^r gave him anye. Nowe must his corrupt creature, Lincolne, that Bishop, then Lo: Keeper, cross me all he can in my farme of y^e writts, and rather then awarde me right, wrong all y^e K'dome, by seldome sealinge, contrarie to his oathe. Nowe must I be resolved (by y^e waye of schoff) that I could not be made a Lord. And except y^e world strangely alter, here maye I set up y^e *nil ultra* of my getting anie grace or good in this Court.

Julye 1623.

G. CHAWORTH.

*The Message sent me by y^e Duke of Buckingham, touching my having y^e Tytle of a Vice Count, y^e Sundaie before K. James died.**

Doctor More came to me at 9 a clock in y^e morning, and after some talke about y^e bush (as we saye), he tasted me yf or noe I desyred honor, sayeing howe proper it was for me; and I to his generalls giveing gener^{ll} denyals, att last he sayeth, " Well, because I wilbe short, and be-

* Among the MSS. at Loseley was found a very fair one, intituled, " The Forerunner of Revenge upon the Duke of Buckingham for the *poisoning* of King James, the Lord Marquis of Hamilton, &c. by Dr. George Eglisam, ten years one of King James's Physicians." A printed copy of the same tract is preserved among the King's pamphlets in the British Museum. Although the imputation has been adopted by Wilson, we cannot think that Eglisam's accusation makes any thing for its its veracity. His exaggerated account of the effects of the supposed poison upon the body of the Duke of Hamilton, and the bitter style of crimination against the Duke, in which his treatise and petition to the Houses of Parliament on the subject, are penned, have weakened his testimony by the endeavour to *prove too much*. On the death of the Marquis of Hamilton, he says, " no sooner was he dead, when the force of the poyson had overcome the forces of his bodie, but he began to swell in such sort that his thighs were as big as six times their natural proportion; his bellie became as big as the bellie of an oxe; his armes as big as the naturall quantitie of his thighs; his neck so broad as his shoulders; his cheeks swelled over the top of his nose, that his nose could not be seen or distinguished; the skin of his forehead over his eyes, with all the rest of the skin of his heade two fingers high; his mouth and nose foaming blood, mixt with froth of divers colours, a yarde high." Are we not justified, after the above, in believing that the Doctor indulged in the hyperbolical strain when adducing proofs against his enemies?

cause I have so good a wittnes as my Ladie, I will deale trulye wth y^u. I am nowe sent to you fro' y^e Duke of Buckingham', to knowe yf y^u wilbe a Scotish V. Count, and give him £2,500 for procureing it, or not?" I makeing a wonder at it, he sayde, "Cum, stand not in your owne light; you maye have itt reasonable enough." I prayed him againe to tell me seriously yf y^e D. sent him wth this to me or not? He answered (wth an asseveration), "Yes, expressly; and I must instantly carye him yo^r answer." "And will y^u doe it faythfullie?" sayde I. "Yes," sayde he. "Then," sayd I, "praye his Lo^p to resolve y^u whether I was never p^mised, both by y^e King and himselfe, to be a Baron of Scotland. Naye," sayde I, "beseech him to resolve y^u whether y^e K. dyd nev^r p^mis me, and y^e Archduchess for me, yea, and also to three extraordinarie Ambass^{rs} of y^e K. of Spaine, that I shold have y^e tyle of a Vice Count of England? And, Doctor, when y^u have brought me answer of this, I will then give y^u answer to y^e other." He went with this, and two hours after he returned to me wth assurance howe faythfullie he had asked my Lo: Duke my questions. Whose answer (he sayde) was, that although he could not deny y^e one and y^e other to be otherwayes yⁿ truth, yet I must take y^e tymes as they were, and yf I wold not nowe give him £2,500 for y^t tyle he offered, wth expectation of getting y^e other for me hereafter, by God I shold never have anie tyle whylst he lived. The first I denyed, and his Grace hath made good his oathe. God soe rewarde him.

After the death of James, which occurred in March 1624, Sir George Chaworth seems to have revived his application for the peerage, but to have obtained it at length only on the old terms of purchase from the Duke of Buckingham. His wish was to have obtained an English

Barony, Basset of Weldon, to which, he says, "he pretended by his ancestor's match with Alisbury, who married the daughter and heyre of the said Basset." The price of the Irish Peerage, with future expectation for English, was £1,500, half to be paid down, and the other half within six months after his creation; for the execution of which covenant the Duke addressed his warrant to him as follows:

"Sir George Chaworth, the monies w^{ch} his Ma: commanded you deliver to my hands, you shall paye unto Signor Gentilesco. And this shall be your warrant. Geven at Wyتهall ye 7th of Januarie 1627.

"BUCKINGHAM."

His letters patent were now prepared, elevating him to "the state, grade, honor, and dignity of Baron Chaworth, of Tryme, in the county of Meath, and Viscount Chaworth of Armagh, both in the Kingdom of Ireland." They are given at length in his Diary. They recite his services as a gentleman of King James's privy chamber, as ambassador to the Infanta and Archduchess, his descent from royal blood, by the intermarriage of one of his ancestors with an Earl of Lancaster. But this elevation fell short of his views, as it gave him no admission to the English House of Peers; he, therefore, while the above official instrument was passing the seals, addressed the following letter to the Duke:

"May it please your Grace, I have shewed my obēdyence to his Maties comand and yo^r desyre, in accepting tittle out of my waye, and at a dearer rate then others, so I doe beseech yo^r Grace, lett y^e first step of yo^r p^mised favor to me be to move his Ma: to lett me att this tyme also (all in all) receeve y^e tittle of Baron Bassett of England, w^{ch} ys my right in blud, and addeth no place at all to me but y^e means to serve his Ma: and yo^r Grace in

this Parlem^t. His Ma: holdeth two other Baronies from my poor house, wth theyr possessions, so as besyde y^e obligation I and myne posteritie must hereby have to yo^r Grace, it will be a marke of his Maties justice, as well as of his favour towards your Grace's most humble serv^t,

“GEORGE CHAWORTH.”

“Upon this,” continues the writer, “y^e Duke sent for me, and wth lookeing on that extraction I shewed him drawn from y^e Lo: Basset, he said, ‘I will move y^e King in itt, but now ys no fitt tyme to mingle it wth this other. The next daye he dyd tell me ‘his Ma: was enclyned as I could wish, to doe my owne desyre, but at that tyme he held yt no wayes expedient for him or necessarie for me; but,’ sayde he, ‘trust to me; by G— it shall be done ere long.’ And after goeing along y^e gallarie to his bed-chamber, and fynding Signor Gentilesco and Signor Michelini there, he turned to me againe, and asked me if I had geven that old man content? I sayde I shold doe it presently. ‘But, my Lord,’ sayde I, ‘remember your promise to me, as you are a gentleman.’ He sayde again, before them two, aloude, ‘By G— I will, and soon too; and you shalbe glad of this agreement betwixt you and me, for I wilbe worth thus much to you ere long, and thou shalt have thy desyre in that tittle you clayme.’ ‘Geve me your hand on itt,’ sayde I. ‘Yes,’ sayde he, ‘and they shalbe witnesses;’ and so gave me his hand.”

In another place, Lord Chaworth adds: “This busynes [of the Irish Viscounty] being determind, and I brought to y^e King to kiss his hands, I then cast about to pursue my former request to be called to y^e Parleмент, w^{ch} now was beginning. His Grace sware it should be done. I wisht him saye who I shold get to put him in mynd of it? He

* Respecting the money to be paid for the Irish title.

answered, 'My wyfe.' I moved her to it, and she undertook it; but, notwithstanding her undertaking and his promises, I was abused, and the Lord Keeper Coventry, Sir Richard Weston, Sir Edward Howard, and Sir G. Goring, were made by pattents Barons, and no word mentioned of me."

It was in vain, on this neglect, that Chaworth addressed the Duchess, as the Duke's authorized remembrancer; the Duke himself, as the promiser; and the King, as a subject injured by the Duke, who had obliged him to purchase honours from his Majesty, the extent of which had not been fulfilled, although the covenant were ratified by the Duke's oath. The letter setting forth these grievances, dated from Southwell, September 1629, Chaworth says he directed under cover to Lady Denbigh, who presented it to King Charles at Hampton Court, who read it all over, and, saying nothing to it, called for a candle and burnt it.

Thus Chaworth fully experienced the disappointment of that poor man who builds his airy prospects on the honours and preferments of a Court. He sits down, to use his own words, to unburthen his wounded spirit, "confused and confounded of being so near, yet missing the addition of an hereditary honour to his house." He determines to load the insensible paper with those oppressive thoughts which poison the best faculty of his soul, memory. Hence he has contributed to these pages the amusing, if quaint and sometimes prolix notes, which constitute his desultory Diary. Among them, the fees which he paid for his Irish Peerage, in addition to the purchase-money to the rapacious Duke, have not been forgotten. The MS. is throughout autograph, with the exception of some official letters of form, which seem to have been transcribed by his secretary.

ADDENDA.

Notes of some Papers which have not been inserted at length.

1. Lord William Howard to William More, Esq. His son Charles is about "to stand in election" for one of the Knights of the Shire of Surrey: requests his vote in his favour, and those of as many of tenants, neighbours, and friends, as he can procure.—Dec. 20, 1558.

2. The bailiffs, and certain inhabitants of the town of Kingston-upon-Thames, petition William More, Esq. complaining of the consumption of wood by means of an iron mill in that neighbourhood. The "price of a load of tall wood has been raised from 3s. to 4s. and of charcoal from 10s. to 20s." They pray that he will aid to put down the mill by Act of Parliament.—Feb. 5, 1562.

3. Roger Byngborne, a servant of Lord Montague, to William More: "My Lords of Leycester and Sussex are made friends, and came yesterday ridinge through the cytye together, and so dyned at my Lord of Bedford's house, St. Mary Overies."—June 23, 1566.

4. "Ane Proclamation set furth by my Lord Regent in the name of our Souverane Lord, declaring the purpose

of them quha assisted with our Souverane Lorde's Mother," &c. (This refers to the murder of Darnley.) Glasgow, May 13, 1568. "Imprented at Edinburgh be Robert Lekpreuk, Prentar to the Kingis Majestie."*

5. Robert Bishop of Winchester to Sir William More. Requests him to call before him John Slifelde of Byfleet, "who has maintained dancing in his ale house on the Sabbath day, in the time of divine service. Richard Snosmere was the minstrel." He hears Nicholas Woodyer, of Witley, has affirmed that women have no souls. Begg he will examine into the charge.—Winchester, Oct. 7, 1570.

6. Licence by the Magistrates of Surrey for a *common badger*; that is, a buyer and transporter of corn, or other grain, from one county to another. — 14 Eliz. July 5, 1572.

7. Robert (Horne), Bishop of Winchester to Sir William More. Begg he will send him one he told him of, skilful in trimming and stopping of teeth.—Aug. 19, 1572.

8. Edwin Sands, Bishop of London, to Mr. More. He has lost a brinded dog, which the Lady Rich gave him. Hears it is at Guildford. Begg him to be a means that it may be returned him by the bearer, his lackey. He has had sundry bucks given him, and has never a dog to kill them.—Fulham, Aug. 1572.

9. The Earl of Leicester to Mr. More. Has been commissioned by the Queen to repress the inordinate use of cross-bows and guns by such as have not authority to bear them; and of hawking within the forest of Windsor,

* Many rare old printed proclamations, pamphlets, and newspapers are extant at Loseley.

whereby the game of pheasant and partridge are much decayed. He has committed to Mr. More the charge of Surrey bailiwick, who is to see the above enforced therein, that her Highness have no further cause of complaint when she comes to Windsor or Oatlands.—Greenwich, May 26, 1573.

10. The Commissioners for repairing the Thames wall or embankment at Wapping Marsh, have authority to arrest horses, oxen, carts, wains, timber, labourers, &c. for the purpose. Nevertheless, beg Mr. More's aid in taking up the same at a fair composition, they are much pressed in the matter, as they fear every full sea the Thames will break in, and drown the whole marsh.—No date.

11. The Earl of Pembroke to Sir William More. He had granted the Earl's father permission to convey the water in leads (leaden pipes), at his own cost, from the Black Friars to Baynard's Castle. The passage of the water has been diverted by persons making cocks into his pipes. Requests he may be allowed to convey the water by another channel from the fountain head in Sir William More's garden.—No date.

12. The Council to Sir William More. Great inconvenience having arisen from the making of large quantities of iron ordnance in the Realm, it being imported into foreign parts, and supplied to pirates haunting the seas; iron mills and forges having also greatly consumed the woods; he is to visit all such places throughout Surrey, and to forbid the making of any more ordnance.—Court at Hatfield, Aug. 24, 1576.

13. The Council to the Sheriff and Justices of Surrey. *Shipping and mariners being the chiefest fortresses of the Realm*, they are to enforce the due observation of eating

fish in Lent. Her Majesty's commandment in this respect is for the benefit of the Commonwealth, without any intention of superstition, which all her acts seek to remove.—Feb. 4, 1577.

13. The Bishop of Winchester to Sir William Moore. Would gladly know the opinion of the astrologers relative to the "tayed star." He would gladly learn what they find in the lower heavens, for to the higher they never will ascend.—Waltham, Dec. 7, 1577.

14. Alexander Nowell, Dean of St. Paul's (one of the reformers of the Church, who, in the time of Mary, had lived an exile in Germany for the truth of the Gospel,) requests Sir William More to give the living of Hambleton to Henry Adams, one diligent in teaching the catechism, and setting forth true religion.

15. Sir William Horsey, Governor of the Isle of Wight, Sir William More. An agent of his, Towly, has been hardly used by the Mayor of Guildford, concerning the license her Majesty hath granted Sir W. Horsey for re-tailing of wines. "The poor old man has grown sick with the matter;" begs Sir William to comfort him with his friendship.—Isle of Wight, Feb. 6, 1580.

Sir William Horsey is interred in the church of Newport in the Isle of Wight, where is his monument, bearing his recumbent figure in armour; his crest, the horse's head; and the following epitaph, hitherto, we believe, unpublished:

Edwardus qui miles erat fortissimus Horsey,
Vectis erat Præses constans terraque marique,
Magnanimus placide sub pacis nomine fortis
Justitiæ cultor quam fidus amicus amico,
Fautor Evangelii, dilectus Principe vixit

Magnificus populo multum dilectus ab omni,
 Vixit et ut sancte sic stamina sancta peregit.
 Qui obiit 23. . . . die Mercurii, A.D. 1582.

17. John Watson, Bishop of Winchester, to Sir William More and John Cowper, Esq. Encloses the letters of the Archbishop of Canterbury, in furtherance of a contribution for the relief of the decayed city of Geneva. Requests them to advance so Christian and charitable a measure within the county of Surrey, particularly in the Deanery of Stoke, in which they reside.—March 25, 1583.

18. A note of such recusants in Surrey as are of ability, are willing to pay sundry sums of money yearly into her Majesty's receipt.—March 9, 1585.

19. The Council to the Justices of Surrey. Seditious traitorous books and libels are covertly circulated through the realm. Among the rest one most infamous, containing slanderous and hateful matter against the very good Lord the Earl of Leicester, of which most wicked and malicious imputations her Majesty in her own clear knowledge doth declare and testify his innocency, and to that effect hath written her gracious letters to the Lord Mayor, Sheriffs, and Aldermen of London. If the enormities imputed to him were true, she knew how to call any subject to a sharp account for them, according to the force and effect of her laws. They are strictly to enforce the proclamations published already throughout the realm for suppressing such libels, and punishing the authors, spreaders abroad, and retailers of the same.—Court at Greenwich, June 20, 1585.

20. Sir John Wolley to Sir William More. Her Majesty hath commanded him to make ready to go to Scotland

with speed for the satisfaction of the King, touching his mother's case. He intended to have moved her for his brother More (Sir George More, his brother-in-law) to go with him; she prevented him before he spake, by telling him it were good he should take him, &c.—Court, June 27, 1586.

21. "A true copie of the Proclamation lately published by the Queenes Majestie, under the great Seale of England, for the declaring of the sentence lately given against the Queene of Scotts," &c.—Richmond, Dec. 3, 19 Eliz. 1586. Imprinted at London, by Christopher Barker, printer to the Queene's most excellent Majestic.

22. The Council to Sir William More and others. Complaint has been made by the inhabitants of Guildford, Godalming, and Wonersh, of an Italian having erected a glass house in those parts, whereby the woods are likely to be consumed to the prejudice of the whole country. They are to take bond of the Italian, to appear before the Council, and in the mean time to stay the working of the glass house.—Richmond, Nov. 26, 1586.

23. Sir George More and Sir Edmond Bowyer to the King's most excellent Majesty. They have repaired to the glass house lately erected at Lambeth, by virtue of his letters patent to Sir Edward Zouch and Mr. Louis Thelwall. By judgment of divers glaziers of the city of London, &c. perceived the glass for the metal to be clear and good, but in some places uneven, and full of spots, by reason by negligence of the workmen.

The glaziers affirm to have sundry times bought glass as good and as cheap there as any other of the same size. The fuel used is Scotch coal, and not fuel made of wood.

Unlawful practices have been used to overthrow the work, against which it were good some speedy course were taken, that the same may better proceed. July 18, 1613. The above we suppose was a manufactory of plate glass; that of other kinds of glass, seems to have been known in this country at an earlier period. Stow records in the year 1575, the burning of a glass house for the manufacture of drinking glasses, which had been established in the hall of the Crutched Friars, London.—Survey of London, p. 293.

24. A note of the hues and cries raised for robberies within the half hundred of Brixton, presented by the inhabitants. It appears by this document, that the losses sustained by individuals by way of robbery, or represented to be sustained, were levied on the hundred, which opened a door for gross imposition. For instance; one deposed that he was robbed of 100*l.* by a horseman in Smythden (Smithan) bottom. The felon was presently taken within three miles of the spot, and the amount of his booty was found to have been only 6*s.* 7*d.*! Circ. 1587.

25. John (Whitgift) Archbishop of Canterbury, to Sir William More and others. Hears that it is their intention to bind a certain minister, Mr. Pope, to his good behaviour. Hopes there is no cause for so hard a course against him; otherwise, considering his calling and years, he would be far from speaking for him.—Lambeth, July 10, 1587.

26. The Council to Sir William More, Sir Henry Weston, and the other Justices of Surrey. A proportion of timber has been cut down at "Moram and Winchfielde, in the county of Hampton," to be employed for the use of her Majesty's Navy and building of ships. This cannot from

its great quantity be conveyed without the aid of the county. Carts, horses, and teams are to be taken up in her Majesty's name for the conveyance of 50 loads to Reading, at an allowance as of late accustomed of 5*d.* the mile.—Court at Greenwich, June 7, 1588.

27. Jurisdiction of the Provost Marshal (a fragment). Notice was to be given by the keepers of all houses, &c. of all vagrant persons, masterless men, soldiers, or mariners, to the constable; who was to apprehend and bring them before the Provost Marshal or the next magistrate.

28. Sir George More having been appointed Provost Marshall for Surrey, having executed the office for three months, is desirous to be discharged thereof, on occasion of other pressing business. His place of residence being unfit for the execution of the duty, he and the Justices are to chuse a person resident within 12 miles of London, it lying chiefly on the highways near Southwark, Lambeth, Croydon, and Kingston.—Deptford, March 1589.

29. Lord Lumley to Mr. More. Requests him to send by bearer the picture of the French Queen, "that he may take the like ont," and he will return it with speed.—Sept. 5, 1589. This seems to place his lordship in the catalogue of Noble Painters.

30. Lord Hunsdon to Sir William More. The leases of certain houses he has of him in the Blackfriars are about to expire. Requests a renewal. The tenants of the adjoining houses having the use of the leads of the roof, suffer the boys to get on them, and cut them with knives, and bore through them with bodkins, and the rain coming through, to his great annoyance, requests to have the use of the said leads, and he will repair them at his own cost.—

Somerset House, April 14, 1590. Sir William More in another letter excuses himself from compliance.

31. The Lord Keeper Sir John Puckering, C. S. (Custos Sigilli.) Thanks Sir William More for a present of red deer.—Sept. 5, 1592.

32. Lord Hunsdon to Sir William More. Wishes to take a house of him in the Blackfriars. Hears he has already parted with a portion of his own house, to some that mean to *make a playhouse of it*.—Somerset House, Jan. 9, 1595.

33. Sir Thomas Cecill (from Wimbledon) to Sir William More. Hearing he has made divers great pools, begs him to procure one skilful therein, as certain banks he has made that year about a great pool, have given way through unskilfulness of the workman.—Nov. 25, 1595. There is a large artificial lake at this day in Wimbledon Park.

34. A paper entitled "The Inconveniencies which come by sowing and making *Woad* in England," which sets forth that it wholly impoverishes the land where it has been grown; raises the price of wages: it injures her Majesty's Customs, by checking the importation of woad and exportation of cloth, which was taken in exchange for it.

35. The Earl of Northumberland (from Petworth) to Sir George More. Hearing he is about to dispark a park, begs a few does.

36. The same to the same. Thanks him for first handselling by the above gift his old prison newly repaired; alluding to some improvements of Petworth Park.

36. The same to the same. Has sent him the first fruits of his own goods,—a fawn; parted between him and the Earl's pregnant lady. In ancient records he finds that his grandfather presented the Kings of England with the like out of that ground.

37. Thanks to Sir George. Means to observe the day at home, at Petworth. The ways are so bad that he will not invite him; but assures him he has not a friend in England who wishes him better.—Petworth, March 29 (no year).

38. The Earl of Nottingham to Sir George More. Concerning a disorderly fellow, who is tolerated because he pretends to be the Earl's servant, and wears his cloth. Begg Sir George to call him before him, and take it from him.—Court at Windsor, Aug. 13, 1601.

39. Robert Cecil, Earl of Salisbury, to Sir George More, one of the Chamberlains in his Majesty's Remembrancer's office, Richard Sutton, Francis Cotton, Auditors of the Imprests, &c. They are to enquire of the rates and prices used in the Office of Works, so much of late years increased: a matter fit to be considered, "when his Highness, upon good and necessary occasions, is enforced to enlarge sundry of his houses."—Whitehall, Oct. 30, 1608.

40. Thomas Panton to Sir George More, from Utrecht. Vortius, the arch-heretic, continueth still at Leyden. He is forbidden to read or teach on pain of death. On the 25th of the month there will be a General Assembly of the States, who will finally settle that business.—April 3, 1612. The Archbishop of Canterbury (Bancroft), Ambassador at the Hague, treated Vortius as an arch-heretic, pestilent fellow, and monster, and considered that his book *De Deo*, as well as himself, deserved to be burned.

James the First had his books burned at London, Oxford, and Cambridge, and pressed the States to banish him.

41. A document relating to a remarkable claim by the Lieutenant of the Tower, to exercise the old Saxon custom of *Withernam* or reprisal, of which the following is an abstract :

July 13, 1613, at Whitehall, Tuesday morning. Present the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Lord Chancellor, the Lord Privy Seal, the Lord Chamberlain, the Earl of Shrewsbury, the Lords Zouch, Knollis, Wotton, Stanhope, Sir Julius Cæsar, and Sir Thomas Paris.

The Lord Mayor and Aldermen of London gave information that six days before —— Palmer, D.D. Minister of the Tower, was arrested in London by one of the Sheriff's Officers, and Sir Gervase Helwisse [Elwes], Knight, Lieutenant of the Tower, did take and imprison, by way of *Withernam*, the bodies of divers citizens of good account, as they passed over Tower Hill, resolving to detain them (not accepting bail) until the said Dr. Palmer was set free. The Lieutenant of the Tower pleaded in answer, the information which he had received from the Warden and Officers of the Tower of the similar use and practice of former Lieutenants. On the other hand, the Aldermen shew that an instance of a similar claim had occurred at the time of the late Queen, which was referred to Sir Christopher Wray, Chief Justice of the King's Bench, Sir Gilbert Gerrard, Master of the Rolls, and Sir Edmund Anderson, Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, who made a certificate of their opinion in these words: "They think persons daily attendant at the Tower, serving her Majesty, privileged from arrest on any plaint in London, but not for writs of execution or *capias utlegatum*. Any protection by the Lieutenant against persons condemned in any

Court is against her Majesty's laws and dignity. They think the plea of taking a citizen of London by way of reprisal, against her Majesty's law and dignity."

The Council Board made an Order confirming the above, at Nonesuch, Oct. 3, 1575. The Council, therefore, in this case confirmed the resolution, admonishing the officers of the city, at the same time, in maintaining their own privileges, to observe all necessary moderation and respect towards his Majesty's Royal Castle.

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ERRATA.

- Introd. p. xiv. line 5, *for* "eastern wing," *read*, "western wing."
- P. 15, line 1, note, *for* "sheds of timber-work," *read*, "sheds of timber-work or canvas."
- P. 214, line 24, *for* "per London," *read* "per William Wood, London."
- P. 271, line 10, *for* "J. Hunsdon," *read*, "G. Hunsdon."
- P. 308, line 27, *for* "xl^a," *read*, "x^{li}."
- P. 327, line 25, beginning "One of the seals here represented," should be a foot note.
- P. 337, line ult. *delete* the parenthesis (
- P. 338, line 1, *delete* the note of interrogation ?
- P. 347, line 2, *after the word* "my," *read*, "Lord Carlils."
- P. 349, line 18, *for* "interrouit," *read*, "interrupt."
- P. 393, lines 10 and 13, *for* "Loreton," *read*, "Loveton."

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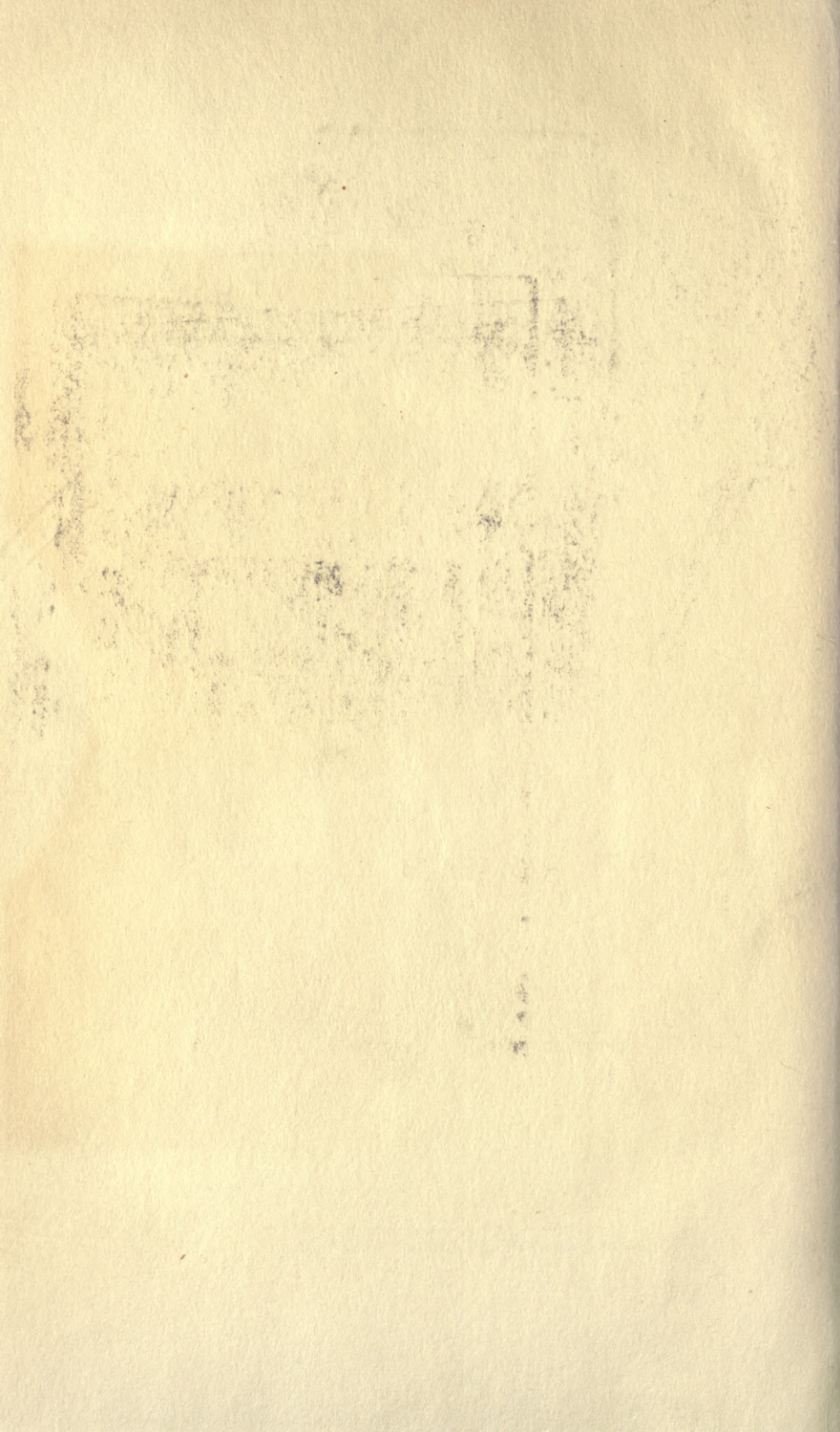
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