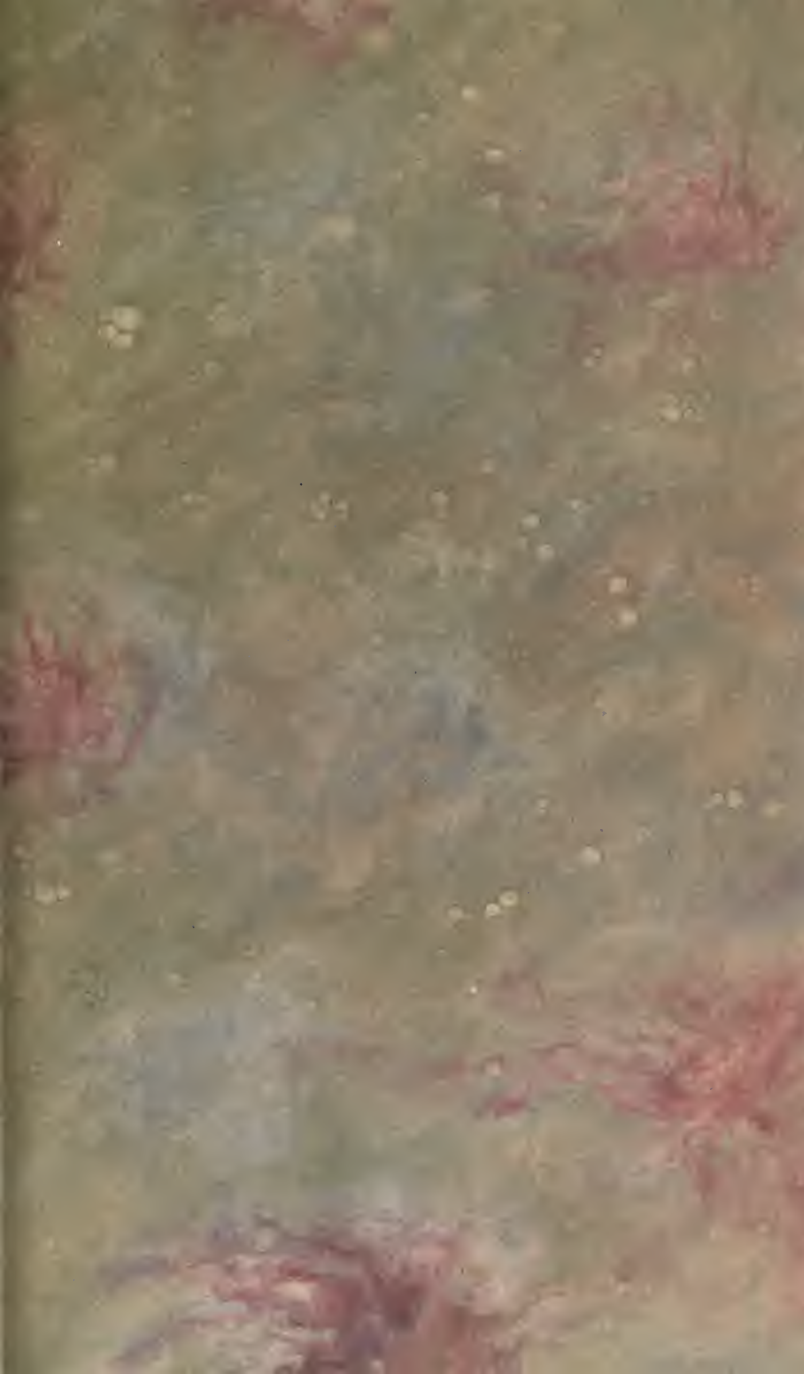


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**ORIGINAL LETTERS,**

**ILLUSTRATIVE OF**

**ENGLISH HISTORY.**

LONDON:  
PRINTED BY THOMAS DAVISON, WHITEFRIARS.







Engraved by T.A. Dean.

**QUEEN ELIZABETH.**

1585.

*From an original picture by Nicholas Hilliard,  
At Hatfield House.*

# ORIGINAL LETTERS,

ILLUSTRATIVE OF

## ENGLISH HISTORY;

INCLUDING

NUMEROUS ROYAL LETTERS:

FROM AUTOGRAPHS IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM,

AND

ONE OR TWO OTHER COLLECTIONS.

---

WITH NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS

BY

HENRY ELLIS, F. R. S. SEC. S. A.

KEEPER OF THE MANUSCRIPTS IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

---

*SECOND SERIES.*

IN FOUR VOLUMES.

VOL. III.

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LONDON:

PRINTED FOR

HARDING AND LEPARD, PALL-MALL EAST.

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MDCCCXXVII.



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LETTERS

OF

THE REIGN OF

QUEEN ELIZABETH

CONTINUED.





# ORIGINAL LETTERS,

ETC.

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## LETTER CLXXXIX.

*Minute of a Letter from Queen Elizabeth to the Queen  
of Scots, Feb. 1st. 1571.*

[MS. COTTON. CALIG. C. III. fol. 141.]

---

MADAME, of late time I have receaved divers letters from yow to the which you maie well gesse, by the accidentes of the time, whie I have not made anie answer ; but speciallie because I sawe no matter in them that required any such answer as could have contented yow, and to have discontented yow had bin but an increase of your impatience which I thought tyme would have mitigated as it doth commonlie where the cause thereof is not truelie grounded and that it be so understand ; but now findinge by your last letter the 27<sup>th</sup>. of the last, an

increase of your impatience tending allsoe to manie uncomelie, passionate, and vindicative speeches, I thought to change my former opinion and by patient and advised wordes to move yow to staie, or ells to qualifie your passions, and to consider that it is not the manner to obtaine good thinges with evill speeches, nor benefitts with injurious chalenges, nor to gett good to yourself with doinge evill to another.

And yet to avoyd the fault which I note yow have comitted in filling a longe letter with multitude of sharpe and injurious wordes, I will not by way of letter write anie more of the matter, but have rather chosen to committ to my cosin the Erle of Shrewsbury the thinges which I have thought meete upon the readinge of your letters to be imparted unto you, as in a memorial in wrytinge he hath to shewe you: wherwith I thinke yf reason may be present with you, and passion absent at the reading, you will folowe hereafter rather the course of the last part of your letter then the first; the later being wrytten as in a calme and the former in a storme, wishing to you the same grace of God that I wish to myself, and that he maie direct you to desire and attaine to that which is meete for his honnor and your quietnes, with contentacion both of bodie and minde. Given at my Pallace of Westminster the first daie of February 1571.

Your Cosyn that wisheth  
you a better mynde.

## LETTER CXC.

*Henry Middelmores to Lord Burghley, reporting a Conversation he had had with the Lord Admiral of France, concerning Flanders, the proposed match with the Duke d'Anjou, &c.*

[MS. COTTON. VESP. F. VI. fol. 89. Orig.]

\* \* \* Gaspard de Coligni, the second of the name, Lord Admiral of France, was born in 1516 at Chatillon sur Loing, was a soldier from his infancy, and had signalized himself in numerous military engagements in the reigns of Francis the First and Henry the Second. After the death of the latter monarch, having become a huguenot at the persuasion of his brother, Francis de Coligni, he headed the Protestants against the Guises. The court which he paid to Elizabeth, and which is so particularly expatiated upon in this Letter, increased the hatred in which he was held by Catherine de Medicis and her party. The dissimulation of Charles the Ninth toward him, is without a parallel in History. It ended, as the reader probably knows, in an awful scene of unexpected treachery, a more particular mention of which will occur hereafter.

---

RIGHT honorable, Sir Arthur Champernome and I being invityd by the Admirall of Frawnce to supper the tenthe of this present, the sayd Admirall in the ende of the same desieringe throwghe olde acquayntawnce (as he sayd) to have some speache with me privatelye, dyd take me asyde, and usyd suche wordes unto me as I have thought it my dutye faythfullye to make reaport therof. His entrye into his discourse tok begynninge at the infinite obligations he had to hir

Majestie, acknowledginge to holde bothe his lieffe, religion, and all he and the protestantes dyd at this daye enjoye in this contrey (next after God) at the only handes of hir Majestie and of hir good support; wherein I meane not now to be so large, as he was willynge by many good wordes to make shewe of a gratefull harte towardes hir Majestie; this only I will putt in, that his duty of allegiance reservyd to the Kynge his souveraine, he was and wolde be sollye at the devotion of hir Majestie, wisslinge nothings more in this worlde other that some good occasion might be offeryd wherby he might make in some sorte appere the desier he had to serve hir Highnes, wherin neyther his bloude, neyther his lieffe shulde be sparyd. From hence he grewe into the matters of Flawnders, wherof he askyd me what I harde, I tolde him lytle, and then he toke occasion to open unto me all that had happenyd lately there, and wisshyd somewhat might be doune there joyntlye by the Quenes Majestie and this Kynge. Yow know sayde he, how mightye the kynge of Spaigne ys, how ryche he is, and what an ennymye he is to your state; we also knowe the smale good will he beareth us. How dangerous a neighbour he maye shortlye growe unto yow and us, yf he prevayle, at this tyme in the Lowe Contreys, we bothe maye easelye see. He will not then content him selfe with small matters, nor yet with common ametye, but (having in his coffers the xvij millions of crownes which he

seakethe to leavy, and will leavye of the Lowe Contreys, yf he be not withstoode, together with his other supplies from the Indes) will eyther gyve lawe to us and yow bothe, or els make warre upon us with suche advantage as we maye hardly sustayne. His deseign in sight of the wisest at this daye, is to make himselfe monarche of Christendome, or at the least to rule the same. How necessarye then it shalbe for yow and us to brydle that dangerous affection in him is easye me thinkethe to be perswadyd, and never more easy to be executyd then by the occasion presently offeryd, of the Lowe Contreys so greatly garboyled. In the enterprisinge of which matter I doe wishe a resolute and determinyd order to be sett downe and agreed on betwixt bothe our Princes, and that suche, so perfect, ceartayne, and good intelligence maye be had on bothe sydes, and so apt and mete ministers usyd and employed with bothe parties, as all good, sincere, and trewe dealyng might be assueryd, all gealousye, suspicion, and mistrust taken awaye and avoydyd. Otherwise, and without this mutuall accorde and consent, yf we or yow, or bothe, shall take in hand to attempt any greate matter that waye, lett us assuer our selves that no good successe canne come therof. Here he stayed, and prayed me to speake my opinion. I sayd they were matters owt of my reache, and farre from myne acquayntawnce, and that I knewe least of her Majesties disposition that waye. Neverthelesse he

reaquyryd me by waye of pryvate speache betwene him and me, to speake that I thowghte in the matter. I sayd I colde only tell him of an opinion comenly receavyd emongst us in England from the beginninge of these cyvill warres. We dyd desyer that eyther Prince might enjoye his owne, as well Spaigne as Frawnce, and eyther State to stande in lyke proportion and degree of governement as before, and not that the king of Spaigne shulde take any thinge from Frawnce, or they any thinge from him, wherby any of them bothe might growe the greater, and so prove a more daingerous neighbour to us of England. That we thowght that God had alreadye made so good and even a division of these partes of Christendome, settelynge them of long tyme in the houses and handes of them that presently dyd possess them, as it shulde shewe very daingerous to every State to suffer the same any waye to be innovatyd or alteryd. That of all other thinges we colde least lyke that Frawnce shulde commaunde Flawnders, or bryng it under theyr obedience, for therin we dyd see so apparawntlye the greatnes of our dainger, and therefore in no wyse colde suffer it. He confessyd I had reason to speake as I dyd, but sayd it was not now so ment in any sort, but that the Quenes Majestie shulde have, yf it pleasyd hir to joyne with the Kynge in that enterprise, as good a parte at the least in the same as the Frenche Kynge shulde have, and suche and so muche as rea-

sonably she colde desier, and so he wolde undertake. He sayd further that there was inoughe for them bothe, and yf he dyd not thinke it for the Quenes greatenes, honor, and suertye, he protestyd he wolde never have openyd his moothe in it; marye the only dainger was in the protractinge of tyme, in lettynge slipp good occasion, and in to late reasolvinge, and so endyd that parte of his talke. Now sayd he I must tell yow how greatly I doo rejoyse at this new League betwixt the King my master and the Quene of England, and how muche I wishe the contynuawnce of the same. And as it hathe alredy taken a very good beginninge, so all meanes must be sowght to conserve it. And emongst the rest I fynd none of more efficacye then some good and favorable alliawnce to be made. Here sayd he, before I passe any further in speache of this matter, I praye yow beleave that I will saye nothings but as one that desierethe all honor and suertye to the Quenes Majestie, and that as I ame many wayes most bownde to hir, so ame I not uncarefull of hir in any thinge that I maye knowe to be for hir preservation and good. It is trewe that the King and the Quene Mother, do desier greatlye to marrye Monsieur le Duc to the Quene your mistris, but that desier of theirs hathe not, nor canne carye me further, then that I maye see joynyd withall the Quene your mistris honor, safty, and quietnes. I have consideryd the state of your Quene, the state of your Contreye, and the state

of Monsieur le Duc, and doo me thinkethe see that greate contentation maye growe herof to hir Majestie, greate happines to the Ducke, and a most suer amitye and frendshyppe betwext the two realmes, I was not a lyttle sorye when I first hard of the breache of the motion that was made to the Quene your mistris for Monsieur, but understandinge the cause to be religion, the Quene willinge in no sorte to admitte or suffer any other then hir owne, I colde not but praise hir, and rejoyce in hir constancye that waye; I must Monsieur Middelmore speake to yow francklye, and yet in speakyng of my Princes I must use a due reverence and regarde. Suerly Monsieur is a goodly gentilman, and hathe many perfections in him; but yet if I were suche a personage as havinge either suster or dawghter, I might matche them that waye, I wolde a greate deale soner make choise of Monsieur le Duc then of the other. He is of so good a nature, so wise, so vertuous, and so well stayed. I protest unto yow, I think he will make as rare a prince as any is in Christendome. Of himselfe, he is greatlye desierous of the matter, of yeres but two behinde his brother, of byrthe as worthye and honorable as any other. And were it not better for the Quene your mistris to take suche a on<sup>a</sup> as must thinke himselfe greatly honoryd by the matter and most bownde unto hir for it, then on who shall thinke

<sup>a</sup> an onc.



to have almost no preferment by it. Monsieur hathe in him a certayne expectation of this Crowne, and in a manner beleavethe he is alreddie Kynge, he is so neare it. Now Monsieur le Duc is the thirde brother further from the crowne, and so the lesse dayngerous for yow, the fitter to marry, and on that shall accompt him selfe greatly honoryd therby. If I dyd not thinke that all honor and good shulde ensue to the Quene your mistris herof, I wolde not use this speache unto you, but trulye yf it be well and indifferentlye weyed, together with the trewe estate of the Quene your mistris, you shall fynd herby hir suertye is well provydyd for, all factions are suppressyd, hir greatnes must nedes growe with it, hir pleasure and contentation cannot be small, and the two realmes shall have most just cause to rejoyse. I do not knowe what disposition is in hir Majestie to marye, but if I be not muche deceavyd, hir greatest suertye and your greatest good is for hir to marrye; then yf she will doo that shalbe best for hir selffe and yow, which is to marye, I saye unto yow for the good I know in this younge prince, I wishe they might matche togeather. And now I have by waye of fryndly talke impartyd to yow thus muche of this matter, let me I praye yow here what yow thinke of it. I sayd that the hartes of princes were in the handes of God, and that he only dyd knowe her disposition to maryage; marye in this matter that he had propowndyd, as there mighte rise many doubttes and

questions, so I notyd by the waye two speceall pointes to be consideryd, the difference of the ages, and the diversitye of religions. For the first he answeyrd that if before when the matter was movyd for Monsieur, hir Majestie dyd not stande upon the age, but upon other thinges, there is not that difference in yeres betwene Monsieur and Monsieur le Duc, but that the one maye be thoughte as fitt as the other; and for religions, he shulde be first a traytor to God, then a traytor to hir Majestie, and lastly a traytor to his own conscience; but it was the thinge he had greatest hope of in the younge Prince, and dyd not dowbte but that he wolde conforme himselfe bothe in that and all other thinges to the good lykyng of hir Majestie, havinge alreedy so good an inclination that way. His conclusion was that at the next dispatche into Englande I wolde lett hir Majestie understande how muche he thought himselfe bownde unto hir, and how muche he was at hir devotion, wysshing unto hir all happines and contentation.

This is the some of that he sayd unto me; he is daylie at the Court and very well usyd by the Kyng and his breatherne. The duke of Guise and hee doo not yet speake togeather. How muche he acknowledgethe himselfe to be beholdynge to bothe your lordships, and how ready to doo yow pleasure or service, I will leave to tell yow, untill I come home.

Of these former matters and of those of Flawnders,

I thinke your lordships shall also now here in my lord Admiralles and my lorde Ambassadors letters, for bothe they have news out of Flawnders, and they have had conference with the Admirall of Frawnce, who made them and all the English lordes and gentilmen a greate supper the xvj of this monethe.

Our lord Admirall hathe receavyd at this Kynges handes great honor and all good usage, and that in a more familiar sort then hathe bene seane. The Kyнге shewethe greatly to rejoyse in this league.

Hir Majestie gave me in charge, at my leave takynge, to buy som dry thinges for hir here; but there is suche scarsitye of them throwghe defences and proclamations made by the Kinge (and that lyttle that is, so greadelye bowght up for this mariage) as I feare me I shall hardly brynge home any thinge to hir lykyng. Thus I humbly take my leave of your lordships. From the Lovre, the kynges howsse in Paris, this xvijth. of June 1572.

Your lordshipes most humbly  
to use and commaunde

HEN. MIDDELMORE.

## LETTER CXCI.

*Sir Thomas Smith to Lord Burghley. Lord Lincoln's arrival and reception at Paris; their joint proceedings.*

[MS. COTTON. VESP. F. VI. fol. 93. *Orig.*]

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MY very good Lorde, the viij<sup>th</sup> of this moneth, my Lord Admirall arriving here at Paris the ix<sup>th</sup>. he thought best to rest. The x<sup>th</sup>. my lord Ambassator resident sent to de Limoges, prayeng him to cawse Secretary Pinard t'understand when my lord shall have audience, and seeke owt som precedentes that we might conferr them with ours, so that when we should com to the action ther might be no alteracion nor dowte fownde on neither partie.

The xj<sup>th</sup>. cam to us Monsieur de Pīnard himself, with Mareshall de Cosse, & Monsieur de Forest who was Ambassator in England, who told us that yt was the Kinges pleasure my lord Admirall should rest him that daie, which was Weddensday & Thursday, and that on Friday my lord Admirall, I, & my lord Ambassator should com to Madrill, wher the King & the Queene was, & the Queene his Mother somewhat sick, and that then the King wold have us all iij to dyne with him. And as towching that which was to be done

in wordes & writings, the forme was agreed on betwixt us at that tyme to the contentment of both the parties. Yt was declared to us that notwithstanding our goeng to Madrill, the king wold com to the Louver here in Paris, and take the oth in St. Germaines church, a parish church hard by the Louvre, and uppon the tyme som debate made, yt was agreed yt should be at the end of Even song, t'avoid all offence that might chauce on either party, rather then at Masse, and that we should accompany the King to his seate, & ther leave him to such ceremonies as was used in ther Romish Even song, retyring ourselves into a by chapell prepared for the nones in the same church ; that being done we should bring the King to the place wher the oth should be taken. This was then thought to be best t'avoid all inconveniences, so that the Kinges pleasure were also that so it shold be done.

On Friday my lord Admirall had diverse coches sent for himself & my lordes of his treyne, which were the Kings owne, the Queenes, & Queene Mothers & others the best in the cowrte ; and prince Daulphin, the duke de Monpenciers son, to accompany my lord Admirall in the same coche, and so he arrived at Madrill, which is about iij english myles from the Louvre, about ix of the clock or x in the morning, when the King was scarsely risen. But as sone as he was up, my lord Admirall was sent for, who after verie curteous & honorable enterteignment delivered hir Majesties letters

and did his message, which was so well & so hartely received of the King, & with so good wordes againe as cowlde be. Then he was brought by Monsieur to the Queenes chamber, the duke D'Alanson still attending upon him untill he cam away, wher he was also verie honorably received of the Queene. All the cowrte was then in dueil & morning for the Queene of Navarre. The Queene Mother as then being sick, excuse was made, & he praid to attend till the next daie when it was hoped she should be better. That day the King invited and had my lord Admirall to dynmar. At which table onely was the King, Monsieur, & the Duke D'alanson, under whome, all on one side, sat my lord Admirall, I, & Mr. Walsingham, & at that table, nor in that hall, no more persons did sit. The service was as apperteined to such a Prince; the lordes & the rest of the treyne were feastid in an other place. At night (for in Fraunce on fridaies thei do use ordenary soups) my lord Admirall, we, & the rest of the noble & gentlemen of his treine supped in an hawle appointed for the same, adjoyning to my lords lodging, served with the Kinges men very honorably. Likewise on the Saterdag dynner & supper was ordered. That day at the afternone my lord Admirall was brought by the king to the Queene Mothers chamber, who in a wastcote in hir bed with many ladies abought her, emonges whom Madame Margarite & the old duches of Ferrar enterteined my lord Admirall & us all with marvelous

good wordes, asking hartely of the Queenes Majesties health, & shewing hir great gladnes of this league & amitie. And me she axid if my lord had nothing to speake of the other match; (she said) I knew what she ment; I answered nothing so far as I could lerne. Becawse of hir sicknes ther entred into hir chamber none englishmen but we iij, & the duke of Alanson taried with us untill we cam out from hir chamber. On Sunday in the morning ther was great store of coches brought to Madrill, and as sone as the King had hard masse, he & his ij brethren & my lord Admirall in one coche, the prince Daulphin & Mr. Walsingham & I in an other coche, the noblemen & gentlemen of England in other coches provided for them, cam from Madrill to the Louvre, where in the great chamber or hawle, after that the King had shewed my lord Admirall the magnificence of his owne chambers & cabinetes, dyner was preparid, & ther dynd as before the King & his ij brethren, my lord Admiral & we ij, all vj at one table & on one side; the table was served very magnifically & all with gentlemen & tall men, which I have not sene here before accustomed; but such a presse in the hawle & so nere to the kings table, that scarcely the ministers cowld have rowme to bring the meate or the drinck to the table; this is the maner & familiarity in this contrey. Not long after dyner my lord being retired to his chamber, he was streight sent for agayne (for in dede the King dynd very late) and

so a great number of lords & gentlemen goeng before, the king & my lord Admirall, Monsieur & I, the duke of Alanson & Mr. Walsingham, with likewise a great number of noblemen & gentlemen folowing, cam to the place in the church of St. Germaine by the Louvre which was preparid for the King & his brethren to sit, where also was preparid a place for us, but to avoid all offences that might arise, we were conveyed by Monsieur Lausack to a side chappell in the same church rightly tapisserid & hangid for the nones, where was also stooles & settes covered with cloth of gold preparid for my lord & us. The lordes & noblemen of England had an other preparid for them; and for the rest of the treyne a third, in which we taried untill that evensong was done, which thei that can skill of it did saie was song in very good musick. To us cam one of our religion the duke of Bullion. When Evensong was done we were brought to the King & so in the same order as we cam to the church, the King, & his brethren & we cam before the high alter, where the busshop of Auxerre, le grand Aumosner du Roy, holding the boke where gospels lay open, having in his left hand a paper of the forme of the othe, the which the King laying his right hand uppon the boke open, red, & so kissed the boke & then tord him to my lord Admirall, & said my lord Admirall I pray yow tell my good sister the Queene that I do not swear this oth in wordes onely, but with myne hole hart, and do rejoise so mich thereof



as eny man can, & will kepe it firmly so long as God shall geve me lief. Then they began & song Te deum. And so while thei were singing the King retornid in the same order as he cam, and my lord Admirall & we so accompanid as before. Not only all the church, but all the streetes wher we passed so full, that skarsely the King & we cowld have rowme to go. The king both in the church & in the way, many tymes staying as it were to looke on the people, & that the people showld loke on him & us, & rejoyce the more fully with him. One thing I had forgot in the morning, when the King cam to my lord Admirall richely apparayled, & not in a morning weede as he was overnight, he told my lord Admirall that altho he had cawse to mowrne, and the maner was alwais that when eny prince or princesse of the bloud were dead, both the king himself & all the cowrte did mowrne at the least for the space of a moneth, yet he did so rejoyce of my lord Admiralls comyng, & at this amitie that he cowld not mowrne in dede, & therfor he wold use no hipocrisie but dispense with himself & all the other, to shew in their apparell the joy thei had in their heartes; beside that he wold not com as morning or sorowfull but as glad & joyfull to sweare to such a good love & amitie, with many other wordes the which my lord Admirall can better & more fully declare then I. When we cam against the Louvre, there was a coche preparid wherin the King & his brethren & my lord

Admirall went from the Louvre to the Tuillery, and the prince Daulphin Mr. Walsingham & I in an other, the other lordes noblemen & gentlemen of England in other coches, or on horsback. In the garden of the said Tullerie is the Queene Mothers building, in an Alley beside a pleasaunt fontayne or conduicte; there was preparid the Kinges supper; the king led my lord Admirall to diverse partes of that garden which is large & faier, to se the deseignes of his mother, and there in a litle pavillion or open banketting howse covered with slate, the king & his ij brethren, my lord Admirall and we ij. did sup, & no more. Emonges other noblemen there was the Admirall of France & iij brethren to the Mareshall Montmorency, the duke of Guise & Daumale, & Conte de Rez, altho of diverse faccions yet both well lokid upon of the King; they & the other noblemen of England & of Fraunce were provided for in other place. After sowper the admirall of Fraunce & the other noblemen cam agayne, where the King & Monsieur & the Admirall of Fraunce had long & very familiar, & as apperid, pleasaunt talke almost an hower together alone, none other approaching to them, which was very comfortable to som, & as suspicious & displeasent to other. The Admirall of Fraunce had invited my lord Admirall & his treyne & us to supper with him at his owne lodging in Paris for the next daie which was Monday, where in deede at night my lord Admirall, we, & all his treyne had a

noble, magnificall, & sumptuous supper, and in so good order that no man had cawse to compleyne, but every man occasion to think that it cam of a loving, fre, & liberall hart.

Commynge from the church on Sunday, Monsieur likewise hymself invited my lord Admirall furst, & after either of us, to dyne with him on Tewisday the xvij<sup>th</sup>. at his logging over against the Louvre, where the same day my lord Admirall being conductid thither by Monsieur de Torre, de Lausack & de Malvesiere, who never almost forsakid us, & diverse other of Monsieurs gentlemen, Monsieur & the Duke his brother met him in the hall, and brought us into the great chamber where we dyned, where was the dukes de Montpencer, de Nevers, & Daumale, with a great number of other nobles & gentlemen. At the table there sat furst Monsieur, then my lord Admirall, & after my lord Ambassator, next to him the duke of Guise, my lord Talbot, duke Daumale; at the tables eand, Monsieur Dauville, de Mern, & Torre.

On the other side over against Monsieur, his brother the Duke, then I, then the dukes de Montpencier, de Nevers, and Mareshall de Cosse; at a table beside, all the rest of the noblemen of England & Fraunce. There was very great chere & costly, yet that was not enough; after dynner furst my lord Admirall & we were brought to here excellent musick, (as thei said, that could skill of yt) furst of the voice with virginalls,

then of Voninis schole, with the voice, violls, & lutes; after that an Italian comedie, which eandid, vaulting with notable supersaltes & through hoopés, and last of all the Antiques, of carying of men one uppon an other which som men call *labores Herculis*; these things may better be declared by word of them that saw & can skill of it, then by writing, especially of me. That done, when we showld take our leave, the Duke his brother, himself, invited furst my lorde & then either of us to dyne with him the next day in his lodging. That daie being Weddensday, becawse the weather being extreme hote, and his howse was so litle he borrowed the Conte Rez's howse for us to dyne in, wher when my lord Admirall cam into the cowrt (Monsieur de Torrey, Lausack & de Malvesier accompaned with other gentlemen being sent before to accompany him thither) Monsieur & the Duke with other noble men met my lord Admirall, & brought him into the hawle wher was a great & sumptuous dynner preparid. On the one side sat furst Monsieur, then my lord Admirall, then Mr. Walsingham, then the prince Daulphin, then Monsieur Chevalier & my lord Talbot, & at the tables eand Monsieur Danville & Mern. On the other side, furst the Duke, then I, then the Duke of Monpencier, Nevers, Guise, & my lord Clynton. Of the service I nede not speake, yt was as magnificall & good as thei cowld devise. At an other table sat all the other noble men & gentlemen of England & Fraunce. Behinde

Monsieur stood all the dynner while Marquis de Villars, called now Mareshall de Savoy, one of the iiij ordenary Mareshalls of Fraunce, for de Tavanés is the vth. & extraordenary.

There was there also standing other noble men & gentlemen of Fraunce whom I knew not; there was great presse & therfore extreme heate all the dynner while.

After dynner Monsieur & the Duke brought my lord Admirall & us into a chamber somewhat more fresh, where we heard excellent musique both of voice & virginalls, & of voice & violls as the daie before. And the duke shewed unto us he had provided for us a comedie, & some eskrymeurs to shew us pastyme, but he saw the day was so hote & the place, that he feared he should do us more displeasure & grief with heate then pleasure, and so was it true, the day being so hote & the company & presse so great.

At the goeng away ther was preparid, with such a spoute as thei water gardens, damaske & fine water to reyne uppon the company, and then a mad felow to blow damask & fine smelling powder all about. And so this day passed, saving the duke de Nevers himself invitid my lord Admirall and either of us to supper with him the next day. This is hitherto a brief discourse of that which hath passed sith my lord Admiralls commyng to Paris, & sith the end of my last letters to your honour. And so I commyt your lordship

to almighty god. From the Louvre in Paris the xvijth. of June 1572.

Your lordshipp allwaies  
at Commaundement

F. SMITH.

To the right honorable and my  
verie good lord my lord Burgh-  
léy, princi. Secretary to the Ma-  
jestic.

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## LETTER CXCII.

*Edwin Sandys bishop of London to Lord Burghley,  
upon the News of the Massacre of St. Bartholomew.  
Recommends measures for safety, with the BEHEAD-  
ING of the Queen of Scots.*

[MS. LANSDOWN 15. art. 41. Orig.]

\* \* Lord Clarendon calls fifteen hundred and seventy-two "that infamous year," from the barbarous and inhuman Massacre of Paris which took place in it, more usually, from the day on which the transaction occurred, called the Massacre of St. Bartholomew. An event, he observes, attended and accompanied with as foul dissimulation and as horrid perjury as ever added deformity to wickedness.<sup>a</sup>

The Reader who would learn the minute particulars of this detested Tragedy may consult Davila's History of the Civil Wars of France, the Memoirs of Margaret Queen of Navarre, the Memoirs of Sully, the Life of Theodore Agrippa d'Aubigné, Thuanus, Mezeray's History of France, Wraxhall's History of the House of Valois, and Lingard's narrative in a Note at the end of the Reign of Queen Elizabeth.

<sup>a</sup> Relig. and Policy, p. 427.

The Massacre of Paris was subsequently repeated in other towns. Lingard has assembled the Dates; at Paris August the 24<sup>th</sup>; Meaux the 25<sup>th</sup>; La Charité, 26<sup>th</sup>; Orleans, 27<sup>th</sup>; Saumur and Angers, 29<sup>th</sup>; Lyons, 30<sup>th</sup>; Troyes, September the 2<sup>d</sup>; Bourges, the 11<sup>th</sup>; Rouen, 17<sup>th</sup>; Romans, 20<sup>th</sup>; Toulouse, the 23<sup>d</sup>; Bourdeaux, October the 3<sup>l</sup>.

The numbers of those who perished, and neither age nor sex were spared, are variously reckoned by different writers, from ten to a hundred thousand: but should we take the half of the lowest number, the deed loses nothing of its atrocity.

It was the Editor's first intention to have given all he could have found upon this Massacre, but the Correspondence was too long for the limits of his Work. Much relating to it will be seen in Digge's Compleat Ambassador, although the Letters are imperfectly printed, and some of them have wrong dates.

The Editor here contents himself with a single Letter, from Edwin Sandys bishop of London; from which, and from other Letters, it appears that the horror of this deed led even good men to fear that nothing but strong measures could prevent massacre from spreading through all parts of Protestant Europe. The present Letter is evidence also that the first thought of beheading the Queen of Scots arose out of the panic of this very massacre, although for fourteen years the thought did not ripen into execution.

Pope Gregory the Thirteenth had no sooner notice of this deed than he went in solemn procession to the Church of St. Louis in Rome, to return God thanks for it as for a happy victory, and sent a nuncio to France to congratulate the King. Lord Clarendon thought that Gregory alone paid his devotions for it; but in France its anniversary was long celebrated. William Cecil, writing to his grandfather Lord Burghley from Paris, 25th Aug. 1583, says, "Upon St. Bartelmewes day, we had here solemn Processions, and other tokens of triumphs and joy, in remembrance of the slaughter committed this time eleven years past. But I doubt they will not so triumph at the day of Judgment."\*

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THEESE evill tymes trouble all good mens headdes, and make their hearte sake, fearinge that this barbarous treacherie will not cease in Fraunce, but will reach over unto us. Neither feare we the mangling of our body, but we sore dreade the hurt of our Head:

\* Orig. Letter. MS. Lansd.

for therin consisteth our lief and saftie. We shall dutiefullie praie. Give you good advise. And God, I trust, will deliver us owt of the mouthe of the waringe Lyon. The Citizens of London in thees dangerous daies had need prudentlie to be dealt withall; the preachers appointed for the Crosse in this vacacion are but yonge men, unskilfull in matters politicall, yet so carried with zeale that they will enter into them and poure furthe their opinions. Yf the league standeth firme betwixt hir Ma<sup>tie</sup>. and the Frenche Kinge, (as I suppose it dothe,) they may perhappes, beinge not directed, utter speache to the breache therof. Howe that will be liked of I dowte. Yf I may receave from yo<sup>r</sup>. L. some direction or advise herin, I will not fail to directe them so well as I canne. The Deane of Paules and I will first occupie the place, givinge example howe others may followe. Sundrie have required a publike Faste and Praier to be had, for the confoundinge of theese and other cruell enemies of Goddes gospell; but this I will not consent unto, withoutt warraunt from hir Ma<sup>tie</sup>. Thus am I bolde to unfolde a peece of my mynde on the sudden, and to make yow pertaker of my simple cogitacions, knowinge that accordinge to yo<sup>r</sup>. olde wonte, you will take the same in good parte. Hasten hir Ma<sup>tie</sup>. homewarde, hir safe returne to London will comforth many heartes oppressed with feare. God preserve yow, and directe yow with his spirite to counsell to his glorie.



In haste from my howse at Fulham this v<sup>th</sup>. of September 1572

y<sup>or</sup>. L. humble at commandment.

ED. LONDON.

The saftie of our Quene and Realme,  
yf God will.

1. Furthwith *to* CUTTE OF the SCOTTISH QUENE'S HEADE: *ipsa est nostri fundi calamitas.*

2. To remove from our Quene Papistes, and suche as by private persuasion overthrowe good counsell.

3. The Q. mat<sup>ie</sup>. to be garded stronglie with Protestants, and others to be removed.

4. Order must be taken for the safe kepinge of the Tower, and for good order to be had in London for strengtheninge of the Citie, and that they receave no Papistes of strengthe to sojourne there this wynter.

5. A firme League to be made with the yonge Scottishe Kinge and the Protestants there.

6. A League to be made with the Princes Protestants of Germanie, offensive and defensive.

7. The chiefe Papistes of this realme are to be shutte uppe in the Tower, and the popishe olde Bushoppes to be returned thither.

8. The Gospell earnestlie to be promoted, and the Churche not burdened with unnecessarie ceremonies.

9. The Protestants, which onlie are faithfull sub-

jectes, are to be comforted, preferred, and placed in autoritie, the Papistes to be displaced.

These put in execution, wolde twrne to  
 Goddes glory, the saftie of the Quene's Matie.  
 and make the Realme florishe and stande.

To the right honorable my singular good Lorde the Lorde of Burghley, highe Treasurer of Englande.

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### LETTER CXCIH.

*The Earl of Sussex to the Lord Treasurer, upon the Queen's wish to sign a Commission to execute by martial Law.*

[MS. LANSD. 17. art. 21. Orig.]

\* \* Camden, in his History of Queen Elizabeth, explains the intention of this Letter. He says, "Whether I should here make mention of the frantic Opinion of Peter Burchet, I know not, who perswaded himself that it was lawful to kill such as opposed the truth of the Gospel. So far had the error of this opinion transported him, that he drew his dagger upon Hawkins that famous sea-captain in the open street and wounded him, supposing him to be Hatton, who was then in great favor with the Queen, and of her Privy Council, whom he had heard to be an enemy to the Innovators.<sup>a</sup> The Queen was so extraordinarily incensed with this fact, that she commanded the man to be presently executed by martial or camp-law, until she was informed by discreet persons that martial-law was not to be used but in camps, or in turbulent times; but that at home and in time of peace, the proceeding must be by form of judiciary process. Being therefore indicted, he affirmed that what he had done was

<sup>a</sup> The Puritans.

consonant to the holy Scriptures, and therefore lawful. Whereupon being to be condemned of heresie, he promised to renounce his opinion; but yet he shifted it off, and would not. Then being thrown into the Tower of London, he slew one of his keepers with a billet which he snatched up out of the chimney, knocking him on the head: for which he was condemned of murder, had his right hand cut off and nailed to the gallows, and then was hanged, discovering a silent reluctancy.”<sup>a</sup>

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THE Q. sate in the grete Closette or Parler She gave order to Mr. Secretary to bryng to her the Commyssion for executyng by marshall lawe to be sygned at after dyner. God put into her harte to do the best. My Lord Admyrall is gretely greved with the spech that he should advyse it, and is directly ageynst it. He told my Lord of Leicester of the execution don in London in the Rebellyon of Wyatt, but he never told it to the Quene. My Lord of Arundell is very vehement ageynst it in speche to me. The Quene asked for your Lordship, and seemed to look for you; beyng her byrthe it was hollydaye. I told her the Judges did sytt this daye in the Exchequer, and in Westmester Halle, which it semed she knew not before. What wyll become of thes actz at aftyr dyner your Lordship shall her this nyght. As I was at dyner, 28<sup>th</sup> October 1573.

Your L. assured

T. SUSSEX.

To the right honorable & my very good L. the L. High Treasurer of England.

<sup>a</sup> Hist. of Q. Eliz. p. 199.

## LETTER CXCIV.

*William Fletewood, Recorder of London, to Lord  
Burlcigh, on the manner of tanning Leather in  
the reign of Queen Elizabeth in different parts of  
England.*

[MS. LANSD. 20. art. 4. Orig.]

\* \* Some Observations on the Statute for Tanners, in the 5th of Elizabeth, occur in the Lansdowne volume, Num. 5. art. 58. Whence it appears that of fifteen clauses only six could be kept, the rest were to be dispensed with, chiefly from the circumstance of the framers of the Act being totally ignorant of the Tanner's art.

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RIGHT honorable and my verie good Lord, according to your Lordships order prescribed by your honorable lettres I have conferred with certen persones of good calling and skill upon these Articles exhibited by certen Tanners, the which, though they be manye and longe, yet the principall greffs do concist in the first and the x<sup>th</sup> article: the one for the lymyng, the other for raisyng. My Lord, suche as I conferred with were of opinion against all these articles; and then I sent for a Tanner before us, who indeed dyd agree with many of the said articles; but my Lord, although my skyl in tannyng of Lether be small, yet for these xiiij. yeres I have geven my mynde that weyes to understand of that facultie. My wifes mother

in Buckingham shire was married unto a Tanner, whose name was William Howse of West Wykham; he died at Christenmas last; he was lxxiiij. yeres of age; a man both of greate welthe, verie wise, and most skillfull in his arte; and suche a one as made the best lether in this lande, and solde it best chepe. His desire was to serve the poore, and helpe yonge beginners. He was a vertuous man. My Lord he tolde me unto the time of his deathe, allwaies, that it was impossible to make good leather according to the words of the lawe, and wished many times of God that the Lawe might be reformed. And further my Lord I have viewed myself all the Tanne-houses betwene Norham castell and Dover castell, and the most parte of Northe Wales, and so up to Norwyche, and I finde that everie countrie in tannyng of Lether dothe varie one from an other: and yet they make, or, if they list can make verie good lether. It is harde to cause a Northeren Tanner, or any other in his old daies, to lerne a newe order of Tanning: and surelye one forme of Tannyng can not be used in all places. The Somersett shire hyde being of a red heare will never make half so good lether as will the Derbeshire hide. The Middelsex hyde is not so good as the Vale hide, the which vale is within xx<sup>ti</sup> miles of Middlesex. The hides of most Countryes do differ. The waters do differ. In some places the waters are too sharpe and pearcyng, the which an ignorant Tanner doth not discern. The

chalke waters of Chilton hills hath no fellowe. Some never lyme their hides, but worke off the heare with strength of men, and that wilbe excellent lether. My Lo. the owse of Ashen barke dronke, is an extreme purgacion: even so it openeth the rawe hide, and dothe mervelouslie raise or puff it up. The owse of the Oken barke dronke, is the extremest binder that can be founde in phisicke; and even so it bindeth the lether, the which is commendable. All the excellencie and connyng of a Tanner consistethe in the skillfull making of his owes: surelie they must be manye and severall, and one stronger then an other. The time of the changing of the Lether from one owes to an other must be timed at prescribed howres, or els the lether wilbe utterly spoiled. My Lo. there be an infinite number of rules to be observed in Tannyng, the which fewe Tanners did ever conceyve; muche lesse the Parliament who conceyved their informacion of suche whome nowe I do by experiens knowe not to be skillfull. My Lo. in Febuarie last the Tanners whose names be written under this bill of Articles sett downe these Articles for a remembrans to be provided for at the next Parliament. Surelie My Lo. I, amongst others unworthie, did argue with them, and founde most of them verye simple men in their Arte. Wherefore my good Lo. if a tolleracion might be made by your Lordships good meanes untill the Parliament come, I thinke it wolde do muche good. But surelie

I see not howe Lether can become the better cheape, for here is a License mucche spoken of in London that men saie is the onlye cause of the derthe. Thus most humblie I take my leave of your good Lordship; this first of June 1575.

Your good Lordships most  
bounden,

W. FLETEWOOD,

*Recorder.*

To the right honorable and my  
verie good Lord Treasurer of  
England.

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### LETTER CXCIV.

*Walter Earl of Essex to the Lord Treasurer, offering his eldest son to be married to his Lordship's daughter.*

[MS. LANSDOWNE 17. art. 23. Orig.]

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MY verie good Lord, because I have ever found in your lordship such love and favour towards me as I cannot enie wair fullie requite, I have therfore resolvid to make you the offir of the most sufficient pledge of my good will, namely of the direction, educacion, and mariage of myne eldest sonne whome if you can like to

match with your doughtor I will presently assuer hym two thousand markes by yere in Englande, besides my houses, demaines, and parkes, I will give to your lordship one hundreth poundes or two hundreth markes by yere for his educacion, I will assuer to your doughtor five hundreth poundes by yere in jointure, and, uppon the mariage, depart with a convenient portion for their maintenaunce during my lief; yf at yeres of discretion the match shalle not goe forward, I will give to the gentelwoman to her mariage two thousand poundes. And thus much in the behalf of my sonne. From myself you shall most assuredlie looke and ever fynde as firme and constaunt frendship as your lordship shall receive by enie other alliaunce in Englande; to all which pointes I gage myne honour and faith, and have testified the like to the bearer to be utterid to your lordship as I do now also confirme it with my hand and seale. Their is equality sufficient in their yeres, no great distaunce in neighborud betweene Tiboldes and Bonington, such an occation might make me like well of my landes in Essex, where if God send me lief I might hereafter shewe all offices of frendship to the good Countesse your doughtor, of whose match I mistrust not but your lordship shall in the end receive singuler cumfort. Your lordship seeth how open & plaine I am; use me as it shall please you: and so with my most harty commendacions to my lady I



take my leave. At Knockfergus the first of November 1573

at your lordships commandement

W. ESSEX.

To the right honorable my  
verie good lord the lord Burleighe  
Lord Treasoror of Englande.

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## LETTER CXCVI.

*Edmund Bishop of Peterborough to Lord Burghley;  
upon the state of his Diocese, and the unruliness of  
the Puritans in it.*

[MS. LANSDOWNE 17. art. 27. Orig.]

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MY most humble comendations unto your honour  
premiered, &c. My verie good Lorde, I moste entierlie,  
in the name of Christe Jesus, besече you (in whome  
under God and my prince is my onelie truste and staye)  
vouchsafe amonge your other cares of the state of this  
Realme to looke upon theis sheires of Northampton  
and Rutlande, committed in spirituall government unto  
me. And for because God haith blessed your coun-  
sailes and devises ever to the welthe of this Realme,  
let it not greve you to ayde me with your counsaile for

the better discharge of my office, and peace of the cuntry. I am, withoute Godds assistance and yours, verie weake and unable to execute and dischargd the same in these troubles, nowe moved and procured by those whome men doe call Puritans and their fautors. They are growen apparentlie to neglecte, if theie do not abhorre the devine servise sett owte by publike authoritie. So that in the Towne of Overston where Mr. Carleton dwelleth, there is no devyne service upon most sondayes and hollidaies, accordinge to the booke of Commen Prayer, but in steede thereof ij sermons be preached most commenlie by one Mr. Standen, and one Mr. Kinge, men for their opinions not licensed by me to preache at this daie. When thei are determined to receyve the communion theie repaire to Whiston, where it is their joye to have manie owte of divers parishes, principallie owt of Northampton Towne and Overston aforesaid, with other townes thereabowte, theare to receive the sacramentes with preachers and ministers to their owne likinge, and contrarie to forme prescribed by the publike order of the Realme; which bredeth in myne opinion great scisme and deviation, with grudge and mallice amonge the people, so that I am doubtfull, that further evell will ensewe thereof. To their purposes they have drawen divers yonge ministers, to whome it is plauseble to have absolute authoritie in their parrishes. In their waies theie be verie bolde and stowte, like men that seeme

not to be withowte greate frendes. Whoso standeth against them, theie seeke to molest by som meanes, as latelie my chauncellor, whome by endytementes verie much, and yet more by clamors and reproches openlie in the face of the countrie thei disquietted, professinge not to be satisfied by anie other meanes but by his departure owte of the countrie; which, no dowte of yt, wold make well of their syde and for their purpose, for if men by voices and clamors might be removed owte of the waie, which withstand their unlawfull doinges, I dowte not but that theie will shortlie have frendes inowe, and fewe to resiste their attempts. I write not this to defend my chauncellor, if thei be able justelie before discreete and indifferent Judges to finde him culpable, so that I wolde not have him to escape dewe correction accordinge to the quantitie and qualitie of his faulte; but I wold be lothe to have him permitted and geven over ever to their pleasures. And glad I wold be that indifferent judges might have the hearinge both of his adversaries offences and of his; before whome I truste he shalbe founde either in no faulte at all, or elles in suche faulte onelie as maye well obtayne forgivenes; if it be otherwise it shall not greve me, so that he suffer not more then he haith deserved. In this my chauncellores case I have to crave som ayde to bringe yt to the juste triall of the wyse, as in myne owne causes afforesaid, I stande in greate neede of som direction from you, for seinge theie are

increased and waxen bolde when I and myne officers have bene to resist them, muche further will theie proceede if I be destitute of a chauncellor. When som of them have offended, I am written unto by those whose letters in mylde wordes be unto me rather a commaundement then a request. Therefore I beseeche you, as before I have done, to releive me with som parte of your counsell. I wolde not thus trouble you, my good Lorde, if this matter touched not asmuche the peace and quietnes of the Laietie, as it doth the regiment of the Spiritualltie; wherefore I besech you pardon me, if in this anxietie and doubtfulnes I flie unto you for advise. At Peterborowe this xiiij<sup>th</sup>. of Aprill 1573

Your honours at commaundement in  
the Lorde Jesus

EDMUNDE PETRIBURG.

To the Right honorable my  
verie good Lorde, the Lorde Treasur-  
er of England.

## LETTER CXCVII.

*Lionel Duckett Lord Mayor of London, to Lord Burghley, upon the reformation of excessive feasting in the Halls of the City Companies and in Taverns.*

[MS. LANSD. 16. art. 72. Orig.]

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OUR dutie to yo<sup>r</sup> Lordship humbly done; it may please the same to be advertised that for auoyding the excessive spending of venison and other vitail in the Halles of this Citie, which we understand to haue ben offensive to her Ma<sup>tie</sup> and the Nobilitie, we haue by act of Comon Counsel forbidden such festes hereafter to be kept, and haue restrained the same only to necessarie metinges in w<sup>h</sup> also no venison is permitted, as by the copie of the Act herew<sup>th</sup> sent unto yo<sup>r</sup> L. may appere. And further for that we finde not only great expense of venison to haue ben in Tauernes and Cookes houses, but also very many and great enormities bothe of dronkenesse, seditions, rumors, unthrifty assemblies, incontinence, and other euelles to growe of inordinate resorting to tauernes and tippling houses, specially by the meaner sort, we have sought meane to redresse such disorder by restraining the drinking and eating in such houses. The forme of this Act, which we herewith send yo<sup>r</sup>. L. hath ben considered by me the Maior and all my brethren the Aldermen, and by

a great number of the discretest comeners to whome the same hath ben comitted, and in our and their opinions, and generally of good citesens, very well thought of, so as we intend to procede w<sup>th</sup> offering it to the Comon Counsel if yo<sup>r</sup> L. haue liking therof, which yo<sup>r</sup> good allowance we thought meete herin to haue respect unto not only for yo<sup>r</sup> L. good aduise which we humbly beseche you to geue us, but also for that without yo<sup>r</sup> good meanes for some like order in S<sup>t</sup>. Martin's and Westm<sup>r</sup> and other exempt and adioyning places, it is by many citesens thought that our proceeding here will lack a great part of the frute that is hoped to ensue thereby. For which cause we haue bothe sent yo<sup>r</sup> Honor the Bill, and this bearer or officer instructed in that mater to attend upon yo<sup>r</sup>. L. for yo<sup>r</sup> good pleasure how yo<sup>r</sup> wisdome will aduise us for direction in this behalf, which we beseche you that it will please you to impart vnto vs, whoe shall be redy to follow the same. And so we comitt yo<sup>r</sup>. good L. to the tuition of Almighty God. At London this vj<sup>th</sup>. of August, 1573

Your Lordships humbles

LEONILL DUCKETT *Mayor*

THOMAS OFFLEY, *Alderman*

ROW<sup>l</sup>. HAYWARDE *Alderman*.

To the right honorable and our singular good Lord, the L. Burghley, Lord Highe Tresorer of England.

## LETTER CXCVIII.

*Sir Thomas Smith to Lord Burghley. The Queen anxious on the Affairs of Ireland. The business of Ulster.*

[MS. LANSD. 19. art. 81. Orig.]

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MY very good Lord, yesternight the Quenes Majesty said she wold se all the Lettres which cam from Ireland, and talk with Malby. Therfor I pray your Lordship, if you com not home agayn to the Cowrte the sooner, send me the answer to the dowtes, which I toke your Lordship yesternight, lest Hir Majestie ax for them.

I will draw out in the meane while out of my L. and my L. Deputies Lettres what articles doth requier answer.

In very deede yt is high tyme som conclusion were made, and som plat drawn to be folowed in that enterprice of Ulster. Marche and the Spryng drawth fast on; and except the mater be spedely begon, irresolucyon and long treynyng will make opportuynite and occasion to flie away untaken, and a great deale of

money to be lost. God long preserve your Lordship  
in helth. From Hampton Cowrt the last of Jan. 1574.

Y<sup>r</sup>. L. allwais

at commaundment

T. SMITH.

In our maters of the Societe also  
tyme drawth fast away without eny  
thyng doeng.

To the right honorable my verie  
good Lord the L. Burghley, L.  
High Thresorer of England.

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### LETTER CXCIX.

*Sir Thomas Smith to Lord Burghley. Queen Eliza-  
beth has a convenient Cold.*

[MS. LANSD. 21. art. 16. Orig.]

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MY very good Lord, I moved the Quenes Majestie  
for the commyng of the Noblemen of Venyce, and  
shewed what hast thei made and whie, acordyng as  
your L. had written. Hir Majesties answer was, that  
your Lordship should make answer that hir Highnes



had taken a great cowld, and therfor wold kepe hir chamber a day or two: but if they cowld tarie untill Saterday they should be wellcom: for then indede the Cowrte wold be furnished. My Lord of Leycester, my Lord Adm<sup>ll</sup>. and a great number of the noble men now beyng absent, which by that tyme wilbe returned. Other Answer then this upon eny replie I could not get. Hir Highnes liketh well that you do apoynt a Gentleman, eny of the named, to attend upon them. Thus I bid your Lordship most hartely fare well. From Wyndsor the xvij<sup>th</sup>. of No. 1575.

Yo<sup>r</sup> L. at commaundment

T. SMITH.

To the right honorable my verie good Lord, the Lord Burghley, L. High Thresorer of England.

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## LETTER CC.

*Richard Prise of Brecknock to Lord Burghley upon  
the abuse of the Cymmortha and the general state of  
Wales.*

[MS. LANSD. 21. art. 32. Orig.]

\* \* \* Pennant defines CYMMORTHA, assemblies of people to assist a neighbour in any work; such, he says, are very frequently in use at present. There are Cymmortha, or assemblies for spinning; for works of husbandry; for coal-carriage.

The abuse of these meetings was not confined to the period alluded to

in Richard Prise's Letter. They had been made a pretence at least as early as the time of Henry the Fourth, to assemble able bodied men for an Insurrection.

By Statute 4<sup>th</sup>. Hen. IV. chap. 27. it was ordained and established "that no westour (or host), rhymor, minstrel, nor vagabond, be in any wise sustained in the land of Wales to make CYMMORTHAS or *gathering upon the common people there*:"—"que nul westour, rymour, ministrall, ne vacabond soit aucunement sustenuz en la terre de Gales pur faire KYMORTHAS ou coillage sur la commune poeple illeokes."

Wood, in his Account of the principal Rivers of Wales, speaking of Bala in that country, says, "It is a small Town, at the bottom of the Lake of that name; and is celebrated for its vast trade in woollen stockings, in the knitting of which men, women, and children are incessantly employed. They assemble in the winter at each others houses, listening to some ancient Song or provincial Tale, and this meeting is called *Cymmorth Gwau*, or the Knitting Assembly."

There are some other particulars in the present Letter, beside the Com-mortha, worth observing.

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MY singuler good Lorde, the great and most provident-cure which (as the world knoweth) your Honor hathe alwaies hadd of the whole state of this Realme and the good government thereof, dothe geve me present boldnes to signifie unto you some great disorders which doo very greevously annoie the comon-wealth of this poore Cuntrey of Wales and the good subjectes of the same; whereunto I am the rather moved, for that the Parliament going forwardes, whatsoever cannot otherwise conveniently, maie there be redressed by your wisdom and furtherance.

First, wher of auncient time it hathe ben accustomed in Wales, with a kinde of free benevolence called Com-mortha, to relieve such as by some great misfortune were decaied and fallen into povertie, the same pro-

ceeding (no dowte) of a charitable and good meaning at the first, is nowe, in the generall corruption of all good thinges, growen to so great abuse, that it is no more a free giving unto the poore decaied, but more than half a constrained exacting of lewd officers, as Undersheriffes, Bailiffes of Hundreds, and their deputies ; Bailiffes of Lordships and their deputies, with such like ; and of unruly Gentlemen ; suche as having consumed their owne ryotously and in mainteining of light and disordred persons, will seek to redresse their fall, and mainteine their ryott, by this colourable spoile of the poore true subjectes ; yea and of murderers and errant theefes also, which having by some meanes escaped the law, doo<sup>d</sup> retorne imediately (as unto a last refuge) unto these outragious Comorthaes. And of all these, the poore true man dare in no wise devine anie end. Indeed I must confesse there is allredy a good Lawe made to meet herewith, and the punishment therof referred unto her Majesties honorable Councell in the Marches of Wales ; but I fear me their honors are often abused by false suggestions, wherupon they grante licences to comorthae, and besides that, of so great a nomber as dothe yerely comorthae without anie licence at all, if happely some fewe of them be accused for the same before the said Councell, they escape with so easie fines that they care litle to incurre the like againe ; moche lesse is it anie terror unto others. Yea I knowe that gentlemen of good living and call-

ing have obtained Licences (but I knowe not by what meanes) to gather a generall Comortha, having no other colour or cawse but the marieng of a daughter ; and suche are comenly of suche calling, kinred, and frendshipp in the Cuntrey, that they will have, not according to the will and power of the givers, but to their owne liking. For redresse wherof (in my poore opinion) it were well that no person at all by colour of his office, nor anie other, without very good cawse and the same well knowen and tried, be licenced thereunto: and that suche as shall presume otherwise to comorthae, be punished by suche fine as shall surmount the valew of his comorthae (as neer as maie be), or otherwise very sharply, to the terror of others.

Also whear the Shiriff, over and besides his monethly highe Countie Courtes, and turnes in their times, doth every thre weekes at the least in every hundred of the Shere keep a Courte in the nature of a Courte Baron for that whole hundred. And whereas besides that, every hundred is either a Lordship of itself or hathe divers Lordships within it (as appeereth hereunder written for the Com. of Brecknock) In every of which Lordships bothe iij Leet Courtes yerely, and Courtes Baron every thre weekes, are holden and kept for determining of actions under the valew of xl. s. by verditt of vj men or els by wager of lawe ; which actions are almost infinite, by reason that the people are overmoche inclined to quarrelles and full of bargaining ; and for

the more speedy recovery of their demaundes in those Three weekes Courtes doo use to sever one entier dett as (for example of xx li. more or lesse) by severall billes of xxxixs. xjd. Forasmoch as manie inconveniences, especially two which are very great, doo growe therby; first, daily and (almost) infinite perjuries throughe the continuall use of wagers of Lawe, wherby it is in manner growen into an habite amongst the people and reckoned no vice; which must needes drawe upon them and the whole Cuntrey the most greivous plagues of God. Secondly suche of the people as hathe some wealth, are forced to redeem their quiet, from trudging to courte, with bribes and comorthaes; and the poore laborer and husbandman which are least able to bribe continually the unsatiabie Bailiffes and under-officers of those courtes, have fewe daies free to followe their labour and husbandry, but are summoned either to the Sheriffes Courtes or to those of the Lordship whear they dwell, to be in Juries betwene partie and partie; to the extreem disquiet and impoverishment of all the people, especially of the poorer sorte. For reformation whereof (in my simple opinion) bothe the said Sheriffes iij weekes Courtes (as altogether superfluous, and as burdenous to the subjectes and litle or nothing comodious to the Prince, considering the slender accountes that are comonly yelded thereof) maie be well spared, and clean taken awaie; and the Courtes Baron of every severall Lordshipp

appointed to be kept onely monethly, or at a longer time. And also wagers of Lawe, either in all or parte restrained.

The Countie of Brecknock consisteth of vj hundredes; viz. Devynocke, Merthyr, Penkelly, Crickhoell, Byelth, and Talgarth.

Wherof the hundreds of Devynock and Merthyr altogeather, and parte of Penkelly, are of the Lordshipp of Brecknock.

The rest of the hundred of Penkelly is divided into v. or vj. severall Lordships at the least.

The hundred of Crickhoell is altogeather a Lordshipp of itself.

The hundred of Byelth in like sorte.

The hundred of Talgarth is divided into divers and sundry lordships as Talgarth, Cantrecelly, Dinas, Blainlloveny, Gwendor, Glacebury, Hays, and others.

Furthermore there are Fees exacted by the Sheriffes and their under-officers, of persons comitted to their Gaile either by themselves or by Justices of Peace, or otherwise, which are very extreem and needfull to be reduced unto a reasonable and certen rate, as I hope well they shalbe very shortly by her Majesties Councell here in these Marches; but moche the sooner by your good Lordships furtherance. The same are such as followeth.

To the Highe Sheriff . . . . . ij<sup>s</sup>. vj<sup>d</sup>.

To his Deputie Sheriff . . . . .	ij <sup>d</sup> .	
To the Gailor . . . . .	ij <sup>d</sup> .	vj <sup>d</sup> .
To the Under-gailor . . . . .		x <sup>d</sup> .
To the Bailiff errant, comenly called } Highe Constable of the Shere . . . . }		ix <sup>d</sup> .
To the Gailor more for every daie, or } parte of a daie, that one remaineth in his } warde towards his diett, althoughe he doth } neither eat nor drinke for the same . . . }		xvj <sup>d</sup> .

And though the prisoner appeer upon baile in the midst or later end of the Sessions week (as he driveth off the time as longe as he can for fear of the said fees) yet if he be committed therupon, he shall paie all the said fees and diett money for the whole week.

There resteth yet one matter amisse, of as great or more importance than anie of the rest, which God graunte maie be as soone amended as it is most to be wished. That is, an extreem wante of learned and godly Preachers to instruct the people in the knowledge and fear of God: for in this whole Shere of Brecknock, there are scarce ij learned and sufficient Pastors, and for a great parte some one slender Chaplein, which can but read the divine service, doth serve ij. some iij. parishes, and those two or thre miles asunder at the least. Wherby the comon people are so rude and ignorant in the most necessary pointes of the Christian faith, that overmany of them cannot as moche as saie the Lordes Praier and Articles of the

Belief in anie Language that they understand. And therefore it is no mervell that they are very injurious one to another, and live in contempt both of the Lawes of God and man ; as in keeping, one his brothers wief, another his wiefes daughter, and living and dwelling with them (as manie doth most abominably) seing they are not instructed in the fear of God. But this lack of good Teachers doth partly growe by reason the Churches are (in manner) all impropriate, and no livinges lefte to mainteine sufficient Curates, but suche as please the proprietaries and their fermors to geve ; which comenly will geve as litle as they can. I feare me I have ben over-tedious unto your honor, wherof I humbly crave pardon, sith the necessitie of the cawse hath urged me thereunto. Assuring your lordship that unlesse the foresaid enormities and exactions be spedely redressed, as the people are allready greatly disquieted and impoverished therby, so they will shortly be alltogether unable to yeld the Prince anie Subsidie worthe the levieng, or to serve her Majesty but with their bare bodies. So I humbly take my leave, praieng God that you maie longe lieve in health and increas of honor, for the benefite of the cōmon wealth. From Brecknock the last of January 1575.

Most humbly ever at your

Lordships comaundment,

RICH. PRISE.



SUCH appears to have been the state of one County at least in SOUTH WALES, in 1575. There is a very curious Paper in another part of the Lansdowne Collection,<sup>a</sup> probably written about the same time, entitled

“*The State of NORTH WALES, touching Religion,*”

but which also illustrates in a small degree the manners and condition of the people. They still considered themselves as a Nation in captivity.

“The people,” says the writer, “naturally are very devout, having in heart doubtless engrafted as great fear, regard, and reverence of a supernall power as any people in the world elsewhere have, but more than the name of God they know nothing at all; and therefore as utterly ignorant of him or their salvation, do still, in heaps, go on pilgrimage to the wonted Wells and places of superstition, and in the nights, after the feasts when the old offerings were used to be kept at any idol’s Chapel, albeit the Church be pulled down, yet do they come to the place where the Church or Chapel was, by great journeys barefoot, very superstitiously, &c. The meane for the meeting and knowledge of the time when the Pilgrims shall come is chiefly wrought by their pencers or head-minstrells, who at the direction of some old gentle woman do ordinarily give the summons of the time certain for such meetings.

“Upon the Sundays and Holidays the multitude of all sorts of men, women, and children of every parish do use to meet in sundry places, either on some hill or on the side of some mountain where their Harpers and Crowthers sing them songs of the doings of their Ancestors; namely of their wars against the Kings of this realme, and the English nation; and then do they rip up their pedigrees at length, how each of them is descended from their old Princes. Here also do they spend their time in hearing some part of the lives of Thalaassyn, Marlin, Beno, Rybbye, Jermin, and such other the intended Prophets and Saints of that country.

“The common sort of Gentry of that Country do ordinarily, in every place and each company, advance the ability of the Dominion of Wales, preferring the same to be more than the valor<sup>b</sup> of the Kingdom of Scotland, and the abilities of the people of that province or part of this realm to be more able to maintain a regal estate than be the Scots. And here is to be noted when they lie idly on the mountain’s sides how then they talk of the fastness and natural strength of every way, place, and hill of their country.

“Truely at this day yf you look thoroughly to the whole number of gentry and others of all sorts in North Wales, ye shall scarcely find any (the Bishops and some few others excepted) yet in any sort well instructed in the faith of Christ: for of the whole multitude, such which be under thirty years of age seem to have no show of any religion, the others well

<sup>a</sup> MS. Lansd. 111. art. 4.

<sup>b</sup> value.

near generally all dare to profess and to maintain the absurdest points of popish heresy; according to which knowledge (most lamentable to be spoken) the greatest number of them do frame their lives in looseness, licentiousness, contention, and other such like.

“If the enemies of God and true Religion shall ever endeavor the disquiet of the settled state, they are in policy to practice the same where ignorance most aboundeth and where the Gospel hath been least preached, which surely is in Wales.”

In a subsequent part of the Lansdowne Collection, there is a Letter from the Preacher of Bishop's Castle in the County of Salop to Lord Burghley, relating to a practice in which Wales was likewise behind England in civilization, that of occasionally holding Fairs on Sundays.<sup>a</sup>

“To the Right Honourable William Baron of Burghley, Lorde High Treasurer of England.

“Your suppliant Walter Stephens, preacher of Bushoppes Castle in the Countie of Salop, where contrarie to the expresse word of God and contrarie also to the Lawes of this Realme the Fayres holden not onlie in the Towne of Busshopes Castle, but also for the moste parte in all other townes in Wales and the Marches thereof happening upon the Sundaie and Saboath daie, are holden upon the same Sundaie and Saboath daie on which they fall, to the high displeasure of Almighty God. And where in all the chief Citties and Townes of the Realme, and in all East, West, and South parts of the Realme, and in many other civill and well ordered places the same great abuse is reformed, and remayneth unreformed chiefly in Wales and the Marches thereof, which causeth (no doubt) Gods heavy hand over them. Your humble suppliant meaneth by your Lordships favour to exhibite a Petition unto your Lordship and the rest of the Lords of Her Majesties moste honourable previe Councill for reformation therein to be had, wherein he moste humblie besecheth your moste honourable Lordship being one of the chief patrons of true religion, That it would please the same in this so charitable and good a service to give your Lordships speciall assistaunce and countenance, a worke (no doubt) moste acceptable unto Almighty God.”

*It is indorsed in Lord Burghley's hand*

“Lett this Sute be moved to the Counsell and I will further it.

W. BURGHELEY.”

<sup>a</sup> The holding both of markets and fairs on Sundays was forbidden very early in England. First by the Laws of the Northumbrian priests, about the year 950. “Diei Solis mercaturam prohibemus ubique, et omnem populi conventum, et omne opus, et quamlibet peregrinationem tam in curribus quam in equis cum oneribus;” then by the Liber Constitutionum of King Æthelred; and a third time in the Lawes of Canute. The Market of St. Germans in Cornwall is the only one which is expressly said in the Domesday Survey to have been held “*in die Dominico*,” on Sunday. Matthew Paris, however, informs us, under the year 1200, that Fairs and Markets had been constantly so held in England from a remote period. The Statute of the 27th of Henry the Sixth intended to have abolished the custom entirely.

## LETTER CCI.

*John Langley Lord Mayor of London to Lord Burghley, claiming the accustomed Warrants for Venison.*

[MS. LANSD. 25. art. 78. Orig.]

\* \* The privilege of the Citizens for which the Venison here claimed appears to have been a commutation, was of very early standing. Stowe says the right of free-warren was granted to them in 1226; but it must have been even earlier than that time, for it is mentioned by Fitzstephen, who wrote in the reign of Henry the Second. He says, "Many of the citizens take great delight in fowling with merlins, hawks, &c. as likewise in hunting, and they have a right and privilege of hunting in MIDDLESEX, Hertfordshire, in all the chiltern county, and in Kent as far as the river Cray."<sup>a</sup>

A Note from the Lords of the Council to the King, dated 13<sup>th</sup> July in the sixth of Henry the Sixth, in answer to a similar claim, is preserved in the Cottonian Manuscript Vespas. F. xiv. in which the particular Parks from which the venison was to come are specified. "Plese a nostre Sovereigne Seigneur le Roy, par avis de son tressage Conseil, de graunter a vostre liege John Gedeney maire de vostre Cite de Londres *sys deyns de grees a prendre, cest assavoir deux deinz vostre Park de ELTHAM et quatre deinz vostre Park de WYNDESOR a avoir de donn. H. CANTUAR. W. LONDON. P. ELIEN. J. BATHON. CROMWELL. R. LE BOURGCHIER.*"

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MY dutie humblye remembred to your Honor. It may please the same to be advertised that the Quene's Majestie and her Highnes progenitors, of auncient tyme, have been accustomed to graunte unto me and my bretheren the Aldremen, yerely, certen Warrants

<sup>a</sup> Pegge's edit. of Fitzstephen, p. 52.

for buckes, which we have in respecte of oure privileges graunted to the Citie to hunte in all Forests, Parkes, and Chases within the Countie of Middlesex; for the movinge of her Majestie wherof I am bolde to be an humble suter to your Honor in the name of my selffe and bretheren the Aldremen, besecheinge that we maye have your honorable favor and furtheraunce therein, and this bearer, oure Common Hunt, shall attend upon your Honor for the same. Thus beinge ever bolde to trouble your Honor as occasion doth serve, I do most humblye comitt your Honor to the tuicion of th'Almighty. From London this present iiij<sup>th</sup> of Julie 1577.

Your Honors to comaunde

JOHN LANGLEY, *Mayor*.

To the right honorable his very good lorde, the Lord High Treasurer of Englande, be these yoven.

## LETTER CCII.

*Serjeant Fleetwood, Recorder of London, to Lord Treasurer Burleigh, upon the Black Assize at Oxford; various City Intelligence; &c.*

[MS. LANSD. NUM. XXIV. art. 79. Orig.]

RIGHT honorable and my very good Lord, yesterday being monday was the Mercers feast, where were the Mr. of the Rolls, Sr. Thomas Gressham, Sr. William Damsell, and Mr. Sackford of the Privy Chamber, and there were we all very mery, and then (as the maner is) we fell a talking from on matter to an other untill we came to your Lordship being at Buckstons: <sup>a</sup> and I tolde them then that I was to write presently unto your Lordship, and they requyred me all to recommend them unto your good Lo. At which time the Master of the Rolls (who is no wyne drinker) did drink to your Lordship a bowle of Reynishe wyne, and

<sup>a</sup> The Cottonian Manuscript Vesp. F. xii. fol. 127. contains a Letter from Lord Burghley to the Earl of Sussex, dated from Buxton at this very tyme, July 31<sup>st</sup>. 1577, in which he says, " I came hyther on Sunday last at night; took a small solutiv on Monday; began on Tuesday, yesterday, to drynk of the water to the quantite of three pynts at six draughts; this daye I have added ij. draughts, and so drynk four pynts; and tomorrow am determyned to drynk v. pynts and dim. With sugar I fynd it potable with plesoir, even as whey. I meane not to bath these viij. dayes, but will contynew drynkyng x. dayes. Here are in company Mr. Roger Mannors for whose company I hartely thank your Lordship, Sir William Fitzwilliam, Sir Thomas Cecil, my Lady Harryngtoun, and Mr. Edmunds, with others."

then S<sup>r</sup>. Thomas Gresham dronk an other, and S<sup>r</sup>. Wiffm Damsell the third; and I pledged them all.

At the same ffeast Sir Leonell Duckett was chosen M<sup>r</sup>.<sup>a</sup> and dyner being done (as the order is) we brought the M<sup>r</sup>. home to his howse, where we had a great and a royall bankett; and that done I walked to Powles to learne some newes, where came sodenly into the Church Edmond Downing, and he told me that he was even then come out of Worcestershire, and that my Lo. chief Baron died at S<sup>r</sup> John Hubands howse, and that he is buryed at Lemster; and he said that the comen speache of that Contry is that M<sup>r</sup> Serjaunt Barham shold be dedd at Worcester, but that is not certen; the like report goeth of M<sup>r</sup> Fowler the clerk of the same Circuit. He told me that M<sup>r</sup>. Davers, M<sup>r</sup>. Doyley the uncle, and S<sup>r</sup>. Roberte his nephue, M<sup>r</sup>. Thomas Wayneman, M<sup>r</sup>. Symon Harcourt, M<sup>r</sup>. Babington, M<sup>r</sup>. Mychaell Nasshe, and a nomber of other gentlemen that were at the Gaole-deliverie at Oxon are all dedd. The Inquest of lyfe and death are almost all gone. Such clerks, servaunts, and yong gentlemen, being schollers, as were at the same Gaole-delyvery are either dedd or in great danger. M<sup>r</sup>. Solicitors sonne and heire being brought home to his fathers howse at Woodstock lyeth at the mercy of God. M<sup>r</sup>. Attorneys sonne and heire was brought very sick from Oxon to his fathers howse

<sup>a</sup> Master of the Company.

at Harrow, where he hath bene in as great danger of deathe as might be, but nowe there is some hope of amendement. The gaole delivery of Oxon (as I was told) was kept in the Towne Hall, a close place, and by the infection of the Gaole (as all men take yt) this mortalitie grew. Thus much for yesterdayes newes being Monday.

Upon Sondag last, I rode over to Harrow to see Mr Attorneys sonne, where I found Mr Attorney and Mrs. Gerrard and all their howshold in helth, saving the yong gentleman, who I trust is on the mending hande.

Upon Saterdag last in the after noone we had an Oier and Determiner in the Guyld hall, the which we use to hold in the vacation tyme to kepe the people in obedience. There was besides us of the City Mr. Southcott and Mr. Leiftenant. Upon the fore noone I sate in the Duchie, where I did arraine a Cutler, a neighbour of yo<sup>r</sup> good Lo. for bawdery. Thus much shall serve for th'occurrents of Saterdag.

Upon Fryday last we had much busines, the Subtedy for the Borough of Southwerk was sytt upon; and the Subtedy for Midd. and the Musters were sitt upon at the Justice hall. There were two Lettres considered of that came from the Lords of the Councell, the one touching the number of Alehouses in Middlesex, and Dover haven, &c. and the other for the avauncing of Archery &c. The same day we

examined certen roogs and masterles men. This shall suffice for Fryday.

Upon Thursday there was nothing ado but preaching of Sermondes: and at my parishe church the Deane of Chester did prech. And thus much for Thursday.

Upon Weddensday was arreynd in the Guyld hall on Hayward, an inbrotherer, a Servaunt of my Lo. Wentworthes, at which time the Stat. made in 18 of this Queene for the supposed fathers for getting of children was put in execution. The example whereof will doe muche good here in London. This shall suffice for Weddensday.

Upon Tuesday we had little or no busines, saving that the Shomakers of London, having builded a faire and a newe Hall, made a royall feast for their frends, which they call their howse warming.

Upon Monday here fell a mischaunce betwene two of my Lo. Chamberleyns men, and the on of them was killed in Powles church yearde. Thus much for Mondaye.

Peradventure yo<sup>r</sup> Lo. would knowe how my self is occupied. I am in very deed my Lo. at this presente at the request of dyvers of my ffryndes setting downe an Order how Justices of Peace shall use themselves in their offices. I am I thanke God in the midst of my travell, and I hope within this month to make an end; for I have collected all my matter, and it wanteth



nothing but good disposition. <sup>a</sup> Thus most humblye  
I take my leave of yo<sup>r</sup> Lordship, at Bacon House in  
Foster Lane in London this xxx<sup>th</sup> of July 1577.

Yo<sup>r</sup> Lo. most humble

W. FLETEWOODE.

To the right honorable and  
my singular good Lord, my Lord  
High Treasurer of England.

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### LETTER CCIII.

*Elizabeth Countess of Lenox to Lord Burghley,  
thanking him for using his interest with the Scottish  
Ambassador that the Earldom of Lenox might de-  
volve upon her daughter Arabella. A. D. 1578.*

[MS. LANSD. 27. art. 5. Orig.]

\* \* The Harleian MS. 289. fol. 196. contains the particulars of the dower of the Lady Margaret Lenox, as well as the subsequent particulars of the title of the Lady Arabella to the Earldom.

“ After the death of Matthew Earl of Lenox the earldom came to the Kings Majesty, who on the 8th April 1572 aswell by the Earl of Marr then Regent, under the Great Seal of Scotland, as also by the whole consent of the nobility and council by act of Parliament, did give the same unto the Lord Charles late Earl of Lenox and *to his heirs for ever* :

“ After whose death the said Earldom by reason of the said gift, descended unto the LADY ARABELLA *dowghter and heyre of the said late Earl deceased.*

“ The Lord Regent being requested to grant the wardship of the lands

<sup>a</sup> This work was not published till long after Fletewoode's death: 8vo. 1658.

unto Elizabeth Countess of Lenox for her dower, not only denied the same, but also denied to allow the Lady Arabella as heir to the Earldom :

“ So that the Regent will not permit the Countess to deal with the said Earldom, neither in her own right as for her dower, nor in the right of the young Lady, as tutor or guardian unto her.”

The Regent Marr's reasons against granting the Earldom to Arabella occur in the same Manuscript, fol. 200 ; a more powerful reason than all perhaps was that Queen Elizabeth had interested herself in the Lady Arabella's favor.

After the death of Charles Earl of Lenox, the earldom was made to devolve upon his uncle Robert Earl of Caithness, who resigned it into the King's hands in favor of his nephew Esme Stewart, lord d'Aubigny. He, in 1581, was created Duke of Lenox.<sup>a</sup> To him King James the Sixth would have married the Lady Arabella, but to that Elizabeth would consent.

---

I CAN but yeld your Lordship most hartly thanks for your continuall goodnes towardes me and my lytell one, and specyally for your Lordship's late good dealyng with the Scotts imbasedor for my poore child's ryght, for which as allso sundry otherwys we are for ever bounde to your Lordship, whom I besech styll to further that caus as to your Lordship may seem best.

I can assuer your Lordship th'Erl dome of Lennox was graunted by Acte of Parlymente to my Lord my late husband and the heyres of his body, so that they shuld offer great wronge in seekinge to take it from Arbela : which I trust by your Lordship's good meanes wyll be prevented, being of your meer goodnes for justis sake so well disposed ther unto. For all whyche your Lordship's goodnes (as I am bound) I rest in hart

<sup>a</sup> See Douglas, Peerage of Scotl. p. 402.

more thankfull then I can anywys expres. I take my leve of your Lordship, whom I pray God longe to preserve. At Newgat Strete the xv. of August

Your Lo: as I am  
bounden

E. LENNOX.

Upon my advertysmente to my Lady my Mother of the infection at Chelsey (from whence I would at the first have removed if I had knowne any fitt place), though the danger was not great, she hath commanded me presantly to com hether for want of a more convenyant House.

To the ryght honorable my very good Lorde, the Lo: Burghley Heigh Tresorer of England.

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### LETTER CCIV.

*The Earl of Shrewsbury to Lord Burghley and Lord Leicester, announcing the death of Elizabeth Countess of Lenox.*

[MS. LANS. 34. fol. 1. *Orig.*]

\* \* \* The Earl of Shrewsbury in this, and Lady Shrewsbury in the next Letter, both call Elizabeth Countess of Lenox their daughter, pro-

bably because their eldest son Gilbert Talbot, afterwards Earl of Shrewsbury, had married Mary her elder sister. She was really the daughter of Sir William Cavendish of Chatsworth, in Derbyshire.

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MY verrye good Lordes, itt hath pleased God to call to his mercy owtt of this transitorie Worlde my daughter Lennoux this present Sondaie, beinge the xxj<sup>th</sup>. of January aboute three of the clocke in the morninge. Bothe towards God and the Worlde she made a moste godlie and good ende, and was in moste perfect memorye all the tyme of her sicknes, even to this last hower. Sondrye tymes did she make her moste earnest and humble prayer to the Allmightie for her Majesties most happie estate, and the longe and prosperous contynuance thereof, and, as one most infynittlie bounde to her Highnes, humblie and lowlie beseched her Majestie to have pyttie uppon her poore orphantt ARBELLA STEWARDE; and as at all tymes heretofore bothe the mother and poore doughter was most infynitely bounde to her Highnes, so her assured trust was that her Majestie wolde contynewe the same accustomed goodnes and bountie to the poore childe she leftt; and of this her suite and humble petition my said doughter Lennoux by her last Will and Testamente requireth bothe your Lordships (to whome she founde and acknowledged her selfe allwaies moste bounde) in her name most lowlie to make this humble petition to her Majestie, and to present with all humy-

litie unto her Majestie a poore remembrance (delivered by my daughters owne handes) which verry shortelie wilbe sent, with my daughters humble prayer for her Highnes moste happie estate, and most lowlie besechinge her Highnes in suche sorte to accepte thereof as ytt pleased th'Almightie to receyve the poore Widowes myte. My wyffe taketh my daughter Lennoux deathe so grevouslie that she neither dothe nor can thincke of any thinge but of lamentinge and wepinge. I thoughte ytt my parte to signifie to bothe your Lordships in what sorte God hath called her to his mercye, which I besече you make knowne to her Majestie; and thus with my verrye hartie comendacions to bothe your good Lordships I cease. Sheffeilde Mannor this xxj<sup>th</sup>. of Januarye [1581-2].

Yo<sup>r</sup>. Lordshipps assured,

G. SHREWESBURY.

To the right honorable my very good Lordes, my Lord Burghley L. Treasurer of England, and my very good Lord and Cosin th'Erle of Leicester, of her Majesties most honorable Previe Counsaile.

## LETTER CCV.

*The Countess of Shrewsbury to Lord Burghley, that the Lady Arabella may have the lands which were assigned to the late Countess of Lenox her mother.*  
A. D. 1581-2.

[MS. LANSD. 34. art. 2. Orig.]

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MY honorabil good Lord your Lordship hath harde by my Lo. howe yt hathe pleased God to visit me; but in what sortt soever his pleasure is to laye his hevye hande on us we muste take ytt thankefullie. It is good reason his hollye will shoulde be obeyed. My honorable good Lo. I shall not nede here to make longe resitall to your Lo. howe that in all my greatest matters I have bene singularelle bounde to your Lo. for your Lo. good and especiall favor to me, and howe muche your Lo. did bynde me, the pore woman that is gone and my swete juell Arbella att our laste being at Courte, neither the mother duringe her lyffe nor I can ever forgett, but most thankefullie acknowledge itt: and so I am well assured will the yonge babe when her ryper yeres will suffer her to knowe her beste frendes. And nowe my good Lo. I hope her Majestie, upon my moste humble suitt, will lett that

portion whiche her Ma<sup>tie</sup>. bestowed on my daughter and juell Arbella remayne wholie to the childe for her better education. Her servaunts that are to loke to her, her masters that are to trayne her upp in all good learninge and vertue, will require no small charges; wherefore my earneste request to your Lo. ys so to recommend this my humble suite to her Majesty as ytt maie sonest and easiliest take effect; and I beseche your Lo. to gyve my sonne William Cavendish leave to attend on your Lo. about this matter. And so referringe myself, my swete juell Arbella, and the whole matter to your honorable and frendlie consideration, I take my leave of your Lo. besechinge your Lo. to pardon me for that I am not able nowe to wryte to your Lo. with my owne hande. Sheffield, this xxviij. of Januarye.

Your L. most assuryd  
lovyngre frend,

E. SHROUESBURY.<sup>a</sup>

To the rightt honorable my very  
good Lorde, the Lo. Burghley Lo.  
Treasoror of England.

<sup>a</sup> The signature of this Letter only is in the Countess's hand.

## LETTER CCVI.

*The Countess of Shrewsbury to Lord Burghley: again respecting the assignment of an Income to the Lady Arabella. A. D. 1582.*

[MS. LANSD. 34. art. 53. *Orig.* ENTIRELY IN THE COUNTESS'S HAND.]

\* \* From the Letter immediately before the reader it appears that the Lady Arabella must have been born either at the end of 1575 or in 1576. The account of her in the *Biographia Britannica* dates her birth in 1577.

From another Letter of the Countess to Lord Burghley, MS. Lansd. 39. art. 57. dated Chatsworth, Jan. 7, 1583, it appears that the 200*l.* a year only, mentioned in this Letter, was continued to the Lady Arabella. In a Note of Remembrances of Payment out of their right course about A. D. 1606. MS. Lansd. 165. fol. 99. it is said, "The Lady Arabella hath one thousand six hundred pounds per annum, which she saith she is advised to be paid out of the Custom House."

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AFTER my very hartye comendatyons to your good Lo. where yt pleased the Quenes Ma<sup>ty</sup> my most gracuous Soufaygne, upon my humble swete to graunte unto my late daughter Lennox foure hondryth pounds, and to that her deare and only daughter Arbella towe hondryth poundes yerely for ther better mayntennance, assyned out of parsyll of the land of her inherytance; wherof the foure hondryth ys now at her Ma<sup>ty</sup> dysposytyon by the death of my daughter Lennox, whom yt pleased God (I doute not in mercye for her good, but to my no smale grefe, in her best tyme) to take



out of this world, whom I can not yet remembar but with a sorrowfull trobuled mynde. I am now, my good L. to be an humble sutter to the Quenes Majesty that yt may please her to confyrme that graunt of the whole syx hondryth pounds yerely for the educatyon of my dearest Juyll Arbella, wherein I assuredly trust to her Majesty's most gracyous goodnes, who never denyed me any sute, but by her most bountyfull and gracyous favors every way hath so much bound me as I can never thinke my selfe hable to dyscharge my dutye in all faythfull serveyce to her Majesty. I wyshe not to leve<sup>a</sup> after I shall wyllingly fayle in any parte therof to the best of my powar. And as I know your L. hath espycally care for the orderinge of her Majesty's revenewes and of her esstate every way, so trust I you wyll conseder of the pore infants case, who under her Maty. ys to appeale onely unto your Lo. for succor in all her dystresses; who, I trust, can not dyslyke of this my sute in her behaulfe, consedering the charges incydent to her brenging up. For altho she were ever wher her mother was duaring her lyfe, yet can I not now lyke she should be heare nor in any place else wher I maye not sometymes see her and dayly heare of her, and therefore charged with kepynge howse where she muste be with such as ys fyt for her caulng, of whom I have specyall care, not only such as a naturall mother hath of her best beloved chyld,

<sup>a</sup> live.

but much more greater in respecte howe she ys in bloude to her Majesty; albeyt one of the pooreste as depending wholly of her Majesty's gracyous bountye and goodnes, and being now upon vij. yeres, and very apte to learne, and able to conseve what shalbe taught her. The charge wyll so increase as I dout not her Ma<sup>ty</sup> wyll well conseve the syxe hondryth poundes yerely to be lettell ynough, which as your L. knoweth ys but as so much in mony, for that the landes be in lease, and no further commodetye to be looked for duaring thes few yeares of the chyldes mynorytye. All which I trust your L. wyll consider and say to her Ma<sup>ty</sup> what you shall thinke therof; and so most hartelye wyshe your good L. well to doe. Sheffield this vj<sup>th</sup>. of May.

Your L. most assured loving frend,

E. SHROUESBURY.

To the ryght honorable and my very good L. the L. Burghley L. Treasourar of England.

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THE Shrewsbury family took the entire charge of the Lady Arabella's education. The following Letter from Lord and Lady Talbot to Lord Burghley, to take leave of him on going into the country in 1588, occurs in the Lansdowne Manuscript, num. 34. *art.* 54. It is accompanied by a postscript from the Lady Arabella.

"Righte honorable and our espetiall good Lorde, on Thursday laste we attended reddey at your Lordships house to have taken our leaves of your Lordship, but had answer by Mr. Cope that, at that tyme, your Lordship beyng somewhat touched with payne we myghte not conveniently have accesse to you. Wherefore beyng now reddey agaynste Munday next to begyn our jorney into Nott: shyre, We now thynke

good herby to present our humble duties to your Lordship, and if our attendance on your Lordship our selves yet before our goynge myght not be inconvenient or troblesom to your Lordship we shalbe moste reddy and glad so to doe. Otherwyse we will by thes few lynes in humble manner take our leaves of yo<sup>r</sup> Lordship, at whos commandement above any others we will ever remayne unfaynedly: and ever beseche the Allmyghty God to graunte unto your Lordship moste perfyte health, all honor, and happynes. From our pore lodgyng in Collman strete this xiiij<sup>th</sup>. of July 1588.

Your L. moste assuredly at your  
commandement for ever

GILB. TALBOTT.      MARY TALBOTT.

“ Je prieray Dieu Mon<sup>sr</sup>. vous donner en parfaicte et entiere santé, tout-heureux et bon succes, et seray tousjours preste a vous faire tout honneur et service.

ARBELLA STEWARD.

“ To the right honorable and our espetiall goode Lorde the Lorde Burghley Lord Tresurer of England.”

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## LETTER CCVII.

*The Duc d'Anjou to the Earl of Sussex, expressing  
his attachment to the Queen.*

[MS. COTTON. TITUS B. VII. fol. 361 b. *Orig.* ENTIRELY IN THE  
DUKE'S HAND.]

\* \* \* There is no date to this Letter, though it must have been written about 1580. At this time Elizabeth was still coquetting; and her courtiers writing upon marriage, as if to aid her Majesty's procrastination. Sir Thomas Smith, one of the best writers of his day, penned several dissertations upon the subject with no trifling show of erudition. His “ Abstract touching the Queen's Marriage ” is one of the shortest and the best. It shall be given at the end of this Letter. The Proposals of Marriage to Queen Elizabeth, with the correspondence and remarks consequent thereon, would fill more than three such Volumes as the present.

MONCOUSIN ie ne veus perdre ceste occasion sans vous assurer de ma bonne vollonte, et vous prier de me continuer tous bons offices a l'androit de la Royne ma Mestresse, et luy donnee a toutes occasions assurance de mon fidelle service. Je suis bien ayse d'antandre par le Sieur de Simpe que sa Majeste ayst eu rayson ses rebelles d'Irlande, je men rejouis infiniment. Tenes moy en sa bonne grase, et vous assuree de la myene autant que d'amy que vous avez james, et croyes que je vous en feré toujours preuve et a tous sens qui seront coume<sup>v</sup> vous tres fidelles a la Royne ma Mestresse, a la quelle je baise mille fois les mains, et prie Dieu vous avoyr en sa garde. De Paris se xiii. Setanbre.

Vostre bon Cousin et

tres assure amy,

FRANCOYS.

A Monsieur le Conte de Suses  
mon cousin.

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*An Abstract touching the Queen's Marriage, by Sir Thomas Smith.*

[HARL. MS. 787. fol. 54 b.]

“ IT is better for the Queen's Majesty to remain unmarried.”

“ 1. In respect of God. Virginity is better than Matrimony, because it was followed by Christ, preferred by St. Paul. The Virgin hath care to please God; and John the Baptist and most of the Apostles virgins. Virginity kept in the primitive Church as best pleasing to God. Virginity, because hard to be kept, is most laudable in Princes.

“ 2. In respect of the Prince. Wherein is to be considered Danger in often Conception by loathsomeness of meat; appetite of strange meats; morpherd: at Delivering, present danger of death, as was seen in Queen

Jane and Queen Catharine Parr; continual danger if she be fruitful. If God had not given a notable quantity of foolishness and forgetfulness to Women, after one childbirth they would never accompany with men again in respect of the pains and danger.<sup>a</sup> In marrying a subject, she disparageth herself; if a stranger, she maketh him her stead: besides seldom agreement in marriage.

“ Princes Inheritrices, evil  
intreated by their husbands

}	Amalsuntha, Beatrix Lady of Verselli, Jane the Queen of Naples, Mary Queen of England, <sup>b</sup> and others.
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“ In respect of the Commonweal, Here consider the good government now. Compare Queen Mary’s married time with this time. The Queen may govern in peace by her Council, in war by a General. By two Princes, the court augmented, and the commons more burdened. &c.

“ *The Answer.*

“ In respect of God. Virginitie an indifferent thing of itself; altered by circumstances. Abraham as holy in knowing Sarah, as Elias in his virginitie. Paul prefers virginitie not for itself, but in itself, as having less trouble. For a Prince (whose succession is the foundation of Peace) to live a sole life is a great mischief. Issue is a blessing of God; as to David, &c. but the want thereof is a token of God’s great displeasure; as in Saul, Jeroboam, Ahab, &c.

“ In respect of the Prince. Most women escape well in childbirth. Aristotle in his Politiques would have a law, that women should not use themselves to fine diet when they were with child; but that they should use themselves to labour, travelling as pilgrims to Lucina, Latona, &c.

“ The Queen furnished with things necessary of Physicians, might have easier travail than other women. The hope of posterity, and the glory thereof, should comfort her. The commodity ensuing, greater than the present danger; which at the most is but two or three hours. In five hundred years, only two Queens died of childbirth. Queen Catharine Parr died rather of thought. Because Henry the First died in eating a lamprey; Rufus in hunting; therefore shall Princes forbear the like? Bringing forth children doth preserve the body from diseases, and bettereth the colour. Amalsuntha, Beatrix, Jane of Naples were monsters among women; and make no general rule. As touching agreement; we see by experience that the knot of love in marriage surmounteth all other love, and the husband, setting all things apart, doth study and care for the conservation of his wife. So hereby a husband may stand

<sup>a</sup> Erasmi Encomium Moriaë.

<sup>b</sup> Sir Thomas Smith here alludes to Philip the Second’s absence in Spain, which weighed so much on Mary’s mind.

her Majesty in more stead then the wisest counsellor, by whose eyes and ears she seeth and heareth of the greatest affairs.

“ In respect of the Commonwealth. In the good Government now, the whole Parliament desired a husband for the Queen. It were to be wished that the Queen would do what lieth in her for issue, as Queen Mary did.

“ The presence of a Prince most available. King Henry the Third, the Black Prince, Henry the Fifth. The Romans did more by their Consuls and Proconsuls then by Legates, &c. The wars of the Venetians have worse success because their generall is not absolutely as a Dictator. The augmentation of the Court and burthening of the Commons is nothing in respect of the safety of the whole state. Great miseries like to ensue, if the Queen continue in her sole life.

“ THAT a Stranger is to be preferred in marriage with the Queen, in respect of the causes of marriage which either are Essential or Accidental.

“ Essential. The begetting of children without offence of God; the remedy to resist temptation; the comfort that one hath of another. These be indifferent, and do neither exclude the Stranger nor receive the Englishman.

“ Accidental. Honour. In marrying with an Englishman she marryeth her subject, and disparageth herself. In marrying a stranger her honour augmented, so Queen Mary purposed by marrying King Philip. Mary of Burgundy by marrying with Maximilian made her progenitors the most honourable in Europe. Mary of Scotland in marrying with Francis the Second had the like purpose. So Claude of Brittany, &c.

“ Power. Which consisteth in keeping her own, and resisting the enemy. In this, by marrying an Englishman she hath not one man the more to increase her power, but commonly the less, through envy born at their equal so preferred; as the marriage of Edward the Fourth with Elizab. Woodvill showeth. Marrying a Stranger she uniteth her husband's power unto hers and is thereby strengthened.

“ Riches. In marrying an Englishman, since all is already her own, she nothing enricheth herself but rather impoverisheth to furnish him according to his estate. In marrying a Stranger she doth adjoin the riches of another kingdom or country to her own.

“ *The Answer.*

“ That an Englishman is rather to be chosen in respect both of causes Essential and Accidental.

“ Essential. The first is not indifferent; for a Prince mere English is to be wished, which will not derive his love from England to his father's country, as the Danes and Normans did at the first; rejecting

Englishmen and preferring Danes, &c. For the second; strangers more prone to temptation of the flesh, both Italians, French, and Spaniards; and Germans, which overshadow their fault with drunkenness. For the third; diversity of language, conditions, disposition, manners, laws, is neither conformable nor pleasant, and he will labour to conforme us thereto. For these essential causes therefore the Englishman is to be preferred in comparison of others, both for love towards her Majesty, and sure knowledge of nature and inclination, which in strangers do depend upon uncertain reports.

“Honor. It is no disparagement to marry a nobleman of England, for the nobility are the right arms of the Prince; the nursery of the blood royal, and therefore are called cousins by the Queen herself. The kings of England never disparaged themselves by marrying with English women. Erasmus saith, it makes no matter where the prince marieth, if it be for the good of the realm: and he calleth marriage with strangers uneven marriage. They also which are born of such mingled blood have their loves mingled, which Queen Mary, descended of Spanish blood, shewed in her affectionate love towards Spaniards. The evil success and dishonor of Medea, Ariadne, Phillis, Omphale, Dido, &c. in marrying with strangers. Queen Mary thereby lost Calais to our dishonor. Mary of Burgundy brought her country into subjection to the House of Austria. Mary of Scotland impoverished her realm by her match with Francis, through the oppression of the French.

“Power. In marrying a subject, her power is not dispersed. Not the marriage with Elizabeth Woodvill was cause of trouble, but the disallowing of the Earl of Warwick’s embassy. England without foreign help able to perform her own wars, as King Henry the Eighth marrying at home, won both France and Scotland. In marrying an Alien and conjoining signiories, more trouble, more danger, more charge. Constantine, when he took the empire, left Britain to the spoil of Picts and Scots. Edward the Third, by adjoining France, dispeopled England. Henry the Sixth, uniting France to England, lost both.

“Riches. England, by good government, sufficient to enrich the Prince. In marrying a foreign prince she should rather impoverish England, for no man will be so unnatural as to impoverish his native country to enrich us. No region can do more than bear ordinary charges: for in wars and marriage, &c. they are enforced to amass money by extraordinary means. Queen Mary’s match with King Philip was so far from enriching England, that never prince left it more indebted, both at home and beyond the seas.<sup>a</sup> It was declared in parliament by a Burgess

<sup>a</sup> In this Sir Thomas Smith differs from Michele. The debt of the Nation it should be remembered had but little to do with Philip personally. Camden, under 1558, says that England was “overcharged with debt incurred by Henry the Eighth and Edward the Sixth.” EDIT.

of London, that London was worse at her death by 300,000*l.* than at the death of Edward the Sixth. The kings of England which had most abroad, left England poorest. Where these three accidental causes Honor, Power, Riches, are respected in marriage, the Devil and the World are the brokers and marriage makers."

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### LETTER CCVIII.

*The young Earl of Essex to Lord Burghley; his first Letter from Trinity College Cambridge.*

[MS. LANSD. 25. art. 19. Orig.]

\* \* \* Lord Orford, in his "Royal and Noble Authors," has shown the relationship of Robert Devcreux Earl of Essex to Queen Elizabeth in a short Table. It accounts for the manner in which his father addressed a Letter to her; two days before he died, printed by Murdin; with another to Lord Burghley, his last act in worldly affairs. The first relates to the general countenance, education, and matching of his children, especially recommending his eldest son. The last contains a request that Hereford,<sup>a</sup> as he calls him, may be brought up in Lord Burghley's household.<sup>b</sup> The Queen's partiality for young Essex at a later period, needs not to be enlarged on here. Burghley became a kind and honest guardian.

Cole, the Cambridge antiquary, was inclined to believe that Queen Elizabeth's Lord Essex was placed by his patron at Queen's College; but it is clear not only from this but from other Letters and documents that Trinity was the College at which he was brought up, and from which he corresponded with Lord Burghley.

Essex's Letters, whether in Latin or English, short or long, of an earlier or a later date, public or private, partake uniformly of the same clearness and elegance of manner.

<sup>a</sup> Viscount Hereford was the second title of the Earl of Essex.

<sup>b</sup> See Murdin, pp. 300, 302.



My very good Lord. I am not only to give your Lordship thanks for your goodnes towardes me in your Lordship's House, wherby I am bounde in duty to your Lordship, but allsoe for your Lordships greate care of placing me heare in the University, wher for your Lordships sake I have bene very well entertained both of the University and of the 'Towne. And thus desiringe your Lordship's goodnes towardes me to continue I wishe your Lordship healthe with the continuance of your Lordships honour. From Trinity Colledge in Cambridge the xij. of May 1577.

Your Lordships at commandment,

R. ESSEX.

To my very good Lord the  
L. Burleighe Lord High Treas-  
urer of England.

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IN the same Volume which contains this Letter, among Items of expense incurred, we have "The Parcells" set down, "which my Lord of Essex bought at his entrance in his chamber at Cambridge." These are curious as affording a complete notion of the College Rooms of a young nobleman at this time, the ward of the Chancellor of the University.

"Imprimis twenty yards of new grene brode sayes, 56<sup>s</sup>. Item, the frame of the South window in the first chamber, 6<sup>s</sup>. 4<sup>d</sup>. Item, for more glasse in the same, 4<sup>s</sup>. Item, for forty foote of quarters under the hanginges, 2<sup>s</sup>. Item, payd to Mr. Bird at my entrance for parcels which appertain his proper bill and acquittance, 20<sup>s</sup>. Item, two casements with hingells in the South window, 2<sup>s</sup>. 6<sup>d</sup>. Item, new hanginges in the study of paynted cloth, 16<sup>s</sup>. Item, for payntinge both chamber and study over head, 5<sup>s</sup>. Item, shelves in the study, 12<sup>d</sup>. Item, a conveyance into the bedchamber out of the study, 2<sup>s</sup>. 6<sup>d</sup>. Item, a place makinge for the trindle bed to drawe through the wauall, 16<sup>d</sup>. Item, for bordinge a place for fewell and making a light into it, 6<sup>s</sup>. Item, a table in the study, 3<sup>s</sup>. 4<sup>d</sup>. Item, for the furniture in the little study, 18<sup>d</sup>. Item, little

Irons to hold open the casements with, 8<sup>d</sup>. Item, my part of the dore betwixt Mr. Forcett and me, 3<sup>s</sup>. 6<sup>d</sup>. Item, for a rest at the chimney, 4<sup>d</sup>. Item for a foot stoole at the window, 4<sup>d</sup>. Item, for tow shelves mo in the frame of the study, 12<sup>d</sup>. Item, a locke and thre keys to the outward chamber dore, 3<sup>s</sup>. 4<sup>d</sup>. Item, a table in the bed chamber, 2<sup>s</sup>. 6<sup>d</sup>. Summa totalis 7<sup>l</sup>. 0<sup>s</sup>. 10<sup>d</sup>." Signed *Gervasius Babington*.<sup>a</sup>

In his Tutor's bill of expenses for a quarter of a year from the feast of St. John Baptist to October 1577, we find, Item, for my Lord, five pair of shoes, 5<sup>s</sup>. Item, one pair of winter boots, 6<sup>s</sup>. For my Lord at the salting, according to custom, 7<sup>s</sup>. For arrowes for my Lord, 2<sup>s</sup>. 6<sup>d</sup>. For three frames of wainscot for maps, 4<sup>s</sup>. 6<sup>d</sup>. For rushes and dressing of the chambers, 4<sup>s</sup>. My Lords commons for the quarter, 54<sup>s</sup>. For his Lordships cisinge, 35<sup>s</sup>. For his Lordships breakfast for the quarter, 23<sup>s</sup>. For meat on fasting nights and times extraordinary, 25<sup>s</sup>. To the Laundress for his Lordship's washing, 6<sup>s</sup>. 8<sup>d</sup>. For my Lord to the chief reader, 2<sup>s</sup>. Item for Ramus Logique with a commentary, 20<sup>d</sup>. For Ramus on Tullies Orations, 4<sup>s</sup>. For Sturmius de Elocutione, 4<sup>s</sup>. For Grimalius de optimo Senatore, 2<sup>s</sup>. 4<sup>d</sup>. For Isocrates in Greek, 4<sup>s</sup>. For a standing desk for my lords studie, 6<sup>s</sup>. Given for my Lord in reward and where his Lordship hath been entertained, 15<sup>s</sup>. To the barber for his Lordship's trimming, 2<sup>s</sup>. For a broad riding hat, 8<sup>s</sup>. For the carriage of his Lordships trunk with his apparel from London to Cambridge, 2<sup>s</sup>. 4<sup>d</sup>. For two dozen of trenchers, 10<sup>d</sup>. For Inke and quills, 6<sup>d</sup>. The total of the Bill amounted to 45<sup>l</sup>. 10<sup>s</sup>. 2<sup>d</sup>.<sup>b</sup>

Various Items of the Earl's detached expenses occur in another page of the same Manuscript. A Journey to the Court, 29<sup>l</sup>. 17<sup>s</sup>. 3<sup>d</sup>. Wages for a quarter due at Christmas, to Robert Wright schoolmaster, 5<sup>l</sup>.; to Piliard the Frenchman for the like, 50<sup>s</sup>.; to Edward Wrightinton for the like, 13<sup>s</sup>. 4<sup>d</sup>. Apparel for the same time amounted to 21<sup>l</sup>. 3<sup>s</sup>. 6<sup>d</sup>. The purchases of this sort were chiefly made in London. To Thomas Tennant at the falcon on Ludgate hill, for a felt hat lined with velvet, 11<sup>s</sup>.; renewing a velvet cap, 4<sup>s</sup>. 6<sup>d</sup>.; for new lining his hat, 12<sup>d</sup>. To Mistress Croxton in Chepeside for four shirts at 10<sup>s</sup>. a piece, 40<sup>s</sup>.; six handkerchefs at 20<sup>d</sup>., ten shillings. To Peter Hoxton milliner at Fletebridge for two pair of best worsted stocks, 13<sup>s</sup>. 4<sup>d</sup>.; two pair of socks 12<sup>d</sup>.; for a pair of hose of Race, 29<sup>s</sup>. 4<sup>d</sup>. Among other charges considered as extraordinaries, we have for his lodging at Somerset House, 40<sup>s</sup>.; in little rewards, play, &c. at Hampton Court, 3<sup>l</sup>.; for the "accidents of Armorie," 4<sup>s</sup>. for his seale of Arms, 45<sup>s</sup>.<sup>c</sup>

<sup>a</sup> MS. Lansd. 25. art. 46.

<sup>b</sup> Ibid. art. 50.

<sup>c</sup> MS. Lansd. 25. art. 45.

## LETTER CCIX.

*R. Wrichte, tutor to the Earl of Essex at Trinity College Cambridge, to Mr. Richard Broughton, for clothes and plate for the Earl.*

[MS. LANSD. 25. art. 48. Orig.]

\* \* Notwithstanding the expenditure just mentioned, my Lord of Essex's wardrobe seems not to have been marvelously stocked. His Tutor writes that as to clothes, he was in such immediate want, that he was likely not only to be thread-bare but ragged. "His lordship's necessity crieth out on us."

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Mr. BROUGHTON, my hartie commendations remembered. I neade not write unto yow of my Lord his extreme necessitie of apparell where yow yourself was an eye witsesse. But this I say, as yow knowe yt, so other men mervayle that his gret want is not supplied, sith the time of the yeare beside the consideration of his estate doth require gret change. Therefore as yow tender his healthe, I pray yow sollicite the matter to my Lord Treasurer, for unlesse yow doe not only remember my Lord but see his commaundement put in execution, he shall not onley be thrid bare but ragged. Ther Potts we looked for accordinge to the manner; I pray yow hartelie see them dispatched. I write earnestlie not so much to stir up yow, whom I know to be very forward in my Lord his causes, but because his Lordships necessitie

crieth out on us. Thus fare yow well. From Trinitie Colledge in Cambridge the xj<sup>th</sup>. of June 1577. Com- mend me I pray yow to Mr. Burrell.

Yours

R. WRIGHTE.

Ther wants

A faire gonne for my L. holidiaies.

2 Dublets.

Three paire of Hose.

Two paire of nether socks.

A velvet Cap.

A Hatte.

A basen and Ewer

Potts or Goblets

Spones

Plats

A Salte

Candlestiks

} Sylver Plate.

Potts to be geven to the Colledge.

Hangings.

Mungomery.<sup>a</sup>

A gonne

Two paire of Hose

Two Dubletts

Two paire of Nether  
stockes

A Cap

} Ther is consideration to be  
had of him sith he is to be  
mayntayned as a gentleman,  
and the place doth require the  
same.

<sup>a</sup> Lord Essex's attendant, or confidential servant.

My Lord hath solicited his owne cause to my Lord  
Treasourer by thes Lettres. <sup>v</sup>

To his very frend Mr. Richard  
Broughton of the Inner Temple.



### LETTER CCX.

*Robert Earl of Essex to Lord Burghley in answer to  
his Letter which had recommended to him what was  
true Nobility.*

[MS. LANSD. 25. art. 25. Orig.]

\* \* \* In this and the two succeeding Letters, the reader has three short specimens of the Earl of Essex's Latin style. They at once reflect credit upon Essex, and show the care which Lord Burghley took to educate the son of his friend.

---

ACCEPI literas tuas honoratissime Domine, in quibus non solum de valetudine mea te sollicitum, sed etiam educationis studiosum ostendis; habeo igitur Honori tuo maximas et humilimas propter singularem tuam de me curam gratias, speroque me ita tempus impensurum, ut, relicta Academia, studium tamen non relinquam, atque ut Ruri virtutem ac literas Academicas consecrari videar, quæ eam ad quam dominatio tua

\* His short Note to this purpose, in Latin, is preserved in the same Volume, art. 21.

me hortatur veram Nobilitatem parient. Vale. Keistonii, prid. id. Octobr. 1577.

Honoris tui observantissimus

R. ESSEX.

To the right honorable and my very good Lord The L. Burghley Lord High Tresorer of England.

---

LETTER CCXI.

*The Earl of Essex, from Cambridge, to Lord Burghley; pleased with his return to the University from Keiston in Huntingdonshire, where he had retired for a time from the Plague.*

[MS. LANSDOWNE, 27. art. 1. Orig.]

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ETSI ego, honoratissime Domine, propter pestem diu quamvis invitus ab Academia abesse cogebam, nunc tamen cum sine periculo in ipsa versari potuissem, libentissime quidem a Keistoniensi turba ad litteratam Musarum sedem redii: ac quanquam ruri tempus non ociose consumpsi, tamen hic Deo studiis meis favente cum multo majori fructu impendam. Deum precor ut

tuam dominationem servet salvam et incolumem. Ex Collegio Trinitatis Cantabrigiæ, prid. cal. Aprilis 1578.

Tui honoris observantissimus

R. ESSEX.

To the right honorable my very good L: and Patron the L. Burghley L. High Tresorer of England.

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## LETTER CCXII.

*The Earl of Essex from Cambridge to Lord Burghley, to pay an annuity to a poor man a friend of his father.*

[MS. LANSD. 28. art. 64. Orig.]

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DUM me cupio supplicantium querelis audiendis facilem præbere, vereor ne sim tibi molestior. Tuæ clementiæ Pauperis istius egestatem commendo, ut quod per literas patentes benigne ei pater meus concesserat, id tuo jussu quotannis ab officiariis meis per-

solvatur. Deum precor ut tuo honori Nestorios annos  
concedat. Cantabrigiæ. Kal. Septemb. 1579.

Honoris tui observantissimus

R. ESSEX.

To the right honorable my very  
goode Lord and Patron the Lord  
Burghley high Tresorer of Eng-  
land.

---

### LETTER CCXIII.

*The Earl of Essex to Lord Burghley upon his Lord-  
ship's charging him with want of frugality.*

[MS. LANSD. 36. art. 12. Orig.]

---

MY very good L. I hope your Lordship in courtesy  
will pardon my youth, yf I have throughe wante of  
experience in some sorte passed the bondes<sup>a</sup> of fru-  
gality. I can not but embrace with duty your Lord-  
ships good counsell, whose love I have effectually  
proved, and of whose care of my well doinge I am  
throughly well perswaded. I do beseache your good  
Lordship, notwithstanding the lapse of my youth, still  
to continue a loving frende unto me; as I will acknow-

<sup>a</sup> bounds.



ledge myself in all duty bounde unto your Lordship. Thus I humbly commit your Lordship to the tuicion of the Allmighty. Yorke, this xiiij<sup>th</sup>. of December 1582.

Your Lordships most assured  
at command

R. ESSEX.

To the right honorable my  
very good L. The L. Burghley  
L. Highe Treasurer of Englande.

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#### LETTER CXXIV.

*The Earl of Essex to Lord Burghley, that he yields  
to sell Keyston to pay his debts.*

[MS. LANSD. 63. art. 65. Orig.]

\* \* \* This Letter, though written in 1590, is more appropriately placed here than if it stood in the stricter order of its date. It affords a specimen of Lord Essex's style when twenty-four: and shows that expence and incautiousness marked him as well in early as in later life.

---

My very good Lord

I DO understand that my Lord of Ormond at the intreaty of Sir Thomas Cecill is content I shall deliver the land for him unto the Queen which her Majestie is to receive in exchange. I am desirous to deliver

the maner of Keyston in Huntingdonshire, not that I wold rather part with that then any thing els, but because I know your Lordship in these cases will looke to the goodness of the Queen's bargaine without doing favor to any man whatsoever. This maner is of my auncient inheritaunce, free from incumberance; a great circuit of ground in a very good soyle, serveyed by Mr. Taverner for me this last yere. But I am so farr in debt and so weery of owing, as, sell I must, and so though your Lordship do me no favor in the valew, you shall do me great favor in the cleering of my estate to accept this land. And so committing your Lordship to God's good protection I rest,

Most ready to do your Lordship service

R. ESSEX.

To the right honorable my verye  
good Lord the L. Treasurer of  
England.

---

THERE is a Letter from Lord Essex "to his honourable friend Mr. Vice Chamberlain" in Murdin's State Papers, p. 634. in which he acknowledges the amount of his debts. It must have been written about the same time with this; just before his departure on the Voyage of Portugal. He says in it, "Sir, what my courses have been I need not repeat, for no Man knoweth them better then yourself. What my state now is I will tell you. My Revenue no greater than it was when I sued my livery; my Debts at the least TWO or THREE and TWENTY THOUSAND POUNDS. Her Majesty's goodness hath been so great, as I could not ask more of her. No way left to repair myself but mine own Adventure, which I had much rather undertake then to offend Her Majesty with sutes as I have done heretofore. If I speed well I will adventure to be rich; if not, I will never live to see the end of my poverty."

## LETTER CCXV.

*The Lords of the Council to the Bishops, recommending a Collection to be made among the Clergy for the Town of Geneva.*

[HARL. MS. 787. fol. 107 b.]

AFTER our very hartly Comendacions to your Lordship, Whereas through the manifold & dangerous practises intended by the Pope and certaine other Princes his Confederats the last yeare, against the Towne of Geneva (a matter publikely knowne), the younge Duke of Savoye being made an instrument therein, as by whose pretencions to some kinde of an ancyent Title to that Seigniory theyr Counsell might be best disguised, the said Duke having for certaine monthes with a great power most streightly beseiged it, & standing in great likelihood to have taken it, had not the Bernates & other Cantons of Zwitterland confederates to that Towne entred into the Associacion of theyr defence. The said Towne of Geneva is now by these means brought into great extremity & need of releife, the most part of theyr revenews being (as wee are credibly informed) well neare wasted in mainteyning of Soldyers for theyr better defence; & the Magistrats thereof being forewarned sondry wayes that the fire is not alltogether quenched, but that the next Springe it is meant that some new Attempt shall be

made by force against them, have of late sent a Gent. with letters to her Magesty to acquaint her Highnes with this hard state they stand in, & for theyr better support to require a Loane of some competent Sume of money for theyr ayde. Forasmuch as the occasions her Magesty hath of imployment of great somes of money, are many and weighty, besides the chargeable warre of Ireland moved alsoe by the Pope & his Adherents, by reason whereof her Highnes hath not at this present such opportunity to releive them as theyr necessity requireth, & as otherwise she would if tyme thereto might serve, Wee have therefore thought good for the care wee have of an action of soe good importance, & as wee perswade ourselves your Lordships also hath, that that poore Towne may in some sort tast of the Christian charity that ought to be in us, to recomend theyr cause unto you, & hartily to pray you as in a matter that especially toucheth all of your quality both in conscience & callinge, by way of Christian perswation, to move the welthyer sort of the Clergy & other godly affected within your Diocess to contribute some part of the blessing that God hath bestowed upon them towards the releife of that poore afflicted Towne, which in some sort may seem to have deserved the fruits of Christian compassion by former curtesyes & favours shewed to sundry her Magesties subjects in the tyme of the late persecution in Queen Maryes Reygne. Wherein as they shall render charity for

charity, & give good demonstracion unto the world that in this they wealth and peace they are not careless of the afflictions of Joseph, agreeable with the Apostles doctrine *Memores estote afflictorum, quia fuistis afflicti*; soe shall you give us cause to thinke that you have not onely care (as in Christian charity you are bound) to releive the present distress of that poore Towne which through Gods goodness hath served in this latter Age for a Nursery unto Gods churches, but alsoe to satisfy this our request, to the end wee may continue that good opinion wee have of your Lordships zeale in the maintenance & conservation of true Religion, as apperteyneth to one of your Callinge. And soe praying your Lordship for the better direccion in this Colleccion to followe such order as shall be prescribed unto you by our very good Lord the Archbishop of Canterbury, to whom wee have especially recomended the care hereof, within his Province, not doubting but he will carefully & circumspcctly direct you how to advance this charitable Reliefe, & that without any open occasion of grudge or offence, wee bidd your Lordship right hartily farewell. From the Court at Richmond the 29<sup>th</sup>. of January 1582.

your Lordships lovinge freinds.

T. BROMLEIGH	Can:	WM. BURGHLEY	E. LINCOLNE
A. WARWICKE		R. LEYCESTER	J: HUNSDON
F. KNOLLYS		JA: CROFT	CH: HATTON
F. WALSINGHAM			

WA: MILD MAY.

## LETTER CCXVI.

*The Recorder of London to Lord Burghley, upon his Searches for Seminary Priests.*

[MS. LANSD. VOL. XXXV. art. 26.]

\* \* The Reader who is desirous to know the History of the Seminary Priests, may take it in the words of Camden, under the year 1580.

“The English priests,” he says, “which had fled into the Netherlands assembled themselves at Doway in the year 1568, by the procurement of William Allen, an Oxford man, the most learned amongst them, and framed themselves a common discipline after the manner of a College; to whom the Bishop of Rome assigned a yearly pension. Afterwards the Netherlands running into confusion, and the English fugitives being banished thence by command of Don Louis de Requesens, another Seminary was erected at Rheims by the Guises, the queen of Scots kinsmen, and another at Rome by Gregory the thirteenth, which, as time consumed the Popish Priests in England, might still supply new, to sow the seeds of the Romish Religion in England. Whereupon they were called SEMINARIES; and those that were there bred up in them were commonly called SEMINARY-PRIESTS.

“In these Colleges, or Seminaries, whilst, among other things, disputations were held concerning the ecclesiastical and temporal power, zeal to the Pope their founder, hatred against the Queen, and hope of restoring the Romish Religion by the Queen of Scots, carried some of them so far, that they really persuaded themselves, and so maintained, that the Bishop of Rome hath by divine right full power over the whole world, as well in ecclesiastical as temporal causes; and that he, according to that absolute power, may excommunicate Kings, and, having so done, dethrone them, and absolve their subjects from their Oath of Allegiance. Hereupon was that Bull declaratory of Pius Quintus published in the year 1569, and upon that Bull brake forth the Rebellion in the North parts of England, and this also in Ireland whereof I spake a little before; and many withdrew themselves from the received service of God, which before they had frequented without any scruple. Hanse, Nelson, and Maine, priests, and Sherwood, peremptorily taught the Queen was a schismatick and a heretick, and therefore to be deposed: for which they were put to death.

“Out of these Seminaries were sent forth into divers parts of England

and Ireland at first a few young men, and afterwards more according as they grew up, who were entred over-hastly into holy Orders, and instructed in the abovementioned principles. They pretended only to administer the Sacraments of the Romish Religion, and to preach to Papists; but the Queen and her Council soon found that they were sent under-hand, to seduce the subjects from their allegiance and obedience due to their Prince, to oblige them by reconciliation to perform the Popes commands, to stir up intestine rebellions *under the seal of Confession*, and flatly to execute the sentence of Pius Quintus against the Queen, to the end that way might be made for the Pope and the Spaniard, who had of late designed the Conquest of England.

“ To these Seminaries were sent daily out of England by the Papists, in contempt and despite of the laws, great numbers of boys and young men of all sorts, and admitted into the same, making a vow to return into England: others also crept secretly from thence into the land, and more were daily expected with the Jesuits, who at this time first came into England.”<sup>a</sup>

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RIGHT honorable & my singuler good Lo. I am right glad of your Lordship's amendement. I beseche God to continue your Lordship in helth: during the tyme of this Lent wee have ben everie daye occupied with SEMENARIE PRIESTS, *Masse mongers*, *Libellers*, and suche lyke. It fell owt that in the first weke of Lent, that there was a Booke cast abroad, an commendinge of Campion and of his fellowes and of their deathe. I pursued the matter so nere that I found the Presse, the lettres, the figures, and a nosmber of the books, and beinge in this searche one Osborne a Semenarie priest cam droppinge in to a Chamber where Mr. Topcliff of the Court and I were. Hym we examined and it appered that he was a Seminarie Priest and had dwelt in the Hospitall at Rome iij. yeres, and after he was

<sup>a</sup> Camd. Hist. Eliz. pp. 244, 245.

professed in to a howse of Franciscanes, being bare foote Friers that lived by begging, and labored as he saithe by cutting of wood and bearing of it upon their backs. They lie upon no bedds, but tumble in the strawe like swine; they use no shirts; they have no mo garments but suche as they dayly weare, the which are slender, thinne, and extreme cold; their diett is most slender, and they eat but ones a daye; and continually they drynke water. They may towche no money. Being of this Order but vij. weeks, it beinge so streyt, he was dryven to flee, and cam into England, and in Christenmas he said Sunday masses at Mr. Brownes howse, my Lord Viscount's brother,<sup>a</sup> before my Ladie Vaux, and certen others: and *in crastino Epiphaniæ* he said masse in the Flete in my Lo. Vaux his chamber, before my Lord, Mr. Treassham, Mr. Tirwitt, and others. For the which offenses these three were upon Weddensdaye last convicted in the Yeld Hall<sup>b</sup> at an Oier and Determiner, where the seyd Osborne did geve lyvelie evidens. Althowghe they be fore judgement did stowtlye denie the same, yet after they dyd most humblie submitt theymselffs unto her Maiestie, and so departed to prison agayne. This Osborne is nephew to Sir Robert Lane, and nere a kyne to my Lord Vaux and to Mr. Tresham. At this Oier and Determiner there was arreigned one Mrs. Rogers, sumtyme wiff of one Barnerd Sharerd of Greys

<sup>a</sup> Lord Viscount Montague.

<sup>b</sup> Guild Hall.



Inne, for hering of a masse at Shroftide in the howse of the wiff of Frances Alford in Salisbury Court, at which masse was Mrs. Allford herself, and one Rogers a gentilman, and one Hyde who is Mrs. Alfordes man. The Semenarie priest was one Deane. This Deane and the sayd Hyde dyd geve the evidens, and for that cause Mr. Secretories pleasure was that they shuld be spared; Mrs. Alford was spared because Mr. Frances is bound for her and she promiseth to goo to the Church, and this is by Mr. Secretories order. Att this last Goale Delyverie, one Margaret Hardinge a notable pickpurse was executed; the wyke before Christenmas she pleded for perdon for the lyke fawlt, that perdone was as was said procured by Mons<sup>r</sup>. de Alpherne, but one gentilman now in the Court as she reported had an C. markes whose name apperethe in the first word of the ix line in ista page.<sup>a</sup>

This woman hathe had the benefite of sundry other perdones as well generall as speciall. There is one Croftes, and Bacon, that were condemned for a roberie done nere Ware; they are reprived.

For any other thinges here hapenyng there are none worthe wryting of, save this one thing, that here are fortie brables and pickeries done abowt this towne more in any one daye, then when I cam first to serve was done in a moneth; the reason is of these multitude of Buildings being stuffed with poore nedie and of the

<sup>a</sup> viz. Sir Robert Lane.

worst sort of people. Truelie, my singuler good Lord, I have not leasure to eat any meat I am so called upon. I am at the least the best part of an C. nightes in a yere abroad in Searches; I never rest. And when I serve Her Majestie the best, then I am for the most part the worse spoken of; and that many tymes in the Court I saw no man to defend me; and as for my Lo. Maior, my cheff head, I am dryven every daie to bawk hym and his doynges. My good Lord for Christ's sake be suche a meane for me as that with creduit I may be removed by her majestie from this intollerable toyle. Certenlie I serve in a thankles soile. There is, as I lerne, lyke to fall a rowme of the Queen's Serjiaunt. If your Lo. please to helpe me to one of those rowmes, assure your honor I will do her Majestie as paynfull service as vj. of theym shall doo. Helpe me my good Lo. in this my humble sute, and I will good willing sett downe for your Lo. suche a booke of the lawe as your Lo. will lyke of. This 2 May, 1582. Bacon Howse.

Your good Lo. most bounden

W. FLETEWOODE.

My Lo. I have sent unto your honor a box of suche stuffe as these libellers use for their printe. There be certen Yrishemen that are the utterers of the last heard booke, one Dowdale dothe use to sell them.

THE original Confession of one John Brushford, a Seminary priest, is preserved in the Lansdowne volume 96, art. 63. It at least affords a notion of the difficulties which the Seminary priests had to encounter in their missions. He says,

“I came over a lyttell before the laste Statute made agaynst the cominge in of Preestes, and by reason therof I founde everye bodey so fearfull as none woold receave me into ther houses; wherfore I, with an other preeste caled John Tadde, hyred a chamber in a poore cottage in the woode by Totnam-Hyghcrosse, wher we remayned close six or seven monethes, sendinge the poore man to the Cyttye for Victualls. After this I laye in Hogglane at one Mrs. Tempestes, a wydowe woman, the space of other five or six monethes. I had also a chamber in Grayes Inne Lane at one Blakes howse, unto the which I resorted when I knew not whether to goe els. I was once at Clarkenwell at Sir Jo. Arundells, but, for that he was then in troble in the Star chamber about one Mr. Hygynes a preeste, I coule not be received, but I was with him afterward in the Gate House. As for my Ladye his wyfe, I protest before God as I hope to be saved, I never was with her or in her presence any where to my remembrance, for she was ever fearefull, and, after Sir John’s troble, never beare yonge preestes any good will. What shee dyd unto olde preestes I cannot tell.

“After this I lyved secretlye in a vyllage on the playnes of Salisbury, not far from Amesbury, with one Mr. Durdoe and his wyfe, in the house of one Edwar Wyse; unto which house resorted alsoe one Mr. Jo. Grove. The good man of the house and his wyfe weare protestantes, and dyd harbor us for noe other thinge but for his gayne; not knowing what I was (as I thinke). Wee remayned in this place about syxe monethes, and after that, some suspitione growinge of the place, I went with the sayd Mr. Durdo and his wyfe into Wales, and weare lodged in one Mr. Harbertes house not far from Monmothe, wher I remayned some three monethes, untyll the gentyllman began to suspect what I was, and then I returned to London, wher I remayned untill I had oportunitie to departe the land, which I earnestlye desyred, cheefflye for that I had determined to forsake the worlde, and to serve God quyetye in Religion, and takinge bote at Southhamptone I landed at St. Valleryes in Caus, not far from Deepe; and goinge to Parys, was ther, after some sute made, admytted into the Company or Societie of Jesus, and sent to Verdune for my probatione, wher I remayned a novyce untill I was compelled by extreame sicknesse to departe thence. The persones of any reputacione that I was acquaynted withall about Londone, weare Mrs. Tempest and her children, Sir John Arundell when he was a prisoner, Mrs. Yates of Lyford, (I dyd not knowe her husbande,) and once I re-

member I was with Sir Thomas Fytzherbert; and in the contrye Mr. Durdoo and his wyfe, Mr. Grove, Mr. John Skydmore.

“ I was, I remember, once intreated to have ryden into Cornwall, but I durst not, for that I was well knowen by the waye.

“ I was once alsoe at one Mr. Corams house by Wynchester, and spake with the gentyll woman, but when shee perceaved what I was shee requested me to holde her excused; her husband was not at home; her house was full of strangers, and shee had sheepe to share,<sup>a</sup> wherfore she prayed me to departe.

“ As for men that loved to deale in matters of state, God knoweth that I never knewe anye suche, but evermore abhorred to deale in suche matters. That which by chance I have harde or knowne in partes beyonde the scaes I have at lardge set downe in the other paper here unto anexed, and as I ever was soe I nowe vowe for ever to be true, loyall, and lovinge to my Prince and Contrye, or els I pray God I maye never lyve. Amen, Amen,

JO. BRUSHFORD.”

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## LETTER CCXVII.

*Father Sanders the Jesuit, to the Catholick Nobility  
and Gentry of Ireland, to stir them to Rebellion.*

[MS. LANSD. 96. art. 39. Orig.]

\* \* Camden has given an account of the expedition which in 1579 carried Father Sanders to Ireland. He says, “ In Munster, a Province of Ireland, James Fitz-Morris raised a new rebellion; the same James which a while before, falling upon his knees before Perott President of Munster, had with lamentable howlings and humble intreaties begged his pardon, and most religiously vowed his fidelity and obedience to the Queen. This man (who was never well but in troubles) had withdrawn himself into France, promising the King that if he would assist him, he would unite all Ireland to the Sceptre of France, and restore the Romish religion in that Isle. But being wearied out with delays and in the end

<sup>a</sup> shear.

laughed at, he went from France into Spain, and made the same promises to the Catholick King. The King sent him over to the Bishop of Rome; from whom having (at the earnest solicitation of Sanders an English priest, and Allen an Irish one, both of them Doctors in Divinity) gotten a little money, *the authority of a Legate granted to SANDERS*, a consecrated banner, and letters of recommendation to the Spaniard, he returned into Spain, and from thence arrived about the first day of July, WITH THOSE TWO DIVINES, three ships, and a small body of men, at Saint Mary Wick (which the Irish contractedly call *Smerwick*) in Kerry, a peninsula in Ireland, where in a place solemnly consecrated by the Priests, he erected a Fort, and drew up his ships close under: which ships Thomas Courtney an English gentleman, who lay by chance at anchor with a man of war in a road hard by, soon after set upon, took, and carried away, and deprived the Spaniards of the benefit of the Sea.”<sup>a</sup>

One of the original printed Indulgences granted by the Pope on this occasion to those who should join the Irish rebels, preparatory to the expedition, is still preserved in the same Volume of the Lansdowne Collection with Father Sanders’s Letter; and bears date in 1577. It is indorsed in Lord Burghley’s hand, “*Bulla contra Reginam. For JAM. FITZ-MORIS.*” It has at the bottom, a wafer Seal of one of the Cardinals, and is further attested by one of the apostolic Notaries. The Letters J. H. S. at the beginning, have the Cross above and the Nails below, incircled with a Glory.<sup>b</sup>

Pits, who was related to Father Sanders, places his death in 1581. Camden, in 1583. Whether he perished of cold and hunger, or died of disease is uncertain.

<sup>a</sup> Camd. Hist. Eliz. p. 236.

<sup>b</sup> MS. Lansd. 96. art. 53.



J. H. S.

*Copia Brevis Sanctissimi*

*Domini nostri Gregorii Papæ XIII. super facultate concessa Jacobo Geraldino domino de Kiericourithi gerendi bellum adversus Elisabetham prætensam Angliæ Reginam, in fidei Catholicæ favorem.*

Gregorius Papa XIII.

Universis Prælatibus, Principibus, Comitibus, Baronibus, totique Clero, Nobilitati, et populis Regni Hiberniæ, salutem et Apostolicam benedictionem. Inter cæteras Christiani Orbis Provincias, quæ longo à nobis terrarum spatio disjunctæ sunt, Apostolica Sedes Hibernorum nationem ob feruentis ipsorum devotionis constantiam, et inviolabilis sinceritatis affectum erga catholicam religionem et Romanam Ecclesiam, sæpius declaratum, singulari amore, et præcipua charitate semper complexa est, nosque his de causis tanto magis ejusdem Regni vexationibus, afflictionibusque movemur, et quantum in nobis est, tam personarum libertati, et quieti, quam animarum saluti cupimus subvenire. Proinde cum nuper ex præstanti et nobili viro Jacobo Geraldino Domino de Kiericourithi, et Governatore generali Desmonix in absentia Comitum Desmonix, ut asserit, qui hac ipsa de causa ad nostram se contulit

To the righthonorable and Catholike Lords and Worshipfull Gentlemen of Irland, N. Sander D. of Divinitie wisheth all felicitie.

Pardon me, I beseche you, if upon just cawse I use the same words to your Honors and Worships which S. Pawle wrote somtyme to the Galatians: ‘ Who hath enchanted you, not to obey the Truthe?’ for if you be not bewitched, what meane you to fight for hæresie against the true faith of Christ, for the Devil against God, for Tyrans that robbe you of your goods, lands, lives, and everlasting salvation, against your own brethern, who daylie spend their goods and shed their blood to deliver you from these miseries? What

præsentiã, ingenti eum animi nostri dolore cognoverimus, quot, quantaque mala propter orthodoxæ fidei amorem, veramque religionem patiantur istic viri probi ab Elizabetha, quæ Deo pariter, et hominibus infesta, in Anglia, et ista Hiberniæ Insula superbè et impiè dominatur: cumque idem Jacobus zelo domus Dei, santæque religionis restituendæ desiderio, patriæ amore, et insita sibi virtute, animique magnitudine impulsus, jugum istud servitutis adeo durum, et intolerabile, à vestris cervicibus depellere, auxiliante Domino, in animo habeat, speretque se multos tam pii consilij, et conatus habiturum esse adjuutores; ideo vos omnes et singulos per viscera misericordiæ Dei monemus et hortamur, ut temporis opportunitatem agnoscetes, talis Ducis pietatem et fortitudinem pro virili quisque vestra strenuè adjuvetis, nec timeatis fœminam, quæ anathematis vinculo jamdiu innodata, et insordescens, recessit à Domino, et Dominus recessit ab ea, multaque ipsam mala meritò inveniunt. Sed quo alacriore animo id facere possitis, omnibus et singulis contritis, et confessis, seu confitendi propositum habentibus, qui ipsum Ducem eiusque exercitum catholicæ fidei assertorem, ac defensorem prosecuti fuerint, et ei se adjunxerint, aut consilio, favore, com meatibus, armis, et alia quacunque ope seu ratione expeditionem illius, sanctumque hoc propositum adjuverint, plenariam omnium peccatorum suorum veniam, et remissionem eadem forma, qua procedentibus in bello contra Turcas, et ad recuperationem terræ sanctæ tribui solet, apostolica auctoritate concedimus, et elargimur. Non obstantibus constitutionibus et ordinationibus apostolicis, cæterisque in contrarium facientibus quibuscunque. Ut verò hæc literæ ad omnium notitiam facilius, et celerius possint pervenire, volumus ut earum transumptis, manuscriptis, vel impressis, et manu Notarij publici, sigilloque personæ in dignitate Ecclesiastica constitutæ munitis, eadem habeatur fides quæ haberetur præsentibus, si essent exhibitæ, vel ostensæ. Datum Romæ apud sanctum Petrum sub annulo Piscatoris, die xxv. Februarij, Millesimo, quingentesimo, septuagesimo septimo.

Pontificatus Nostri Anno Quinto

JOAN. BAPTISTA Cannobius.

*Septimius Pacis not<sup>s</sup>. Ap<sup>cus</sup>, m. n.*

meane you I say, to be at so great charges, to take so great paynes, and to putt your selves in so horrible daunger of bodie and sowle, for a wicked Woman, neither begotten in true wedlock nor esteeming her christendom, and therefore deprived by the Vicar of Christ, her and your lawful judge; forsaken of God who justifieth the sentence of his Vicar; forsaken of all Catholike Princes whome she hath injured intolerably; forsaken of divers Lords, Knights, and Gentilmen of England, who ten yeres past toke the sword against her,<sup>a</sup> and yet stand in the same quarel? See you not that she is without a lawful heire of her own bodie, who may either reward her frinds or revenge her enemies? See you not that she is such a shamefull reproche to the royal Crown, that who so is in dede a frind to the Crown shuld so muche the more hasten to dispossesse her of the same? See you not that the next Catholike heire to the Crown (for the Pope will take order by God's grace that it shall rest in none other butt Catholikes) must accompt all them for traytors that spend their goods in mainteining an heretike against his true title and right? What wil ye answer to the Pope's Liuetenant when he bringing us the Popes and other Catholike Princes ayde (as shortly he will) shall charge you with the crime and payne of heretiks, for mainteining an heretical præ-

<sup>a</sup> Alluding to the Rebellion of the Earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland in 1569. EDIT.

tensed Queen against the publike sentence of Christes vicar? Can she with her feined Supremacie (which the Devil instituted in Paradise, when [he] made Eve Adams maistresse in Gods matters) absolve and acquiet you from the Pope's excommunication and curse? Shall yee not rather stayne yourselves and your noble Howses with the suspicion of Hæresie and Treason? in which case if the Catholike heire to the royal Crown call upon the execution of the Lawes of the Church, you shall for the maintenance of hæresie loose your goods, your lands, your honors, and undoe your wives, your children, and your Howses for ever. God is not mocked. The longer it is before he punish, the more hard and severe shal his punishment be. Do you not see before your eyes that becawse King Henry the Eighth brake the Unitie of Christes Church his Howse is now cut off, and ended? and think you that mayntaining the Heresie which he beganne, you shall not bring your own howses to the like end that his hath? Marke likewise Syr William Druries end, who was the General against the Pope's armie, and think not our part to weake, seing God fighteth for us. And surely wheras we had once both monie, men, and armour to beginne this battell withall; God, by most strange meanes (which to recite in this place it were to tedious) tooke them all from us, and sent us hether in manner naked, to th'end it shuld be evident unto all the World that this warr is not the warr of man



(which is always most puissant in the beginning as most Armies, begunne with greater power then afterward it is mainteind,) but the Warr of God, who of small beginnings worketh wonderfull end. Whom I beseeche to open your eyes, that, whiles tyme is, you maye openly confesse and honor him more then Heretikes. The xxj. of Feb. 1580.

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THIS Letter is followed in the Lansdowne Volume by another in Latin, from some unknown person, to the King of Spain, dated Brussels 4 idus Nov. entreating his interest with the Pope for Sanders to be made a Cardinal, particularly on account of *his prudence*. “ Ut Angliæ negotia diligenter procuret, et Collegio Cardinalium splendorem ob ejus prudentiam singularem et doctrinam incredibilem adferet.”

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## LETTER CCXVIII.

*Lord Burghley to Sir George Carey and Mr. Bowes at Berwick. Impatient at not hearing of the Scots affairs.*

[FROM THE ORIGINAL AMONG THE BERKELEY PAPERS.]

\* \* This and the succeeding Letter, uninteresting as their contents may seem to a common eye, relate to an important crisis in the affairs of Scotland: no less than the Ruthven conspiracy. They also correct an error made by several of our Historians who send HENRY Cary to Scotland<sup>a</sup> with Mr. Bowes, upon the arrival of the news of James the Sixth's capture.

<sup>a</sup> See Rapin, vol. ii. p. 115. Ridpath's Border Hist. p. 658.

Lord Burghley's impatience is remarkable. He knew of the Plot, but was ignorant how far it had been carried into effect. Nor could he explain the Treaty for the Duke of Lenox's retirement to France. His conjectures upon it are contained in the second Letter.

*Sir* GEORGE CARY, or CAREWE, was the eldest son of Henry the first Lord Hunsdon: to which title he succeeded upon his father's death in 1596. He was afterwards Lord Chamberlain, and died himself in 1603.

It is remarkable that both in the body and superscription of the Letter immediately before the reader James the Sixth is called "the Prince." He had been crowned King of Scots in 1567.

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AFTER my verie hartie commendacions. Whereas in the beginning of this moneth being returned to my howse at Theobaldes, remaining there three or fowre daies, perceiving noe lettres to be cum owt of the Northe, I did write to you two severall Lettres, declaring what expectation was at the Courte of sum Lettres to cum from thence. Since which time I was called to the Court to be heare on Saturdaie last the eight of this moneth, and finding noe lettres nor advertisements from thes partes, I found it heare verie strange to be so long without advertisementes, for that there was now Lettres received here since the xxix<sup>th</sup>. of August, at which time you Sir George Carewe were named to be sent in this your Voiage; and abiding here on Sundaie, the Frenche Ambassador gave us knowledge that the matters of Scotland would be compounded betwixt the Duke and his Adversaries, making mention of a Treatie and messuages sent betwixt the Pr. and him by the L. Harris. Hereuppon we heare weare the more trowbled for lack of knowledge from

thence, but yt happned otherwise that night that theare came lettres severallie from you bothe, whearwith Her Majestie was very well satesfied: and nowe when I consider what Lettres I had written from my howse at Thebalds in finding fault, I have thought good to acquaint you howe the thinges and occasions did passe, and howe at this present all our griefnes are digested; and for our better satisfaction yesterdaie also, being the xj<sup>th</sup>. your other later Lettres are cum, by which the temperate proceeding after so whott a beginning is advertised, which though in matter is to be misliked, yet your diligence in writing is to be well allowed. And so having noe other spetiall matter, I have thought nevertheless to shewe to you th'occasions of my former Lettres, and to declare the full satisfaccion wee have of your diligence in writing, which we heare doubte not but you will continue. And though yowe maie lacke certaintie of matter to write of, yet it shall content th'expectacion of us heare in the Cowrte that rather then wee shall lacke your writing, your Lettres maie cum onelie to signifie that for the time yowe shall lacke matter.

This my hasty wrytyng without any great matter, I pray you both to take in good part with my harty thanks for your severall Lettres to me. Although in very dede, now being here at the Court, I desyre not any pryvat Lettres, for that your Lettres wrytten to Mr. Secretary shall suffise for my understanding with-

out puttyng ether of you to furder trooble of wrytyng than only to Mr. Secretary.

From Otlands the xij. of Septemb. 1582.

The Fr. amb. had his Lettres by a lacky of the Duke of Lennox, and as I perceave the lacky is gon into France to the D. of Gvyse, and the Fr. ambassador avoweth that he hath frequent advertisements from thence which I wish might be intercepted.

Your assured loving  
frend,

W. BURGHELEY.

To my verie loving frende Sr.  
George Carewe knight Embassa-  
dor for hir Majestie with the Pr.  
of Scottes, and to Mr. Rob<sup>t</sup>. Bowes  
Esq<sup>r</sup>. Thr'er of Barwicke.

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## LETTER CCXIX.

*Lord Burghley to Sir George Cary, upon the forbearance of James the Sixth toward the Duke of Lenox.*

[FROM THE ORIGINAL AMONG THE BERKELEY PAPERS.]

Good Sir Georg

I THANK yow for your last Lettres of the x<sup>th</sup>. by which I was glad to perceave your prestnes to enter

into Scotland, and so much the more for that your license is by the Kings good lykyng, wherof I trust through your negociation, the action begon will be more spedely and more soundly acheved. I thinke the dulceness used to the Duke procedeth of the apparance of the Kings own humor, which if it come of myldnes of nature I am glad, and if it come of the late memory of the counterfayted provisableness of the Duke with pleasyng, I hope tyme will spend those concepts; but if it come of fals brethern and hipocrits mined with the Lords, I feare the more, lest dissimulation be the provyder of the Commedy. We shall now dayly looke for your dayly occurrents. Yesternight Ge. Dowglass cam befor the Post lettres, for they cam not afor this fornoone, being Fryday.

I hope the Creditt of the Ministers of the Gospell will help to buyld upp the breaches that the Duk and his complyces make in that Chirch and Realme.

Your assured

lov. friend

W. BURGHLEY.

From Otlands  
the xiiij<sup>th</sup>. of Sept. 1582.

To my verie lovinge frend Sr  
George Cary knight marshall  
and Ambassador for hir Ma<sup>tie</sup>.  
with the King of Scottes.

## LETTER CCXX.

*Sir Robert Carey to his father Lord Hunsdon, that the Queen is impatient for his Lordship to go to his Government of Berwick.*

[MS. HARL. 6993. art. 36. Orig.]

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MAY yt please your L. t'understande that yesterday yn the afternune I stode by hyr Matie, as she was att cards yn the presens-chamber. She cawld me too hyr, and askte me when you mente too go too Barwyke. I towlde hyr that you determinde to begyn your Journey presently after Whytsontyd. She grew yntoo a grete rage, begynnyng with "*God's wonds, that she wolde sett you by the fecte, and send another yn your place, yf you dalyed with hyr thus, for she wolde nott be thus dalyed withall.*" I towlde hyr, that wyth asmuche possyble spede as myght be, you wolde departe, and that your lyyng att London thys fortnight was too no uther ende butt too make provysyon for your Journey. She anseryd me, "that you have byn goynge from Crystmas too Ester, and from Ester too Whytsontyd, but yf you dyfferde the tyme any lenger,

she wolde appoynt sume uther yn your place." Thys message she commandyd me too send you.

Yo<sup>r</sup>. L. humble and obedyent  
sune,

R. CAREY.

To the right Honorable my very good Lord and Father my Lord of Hunsdon.<sup>a</sup>

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### LETTER CCXXI.

*Lord Hunsdon to Lord Burghley. His grief for her Majesty's speeches to his son: and his desire to resign his office.*

[MS. HARL. 6993. art. 37. Orig.]

MY very good L. havynge alwayse fownde your L. my goode L. and frende more then any uther, I am the bowlder to acquaynte your L. with a harde accy-dente to me; suche as I thynke your L. wolde as hardly beleve as I dyd lyttel looke for ytt.

Thys day at dyner I recevyd a Letter from my sunn Robartt Carey of suche spechys as hyr Majestie eusyd untoo hym apon Sunday towchyng me, which

<sup>a</sup> This direction, with the date of 8 June 1584, are in another hand. The date of June 8<sup>th</sup>, however must have been that on which the Letter was received by Lord Hunsdon; as appears from his Lordship's answer.

for brevyty sake I send your L. the cobby of; wheryn I thynk myselfe so hardly delt withall by hyr Majestie as I cannott bare ytt, nor obay ytt yn suche sorte as she commands ytt.

My L. I have never refusyd too serve hyr, howsoever she commandyd me, so longe as I was able, and beyng now by reason of the maryagys of my two dawters, and besyds theyr maryage mony was att as grete chargys with the tyme of theyre maryagys as theyr maryage mony came untoo, beyng now commandyd too repayre too Barwyke, I desyerde only att hyr Majesties hande the lone of 1000%. too be payde apon my entertaynment of Barwyke and the Wardenery, wherof too be repayde the one halfe att Mychelmas next, and the uthor halfe at Our Lady day, whyche to be borrowyde of a marchant, the interest cumes nott too 100%.; and trewly I wolde nott have made so symple a seute unto hyr, but thatt apon thes occasyons aforsayde I hade layde all my platte too gage, withoute which I cowlde nott with any credytt go thither; and hopyng that she wolde consyder so farr of my nede, I have stayde herapon the rather, knowyng the matters bothe of Skotlande and the Borders too be yn suche state as ther was no such necessaryte of my so hasty goyng to Barwyke: but syns I fynde hyr Majesties so smale care of my necessaryte, and so redde too threten me nott only with the placynge of sume uthor yn my place, butt also too



impryson me, syns my servys ys no better consyderyd of by hyr, and that hyr Majestie ys so redy apon so smale cawse too deale thys (nott hardly) butt extremely with me. As I have the offyce of Barwyke of hyr Majestie specyally, and only by your L. goode meanes, agenst the wylls of others who sowght to putt me by ytt too preferr uthers of theyr frinds untoo ytt, so am I moste hartely too pray your L. that as you wer the only bryngar of me to that offyce, whereyn I hope I have perfurmyd my dewty, bothe for hyr Majesties servys and for the goode of the hole cuntrey bothe too hyr Majesties honor, the benyfytt of the cuntrey, the commendation of your Lordship who preferde me unto ytt, and too mynowne credytt, yn despyght of myn ennymys whosoever: so I humbly pray your Lordship thatt syns I see that hyr Majestie ys so redy too place sume uther yn ytt, that your Lordship wylbe a meane that I may with her favor departe withall as I dyd with hyr goode favor receve ytt: for an offyce of that charge ys nott too be governed by any that hathe no better credytt or cowntenance of hyr Majestie then I have: for I am not ygnorante what qwarels may be pykt too any mane that hathe such a charge. If the Prynce shalbe redy nott only too heare every complayntt whyther yt be false or treu, and so apon Imagynacyon too condemne without cawse, well my Lord, Gode sende them joy that shall succede me, and to doo hyr Majestie no worse servys theryn than I have

done: assurynge your Lordship that I wyll parte from ytt with a better wyll, (fyndyng myselfe yn no better grace with hyr Majestie then I do) then ever I was. too receive ytt. I am the bowlder too troble your Lordship thysmuche by cawse I doo by thys bearar wryght lyttell les too hyr Majestie. And for any Imprysonment she cane use too me, ytt shall redownde too hyr dyshonor, bycawse I neyther have nor wyll deserve ytt: and therfor ytt shall nott troble me. Thus havynge byn over tedyus too your Lordship I commytt your Lordship too the tucyon of th'Almyghty. Att Hunsdon thys 8 of June, 1584.

Your Lordships too commande,

H. HUNSDON.

To the ryght honorable and my very goode L. my L. Burghley L. Hyghe Tresorar of Inglande.

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## LETTER CCXXII.

*The Mayor and Aldermen of Exeter to Lord Burghley, to know the truth of the Hue and Cry that the Queen of Scots had fled.*

[MS. LANSD. 51. art. 42. Orig.]

\* \* Hume, speaking of the sentence against Mary Queen of Scots, says, "When Elizabeth thought that as many importunities had been used, and as much delay interposed as decency required, she at last

determined to carry the sentence into execution: but even in this final resolution she should not proceed without displaying a new scene of duplicity and artifice. In order to alarm the vulgar, rumours were previously dispersed that the Spanish fleet was arrived at Milford Haven; that the Scots had made an irruption into England; that the Duke of Guise was landed in England with a strong army; *that THE QUEEN OF SCOTS WAS ESCAPED FROM PRISON, and had raised an army; that the northern counties had begun an insurrection; that there was a new conspiracy on foot to assassinate the Queen, and SET THE CITY OF LONDON ON FIRE; nay, that the Queen was actually assassinated.*"

Two of these rumours form the subject of this and the succeeding letter; and their dates are remarkable. They are of the *third* and *fourth* of February. The Queen of Scots was beheaded on the *EIGHTH*.

---

OUR duties moste humblie remembred with our moste humble and hartie thanks to your good Lordshipp. May yt please your Honor to be advertizid We recyved the seconde of this Februarye, about the hower of one in th'afternowne, a Precepte herein enclosed for Hue and Crye to be made touchinge the fleyinge of the Quene of Scotts, which, accordinge to the same, we fearing the warste, did presentelic dispatche notwithstandinge the symplenes of the inditinge of the same and th'ordre thereof, without hande or seale of any Councillor or Justice, hopeinge in God that the contents thereof arr untrue; and for that we heare no farther certaynty of the contents thereof, and do perceyve that the rumor thereof with the watchinge, wardinge, and serchinge thereupon, which as yet we contynewe, yf the same come of any pollycie of the enemyes to her Majesty may breede some trouble or inconveniens to the Countrye, Wee

moste humblye pray to be advertized of the certayntie thereof, and to be directed from your Honor what ys farther to be done therein. And so commyttinge you to the Almighty who preserve you eternallye we most humblie take our leave. Exon the thirde of Februarie 1586-7.

Your Honors moste humbly to be comaunded

GEORGE SMITHE, *Maior*.

NYCHOLAS MARTYN.

THOMAS BRERETON.

(*Inclosure.*)

This are to charge you in her Majesties name upon payne of deathe, to make diligent searche, and hew and crye, every waye for the Queane of Skotts who is fledd, and to laye all high wayes and staye all barks and shipping in your harbours, for that the direction came from Mr. Howard Esquier. So yow kepe a standing watche daye and nyght untill yow receyve order to the contrary, and let this be dun by the chefe of your parishe. Honyton at xj<sup>en</sup>. of the clock in the forenoon this present Thursday.

THOMAS WARD,

*Constable of Honyton.*

This Hue and Crie to go to the Mayer of Exceter and so forth.

Rec. by David Colles of Honyton the seconde of February aboute one of the clock in the afternoon.

To the righte honorable our very good Lorde the Lorde High Treasurer of England yeve these with speede.

## LETTER CCXXIII.

*The Mayor and Aldermen of Exeter to the Lords of the Council to know if London had been set on fire.*

[MS. LANSD. 51. art. 43. Orig.]

RIGHTE honourable havinge receyved Hue and Crye that her Majesties Citty of London by the Enemyes ys set one fyre, and thereby ar commaunded to have our men and armor in redynes upon payne of death in great haste, as by a Copie of the same Precepte of Hue and Crye which is herein enclosed apperes, we hopinge in God that the same premysses ar untrue, and yet fearinge the worste have caused our men and armor accordingle to be in redynes, have thought good to adresse this bearer to your Honors for the certaine knowledge of the premises; praying your Honors to voucesafe to sende us your direccion in the premisses. And thus most humblie take our leave Exon the iiij<sup>th</sup>. of February at the hower of one in the nighte 1586.

Your Honors most humblie  
to be commanded

GEORGE SMITHE *Maïor of Exon.*

NICHOLAS MARTYN.

THOMAS BRERETON.

RICHARD PRAY.

(*Inclosure.*)

This ar in the Quenes Majesties name to charge and commaunde immediatelie upon sight herof to sende like Preceptes fower manner of waies from Towne to Towne to make your armor and artillery in redynes, and that with all speed upon paine of death, for London is set one fyre; for M<sup>r</sup>. Turllett of Austen le Well brought this worde from the Bell the first of Februarie. Sende this to Exeter with all spede.

WILLIAM BOWERMAN,  
*Justice.*

R<sup>d</sup>. this from Sampforde Peverell this present Satterdaie the iiij<sup>th</sup>. of Februarie 1586, at viij of the clock in the Eveninge.

Rec. this by the handes of Roberte Smyth of Colompton the iiij<sup>th</sup>. of Februarie at x. of the Clock in the nighte.

WILLIAM KYRKHAM. WILLIAM MARSTON.  
EDWARD HERTE.

This ar in her Majesties name streightlie to charge and commaund you that upon the sight hereof you sende like precepts two or three waies fro Tithinge to Tithinge to set your men in armour with all speede uppon paine of death, for London is one fire. Let this go to Exeter upon horseback. Hast, hast, hast.

THOMAS WARDE,  
*Constable of Honyton.*

R<sup>d</sup>. from M<sup>r</sup>. Collins this iiij<sup>th</sup>. of Februarie about viij. of the Clock at night.

R<sup>d</sup>. this by Phillip Balston of Honiton vntler, betwixt the houers of ix. and x.

By me

ROGER CHANDON.

To the righte honorable The Lordes of her Majesties moste honorable Pryvy Councell.

## LETTER CCXXIV.

*The Lords of the Council to the Earl of Shrewsbury  
Earl Marshal of England, directing the execution  
of the Q. of Scots.*

[MS. KENNETT, vol. xlvi. fol. 93. FROM THE PAPERS OF DR.  
NATHANIEL JOHNSTON.]

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AFTER our right hearty Commendations to your good Lordship, this bearer Mr. Robert Beale who your Lordship knoweth to be honest, wise, and trusty, cometh to your Lordship with a Commission under her Majesties hand and seale, having been directed to shew the same to our very good Lord the Earl of Kent, because his abode was in his way and for that he is second in the Commission, and your Lordship the principall, and for that it is convenient that Sir Amyas Pawlett be acquainted therewith the bearer is directed to come by him, and after to conferr with your Lordship how Mr. Pawlett may have knowledge of your minde to repaire unto your Lordship if his health can serve him. And so also the Earl of Kent may be ready to attend upon your Lordshippe at such time as by you shall be thought convenient. And so praying your Lordshippe to credit the bearer in such thinges as he is willed to signifie to your Lordshippe

on our behalfe we bidde your Lordshippe right hartely  
farewell. From Greenwiche in haſte the 3 of February  
1586. Your Lordshippes assured lovinge friends

WM. BURLEGH.	H. DERBY.
R. LEYCESTER.	C. HOWARD.
HUNSDON.	COBHAM.
F. KNOLLYS.	CH. HATTON.
FR. WALSINGHAM.	WM. DAVISON.

---

ON the back of this Letter from the Lords of the Council, by the ap-  
pointment of the E. of Shrewsbury, was written by another hand as  
follows :

“ Brought by Mr. Beale with the Commission the 6<sup>th</sup>. of February  
1586, at Orton Longueville ; with him came Sir Drew Drury ; and the  
7<sup>th</sup>. day went to Fotheringhay, and the 8<sup>th</sup>. of February executed the  
Scots Queen according to my Commission. Mr. Andrews the Sheriff of  
Northamptonshire I sent to bring her down to execution, and so I charged  
him with her body living, and with her dead corps.”

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THE READER shall now be presented with the identical Narrative of  
the Execution of the Queen of Scots, which was forwarded from Fo-  
theringay to the Court.

Two or three Statements of this Transaction were drawn up at the  
time. There was a Short one, copies of which are preserved in the Cot-  
tonian Manuscripts Jul. F. vi. foll. 246, 266 b. and Calig. B. v. fol.  
175 b. Another, a Copy of the Account of the Earl of Kent and Mr.  
Beale to the Lords of the Council, dated on the day, is preserved in the  
Cottonian MS. Calig. C. ix. fol. 163. And there is a Third in the State  
Paper Office, somewhat longer, said to have been drawn up by a Roman  
Catholic, evidently one of her servants.

The present Narrative is from the Lansdowne MS. 51. art. 46. It is  
indorsed in Lord Burghley's hand, “ 8 Feb. 1586. The Manner of the  
Q. of Scotts death at Fodrynghay, wr. by Ro. Wy.” Accounts of the  
Scottish Queen's death have been dressed up from this Document by  
several writers : but it is here given accurate and entire.



*“ A Reporte of the MANNER of the EXECUTION of the Sc. Q. performed the viijth. of February, Anno 1586 in the great hall of Fotheringhay, with Relacion of Speeches uttered and Accions happening in the said Execution, from the delivery of the said Sc. Q. to Mr. Thomas Androwes Esquire Sherife of the County of Northampton unto the end of the said Execution.*

“ First, the said Sc. Q. being caryed by two of Sir Amias Pauletts gentlemen, and the Sherife going before her, cam most willingly out of her chamber into an entery next the Hall, at which place the Earle of Shrewsbury and the Earle of Kente, commissioners for the execution, with the two gouvernors of her person, and divers knightes and gentlemen did meete her, <sup>a</sup> where they found one of the Sc. Q. servauntes, named Melvin, kneeling on his knees, who uttered these wordes with teares to the Q. of Sc. his mistris, ‘ Madam it wilbe the sorowfullest messuage ‘ that ever I caryed, when I shall report that my Queene and deare Mis- ‘ tris is dead.’ Then the Qu. of Sc. shedding teares, aunswered him, ‘ You ought to rejoyce rather then weepe for that the end of Mary ‘ Stewards troubles is now come. Thou knowest Melvin that all this ‘ world is but vanity, and full of troubles and sorowes ; cary this mesuage ‘ from me and tell my frendes that I die a true woman to my religion, ‘ and like a true Scottish woman, and a true French woman. But God ‘ forgive them that have long desired my ende ; and he that is the true ‘ Judge of all secret thoughtes knoweth my mynde, how that ever it ‘ hath been my desire to have Scotlande and Englande united together. ‘ Comend me to my Sonne, and tell him that I have not donn any thinge ‘ that may prejudice his Kingdom of Scotland ; and so, good Melvin, ‘ farewell ;’ and kissing him, she badd him pray for her.<sup>b</sup>

<sup>a</sup> The Earl of Kent and Mr. Beale’s Narrative says, “ there were present, We which have signed this Letter, Mr. Henry Talbott esquire, S<sup>r</sup> Edward Mountegewe knight, his son and heir-apparent, and William Mountegewe his brother, Sir Richard Knightly knight, Mr. Thomas Brudenell, Mr. Bevill, Mr. Robert and John Winge-field, Mr. Forrest, and Raynor, Benjamyn Piggott, Mr. Dean of Peterborough, and others.”

<sup>b</sup> The Earl of Kent and Mr. Beale relate this scene a little differently : they say, “ At the stayre foot she pawsed to speake to Melvile in our hearinge, which was to this effecte : ‘ Melvile, as thou hast byn an honest servaunt unto me, so I pray thee ‘ to contynue to my sonne, and commend me unto him. I have nott imyned his ‘ Religion nor the Religion of others, butt wyshe him wele. And as I forgive all that ‘ have offended me in Scotland, so I would he should also, and beseeche God that ‘ he would send him his hollye spirytt and yllumynate him.’ Melvill’s aunswere was that he would so doe, and at that instant he would beseeche God to assist him with his spirytt. Then shee demanded to speake with her Priest which was denyed unto her, the rather for that she came with a superstityous payre of beades and a crucifix. She then desired to have her women to helpe her, and uppon her earnest

Then she turned her to the Lordes and told them that she had certayne requestes to make unto them. One was for a some of mony, which she said Sir Amias Paulett knewe of, to be paide to one Curle her servaunte; next, that all her poore servauntes might enjoy that quietly which by her Will and Testamente she had given unto them; and lastly that they might be all well intreated, and sent home safely and honestly into their contries. 'And this I doe conjure you, my Lordes, to doe.'

Aunswere was made by Sir Amias Paulett, 'I doe well remember the mony your Grace speaketh of, and your Grace neede not to make any doubt of the not performance of your requestes, for I doe surely thincke they shalbe graunted.'

'I have,' said she, 'one other request to make unto you, my Lordes, that you will suffer my poore servauntes to be present about me at my death, that they may reporte when they come into their cuntryes how I dyed a true woman to my religion.'

Then the Earle of Kente, one of the commissioners, aunswere, 'Madam it cannot welbe graunted, for that it is feared least some of them wold with speeches both trouble and greive your Grace and disquiett the company, of which we have had allready some experience, or seeke to wipe their napkins in some of your bloode, which were not convenient.' My Lord,' said the Q. of Sc. 'I will give my word and promise for them that they shall not doe any such thinge as your Lordship hath named. Alas! poor sowles, yt wold doe them good to bidd me farewell. And I hope your Mistres, being a mayden Queene, in regard of womanhood, will suffer me to have some of my owne people aboute me at my death. And I know she hath not given you so straight a commission but that you may graunt me more then this, if I were a farr meaner woman then I am.' And then (seeming to be greeved) with some teares uttered thes wordes; 'You know that I am cosin to your Queene, and discended from the bloode of Henry the Seventh, a maryed Queene of Fraunce, and the anoynted Queene of Scotlande.'

Whereupon, after some consultacion, they graunted that she might have some of her servauntes accordinge to her Grace's request, and therefore desired her to make choice of halfe a dosen of her men and women: Who presently said, that of her men she wold have Melvin, her poticary, her surgeon, and one other old man beside; and of her women, those two that did use to lye in her chamber.

After this She, being supported by Sir Amias two gentlemen aforesaid, and Melvin carying up her trayne, and also accompanied with the Lordes, Knights, and Gentlemen aforementioned, the Sherife going before her, she

request, and sayinge that when other Gentlewomen were executed shee had redd in Cronycles that they had women allowed unto them, yt was permytted that shee should have twoe named by her selfe, which were M<sup>rs</sup>. Curle, and Kennedie."

passed out of the entery into the great Hall, with her countenance carelesse, importing thereby rather mirth then mournfull cheare, and so she willingly stepped up to the scaffold which was prepared for her in the Hall, being two foote high and twelve foote broad, with rayles round aboute, hanged and couered with blacke, with a lowe stoole, long cushion, and blocke, couered with blacke also. Then, having the stoole brought her, she satt her downe; by her, on the right hand, satt the Erle of Shrewsbury and the Erle of Kent, and on the left hand stode the Sherife, and before her the two executioners; round about the rayles stood Knightes, Gentlemen, and others.

Then, silence being made, the Queenes Majesties Commission for the execution of the Queen of Scots was openly redd by Mr. Beale clarke of the Counsell; and thes wordes pronounced by the Assembly, 'God save the Queene.' During the reading of which Commission the Q. of Sc. was silent, listening unto it with as small regarde as if it had not concerned her at all; and with as cheerfull a countenance as if it had been a Pardon from her Majestie for her life; using asmuch straungenes in worde and deede as if she had never knowne any of the Assembly, or had been ignorant of the English language.

Then on<sup>a</sup> Doctor Fletcher, dean of Peterborowe, standing directly before her, without the rayle, bending his body with great reverence, began to utter this exhortacion following: 'Madame the Q. most excellent Ma<sup>tie</sup>. &c.' and iterating theis wordes three or fowre tymes, she told him, 'Mr. Dean, I am settled in the auncient Catholique Romayne religion, and mynd to spend my bloode in defence of it.' Then Mr. Dean said, 'Madame, chaung your opinion and repent you of your former wickednes, and settle your faith onely in Jesus Christ, by him to be saved.' Then she answered agayne and againe, 'Mr. Deane, trouble not yourselfe any more, for I am settled and resolved in this my religion, and am purposed therein to die.' Then the Earle of Shrewsbury and the Earl of Kente, perceavinge her so obstinate, tolde her that sithence she wold not heere the exhortacion begonn by Mr. Dean, 'We will pray for your Grace, that it stande with Gods will you may have your harte lightened, even at the last howre, with the true knowledge of God, and so die therein.' Then she answered 'If you will pray for me, my Lordes, I will thanke you; but to joyne in prayer with you I will not, for that you and I are not of one religion.'

Then the Lordes called for Mr. Dean, who kneeling on the skaffold staires, began this Prayer, "O most gracious God and merciful Father, &c." all the Assembly, saving the Queen of Scots and her servauntes, saying after him. During the saying of which prayer, the Queen of Scots,

<sup>a</sup> one.

sitting upon a stoole, having about her necke an *Agnus Dei*, in her hand a crucifix, at her girdle a pair of beades with a golden crosse at the end of them, a Latin booke in her hand, began with teares and with loud and fast voice to pray in Latin; and in the midst of her prayers she slided off from her stoole, and kneeling, said divers Latin prayers: and after the end of Mr. Deans prayer, she kneeling, prayed in Englishe to this effecte: 'for Christ his afflicted Church, and for an end of their troubles; for her sonne; and for the Queen's Majestie, that she might prosper and serve God aright.' She confessed that she hoped to be saved 'by and in the blood of Christ, at the foote of whose Crucifix she wold shedd her blood.' Then said the Earle of Kent, 'Madam settle Christ Jesus in your harte, and leave those trumperyes.' Then she litle regarding, or nothing at all, his H. good counsell, went forward with her prayers, desiring 'that God wold avert his wrath from this Ilande, and that he wold give her grieffe, and forgiveness for her sinnes.' These, with other prayers she made in English, saying she forgave her enemyes with all her harte that had longe sought her blood, and desired God to converte them to the truth; and in the end of the Prayer she desired all Saintes to make intercession for her to Jesus Christ, and so kissing the crucifix, and crossing of her also, said these wordes, 'Even as thy armes, O Jesus, was spredd here upon the Crosse, so receive me into thy armes of mercy, and forgive me all my sinnes.'

Her prayer being ended, the Executioners, kneeling, desired her Grace to forgive them her death: who answered, 'I forgive you with all my harte, for now, I hope, you shall make an end of all my troubles.' Then they, with her two women, helping of her up, began to disrobe her of her apparell; then, She, laying her crucifix upon the stoole, one of the executioners tooke from her necke the *Agnus Dei*, which she, laying handes of it, gave it to one of her women, and told the executioner that he shold be answered mony for it. Then she suffered them, with her two women, to disrobe her of her chayne of pomander beades and all other her apparell most willingly, and, with joy rather then sorrowe, helped to make unready her selfe, putting on a pair of sleeves with her owne handes which they had pulled off, and that with some hast, as if she had longed to be gonn.

All this tyme they were pulling off her apparell, she never changed her countenance, but with smiling cheere she uttered thes wordes, 'that she never had such groomes to make her unready, and that she never put off her clothes before such a company.'

Then She, being stripped of all her apparell saving her peticote and kirtle, her two women beholding her made great lamentacion, and crying and crossing themselves prayed in Latin; She, turning herselfe to them, imbrasinge them, said thes wordes in French, '*Ne crie vous, j'ay prome*

*pour vous,*' and so crossing and kissing them, bad them pray for her and rejoyce and not weepe, for that now they should see an ende of all their Mistris troubles.

Then She, with a smiling countenance, turning to her men servauntes, as Melvin and the rest, standing upon a bench nigh the Scaffold, who sometye weeping sometye crying out alowde, and continually crossing themselves, prayed in Latin, crossing them with her hand bad them farewell; and wishing them to pray for her even untill the last howre.

This donn, one of the women having a Corpus Christi cloth lapped up three-corner-ways, kissing it, put it over the Q. of Sc. face, and pinned it fast to the caule of her head. Then the two women departed from her, and she kneeling downe upon the cussion most resolutely, and without any token or feare of death, she spake a lowde this Psalme in Latin, '*In te Domine confido, non confundar in eternam,*' &c. Then, groping for the blocke, she layed downe her head, putting her chynne over the blocke with both her handes, which, holding there, still had been cutt of had they not been espyed. Then lying upon the blocke most quietly, and stretching out her armes cryed '*In manus tuas, Domine,*' &c. three or fowre tymes. Then She, lying very still on the blocke, one of the executioners holding of her slitely with one of his handes, she endured two strokes of the other executioner with an axe, she making very smale noyse or none at all, and not stirring any parte of her from the place where she lay; and so the executioner cutt off her head, saving one litle grisle, which being cutt asaunder, he lift up her head to the view of all the Assembly, and bad '*God save the Queenc.*' Then, her dressing of lawne falling off from her head, it appeared as grey as one of threescore and tenn years old, polled very shorte, her face in a moment being so much altered from the forme she had when she was alive, as few could remember her by her dead face. Her lippes stirred up and downe a quarter of an hower after her head was cutt off.

Then Mr. Dean said with a lowde voice, 'So perish all the Queene's Enemyes;' and afterwards the Earle of Kente came to the dead body, and standing over it, with a lowde voice said, 'Such end of all the Queenes and the Gospells enemyes.'

Then one of the Executioners pulling off her garters, espied her litle dogg which was crept under her clothes, which could not be gotten forth but by force, yet afterward wold not departe from the dead corpse, but came and lay betweene her head and her shoulders, which being imbrued with her bloode, was caryed away and washed, as all thinges ells were that had any bloode was either burned or clean washed: <sup>a</sup> and the Executioners

<sup>a</sup> The Narrative in the Cottonian MS. Jul. F. vi. says, "The bloodye clothe, the blocke, and whatsoever was else bludye, was burnt in the chimney fier."

sent away with mony for their fees, not havinge any one thing that belonged unto her. And so, every man being comaunded out of the Hall, except the Sherife and his men, she was caryed by them up into a great chamber lying ready for the surgeons to imbalme her."

There is a Transcript of this Report in the Cottonian Manuscript Calig. C. IX. fol. 465., with a Dedication to Lord Burghley, evidently intended, at the time, for publication as a separate Tract.

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### LETTER CCXXV.

*Robert Carvoyle of Berwick to Secretary Walsingham,  
after the death of the Scottissh Queen.*

[MS. COTTON. CALIG. C. IX. fol. 171. *Orig.*]

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RIGHTE Honorable my dutie remembred, these are to sertefie your Honor that I have bene in Scotland ever synce the last of February and colde get no dispatche untill Monday the sixt of this Instant att nyne of the clock in the mornynge; and then I receyved (att th'ands of the secretary whoe rulethe the Courte) a Letter to Mr. Carie, from hym, by warraunte from the Kings Matie. which was to this effecte, that he showlde write that the Kinge wolde receyve no Embassador as yet, partly by reason of his hevines and sorowyng for his Mother, and also for that he is not resolved that the Quenes Matie is so sory for his mothers death as he was informed she was. And

further because he cannot stave the Rigor of his people, being wickedly bent and evell given, as I bothe hard and sawe with myne eyes; for there is dayly Libells sett upp in open strete, and cast into the Pulpit boathe ageynst the Kinge himself, the Master of Gray, Mr. Archibald Dowglas, and the Preachers; and amongst the rest, the fourth of this instant, there were two sett upp att my Lodgings very odious and detestable ageynst the Quenes Matie. the Coppie wherof I have sent you herein closed; which Two I toke off, and the one I gave to the Secretary to shewe the Kinge, the other Mr. Robert Carye hath to sende to my L. Chamberlayne. And truly I fynde, for all this sturr that the Secretary is very well incliened towards her Matie. and a favorer towards the mayntenance of peace and amitie, and the Kinge hymselfe also. But towching the sendinge awaye of Embassadors in to other Countries, they are not yet fully agreed; and towching the Mr. of Gray and his doinges, Your Honor shall here more in Roger Ashton his packquet. And so untill my next I humbly take leave, comyttynge Your Honor nowe and ever to the protection of th'Almightie, trustinge you will accept my good will. Barwick in hast the vj<sup>th</sup>. of Marche 1586.

Yo<sup>r</sup> Honor<sup>s</sup> to my power

ROBERT CARVYLE.

Poste script.

Curcell's man stands fast and firme, and is ready to

be employed when I shall here from yo<sup>r</sup> Honor. It were good that the Secretary were used, for he is very gret. Your Honor shall receyve a Pacquet from Roger Ashton.

(*Inclosure.*)

“ Fruere pro funere fune.

To Jesabell that English heure,  
Receyve this Scottishe cheyne,  
As presagies of her gret malhouer  
For murthering of owre Quene.

The Chayne was a little Corde of hemp, tied halter-wise.”

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## LETTER CCXXVI.

*Thomas Randolph to Secretary Walsingham. The King of Scots indisposed; he depends upon the Queen: wishes for some persons of her Majesty's hunting establishment to be sent to him.*

[MS. COTTON. CALIG. C. IX. fol. 221. *Orig.*]

\* \* James the Sixth, it is probable, forgave Elizabeth for his mother's death much sooner than his people did. Within three months of that event, by the testimony of the present Letter, “ he determined *wholly to depend upon her Majesty; and to run her fortune AGAINST THE WHOLE WORLD.*” He departed suddenly from Edinburgh to Falkland, merely “ to see the deer that her Majesty had sent him, *to be taken out of the Carts and put into the park,*” but with one little void in his wishes, “ He hath prayed me,” says Randolph, “ that by your Honour her Majesty may be moved to lend him, for the space of two months, a couple of her Majesty's yeomen prickers, and a couple of the grooms of the leash. He prayed me also to put your Honour in remembrance of some horses and geldings.” James was *politically*, not *PERSONALLY* acquainted with his mother.



IN my last I wrate unto your Honor that the King was come from Fawklande and gone to Dawkeith to passe his time two or thre dayes. The second night after his cominge thither he fell into a greate losenes of his bodye and withall had a very great vomet. He continued thus sicke for the space of xxiiij<sup>tie</sup> howers, and after that begininge to amende, the next morninge found him selfe very well, and so continueth. Upon Wedensdaye he came agayne to this Towne, he supped at the M<sup>r</sup>. of Grayes howse, to th'end he might the more convenientlye and more secretlye speake with M<sup>r</sup>. Archibale Duglas then at the Courte. Of his departewre so sodenlie to Fawkland (which in deede was but to see the deare that her Majestie sent him to be taken owt of the Carts, and to be put into the Parcke) the speach was common that he was gone to the Lords of the other faction, and that all the countenance and shewe of favoure to th'other noblemen was but disguised and fayned. This being found falce, and his disease known, the brute was incontinent that he was poysoned, though indeed yt was but a passion after some disorder of some meate eaten, or excessive travell, wherof indeed he taketh to muche. He being now fullie and wholie recovered I spake with him this daye.<sup>a</sup> With reverence I prayed him to forbear those excedinge travels and exercises of his bodye; but he had rather impute the cawse of his sicknes unto

<sup>a</sup> 6 Ma.

any other thinge then unto that. Fawling into talke of the Amitie and League, I find him remayne constant in that mind that he was of at the first, and that he ys determined wholie to depend upon her Majestie, and to roone her fortune agaynst the whole worlde. The danger of the late conspiracie against the noble men now in credit, ys cleane cut of as in all apparance.

Captayne James Steward ys now in Ireland with James Macconell as the King ys suerlie advertised. His wyfe commaunded to repayer within viij. dayes to Lovet to her owne Countrye, and not to come agayne untill she be sent for, or to enterwarde into the Blackness.

Coronell Steward hath his Lettres drawne with licens and favour of the K. to travell for a space wher he will, and in the same Lettres ys recommended to all Princes for ther favor.

Yf now the Ministers and Bisshoppe of St. Andrews agree at this Assemblie, I heare of no greate matter like to trowble this State excepte yt be fatall to the Nation never to remayne longe quiet.

I have ben earnest for the expellinge of the Jesuits and speciallye to have Hoult delivered, which ys assured unto me shalbe yf he or any other remayne in this Countrye. The Lord Maxwell and Johnstone like to agree, as also the Master of Glams and the Erle Crayford.

Lord Maxwell cometh as oft to the Sermons as any of the Lords doe, and the infection of Poperie beinge removed (of which ther ys good hope) he wilbe in shorte time to be compared in wisdom with the wisest nobleman in Scotland.

The Master of Glames and the Secretarye have gotten of the King the wardshippe and marriage of the Erle Mongomeris sonne, being but two yeares of age, which in the time of his non age ys thought wilbe worth unto them xM<sup>li</sup>. starlinge. Whatever men get from him, I find that litle cometh to his owne purse, and this I see he must do or have noe life amonge them.

What hath passed betwene the King and M<sup>r</sup>. Archibald him selfe can best reporte, onelye this I can say that by the Kings report to me he standeth bounde to her Majestie, in whose name noe demaunde can here be refused, not so much as the request in favoure of the poore woman that ys mother alredye to xlj. children, and now agayne with child with one or two more.

Now that her Majestie hath furnished this King with deare sufficient to make him pasetime for this Sommer, he hath prayed me that by your Ho. her Majestie may be moved to lend him for the space of two monethes a cowple of her Majesties Yeomen prickers and a cowple of the Groomes of the Leese, he prayed me alsoe to put your Ho. in remembrance of some Horses and Geldinges.

Ther came latelie to Leith to smale barcks besids

those that last I wrote of, the one from Callice, the other from Bouloigne. That of Calais brought Letters to this Embassador. Ther pretence ys for Sault, what other arrant soever they have had hether. Yesterdaye the Emb. had audience of his busines at this time. I knowe nothings as yet.

At Eden: this 7 of Maye 1586

Yo<sup>r</sup>. Ho. ever to commande

THO. RANDOLPH.

To the right honorable Sr. Francis  
Walsingham, Principall Secretarye  
to her Ma<sup>tie</sup>.

THERE is a very curious Paper in Randolph's handwriting in the Lansdowne Manuscript vol. 53. art. 1. which charges James with receiving large sums of money from the English Court in the very year of his mother's death.

“ Memorandum that Anno Domini 1585 I was sente into Scotlande by her Majestie to the Kyng ther. I receavede by Her Majesties order out of th'Eyschecker 2000*l.* to be employed for her Highenes service upon the noblemen and other then at my discretion, and as I found cawse, which some of monie I bestowede as then I was wylled, and as the same was employed from tyme to tyme advertised by my Lettres to M<sup>r</sup>. Secretary Walsingham, as in some of my Lettres of that yere unto his Honour it may appere, as also be founde in some Notes or Coppies of Lettres wrytten by my selfe and yet remayninge amonge Wryttings of Scottysse cawses, for the tyme of my beinge ther in that yere. This I wryte for my discharge; for that other Accompte I canne make none, *nor yet of the 4000*l.* which I delivered unto THE KYNGE SELFE by lyke commandements from her Matie in A<sup>o</sup>. 1586, for that, in such cases, nether Princes gyve Bylles of their handes, nor any other that receive the lyke rewardes or guifts from Princes, for daynger or reproche unto themselves for receavinge of the same.*

“ Sondrye other tymes since her Majesties reigne I have received divers other great somes of monie to be delivered as well to my L. of Murraye as my L. Morton and other, for which I have no bylles of ther handes to shewe, nor was ever wylled to demande anye, but by my Lettres adver-

tisede of the paymente ther of, and therin my worde and wrytinge sufficientlie creditede, as also suche monie as at sondrye tymes I have geven for Intelligens, and non farther accompte made then my own worde and credit, as the lyke is used to all other Embassadors in her Maties service.

Two thousand pounds I delivered to Mr. Robert Brown, for which I have a bylle of his hande.

Wrytten by me the 8<sup>th</sup> of Octobr  
1587 at my howse in London.  
THO. RANDOLPH."

Strype, in his Annals, vol. iii. p. 382. has quoted from the Cottonian Library, James's SECOND THOUGHTS for not revenging his mother's death, and they are not unaptly introduced here. He says, "I am unable to revenge the heinous murder committed on *my dearest Mother*. First in respect of my tender youth, not trained up in dexterity of arms, either to withstand injuries or to conquer mine own right; being, at all times bygone, detained in captivity. Next my excessive cowpita<sup>a</sup> from *hand to hand*, from *needy to needy*, to GREEDY and GREEDY; having sufficient patrimony and casualty, and yet as none at all in store."

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## LETTER CCXXVII.

*Walter Stokes at Rouen to Dr. Elye, on the state of Affairs in England after the Execution of the Queen of Scots.*

[MS. LANSD. 96. art. 27. Orig.]

AFTER I had delivered my last letters to be sent to you, we harde of the imbarkeing of showgiars<sup>b</sup> at Deape, & abought a weake after of maney moore sent

<sup>a</sup> cupidity?

<sup>b</sup> soldiers.

to Bullen the same waye, but to what eande we can not learne for certentie. I mett with Syster Elizabeth Saunders at Deape, out of Englande, of home I heare of greate scarsitie theare, & muche troble for the Catholicke fayth; and that Mr. Pylcher, with two layemen, wheare executed in Dosssetsheare about Easter last as the yeare gooeth with us. The partey that came with hir brought the Statutes, the abstracte heareof shalbe heareinclosed yf I can have leasuer to wryte them forth. My lorde Chaunseler & Sir Raffe Sadler ar bothe dead of late, and Sir Amiaus Paulet, the Queene of Scottes keeper, is in great disgrace for hir execusion, as also one Davisonne, secretarye, is in the Tower, and put from his office, and deapely fyned also, for not proceeding with the Queene of Scottes according to his mistresses commaundement at the deliverye of the warrant, which was *not to put yt in execution before the Realme should be actually invaded by some foran power.*

Of Scotlande we have no greate newes, but that an ambassador is at Paris to demaunde helpe as the Scotchmen will nedes have yt. Wade is retourned, & oure Shippes released, & yet doo some marchantes will thayer factors to make saale of all with speede & to take reddyed mooney. Oure feere of troble contineweth, & greate scarsitie of Cornne which is soulded heare for abowe xiis. the Englysshe busshel, &, we feare, will not bee had for aney money, by meanes that

Englysshe & Hollenders doo interceptte all that cometh from Dansce,<sup>a</sup> & have taken of latte at one tyme 35 shippes laden with corne.

A frenche man comming out of Englande telleth of strainge dealing at sea by Englishemen and Hollenders, that no man passeth unrobbed & stripped even to his skynne; & that Drake is soore beaten & hath lost some of his shippes, as the reporte gooeth in London; the lyke was heare also in Roan but not beleaved, & but in fewe mens moothowes.<sup>b</sup> Written lybelles ar sett up in London against the Frenche inhabitans theare, & other straingers theare, threatening theare death yf thay doo not departe by some shorte daye; greate reportes also of mucche sturre with the Scottes in the northe, & that thaye doo keepe Barweake from vitelles, & have stayd some of our nobilitye being sent theether, which I doo scarce beleeve; he telleth also of the death of some other Noblemen, as the Earle of Rutlande & Northumberland, & others which he cannot name.

Theare ar comme to Roanne this night two Englyshemen, of home we expectte newes; yf thay will parte with aney you shall have them. Dwcke Neveers is made governor of Pickerdie, & a strayte edictke is publyshed anewe against the heretickes from the Parliament at Parris.

Our countryemen saye that Mr. Pylcher was exe-

<sup>a</sup> Dantzick.

<sup>b</sup> mouths.

cuted of late as I saide before; Mr. Hambden at Salisbury; two prestees at Gloster, one was Mr. Saundes in summer laste; one other preste to death at Worster, whoes name I cannot name, which I was desierus to have learned because of our frende Mr. Shawe. The Earle of Pendbrooke president of Wales. I can not performe my former promisse as towching the abstracte of the statutes, nother can I, for lacke of tyme, to continew my letter aney longer; whearefore I take my leave for this tyme. From Roan this present xth. of Maye

WALTER STOKES.

To his worshipfull frende Mr.  
Doctor Elye geve thes at Mus-  
siexaunt.

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### LETTER CCXXVIII.

*The Warden and Fellows of All Souls College Oxford  
to Lord Burghley, that they cannot let their woods  
as the Queen would wish to Lady Stafford.*

[MS. LANSD. 54. num. 16. *Orig.*]

\* \* \* This and the succeeding Letter are introduced, merely to show in what trifling domestic matters the Court formerly interfered: even to the granting of a College-Lease. In this instance the Queen herself had had some discourse with Lord Burghley. The alarm of the Fellows of All Souls when called upon to leave their names behind them is not unamusing.



OUR humble duties premised to your good Lordship. Whereas hir Majestie hathe latelie had some speech with your H. touching a letter which hir Highnes writt to us in the behalf of the Ladie Stafford, for the graunting her a lease of our woodes in Middlesex. Which considering that hir Majestie took it to be a thing neither unusual nor prejudicial for the house to let, she loked we should withoute stay or question have yelded to; & bicause it is not granted, hir Highnes will is now we should without stay either passe such a lease to the Lady Stafford, or else that Mr. Warden repaire to Coort, there to attend on your H. and make his answere, all which your H. hath given us the warden & felowes of Allsoln Colledge in Oxofñ by your honorable letters to understand. May it please your H. hir most excellent Majestie writ unto us for such a lease, wherin when we were asked our opinions, we did all of us think we could not yelde therunto: for such reasons as afterwardes we gave in part with supplication unto hir Majestie, which reasons, ere they came to hir roial handes, we thought it dutie & wisdom to make our visitor the L. Archbishop of Canterbury, & Sir Francis Walsingham with them acquainted; who did both of them like the same so well, as Mr. Secretary undertook, withoute our furder trouble, to deliver the same unto hir Majestie; which he did as we here in Julie last; the truthe wherof we took & take to be such, as therupon til now we nothing

doubted but hir Majestie of hir princely clemencie had well allowed of the same. But that the same our answer notwithstanding; the saide suite should now be renewed again & urged also by your Honour's letters so effectually, it doth not a litle (in a sort) dismay us. Howbeit, that your lordship may both in yourself conceive better of us, & by your means unto hir Majestie, helpe us also to be better thought of then it semes we be; we will shew your lordship plainly what moveth us herein to do as we do. First we know the College cannot possibly defray its ordinary expenses without some other help, over & beyond the ordinary revenues: which charge hath bin usually & is yet especialli born by our woodes: oute of which we did alweis cut, more or lesse, yerely as necessity required: the greatest parte of which woodes are these in Middlesex. Agein we never let our woodes but once, & that by great oversight, which being perceved, means were made that they were presently (withoute any profit to the lessee) surrendred agein unto the College: & this one tyme we trust your lordship will not count an use. Besides, if misfortun sholde befall the College, as fire, ruin, invasion, or sutes in lawe; our only refuge is the College woodes. Moreover, our tenauntes thereaboutes have had & have sufficient fireboot, plowbote, tymber, &c. which can neither now be leased from them, nor if it sholde, can it be chosen but their fines or rentes or both must likewise abate. Lastlie, what decay & spoile

hereby may hapen unto our woodes (besides the altercation aboute the same, bicause they be dispersed here & there in hedgerowes in our tenantes groundes,) we cannot tell. And where it is thought a certaintie of yerely rent should be more commodious to our Colledge then the casual falles, sith our charge is somtyme more & somtymes lesse, we finde it most convenient by our own experience to take of them as nede requireth as oute of a Treasury; which cannot anywaies by a set rent be supplied.

All which things compared with the state of the Colledge, & every one of our oathes, namely. "*Quod dicto Collegio fidelis ero, DAMNA, scandala, vel PREJUDICIA dicto Collegio nullatenus faciam, aut quatenus in me fuerit fieri sustinebo,*" we cannot see how possibly we can yelde therto.

Now wheras your H. writeth that the Lord Archbishop our Visitor hath thought hir Highnes request very reasonable, & therefore moved us to yeld therto, we assure your Lordship it is nothing so, as by his Graces letters it may & dooth appere. And thus having truly set down our myndes, we humbly praie it may be taken in the best sense; & that your H. will become our favorable intercessor unto hir Majestie, whome we have bin alweis redy to our powers to gratify in all things, as these bearers well can shew; though much & manifest have bin our hindrance. And so most humbly begging of your good Lordship, & by your H. also of

hir Majestie, the good opinion of dutifull & loving subjects, which we dezire no longer of God to lyve then we shalbe alweis found & dezerve to be accounted, we take our leaves. Allsowles College in Oxon. 21<sup>o</sup> die Augusti 1587.

Your Lordships ever most  
humble at comaundment

*The WARDEN and FELLOWS of*  
*ALLSOULEN COLLEGE in OXON.*

To the right honorable the Lorde  
High Treasurer of England, oure  
verie especiall good Lorde.

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### LETTER CCXXIX.

*The Warden and Fellows of All Soules College Oxford  
to Lord Burghley, intreating him to pacify the  
Queen's displeasure.*

[MS. LANSD. 54. num. 22. *Orig.*]

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RIGHT honorable oure very good Lorde. As we have bin troublesom to your Lordship in solliciting your H. to be a means to hir Majestie in oure mater of woods which the Ladie Stafford was a suitor for, so we thought it our dutie to let youre H. knowe what ende we have obteyned therin. Which is

this. Mr. Vicechamberlin having made hir Majestie acquainted with our answere, saith, that as he cannot say hir Majestie is well pleased therewithall, so yet he seeth no cause to stay us longer at Coort, but that leaving a CATALOG of all OUR NAMES we may depart, till we here more from hir Highnes (if hapely it please hir Majestie to send agein); which that it may not hapen he honorablie promiseth his good endeavour. Nowe as we knowe not howe highlie hir Majestie may be displeased with us, nor to what ende this *Catalog* may tend, so most humbly we beseech your Honor, as best knowing the inconveniencies of such a leasse, for the favor you beare to Larning, upon any good occasion, to pacifie hir Majesties displeasure towards us; and to shewe your opinion of the whole cause, best knownen to your H. In which youre Honors doing, as we assure oureselves, your Honors credit with hir Majestie shalbe hable to countervaile all sinister informations ageinst us; so shall we & our Successors have cause to continue a most honorable memorie of this your Lordships great favor to oure College.

Your honors ever most humble  
at commaundement.

*The* WARDEN and FELLOWES  
of ALLSOWLES COLLEGE in OXFORD.

To the right honorable the Lorde  
Treasorer of England, our verie  
especiall good Lorde.

## LETTER CCXXX.

*B. C. an English Spy to his Government upon the preparation of the Spanish Armada.*

[MS. HARL. 295. fol. 190. Orig.]

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Madrid 28 May 1588.

MY laste was owte of this towne of the laste of Aprill whiche I sent by waye of Italie, not havinge better commodytie for the place and tyme, whiche, presently, is full souspitious. This do I sende by the waye of Lion, whiche perhappes maye arryve before the other. My Journey into Portugall, and the money I lefte to one there, coste me mutche, as in my former I wrote; synce whiche I have had more particular advises as herin I sende yow. And althoughe I judge this Navie (nowe in a redynes under the castell of Belem expectinge wynde to sett sayle) maye be in your quarters before these come to your handes, yett woulde I omyt no occasion to wryte, seyenge that where heretofore I was in the number of the incredulous, yet nowe beinge in place where I maye here and see, I confes to be in the wronge; for nowe I am owte of dowte they will in very dede that waye: so that the Lyghtnyng and Thunder clapp wilbe bothe in a moment.

From Dunkerke is lately come to Lisbonne a smale shipp with good spede, havinge passed in vij daies; she bringethe from the Duke of Parma certayne pillottes for the conducte of this Armye, and sayethe that upon all the couste of our lande she never sawe one sayle, and further avowethe that the saide Duke mutche solycytethe the departure of the Armata. The newes here from Constinople<sup>a</sup> are, and that duplicate, howe Ebrami Bassha, generall of the sees, ys to yssue with a hundred galleys, and that these Gouvernors of Thunis, Trypoli, and Argell,<sup>b</sup> with others of the coaste of Barbary, have in redynes fyftie more to joyne with hym; wherby is expected grete spoyles upon the coastes of this Kinges domynions; to the beste remedye wherof that presently maye be, is ordeyned horssemen, and the prince made generall of those seas puttethe in order eighty galleys to followe and to annoyne them; accomptinge that in October they must of force retyer.

About xvj monthes agone was taken a Youthe entringe Spaine owte of France, about Fontarabie, who hath given owte his person to be begotten betwene our Quene and the Erle of Leycester; borne at Hampton courte, and furthwith by the elder Assheley delyvered into the handes of one Southorne the servant to Mrs. Assheley, with charge upon payne of death that the sayde Southorne shoulde not revele the matter, but bringe ytt upp; who brought the babe to

<sup>a</sup> Constantinople.

<sup>b</sup> Algier.

a myllers wyfe of Mowlsey to gyve ytt sucke, and afterwards the said Southorne goynge into his countrey whiche was Wurcester or Shropshier, caried with hym the chylde, and there brought ytt up in learnynge and qualyties. In the ende, discoveringe unto this youthe the whole secrete, he tooke a flyght over sees, where many yeres he hathe remayned untill his commynge hyther. His name is Arthure, and of xxvij yeres of age, or there about. This forsoothe ys his sayenge, and takethe upon hym lyke to the man he pretendethe to be; wherupon he wanteth no kepers, and is very solely warded and served, with an expence to this Kinge of vj crownes a daye. If I had myne Alphabet I woulde saye more towchinge his lewde speches; and yf I maye I will do hym plesure, specially beinge called to accompt about hym, as yt is tolde me I shall shortly be; the kinge beinge informed that aboute that time I served in Courte, whereby I maye saye somewhat to this matter.<sup>a</sup>

Here in this towne and countrey are grete prayers, processions, fastinges, and almes, for the happy succes

<sup>a</sup> This sort of scandal was not confined to Queen Elizabeth. In the Lansdowne MS. 53. art. 79. is a very curious Examination taken by virtue of Letters from the Lords of Queen Elizabeth's Council in 1587, respecting one Anne Burnell who was stated to have announced herself as the daughter of PHILIP KING OF SPAIN, and that "*it might be QUEEN MARY WAS HER MOTHER,*" she being *marked* "*UPON THE REYNES OF HER BACK*" *with the ARMS OF ENGLAND*. Her wits it was discovered were troubled, through great misery and penury, and the slighting of her Husband. To be serious, however, that Queen Elizabeth had her private attachments no reasonable man who peruses the documents and histories of her time can doubt. They probably operated against her entering the married state more than any physical cause: though to soothe the wishes of her people the Queens intention of marrying continued to be rumoured and encouraged almost to the end of life.



of this Armata, in this cause of God nowe more then ever in hande. I hope yow there will joyne with us here in harte and spyrit in suche sort as ones wee maye mete at home with the suer enioyenge of the trewe catholycke religion in our countrey; wherof wee maye nowe the better hope, seyng our Quene ys sayde here to have sent Batson the Ihesuyte to Rome aboute overture with hys Hollynes to be réconcyled, which God graunt, and allwaies preserve yow. Madrid the xxviiij<sup>th</sup> of May 1588.

Yours to use.

B. C.

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### LETTER CCXXXI.

*The Queen to the Marquis of Winchester and the Earl of Sussex, Lieutenants of the County of Southampton, TO PREPARE AGAINST INVASION.*

[MS. COTTON. TIT. B. II. fol. 203. Orig.]

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By the Queene.

ELIZABETH R.

RIGHT trustie, and righte welbelovid cousines wee greete you well. Whereas heertofore upon the advertismentes, from time to time and from sondrie

places, of the great preparations of foren forces, made with a full intente to invade this our Realme and other our dominions, wee gave our direccions unto you for the preparinge of our Subjectes within your Lievetennauncies to be in readines for defence againste any attempte, that mighte be made againste us and our Realme, whiche our directions we finde so well performed, that we cannot but receive great contentemente therbie, bothe in respecte of your careful procedinges therin, and also of the greate willingenes of our people in generall, to the accomplishment of that wherunto they weare requiered. Shewinge therbie their great love, and loyalltie towardes us, which as wee accept most thanckfullie at their handes, acknowledge ourselves infinitlie bounde to Almightye God, in that hit hath pleased him to blesse us with so lovinge and dewtifull Subjectes: so wolde wee have you make hit knowen unto them on our behalfe, forasmuche as we finde the same intention not onlie of invadinge, but of makinge a conquest also of this our Realme, nowe constantlie more and more detected, and confirmide as a matter fullie resolved on (an Armie beinge alreadie put to the Seas for that purpose which we doubt not but by godes goodnes, shall prove frustrate), wee have theerfore thoughte meete, to will, and requier you forthewith, with as muche convenient speede as you maie, to call together at some conveniente place or places the best sorte of gentelmen

under your Lievetennancie, and to declare unto them that consideringe these great preparacions and arrogante threatninges nowe burst owte in action upon the Seas, tendenge to a conquest, whearin everie mans particular state is in the hiest degree to be towched, in respecte of Countrie, Libertie, Wiffe, Childeren, landes, life, and that which speciallie to be regarded, for the profession of the trewe and sincere Religion, of Christe; and layinge before them the infinite and unspeakeable miseries, that followe upon any suche accidente and change (which miseries ar evidentlie seene by the fruites of the harde and crewell governmente that is holden in Countries not farre distante, wheare suche chaunge dothe happen, whatsoever pretence is otherwise geven forthe for the cause of Religion) wee doe looke that the most parte of them shoulde have, upon this instante extraordinarie occasion a larger proportion of furniture, bothe for horsemen and footemen (but especiallie horsemen) then hath bin certified, therbie to be in ther best strenghte against any attempte whate soever, and to be employed bothe abowte our owne parson and otherwise, as they shall have knowledge geven unto them, the number of which larger proportion as sone as you shall knowe, wee requier you to signifie to our privie Counsell, heerunto as wee doubt not but by your good indevoures, they wilbe the rather conformable, So allso wee assure ourselves, that Almightye God will so blesse their loyall

hartes boren towards us their lovinge Sovereaigne and their naturall Countrie, that all the attemptes of any ennymies whatesoever shalbe made voided and frustrate, to their confusion, your comfortes, and to Godes highe glorie. Geven under our signet at our mannor of Greenewiche the xvijth. daie of June 1588, in the xxxth. yeere of our Raigne.

WINCHESTER.

To our right trustye and right welbeloved Cousins the Marques of Winchestre and the Earle of Sussex, Lieutenants of our Countie of South<sup>t</sup>.

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THE details of the regular force which the English assembled to oppose the Armada, both by sea and land, are minutely given in a Manuscript formerly belonging to the Royal Library.<sup>a</sup>

It opens with a copy of the Lord Admiral Howard's Commission for returning to the Seas in August, 1588. The different descriptions of Vessels which formed the Queen's Navy are next enumerated, amounting in all to a hundred and eighty-one ships, manned by 17,472 sailors.

The military force consisted of two armies, one for immediately opposing the enemy under the Earl of Leicester; the other for the defence of the Queen's person, commanded by Lord Hunsdon. The army appointed for the defence of Her Majesty's person amounted in the total to 45,362, beside the band of Pensioners; with thirty-six pieces of ordnance. The total of Lord Leicester's army amounted to 18,449. The sum of both armies to 63,511, beside 2000 foot who were expected from the Low Countries. The forces of the Presidentship of the North remained there, to answer the service in case any thing should be attempted on the side of Scotland; the forces of the Presidentship of Wales were also stationary; nor were any forces drawn from the Counties of Derby, Stafford, Lincoln, Salop, Chester, Lancaster, or Cornwall.

<sup>a</sup> MS. Reg. 18 C. XXI.

## LETTER CCXXXII.

*Sir Edward Radclyffe to the Earl of Sussex. The Queen's Visit to the Camp at Tilbury.*

[MS. COTTON. OTHO E. IX. fol. 180 b. *Orig.*]

\* \* \* Bishop Kennett, in one of the volumes of his manuscript Collections, <sup>a</sup> now in the British Museum, has preserved a copy of part of a Letter from the Earl of Leicester to the Earl of Shrewsbury dated from the Camp at Tilbury, August 15th, 1588.

“ I have been in continual toil and business since my coming to the Camp, but now God be thanked the most difficulties are passed which lay most upon my own head: and our gracious Queen hath been here with me to see her Camp and People, which so inflamed the hearts of her good subjects, as I think the weakest person among them is able to match the proudest Spaniard that dare land in England. *But God hath fought mightily for her Majesty*, and I trust they be too much daunted to follow their pretended enterprize.”

The Armada had been defeated in a series of Actions from the 21<sup>st</sup> to the 28<sup>th</sup>. of July 1588; though, as will be seen in the present Letter, the soldiers of the Duke of Parma were still expected by more than common rumour to embark upon their Enterprize.

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. . . Lo. may perhaps condemn me of nev . .  
 . . . in all this time written unto you; but . .  
 . . . I could hardly heer of any messinger nor . .  
 . . . . . comming to the camp could I learne

<sup>a</sup> MS. Lansdowne, 982. fol. 111 b.

how to send . . . . . mett with Mr. Chayre by whom I was desierus to discharge thys part of my dutye. Her Majestie hath honored our Camp with her presence, and comforted many of us with her most gracious usage. It pleased her to send for me into my Lord generalls tent, and to make me kiss her hand, giving me many thanks for my forwardness in this service, telling me I shewed from what howse I descended, with many gracious words of your Lordship's good service, assuring me that before it wear long, she would make me better able to serve her, which words being spoken before many did well please me, however the performance follow.

My Lord admiralls returne is, I ame suer, knowne unto your Lordship long before this. Whilst her Majestie was at dinner in my Lord Generalls tent, ther came a post and brought intelligence that the Duke with all his forces was embarkt for England, and that he would be hear with as much speed as possibly he could. The newes was presently published thorow out the Camp, to what end I know not, but noe preparation is made for the sending for more men, which maketh us thinke the newes untrew, we having in the whole camp of horse and foot not above 16000. I feare to troble your Lordship overlong with my scribled Letter; therefore with the remembraunce of my humble service to your Lordship, my good Lady, and my Lord Fitzwaters, I take leave, desiring the

Almightye to prossper you all to your best contentements. From Burntwood this x<sup>th</sup>. of August.

Your honor's most humbly, and  
very redy to be commanded,

EDW. RADCLYFFE.

To the right honnorable and my  
singuler good Lord the Earle of  
Sussex, Captaine of Hir Maties.  
Towne of Porchmouth be thes dd.

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### LETTER CCXXXIII.

*Daniel Rogers to Lord Burghley, upon the state of  
Denmark. A. D. 1588.*

[MS. LANSDOWNE 57. art. 30. Orig.]

\* \* \* This Letter is of value, as shewing the relative feelings of England and Denmark toward each other in 1588. Elizabeth had sent to condole the death of Frederick the Second; immediately after whose interment, his son Christian the Fourth, then but eleven years of age, was proclaimed King of Denmark and Norway, and four Regents appointed to manage the administration of affairs till he should arrive at the age of legal maturity. The Crown of Denmark was then elective. Christian the Fourth visited England in the reign of James the First.

Maximilian archduke of Austria, whose imprisonment is alluded to, was the son of Maximilian II<sup>d</sup>. and brother of Rodolph II<sup>d</sup>. He had been chosen King of Poland, in opposition to Sigismund who had been chosen by others of the nobility in 1587, but endeavouring to defend his title by arms was defeated and taken prisoner. Sigismund III<sup>d</sup>., his antagonist, was son of John III<sup>d</sup>. King of Sweden.

Something will also be found in this Letter concerning the external relations of Sweden and Muscovy.

RIGHT honorable although about the end of the last month I sente a dispatche unto Mr. Secretarie by one of my servauntes, which I trust his honnor hath imparted unto your Lordship, yet I thought good, having obtayned a lyttle more leasure, to write likewise unto your Lordshipp, by which your Lordship may understande that both the Queene and the yonge King of Denmarck<sup>a</sup> have thought verie well of the causes for which I was sente unto them; which both highlie do esteeme of the benevolence of her Majestie towardses them, in condoling by so open a manner; as likewise for that it pleased her Majestie to offer the continuance of her friendshippe so bountifullie, in this their afflicted estate: for which causes I have been caressed here after the best manner. The fowre Governors have travelled likewise, both severallie and joyntelie, to declare unto me effectuallic how well they be affected to the maintenaunce of all good correspondencie to be entertained with the Crowne of Englande.

As for the arrestes in the Sounde, although by reason of great complaintes made against our pirattes,

<sup>a</sup> The following List of the Children of Denmark of whom Anne afterwards the Queen of James the First was one, taken in 1582, occurs in the Lansdown MS. 35. fol. 55. It is followed by the names of the chief persons, the counsellors, and the senators of the kingdom.

“ Elizabetha primogenita, nascitur Coldingæ 25 Augusti anno 1573.

ANNA, nascitur Scanderburgi 12 Decembris anno 1574.

CHRISTIANUS, electus Daniae &c. Rex, nascitur Friderichsburgi 12 Aprilis anno 1577.

Huldarius, nascitur Coldingæ 30 Decembris anno 1578.

Augusta, nascitur Coldingæ 8 Aprilis anno 1580.

Hedwigis, nascitur Friderichsburgi 5 Augusti anno 1581.”



some were bente to graunt a staie of our shippes, I have dealt so earnestlie with them in this matter as they have all fowre promised unto me that there shall from henceforward no more be permitted. Yea I procured that certaine goodes to the value of 60000<sup>l</sup>. sterlinge, appertayninge to certaine Englishmen, confiscated the day before I came, were by my quicke intercession all released. I delivered my negotiation which I had to passe with them (being thereunto requested) in wryting, to th'intente I might have their aunswere lykewise in wrytinge. The copie of that which I delivered over unto the Governours in Latin, I sente in my last packett unto Mr. Secretarie, wherebie your Lordship may perceave that I have touched divers thinges whereof I had no charge, and yet could not but move them, having regarde unto the circumstances of this present time. There were certaine which had recaved Commissions from the kinge of Spaine to serve him with certaine shippes, mariners, and souldiors uppon the seas, which being invited with great stipends, thought they might so doe: but being advertised of this matter, as they were ready to departe, I complained unto the Governours declaring how farre the attempt of such men were against the Leagues which were between the Crownes of England and Denmarke, and nothinge conformable unto the sincere freindshippe which had been betwixt her Majestie and the late Kinge their master. Uppon this complainte

of mine, although the parties pleaded their priviledges, the Governours tooke severe order that neyther they nor any other of the subjectes of the Crowne of Denmark or Norway, or apperteyning to the Dominions of the king, should eyther at this present or hereafter serve against her Majestie.

The Gentlemen of theis realmes have great libertie and authoritie, according as the antiquitie of their families may comend them. Two hundred yeres past, they had Lords, Earles, and Dukes, of which some encroching upon gentlemen, gave them occasion to oppose themselves, which became masters over the higher nobilitie, and afterward dealt with the king in such manner, that order was taken there should no greater nobillitie then Gentlemen, against whom the kinge can lyttle effectuate without the advise of the Counsellors of the realme, which are wont to be twenty-four in number: but at this present there are but twenty. They ought all to be borne in the kingdome of Denmarke and Norway, and now being but xx<sup>tie</sup>. two of them are Germans, one borne in the Dukedome of Mecklenburghe, and the other in Holsatia. As for the other dukedomes of Sleswycke and in Holste, the king hath other Councillors, eleven in number, at this present. The deceased kinges brother, Duke John, hath shewed himselfe to be miscontented, for that being a king of Denmarkes sonne, and a king of Denmarkes brother, and uncle to the present kinge, yet the Estates

have neglected him, not making him an overseer of his nephew, the yonge elected king, neyther lefte him anie parte of government, as he thought they would have done, and as in Germanie the manner amongst the electors and princes is in use; but the nobillitie of the realme of Denmark, to the intent they might maine- teine their libertie, alleage that the estate of the princes of Germanie doth depend uppon succession by inherit- aunce, and not by election, by which the Kingdome of Denmarke consisteth. There are likewise some other gentlemen, which for enormous faultes had been sett at great fines by the late kinge, which in this nonage of the yonge kinge stomacke at the matter, and travell by such freindes as they have, to have the said fines restored unto them againe. There be likewise manie gentlemen which pretend that the last king did greatlie prejudice their liberties in huntinge, which at this pre- sent do urge to recover their auncient priviledges, and insiste that strangers be not suffred to sitt in Councell. In appeasing theise and the like dissentions, the authoritie and carefullnes of the Chancellor is highlie commended, who is even the Pearle of Denmarke; who of late hath been verie sicke. If God should have taken him away, I assure your Lordship there might have ensued extreame confusions in theis Kingdomes. The foure Governors have been appointed by the rest of the Senators of the realme, and but for one yere; at the end whereof, four others are to be chosen, during

the kinges nonage. Howbeit it is thought that the Chancellor and the Treasurer must allwaies continue, for they are not minded to Crowne the yonge kinge, before he come to just yeares, and to such judgment, as he may know unto what condytions he shall sweare. The estates of the Countrie have delivered up to the fowre Gouvernors certaine articles which they would have to be followed and observed; who gouverne verie warily, not forgetting their owne kinsfolkes, which they doe greatlie advaunce, and do travell to heape great treasures for the kinges use, wherefore they doe discharge manie that served the last kinge, who was wonte to have Dukes and Earles in his Courte, which he mainteyned, allowing to some xij. horses, to some more, and to some lesse, with verie good stipendes, which they thinke this Kinge, by reason of his nonage, may well wante.

Monsieur Dansey the French kinges Embassador doth thinke that this kinge of Denmarke is one of the richest Kinges in Europe, because he is nothing indebted, and hath great treasure laid up for his use, which yet at this time is all ruled by the disposition of the four Gouvernors. Besides the revenues of the toll of Elsenoer, I have learned, that the king hath yerelie to the value of two hundred thowsand dollars, for the custome of Hamburghe and Rostocke beare,<sup>a</sup> with which the whole realme is served, with such other

<sup>a</sup> Beer.

toll as he receaveth for oxen and horses, which yerelie are carried out of these Countries, besides the revenues of seven Bishoprickes of Denmarke and Norway, which are alltogether confiscated to the Crowne, the Bishoppes of which jurisdictions were wonte to be great princes and as it were the electors of Denmarke, which were all suppressed, and their Bishoprickes annexed to the Crowne by the late king and his father. The Queene of Denmarke hath her dowrie allotted unto her in the Islandes of Falster and Lolande, most fertile countries, which are right over against the Duke of Mecklenburghes her fathers dominions: which Queene is a right vertuous and godlie princessesse; which with a motherlie care, and great wisdom, ruleth the children; unto whom all Embassadors do addresse themselves, in the presence of the fowre Governours, which indeed rule all.

Henrie Rammell, although he is none of the fowre Governours, yet is the cheifest about the Queen and Kinge, neither without him doe the fowre Governours anie thinge at all. He is the mouth of the whole realme; a man indued with great giftes, and who hath seen much, and is verie eloquent, and knoweth more of the government and estate of the whole world then all the rest of the Counsellors; between whom and the chancellor is great freindshipp. Amongst other gentlemen of great name, none was in greater favor with the last kinge, nor at this time better liked

of in the whole Courte, then Gert Ranzow, sonne to the kinges Lieutenaunte in Holsatia, which Gert is Connestable of the castle and jurisdiction of Croenburghe, as also Captain of the kinges guardes, who being but of the age of xxxj<sup>tie</sup>. yeres, hath seen the most part of Europe, having besides been at Constantinople and in Egipte, and speaketh many Languages, who after his returne from Spaine, being sent thither by the last king, came to the Court of Englande, and there spake with Mr. Secretary; he is a man that hath great desseins, borne to great honnor, and offreth his service unto her Majestie, promising to bring unto her Highnes, when she shall require it, 3000 footemen and 1000 horsemen; of which his offer I thought it my dutie to make here some mention, for that according as thinges may fall out he hath meanes to doe greater service unto her Majestie then some Princes have; for by his fathers authoritie and wealth he can doe much, and in despite of the Empire, having havens of his owne neare unto the sea, may send over into England forces, when he shall perceave that her Majestie will desire it; whereas at this present, the princes of Germanie have so strictlie bound their subjectes, that if her Majestie would have anie forces from thence, she must wryte unto manie princes for to have that favour shewed unto her: besides, that if her Majestie use this Gert Ranzow, she may spare great expences, because that Princes will have greater allowances then

he would demand, of whom I thought good to write thus much, because that if her Majestie commaunded me, at my departure to consider with myselfe out of what places of Germanie she might readiest have forces in case necessitie should enforce her to send for forraine power.

Amongest others which have condoled and congratulated the yonge Kinge, the emperor of late sent one, and withall a faire coche with six great horses unto the kinge; desiring him to employ his credit for the deliverie of his brother the Archduke Maximilian, even as his father had done the best for the recommending of him and his brother Archduke Matthias, for the advauncinge of one of them to the Crowne of Polande, about which matter all the princes of Austria, with their kindred, are especiallie busie. The Pope hath sent the Cardinall Aldobrandinus into Polande, where he hath been royallie receaved.

The king of Spaine hath likewise used his credit, and, at the Emperors request, the most part of the princes of Germanie have sent their Embassadors. Their intent is eyther by faire or fowle meanes to have the Archduke Maximilian to be delivered, who of late did his best to escape away, which is the occasion that he is now the streightlier looked unto. There be 2000 men which keepe watch about him, which they constrain the Archduke to mainetaine. The Chauncellor told me of late, that he had receaved letters out of

Polande, by which he is advertised, that the Chauncellor of Polande doth offer these conditions for his deliverie: First that the emperor his brother do restore certaine castles in Hungarie unto the Polonians: Secondlie, that he take to wife there yonge kinges sister, with the best part of Livonia for her dowrie: Thirdlie, if God do take away their kinge, and he doe survive, that they will choose him for their kinge: or if he shall have anie male child by the said wife, that they will bind themselves to electe him.

The king of Sweden his<sup>a</sup> father, at this present holdeth a parliament, to the intent he may conclude what is best to be done with the Muscovites; for that the *iiij*<sup>or</sup>. yeres treues, about the beginninge of the next yere, wilbe expired. The Lituaniens at the time of the election of their yonge kinge, made peace with the Muscovites for fourteen yeres, which peace was confirmed by their yonge kinge; so that the father feareth that his sonne shall not be able to induce the Polonians and Lituaniens to assist him against the Muscovites.

The king of Sweden is counted very ticklish in matters of religion; he causeth manie superstitious and popish ceremonies to be reduced into the Church, which offendeth manie. He is not accounted the wisest; he is vaine and loftie; unto whom I purpose to send Monsieur Varrhall, one whom the erle of Lei-

<sup>a</sup> The King of Poland's.



cester commended unto me, who being a Licenciate of Law, may follow the cause of Mr. Allen, which the Queenes Majestie herselfe commaunded me to take care of. The plague doth merveilouslie raigne in Sweden, at this time, which hath consumed whole Townes.

At my first comminge to the Courte of Denmarke I mett with Adam Cians Baron of Podelitz, Duke Casimires Embassador, who in the behalfe of his master, dealt with the cheifest princes of Germanie, to appointe some place and time where they might consult together, how by a league they might in time occurre against the dangerous practises of the papistes. For which cause, the Gouvernors of Denmarke have given him a favorable aunswere, promising that they wilbe glad to further the Dukes request, and will send their Embassadors, at the ende of August, to joyne with Duke Ulricke of Meckleburg his Embassadors; which joyntelie shalbe sente unto the elector of Saxonie, to accelerate the meetinge, which Duke Cassimire desireth: which elector of Saxonie gave unto the sayd Baron Podelitz likewise a favorable aunswere.

The late king of Denmarke a lyttle before his death wrote a pithy letter unto the said Elector his nephew, to induce him the sooner to embrace this matter, and withall gave him advyce to take heede of two counselors about him, Scoenbercke, and Ponnitz; unto which

the French kinge of late, notwithstanding his owne wante, had sent 10,000 French Crownes.

Being come this farre, I am advertised, that the emperor mistrusting he shall not obtaine the deliverie of his brother the archduke Maximilian out of prison, travelleth to appointe a Diett or meeting of the princes of Germanie, to the intent they might be all induced to contribute for the levyng of forces to be emploied against Polande for the procuring of the said Archdukes libertie: But the Electors and other princes of Germanie knowing the cause of this desired Diett, do excuse themselves having shewed themselves, by the way of entreatie, readie to deale for the said Archdukes deliverance. With these occurrences I desire your lordship to be contented at this present, fearing least allreadie I have been over tedious unto your lordship in sending so longe and confused a letter. I beseech the Allmightie God to confirme your lordships health and to prosper and give good successe unto all your honor's endeavors. From Roschilde the x<sup>th</sup>. of August 1588

Your Lordshippes most humble  
at commaundement

DANIEL ROGERS.

*Senatores et Consilarii Regnorum Daniæ Norwegiæ &c.*

Nicolaus Kaas, Dominus de Tarup: Cancellarius  
Regis.

Petrus Guldenstern de Tym, Regni Marescallus.  
 Petrus Monck de Estuatgaard, Regni Admirallius.  
 Georgius Rosenkrantz de Rosenholme, Magister  
 Palitii.

Christopherus Valckendorfe de Glorop, Thesaurarius.

Steno Brahe de Knudsturp.

Georgius Skram de Thielle.

Mandropius Passeberg de Hagisholme.

Ericus Hardenberg de Matterup.

Haguinus Ulstandt de Huckeberg.

Andreas Binge de Midsturp.

Henricus Bellow de Spitterup: Vicarius Regis in  
 Jutlandiâ, et Capitaneus Arcis Coloniae.

Axel Guldenstern de Lyngbui, Vicarius regni Nor-  
 wegiani.

Corvitiuſ Wiffert de Ness.

Absolon Goie de Kielsturp.

Jacobus Schefeld de Wisborn.

Breida Rantzow de Rantzouisholm.

Christianus Skele de Fusingor.

Albertus Frys de Harritzkier.

Arvidus Huitfeld de Odersberg, Regni Cancellarius.

*Ducatum Slesvicæ et Holsatiæ Consilarii.*

Henricus Rantzovius, Dominus de Breidenborg,  
 Præfectus Segebergensis.

Petrus Rantzow de Troiburg, Præfectus Flensbur-  
 gensis.

Johannes Blome de Sehedorfs, Præfectus Hadersle-  
biensis.

Johannes Rantzow de Hasselberg, Præfectus Ren-  
desburgensis.

Benedictus de Alefelde, de Lemkulen.

Georgius Schested de Nortescche.

Detleuus Brocktorff de Schreuenborn.

Daniel Rantzow de Sehegaard.

Henricus Alcfeld de Saturpholme.

Nicolaus de Alcfeld, de Geltinge.

Christopherus Rantzow de Guernbeck.

*Nomina aliorum Officiariorum Primariorum.*

Stein Maltizen, Marescallus Aulæ.

Gerardus Rantzovius Connestabilis Regiæ Kronne-  
burgensis, & Capitaneus Prætorianorum Regis.

Eustachius van Tunen, Præfectus stabuli Regis.

Henricus Rammel Præfectus & Gubernator Regis,  
& Consiliarius.

Jonathas Gutzlaubius, J. V. Doctor, Cancellarius  
Ducatum Slesvicæ & Holsatiæ.

Absolon Jul, Secretarius Danicus.

Johannes Buckholt, Præfectus Insulæ Islandiæ.

To the right honorable my verie  
good Lorde the Lo. Burgheley,  
knight of the noble order of  
the Garter, one of her majesties  
most honn<sup>ble</sup>. privie counsell, and  
Lo. highe Th<sup>r</sup>rer. of England.

## LETTER CCXXXIV.

*George Longe to Lord Burghley. Desires a Patent for Glass-making. He states how that Art came first to England.*

[MS. LANSD. 59. art. 72. Orig.]

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To the right honourable the Lord Burgleighe  
Lord Treasurer of England.

ATT what tyme that Troubles began in France and the Lowe Countryes, so that Glass could not conveniently be brought from Loraine into England, certaine Glassmakers did covenant with Anthony Dollyne and John Carye, merchants of the saide Low Countryes, to come and make Glass in England. Wheruppon Dollyne and Carye obtained the Patent for making of Glass in England in September the ix<sup>th</sup> yeare of the Queene's Majesties raigne for xxj. years ensueinge under these conditions, to teache Englishmen and to pay custome, which Patent was fully expired a yeare ago.

Carye and Dollyne, having themselves no knowledge, were driven to lease out the benefitt of their Patent to the Frenchmen, who by no means would teach English-

men, nor at any tyme paide one peny custome. Cary being dead, Dollyne tooke vj<sup>d</sup>. upon a Case of Glass.

For not performance of Covenants, their Patent being then voide, about vj. yeares after their Grant, other men erected and set on worke divers Glasshouses in sundry parts of the Realm, and having spent the Woods in one place, doe dayly so contynue erecting newe Workes in another place without checke or controule.

About vij. yeares past, your Honour called them that kept the Glashouses before you, to knowe who should paye the Quene's custome, whose answere generally was, that there was no custome due, but by condicions of a speciall priveledg which no one of them did enjoye, and they not to paye custome for comodities made within the Realme. Thus hath her Majestie beene deceived and still wilbe without reformation.

I most humbly desire your Honor to graunt me the like Patent, considering my pretence is not to contynue the making of Glass still in England, but that therbye I maye effectually repress them. And wheras there are now fifteen Glashouses in England. Yf it so like your Honor (granting me the like Patent) to enjoyne me at no tyme to keepe above ij. Glashouses in England, but to erect the rest in Ireland, wherof will ensue divers commodityes to the commune wealth, according to the effect of my former Petition.

The Woods in England wilbe preserved.

The superfluous Woods in Ireland wasted, then which in tyme of rebellion Her Majestie hath no greater enemy theare.

The Country wilbe much strengthened, for every Glashouse wilbe so good as twenty men in garison.

The Country wilbe sonner brought to civilitye, for many poore folke shalbe sett on worke.

And whereas her Majestie hath now no peny proffitt, a double custome must of necessity be paide. Glass be transported from Ireland to England.

May it please your Honor to be gracious unto me and God willing, I will putt in sufficient securitye not only to performe all things concerning the Patent, but also (thankfully acknowledging the good I shall receive by your Lordshipp) to repaire your Honor's buildings from tyme to tyme with the best glasse, duringe the terme of the said Patent; and also bestowe one hundred Angells at your Honors appointment.

I have spoken to Dollyne as your Honor willed me, and may it please your Honor to appoint some tymes that we may both attend your Honor.

Your Honours poore Orator

GEORGE LONGE.

## LETTER CCXXXV.

*Dr. Whitaker to Lord Burghley, upon a false report that he had forbidden an Oration to be made in his College upon the Queen's Day.*

[MS. LANSD. 63. art. 86. Orig.]

\* \* \* Bishop Kennett, in one of his Manuscript volumes in the Museum, notices a Sermon preached at St. Paul's Cross the 17<sup>th</sup>. of November 1599 by Thomas Holland D. D. Professor of Divinity in Oxford, to which was annexed a Defence of the Church of England for the annual celebration of the day, 4<sup>to</sup>. 1601. The writer specifies the time when its observation began. He says, "About the twelfth year of the reign of her Excellency was the first practice of the public Solemnization of this Day, and (as farre forth as I can hear, or can by any diligent enquiry learne) the first public celebrity of it was instituted in Oxford by Dr. Cooper, being then there Vice Chancellor, after Bishop of Lincoln, and by remove from thence Bishop of Winchester; from whence this institution flowed by a voluntary current over all this Realme."

The Seventeenth of November is still kept as a holiday at the Exchequer, and at Westminster and Merchant Tailors Schools.

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AFTER my humble dutie to your honorable Lordship, a frend of myne that lately came from the Court, hath given me to understand, that a rumor is spred in the Court, and hath come to the eares of some of the most honorable Counsell, how that I on the Queenes day last did forbidd in our College an Oration to bee made in praise of her Majesties government. I thinke I am not without some bothe enemies and back-frendes; but that such a thinge should to such, and in such a place bee reported of mee, being so utterly untrue, and I am assured voide of all colour of truthe, I can-



not but marvell much. My humble suite to your Honor is, not to give credence to any such report, if peradventure by some meanes your Honor may heare of it: and also to repress it, that it goe no further to my discredite, which some perhaps seeke by theis sinister sleights. The truth is, I never forbadd, nor hindered any such oration, and wee had an oration in our Colledge hall on that night, pronounced by one whom I appointed myselfe for that purpose, whose name is Heblethwaite, now a fellow of the Colledge: at which oration I was present, and our whole company, and divers of other Colleges, whom I sawe and can name, if neede require. The action was solemne, with bone fiers in both the courtes of the Colledge, as also it hath bene ever since I came to this Colledge: and the report hath proceeded from some envious body, God knoweth whoe. My poore credit which I labour to keepe I humblie commend to your lordships honorable protection, beseeching Godd long to continue this happy and blessed governement, and your lordship, in health and honor to the greate good of this Church and common wealth. From St. Johns Colledge in Cambridge this 14 of Maie 1590.

Your honors in the lord to comaund.

WILLM. WHITAKER.

To the Right honorable the Lord of Burghley L. high Treasurer of England and Chancellor of the Universitie of Cambridge my verie good lord.

## LETTER CCXXXVI.

*King James the Sixth of Scotland to Queen Elizabeth.*

[MS. COTTON. VESP. F. III. fol. 38 b. *Orig.* ENTIRELY IN THE KING'S HAND.]

\* \* \* Francis earl of Bothwel's unsuccessful attempt to seize the person of James the Sixth at Holyrood House in the winter of 159 $\frac{1}{2}$ , and his similar failure on June 26<sup>th</sup>. 1592 when the King was at Falkland, form the subject of the present Letter. The Reader will find the particulars of both Conspiracies detailed in archbishop Spotiswoode's History of the Church of Scotland, fol. Lond. 1677. pp. 386, 389. From Falkland Bothwel fled first to the West borders and thence to England, where he was in reality protected by Elizabeth. The manner in which he afterwards surprised James in his palace, in 1593, is told by Spotiswoode, p. 395. In 1595 this turbulent nobleman fled to Spain, and thence to Naples, where he died a few years after the accession of James to the Throne of England.

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MADAME and dearest Sister, the residence of youre Ambassadoure heir quhom by ye are asuell advertishit of everie accident fallis out heir, as lykeuayes informit quhat my request or desyre is that ye sould do at this tyme, this I saye is the cause that stayes me untroubling you sa oft with my ouin Letters as other uayes I uolde doe; in speciall I doubt not ye are sufficientlie informid of this lait rare and rashe attempt confirming nou at Falklande that treason quhiche in winter thay comittid at Holy rude House; but Godd be praised quho gave the last the uorst successe. Nou it restis for me to hunt thaim the best I may, and

thairin to spair no painis nor traiuell, and for your pairt of concurrence alsuell that none of these traitouris shall finde refuge in any pairt of youre dominions, as also that ye will, according to youre ouin lauis and thaire just desertis, punishe suche of youre ouin leude subjectis as uere inducit by thaim to assist thaim at this deid. I doubt not in this cace of youre gode uill in respect of the straitt bande of amitie betwixt us, and besydis that, I leave it to youre consideration if this be not a perilluse president for all Princes. And because this turne uill of necessitie dryve me to extraordinarie chargiz I must hairtelie praye you at this tyme to send me that quhole summe of Annuitie quhiche I did the last yeire require of You; not that I ame ignorant of the greatness of youre present adoes, but that I trust ye uill in this turne turne your eyes a littell from looking upon youre ouin estait to blinke upon the necessaire cace of youre Friend. But remitting this and all other thingis to her louing consideration quho neuer yett failed me in any my adoes, I comitt yo Madame and dearest Sister to the protection of the Almichtie. From Edinburgh the fyft of Julie 1592.

Your most louing & affectionatt  
brother & cousin

JAMES R.

## LETTER CCXXXVII.

*The Earl of Essex to Lord Burghley, in favour of  
the Lady Walsingham.<sup>a</sup>*

[MS. LANSD. 71. art. 74. Orig.]

MY very good Lord, my Lady Walsingham, who since the death of her husband hath bene a troublesom sutor to your Lordship, doth now conclude all sutes with one request, which is neither great, nor in my opinion unreasonable. It is that your Lordship will help to free her from the debt of 1400 which Mr. Secretary was bound for for Mr. Bowes. Mr. Bowes will aunsuer yt to her Majestie in such tyme as shallbe assigned unto him for his other debts, yf, by your Lordship's favor such payment may be accepted. Though your Lordship graunt nott favor in these cases, because you are a good husband for the Q. yett I hope your Lordship will, in the case of a widow thatt is poore and frendlesse, shew more than ordinary consideration.

Att your Lordships commaundment

R. ESSEX.

To the right honorable my very  
good Lord the L. High Tresorer of  
England.

<sup>a</sup> This Letter is indorsed in pencil with the date of July 9, 1592.

## LETTER CCXXXVIII.

*The Countess of Shrewsbury to Lord Burghley: representing her care of the Lady Arabella.*

[MS. LANSD. 71. art. 2. Orig.]

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MY honorable good Lord; I resevyd your Lordships Lettre on Wedensday towards night, being the xx<sup>th</sup>. of this September, by a servant of M<sup>r</sup>. John Talbotts of Irelande. My good Lord I was at the first much trobled to think that so wicked and mischevous practises shold be devysed to intrap my pore Arbell and me, but I put my trust in th'Almighty, and wyll use such dilaigent care as I dobt not but to prevent whatsoever shalbe attempted by any wycked persons ageinst the pore chyld. I am most bounde to hyr Majesty that yt pleased hyr to apoynt your Lordship to give me knowledge of this wycked practyse, and I humbly thanke your Lordship for advertysinge yt; yf any such lyke hereafter be discovered I besech your Lordship I may be forewarned. I wyll not have any unknowen or suspected person to come to my howse. Uppon the least suspicion that may happen here, any way, I shall give advertisement to your Lordship. I have litle resort to me; my house is

furnished with sufficient company; Arbell walks not late; at such tyme as she shall take the ayre, yt shalbe nere the house, and well attended on; she goeth not to any body's house at all; I se hyr almost every howre in the day; she lyeth in my bed chamber. .If I can be more presise then I have bene I wylbe. I am bound in nature to be carefull for Arbell; I find hir loving and dutyfull to me, yet hir owne good and safety is not dearer to me, nor more by me rēgarded then to accomplish hyr Majestic's pleasure, and that which I think may be for hyr service. I wold rayther wyshe many deaths then to se this or any such like wycked attempt to prevayle.

About a yere since, there was on Harrison, a seminary, that lay at his brother's howse about a myle from Hardwyck, whome I thought then to have caused to bene apprehended, and to have sent him up; but found he had licence for a tyme. Notwithstanding, the seminary, sone after, went from his brothers, finding how much I was discontented with his lyinge so nere me. Since my comming now into the cuntrey, I had some intelligence that the same seminary was come ageyn to hys brother's howse; my sonn William Cavendysse went thither of a sudden to make serch for hym, but cold not find hym. I wryte thus much to your Lordship that yf any such trayterous and noughty persons (thorough her Majestye's clemency) be suffered to go abroad, that they may not harbor nere my

howses, Wyngfeld, Hardwik, nor Chattesworthe, in Derbyshire; they are the likest instruments to put a bad matter in execution.

On Morley, who hath attended on Arbell, and red to hyr for the space of thre yere and a half, shoed to be much discontented since my retorne into the cuntry, in sayinge he had lyved in hope to have som annuitie graunted him by Arbell out of hyr land duringe hys lyfe, or some lease of grounds to the value of forty pound a yere, alledging that he was so much damnified by leving of the Universitie; and now saw that if she were wyllinge, yet not of abylitye to make hym any such assurance. I understanding by dyvers that Morley was so much discontented, and withall of late having some cause to be dobtfull of his forwardnes in religion, (though I cannot charge him with papistry,) toke occasion to part with him. After he was gone from my Howse, and all hys stuff caried from hence, the next day he returned ageyn, very importunate to serve without standinge upon any recompence, which made me more suspicious, and the wyllinge to parte with hym. I have an other in my howse who will supply Morley's place very well for the tyme. I wyll have those that shalbe sufficient in lerninge, honest, and well disposed, so nere as I can.

I am inforced to use the hand of my sone William Cavendysshe, not beinge able to wryte so much my self for feare of bringing great payne to my hed. He

only is pryvy to your Lordship's Letter, and neyther Arbell nor any other lyvinge, nor shalbe.

I besech your Lordship I may be directed from you as occasion shall fall out. To the uttermost of my understanding, I have and wylbe carefull. I besech th'Almighty to send your Lordship a longe and happy lyfe, and so I will committ your Lordship to his protection. From my howse at Hardwyck the xxi<sup>st</sup>. of Sept. 1592.

Your Lordships as I am bound,

E. SHROUESBURY.

To the right honorable my very good Lord, the L. Burghley Lord Tresorer of Englande.

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## LETTER CCXXXIX.

*Anthony Hall the elder, to Lord Burghley, that his son Anthony might be made a Pursuivant.*

[MS. LANSD. 76. art. 21. Orig.]

\* \* \* In this Letter, which from the title to it should seem to be of ordinary cast, we have a singular disclosure. The Secretaries of the Queen of Scots, it will be remembered, were never confronted with her upon her Trial. Upon inquiry at the College of Arms, it does not appear that the suit made in this Letter was successful: no person of the name of Anthony Hall occurring in the Lists of the Heralds or Pursuivants.

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MAY yt please your Honnor, that where I am an humble suitor in the behalfe of my sonne Anthony



Hall, in respect of dyvers services that your honor & other my Lordes have commaunded me, as passing twice into France with the Seminarie preistes & Jesuites, being in number fast upon 60, as appeareth by certificates in the Counsell cheste of their good usages by me; as allso the conveighaunce of 4000 & 500 Irishe transported to Bristoll at two severall tymes, as appeareth by certificate delivered to your honors under the common seal of the Towne of Bristoll; *as allso the keeping of JAQUES DE NAA the Scottishe Queenes Secretarie SIX WEEKES, I, onely, lying on a pallet in his chamber* UNTILL HE HAD DISCOVERED ALL THE TRWETH HE KNEW TOUCHING THE SCOTTISH QUEENES TREASONS, testes Mr. Phillipps her majesties decipherer, & Mr. Fra. Mills; as allso my howse was possessed at your honors commaundment certayne dayes & nightes, whereby Ballard the preist, & Babington, with others of those trayterous crewe, were apprehended in a garden neere my house, testes Mr. Phillipps & Mr. Fra. Mills; as allso the keeping of Richard Randolphe (a professor in the lawe) in Bridewell and in the Counter as a prisoner, certayn dayes & nightes, who perswaded Bennett the preist that he should revoke those treasons whereof he had accused the Erle of Arondell, untill he had confessed all the treweth, testis Mr. Wade Clerck of the Counsell. In respect of which my loyall & dewtifull services, I humbly am a suitor that yt might please your

Honour to receive into the place of a Pursevant at armes my sayd sonne, a scholler brought up at Cambridg in Emmanuell Colledg, & since professing the Lawe at Barnardes Inne, & by my L. Andersons gifte Clarck in the prennitories office in the Common Place.<sup>a</sup> Notwithstaunding, I perceaving his inclination apt to gather gentlemens Cotes, as well on churche windowes, stone walles, as noble mens tombes, whereby he hath collected some thirty thowsand or more cotes of his owne tricking & wrighting, besyd a pretie skill in counterfeiting pictures after the lyfe or otherwise, am hereupon, knowing his sufficienty, by some of the said Officers at Armes made knowen unto me, humbly to beseeche your Honour to stand my good Lord in my sonnes suite, so shall yt worck in me a readynes & dewtie, whensoever your Honnors shall commaund me other or the like services, & he contynually bound, praying your Honnors long happines.

Your honnors humble

servitor to commaund,

ANTHONY HALL, *senior*.

To the right honorable his singular good Lord, the L. Bourghleigh L. high Thresorer of England.

<sup>a</sup> Prothonotaries office in the Common Pleas.

## LETTER CCXL.

*The Lords of the Council to the Lords Lieutenants of Sussex, to inquire what sons or kinsmen of Gentlemen in that County were beyond the Seas obtaining Education.*

[MS. HARL. 703. fol. 73.]

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To our verie good Lords the Lord Admirall and the Lord Buckhurst, the Lieutenants of the County of Sussex, and in their absence to the Deputie Lieutenants of that County.

AFTER our verie hartie commendacions, the Queenes Majestie finding noe small inconvenience to growe unto the Realme by sending out of the same the Children of many Gentlemen under colour of learning the Languages, wherby they are for the most parte bredd and brought uppe in the Popish religion and corruptnes of manners, to the manifest prejudice of the State heere; which her Majesty, desirous to reforme as a disorder of no small importance, hath geven order that Inquisition be made throughout the Realme what sonns of Gentlemen are at this present beyonde the Seas conveyed over at any tyme within seaven yeares last passed, and by what lycence they are gone. And for

such as are departed out of the Realme, if they be sonnes of anye Recusants or of such as doe conforme themselves in shewe onelie to avoide the danger and penalties of the Lawes, it is not to be doubted but that the intention of their parents hath bene to have them brought upp and instructed in Poperie: and of those, many doe become Seminarie Priests, Jhesuits, and unsounde subjects, and sent hither to pervert such as are dutiefull and well inclyned, and to practice thereby to disturbe the quiett and happie governement of her Majestie. Wee therefore for the better execution of her Majesties direccion in this behalf, have made speiall choice of you as of persons in our opinions meete for your loyallties and affection to her Majestie and the good of the Contrye, to be ymployed in this service, and doe hereby require and auctorize you and every of you, joyntlie and severallie, by all good meanes to enquire and examine what Gentlemen within that Countye have at this present any sonnes, kinsemen, or other persons, whose education hath bene committed to their chardge, or whome they doe relieve or any way mayntaine out of the Realme, being sent over under colour to learn Languages or for any other respectes, not being notoriouslie employed in her Majesties martiall services, or trade of merchandize, as apprentices or factors to knowne Marchaunts, and to sende us a cathologue of the names as well of the fathers and parents or of their tutors and patrons, as of the sonns

and other parties so sent over or mayntayned, in what parts they are, and how long they have been absent. And of those fathers, parents, and other frends by whome any such have bene sent out of the Realme, yf any of them be founde to be Recusants, or have bene evill affected, and in your knowledge are but faynedlie reformed, you shall cause bonds to be taken in good sommes of money to her Majesties' use for their personall appearance before us by a certen day, by you to be prefixed; and before the bonds so taken, you shall by auctoritie hereof enter and make search in their howses, for Jhesuits, Seminarie Priests, and other suspected persons, and apprehende and committe them to prison yf any suche shall be founde; as also to open and make search in their closetts, chests, desks, and coffers, (onelie for books, lettres, and wrytings that may anie way concerne matter against the State or the Religion here established) which you seaze and send hither unto us forthwith; signifying the manner of your proceedings, and your oppinions of the men and the matters appearing by your search against them, that wee uppon their appearance may take order with them aswell for the revocation of their sonns and kinsmen as for any matter that by your endeavours may be discovered against them. And if the residence of anie of theis shall happen to be farre distant from you, or any one of you, then may you by vertue of theis our Lettres make choice of such one or twoo

honest gentlemen, being Justices of the Peace and not partiallie affected towarde them, inhabiting neare unto them, to whom you may give direction for the performance of the search, &c. And for your particular Warrant therein you may sende unto them a coppie of this our Lettre under your hand (which shalbe unto them as sufficient as the originall unto you). Herein wee require you to use your best and uttermost endeavours, and with as much convenient dilligence as you may, to retourne us your orderlie Certificat, answering the severall poynts of theis our Lettres and Direccions. Soe fare you well. From Hampton Court the last of December 1593.

We leave to your LL. to appoint your Deputie Lieutenaunts and such of the Justices of the Peace for th'execution of this service within your charge as you shall thinck to be fitte.

Your very loving ffrends

JO. PUCKERING C. S. W. BURGHLEY. ESSEX.

C. HOWARD. W. COBHAM. T. BUCKHURST.

RO. CECYLL. JO. FORTESCUE.

## LETTER CCXLI.

*Sir Henry Cocke to Lord Burghley, from Hertfordshire; upon the mode of furnishing the Trained Bands of that County with Arms.*

[MS. LANSD. 76. art. 37. Orig.]

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RIGHT honorable, and my verye good L. havinge of late fullye performed our generall musters of the Sheare and therwith allsoe taken a perfect vyewe of all the Trayned Bandes, we founde manye defectes in them, bothe of men, armour & other furniture. The men we have carefully supplied, soe that the bandes are nowe verye well furnished. But for the supplye of the armour and other furniture, (which are manye) in respect that we have sente forthe dyvers bandes into forren services furnished oute of the Trayned Bandes, we finde that the charge therof wilbe verye great unto our Countreye, which in truthe my good Lorde is but poore. Enteringe therefore into consideration howe therein the same might eny waie be eased beinge daylic charged with many other necessary payments, I founde this (in my poore opinion) to be a verye good meanes; that wheras moste of our Justices of peace throughoute the whole Sheare (and soe I thinke ells wher)

have not used to shewe enye armour at the generall musters, but (in respect of their places) have hetherto forborne the same (which in the whole Sheare dothe amounte unto a verye great number). Under youre Honors favoure it were verye fitt and necessarye that for soe muche (at the leaste) as everye of them ought of right to finde (accordinge to their easye taxations in the Subsydye) they shoulde bothe make shewe of them and imploye them allsoe amongst their neighbours in thos her Majesties necessarye servyces, which will nowe, & hereafter allsoe, spare the Countrey a great deale of money in thes kinde of provisions; and for the rest of their armour and furniture above thes proportions, they may at their pleasures keepe them pryvatlye to themselves, wherof in that daungerous time of 88 I sawe noe great use: for many men kept their armour & furniture close shutt uppe in their Armories withoute enye offer of imployment of them. This errour hathe growne, uppon this weake conceipt, that if men shoulde once delyver in writinge what number of horses armours & other suche furniture they have in a red-dines to serve her Majestie it shoulde styll remayne as a recorde ever after to charge them with the findinge of them. This straunge conceipt & fancye, noe doubte of it, dothe keepe secreat & concealethe the knowledge of a verye great strengthe bothe of horse & armour within the Realme, which, beinge not in tyme made knowne, canne never be orderlye imployed, nor



to eny good purpose used. And wheras (my good L.) by the Statute many men are (amongst other armours) bounde to finde Allmayne ryvettes, which beinge verye olde and by their yll shape growne unserviceable, under your honors favoure, it weare very good (in my poore opinion) that they were (by persuasion) converted into Corslettes which wylbe a good meanes to increase that kinde of armour. Great numbers allsoe of Bowes & Bylles are required by the Statute, whereof the Bowes for wante of use are likewise unserviceable. Therefore manye of them beinge converted into Muskettes (which many have offered) wyll add a great strengthe unto our Countrey. These thinges I doe humblye referre unto your honors good consideration, who in youre wisdoms cane beste judge & discearne what course is fittest to be taken in them. And soe restinge allwaies reddye at your commaundment, with the remembrance of my humble duetye, I doo comytt youre good L. to Godes mercyfull protection. From Broxborne, the xvij<sup>th</sup> of June 1594

Your honors most assured  
in eny service

H. COCKE.

To the right honorable my  
verye good Lorde, the L. Burghley  
L. Threasorer of Englande,  
and lord Lyftenaunt of the Countye  
of Hertford.

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## LETTER CCXLII.

*Lord Essex to Lord Burghley upon the taking of  
Cadiz.*

[MS. LANSD. 82. art. 12. Orig.]

MY very good Lord, I shall nott neede to tell your Lordship thatt Cales is won, and the King of Spaynes greatt Fleete att Cales defeated and destroyed. I shall lesse neede to relate the particular circumstances of ether: for as fame ytself will bring the first, so this gentleman<sup>a</sup> thatt caryes my Lettre will perfourme the second.

This is to crave of your Lordship thatt I may be continued in your Lordships good favor, and to pray you that you will pleade for me till I returne, that before I be hard, I be nott, upon report or misconceyt, brought into her Maties displeasure; for I dout nott but your Lordship and such honorable judges shall thinke I do acquite myself like an honest man. I wish your Lordship all honor, helth, and happiness, and rest  
att your Lordships commaundment

ESSEX.

Cales this first of July 1596.

To the right honorable my  
verie good Lorde the L. High  
Treasurer of Englande.

<sup>a</sup> Sir Anthony Ashley.

## LETTER CCXLIII.

*Camden the Historian to Sir Robert Cotton. The Queen seriously ill. A. D. 1596.*

[COTTON. MS. JULIUS C. III. fol. 14 b. *Orig.*]

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PARDON me my good Mr. Cotton, yff I do nott now præface it. I knowe you are (as we all here have been) in a melancholy and pensive cogitations. This *ἀνυνια* or sleepless indisposition of hir Majestie is now ceased, which being joyned with an inflammation from the brest upward, and hir mynde altogether averted from phisique in this hir clymactericall yeare, did more than terrifie us all, especially the last Fryday in the morning; which moved the Lords of the Councell, when they had providently caused all the vagrantes hereabout to be taken up and shipped for the Lowe Countries, to drawe some munition to the Courte and the greate horses from Reading, to garde the Receipt att Westminster, to take order for the Navye to lye in the narrow seas, and to comitt some Gentlemen, hunger starved for innovations, as Sir Edm. Bainham, Catesby, Tresham, two Wrightes, &c. and afterward the Counte Arundell of Warder to a Gentlemans house, for speches used by the forsayd turbulent spirites as concerning

him, or for that he made lately some provision of armour. This I thought good in generallity to impart unto you, that you (as we do) maye putt away feare, and thanke God for this joyfull recoverye of hir uppon whose health and safety we all depend.

Vale præposere xv Martij

your worsh. assured

GUIL. CAMDEN.

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### LETTER CCXLIV.

*Sir Robert Wrothe to Mr. Michael Hickes. Intelligence concerning robbers who frequented Layton Heath in Essex.*

[MS. LANSD. 87. art. 60. Orig.]

\* \* \* Sir Robert Wrothe was of Loughton in Essex, where he was lord of the manor and a justice of peace. He died in 1607. Mr. Hickes, afterwards Sir Michael Hickes, was Lord Burghley's Secretary. Duckets, where the letter is addressed to him, was a moated Mansion in the parish of Tottenham, which in the reign of Queen Elizabeth had come into Lord Burghley's possession. It was situated about four miles and a half from London, in the green lanes between Newington and Southgate. The Farm-House which occupies its place, is still surrounded by the moat.

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MY very good frende Mr. Hickes, I am informed that now, towards these darke evenings, there are

sertaine lewde fellowes, sumtimes horsemen, sumtimes footemen, disguising themselves with beardes that they cary aboute them in their pockets, which doe frequente and use aboute Layton heath and at or aboute Snaresbrooke in your brother Colstones walke. I have apoynted sum especiall spyall of them to bewray them and to know them, either by their horses apparell or otherwise, and I hope in time to have them discifared.<sup>a</sup> Yet for better surety thereof, I pray you lett me in-treate you to speake to your brother Colstone that with some secresy he woulde take such order with sum of the discreatest keepers he hath that towardes eaveninges they woulde have an eye upone the heath and about Snaresbrooke for such kinde of persons, and to discry them by their horses or otherwise if they can. They come not above one or two in company untill they meete about the heath, and when they have obteyned that they come for, they sever themselves in the like maner, and sum times sum of them ride over by Temple mill, where I pray you take likewise secret order with the miller that he woulde keepe his gate shute up in the nighte; besides sumtimes they ride over by Hackney; and yf they doe discry any of them that I may have notice thereof, and I doubte not but to have them quickly apprehended, for I have notice of sum of their hauntes. And so, with my commendations

<sup>a</sup> deciphered.

to your good wiffe, I will bid you farwell. Lucton  
the 16<sup>th</sup>. of October 1599.

Your assured frende

ROBERT WROTHE.

One of them usethe to ride on  
a whit mare. Let them have a  
diligent care if they doe see any  
such man.

To my verie loving friend Mr.  
Michael Hicks, at his House at  
Ducketts, or elsewhere.

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MUCH might be said upon the state of England as regards Robbers, in the time of Queen Elizabeth. A French Manuscript of this period in the old Royal Collection at the Museum,<sup>a</sup> gives the following notice of the insecurity of Salisbury Plain :

“ Advertisement au Viateur. Prenez garde à la Plaine de Salesbury, lieu fort dangereux à cause des Volleurs et Brigands qui y font leur repaire quasi journallement.”

Another Manuscript, preserved in the Lansdowne Collection, num. 63. art. 16. contains some particulars of Robbers at Gads-hill near Rochester in 1590, who seem to have served as the prototypes for Shakspeare's robbers in the First Part of Henry the Fourth, intitled

“ Circumstances urging me Sir Roger Manwood to proceade to the late indytinge of Curtall, Manweringe, Essex, and other malefactors in Kent.

“ 1. When a Countreyes anoyed with frequent robberyes and the malefactors not discovered, I holde yt to bee a good parte of justice to examyne and learne what persons in the country doe haunt innes, typling howses, and highe wayes, ryding gallantlye, lyvinge in apparell and other expences farr above their knowne lawfull meanes of lyvinge and abilitye, of which sorte Manweringe, Curtall, and Essex were knowne to bee three.

“ 2. In October, at begynninge of last Mychaelmas terme, iij or iiij<sup>or</sup>

<sup>a</sup> MS. Reg. 16 E. xxxvi.

robberyes done at Gadeshill by certen foote theves, uppon hue and crye, one of the theves named Hachfeild, flying and squatted in a bushe, was broughte to me, and uppon examynacion findinge a purse and things about him suspiciouse, and his cause of being there and his flyinge and other circumstances very suspiciouse, I commytted him to the jayle, and he ys of that robbery indyted.

“ 3. In the course of that Michaelmas Terme, I being at London, many robberyes weare done in the hye wayes at Gadeshill on the west parte of Rochester, and at Chatham downe on the east parte of Rochester, by horse theves, withe suche fatt and lustye horses as weare not lyke hackney horsstes nor farr jorneying horsstes, and one of them sometyme wearing a vizarde greye bearde, by reason that to the persons robbed the theves did use to mynister an othe, that there should bee no hue and crye made after, and also did gyve a wache woorde for the parties robbed, the better to escape other of their theves companye devyded uppon the hyghe waye, he was by common report in the country called Justice Greye bearde, and no man durst travell that waye without great companye.

“ 4. After the end of that Mychaelmas terme, iij or iiij gentlemen from London rydinge home towards Canterburye, at the west end of Gadeshill, weare overtaken by v or vj. horsemen all in clokes close upp about their faces, and fellowe lyke all, and none lyke servants, or waytinge on the other, and swiftly ridinge by them, gatt to the east end of Gadeshill, and there turned about all their horsstes on the faces of the trewe men, wherby they became in feare, but by chanse one of the trewe men did knowe this Curtall to bee one of the v. or vj swift ryders, and after some speache betwene them of the manyfold robberyes there done and that by company of this Curtall that gentleman hoped to have the more saffetye from robbing. This Curtall, with the other v or vj swifte ryders, rode awaye to Rochester before, and the trewe men coming afterwarde neere Rochester, they did mete this Curtall returning on horsebacke rydinge towards Gadeshill againe; and after they had passed Rochester, in Chatham streete at a Smythes fordge, they did see the reste of the swyft ryders taryng about shoing of their horsstes, and then the trewe men doubted to be sett uppon at Chatham downe, but their company being the greater they passed without troble to Sittingborne that nyghte, where they harde of robberyes daylye done at Chatham downe and Gadeshill, and that this Curtall withe v or vj other, as lustye companyons and well horssted, moche haunted the innes and typlinge howses at Raynham, Sittingborne, and Rochester, withe liberall expences.

“ 5. Afterwards at a house wheare payment of monye was made, and by chance uppon the monye pooringe out, one Testerne fell from the heape, and whiles the partye was busye in telling the heape, this Curtall

being in companye, toke awaye that Testerne, and being in talke with one of his acquaintance, who sayde he mervelled to see Curtall in so good estate for apparell and horsse and other mayntenance, Curtall sayde that he spent C. li. by yeare; the other asking him howe he came by so muche lyvinge, Curtall awnswered that he came by the reste as he came by that straye Testerne.

“ 6. And Curtall lyving with prodigall expences, being asked whome he did serve, awnswered that he dyd serve no man but lyved of himselfe, but nowe and then when yt pleased him he had entertaynment at the howse of his good captaine Sir Edward Hobby; and in the course of that winter nere Chatham downe within a myle or ij of Sir Edward Hobbyes howse, weare manye Robberyes done upon one Gason, one Chapman, and Manser, and many others, but no discoverye of the malefactors.

“ 7. Howbeyt one Shawe of Rochester nere Chatham downe, rydinge in the waye, was sett upon by foote theves who did fell him from his horse and by other trewe mens company cominge he escaped robbinge, which Shawe upon his cominge to Rochester beinge examyned by a Justice of peace, sayde that for the hurte to him done he would be revenged upon this Curtall and one other, Parker, Sir Edward Hobbyes cater, whome he did knowe to bee ij of them that sett upon him.

“ 8. Afterwards at Lent Assizes, one Manwaringe, a notorious theife and a famylier of Curtall, was arraigned for a felonye, and notwithstandinge plaine evidence againste him, was acquitted by a badd Jurye which weare by the Justices of Assize bound over to awnswere for their misdemeanor, and Curtall was present at the same Assizes and thought that he did use meanes for helpinge of his freind Manwaringe. And notwithstanding that acquittall of Manwaringe, the same Manwaringe was for a burglarye done in Canterburye and other matter of felonye (besydes that whereof he was acquitted) repyred to the jayle by the Justices of Assize without bayle, to receive his furder tryall for the burglarye and felonye done at Canterburye, when I should come to Canterburye after the end of my Circuit.

“ 9. But notwithstandinge suche repyre by the Justices of Assize and Gaiole deliverye, before my cominge home from Circuit, Sir Edward Hobbye came to Canterburye and there procured some one or ij other Justices of the peace unlearned in the lawe to bayle Manwaringe, and so a notorious theife ys escaped from his deserved punishment, a manifeste contempte againste Justice for Justices of peace to bayle a prysoner (repyred without bayle by Justices of Assize and gaiole deliverye) and because a Justice of peace who had travelled in the examynacion of Manwarings offence and declaringe to Sir Edward Hobbye the repyr of the Justices of Assize and Gaiole deliverye would not joyne in bayle of Manwaringe, therefore with reprochfull speaches the sayde Sir Edward Hobbye



grewe in offence with the same Justice. Which Manwaring and the sayd Curtall weare great famyllyars.

“ 10. Afterwards the Customer of Sandwiche with his man, rydinge in the hye waye betwene Chatham and Syttingborne, this Curtall came by on horsebacke swyftelye runinge and crying aloude haghe, haghe, after a frenche manner in suche wise as the Customer and his man became in some dismaye, and then one other horseman a famyllyar of Curtalls and knowne to the Customer, told the Customer he should not neade to feare, the Customer asked who that man was that so came by a horsebacke cryinge hagh, hagh, and he told him yt was Curtall, who was commonly called Justice Greybearde, but sayd that the Customer should have no hurte, and so the Customer passed to Syttingborne.

“ 11. After all these aforesayde circumstances declared to me, I finding the robberyes to be suche and so manye as the Contrye was grevyd and greatly annoyed, and against the malefactors suspected no Justice of peace durste proccede, and finding that Manwaring a notoriouse theife was contemptuously sett at libertye by Sir Edward Hobbye, and being at libertye was like to doe muche mischeife, and that this Curtall and Manwaring kepte themselves aboute Sir Edward Hobbys howse in the Isle of Sheppey where no constable or any like officer from the partes about Canterbury durste there entermedle, and finding that the over number of typling howses did muche harbor and encrease malefactors, for some reformation of those ij myscheiffes thought good with the advise of some other of the Justices of peace learned in the lawe, to hold a speciall Sessions for inquirye and reformation of those ij matters, at which Sessions uppon dewe sommons weare eight or ix Justices of peace, and I geving a breife chardge gave one note for reformation of those inordynate robberyes, that persons by commen fame suspected to lyve hawnting innes, and ryding in the hye wayes from place to place, with apparell and expences farr exceeding their known lyvings and abilyties weare moste lyke to be the malefactors, of which sorte I declared what circumstances to me had bene confessed touching Curtall and Manwaringe, and shewed a purse with a horne Whistle for a call amonge theves dispersed in a woode, by myselfe taken uppon one Hachfeild after a robbery at Gadeshill, att beginninge of Mychaelmas terme. And I did give an other noate for suppressinge of unnecessarye typling howses withe the names of them also, wheruppon the Jurye, more of their owne knowledge lying in the Contrye all the wynter, then of my knowledge lying in London, did endyte Curtall and Manwaringe and presented dyverse of the typling howses, and no man of myne was any of the Jurye, after which specyall Sessions an other robberye of one Hall in the Queenes highe waye was done at Elham fayre by iiij<sup>or</sup>. or v. horsemen theves, and by myne examinacion and sarche I found John Essex, a lyke mys spender of his thrifte and lyving

as Curtall ys, to bee one of that companye, and theruppon I rode to Maydstone Quarter Sessions, and there, uppon my chardge and notes shewed, the sayde Essex was also indited, and so by my meanes the saide iiij<sup>or</sup> malefactors be indyted viz. Hachfeild, Manwaring, Curtall, and Essex, iij of them beinge yet at lardge and cannot be apprehended; howebeyt this my begininge of proceadinge against them hathe skattered the nestes and companyes so that robberyes hathe not usually bene done since as weare before, to the good quiett and comforte of the Contrye, which was the cause I did only seeke without malice to any person as God shall be my Judge, and for the mystakinge of the daye and tyme of the robberye layde in the endytment or *super horam ignotam* that ys in lawe not materyall, so as uppon evidence at the arraignment the facte maye be proved to be done uppon any man at an other daye. And to aggravate any evydence at the arraignment at the Assizes, I will not yf Manwaring and Curtall his familiar will appeare at the Assizes, and yf Curtall will declare truly the names of those iiij<sup>or</sup>. or v. of his swifte rydinge companions who did overtake Mr. Fyneux, Mr. Smythe, Mr. Pryse, and Mr. Hadds, att Gaddeshill after the end of laste Mychaelmas terme, wherbye the hawnting robberyes in the hye wayes maye cease and not be frequent as they have bene.”

Another Memorandum in the Lansdowne Collection num. 79. shows the state of several Counties as to robberies in 1595. It is as follows :

“ At lardge. Stephen Hales	} All these verie notorious Theeves, and have above xxv <sup>tie</sup> . more of their companie, all notable theeves.
taken. Thomas Burley	
taken. John Jackson	
taken. John Moore	
taken. Thomas Dudson	
taken. Thomas Dance.	

“ There have bene comitted by theise and there complices within one smale precincte onelie of Gloucestershire, called the Seaven Hundreds, above thirtie robberies within one year and a half: and in some other places of that shire above twentie more in that time.

“ All now at large, and latelie in ward and bailed or have broken prison.	Nicholas Dobbinge alias Bryges, John Baker Edward Gylsforde Robert Rimer William Povey Richard Bande	} All these alsoe, notable Theeves: and have above fortie that are of this so- cietie, and many of them doe many times partake the one with the other of many of the former com- panie in execucion of the beforementioned robberies.
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“ Burley and eighteen more of the companie, this last yeere, robbed in Northamptonshire, at the faire of Northampton, and from thence at

Bradwaie hill, the carriers of Ludlowe, and tooke from them to the valewe of about ccc<sup>li</sup>. And after, with thirtiene more in his companie, sett upon twentye clothiers and above in Barkshire, where they were by an accident soe prevented as they tooke, that is as yet knowne, not passinge x<sup>li</sup>. but the mache was for above a thowsande powndes which the clothiers had.

“ There have bene also verie many robberies done in Warwickshire, and other places thereabout, by some of the persons before named and their complices since Michaelmas laste. And of late there was a roberie committed upon Mr. Spencer in his owne house, at which there were about fowre and twentie discovered to be actors; some with bowes and arrowes, and some with gunnes.

“ Thomas Burley and sixe more robbed divers at Redd hill in Surrey aboute Allhallontide laste.

“ There maner of robbing is to robbe in suche companys as afore saide if the matche soe require, and sometimes doe devide themselves, and robbe three or fower together onelie in a companie.

“ Sometimes they have chasing staves, sometimes bowes and arrowes, but the moste parte of them have alwaies Pistolles.

“ There be many other companys in other partes of the realme as in Wiltshire, Somerset, Warwicke, Worcester, and Staffordshires. And on Newemarkett heathe, in Suffolke, and Cambridgeshire there have been verie many robberies done this winter, some xxj. and more robbed in an after noone.”

Then follow,

“ Orders in the Starchamber.

“ A<sup>o</sup>. 1 Hen. VII. That everie Lorde and Gentleman whose servante maketh any riotte or other excesse sholde bring forth the same servante; and if he doe not, to abide suche direccion and punishment as by the Kinge and his Counsell shalbe thoughte convenient.

“ In the time of Hen. VIII. fo. 18. Towching bearinge with Theeves, remissnes in punnishinge of Theeves, and familiar conversation with them.

“ Note that the dewe execucion of the Statute of a<sup>o</sup>. 3 Hen. VII. wold give verie much healpe to the reforminge of these disorders.

“ Soe likewise when Justices of the Peace or men of haviour in their cuntry will practise to compounde robberies, or shifte theeves by undue bayles, may be dealte withall and punished for itt in the Starre Chamber, theis notorious Theeves wold not be soe bould as they are.”

## LETTER CCXLV.

*Mr. Francis Bacon to Mr. Hickes, apparently at the time of Queen Elizabeth's last Illness.*

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MR. HICKES

The apprehension of this threatened judgement of God, *percutiam Pastorem et dispergentur oves gregis*, if it worke in other as it worketh in me, knitteth every man's heart more unto his true and approved friend, which is the cause why I now write to you, signifying that I would be glad of the comfort of your society and familiar conference as occasion serveth: and withall though we cardholders have nothing to do but to keep close our cards, and to do as we are bidden, yet as I ever used your mean to cherish the truth of my inclination towards M<sup>r</sup> Secretary, so, now again I pray, as you find time, let him know that he is the personage in this State which I love most; which containeth all that I can do, and expresseth all which I can say at this time. And this, as you may easily judge, proceedeth not owt of any straights of my occasions as might be thought in times passed, but merely out of the largeness and fullness of my affections. And so

for this tyme I commend me to you. From my chamber at Graies Inne this 19<sup>th</sup>. of March 1602.

Your assured friend

FR. BACON.

To my very good frend Mr.  
Mich. Hicks at his House in the  
Strond.

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WITH this Letter we close the Reign of Queen Elizabeth. Sufficient space was not allowed to it in the former Series; and, perhaps, too large a space has been afforded it in this. Nevertheless the reader must be detained upon it a little longer in the smaller type.

There is a Manuscript among the Sloane volumes in the British Museum, intitled "Certain Observations concerning the Life and Raigne of Elizabeth Queen of England," confessedly written by a person acquainted with her Court, who held office under, and lived in the Household of Lord Burghley. He was present at Lord Burghley's death; \* and, from the evidence of one passage, must have written his Remarks in the month of November 1603.

\* He says of Lord Burghley, "His Testament he made many years before his death, and always carried it about with him whither soever he went (together with some other papers of special importance relating to his private estate). The chief care for the execution thereof he committed to his steward of household (a man that had served him honestly and faithfully for many years), which thing he did, as it was probably conjectured, to avoid all contention that might haply have arisen after his death between his children, if he had made them executors. Having disposed of his temporal estate he prepared himself to die, which he so earnestly desired, as sensibly perceiving his vital spirits wrestling with the power of death, he cried out in that agony 'Oh what a heart have I that will not die.' And when his breath was almost spent, and that by infusion of hot waters (into his mouth) he had recovered sense again, he gently reproved those that were about him, saying they did him wrong to call him back. Then using many christian speeches and prayers of himself (even when his tongue faltered in the uttering of them) he, at the last, mildly yielded up the ghost." "I have been somewhat longer," says the writer, "in reporting the manner of his death more particularly, for that I was an eye-witness, and for some private respects had cause to be more sensible thereof than some others."

There is another passage in this writer's Account of Lord Burghley, worth the quoting. Different writers mention a Letter from the Queen to his Lordship which begins "Sir Spirit;" and the intention of that term has been variously and unsuccessfully guessed at. The author of these "Observations" says, that after the death of Sir Nicholas Bacon, Lord Burghley being then Treasurer of England, "ordered for the most part all public affairs of State, which he dispatched with such dexterity as the Queen commonly termed him HER SPIRIT."

Having dwelt upon the leading points of Lord Burghley's character,<sup>a</sup> he says,

<sup>a</sup> Lord Burghley "died in the seventy seventh year of his age, the youngest counsellor of his time (in respect of his years when he was first admitted, and the eldest of continuance in all Europe before his death): living to see his children's children to the third generation, and leaving his two sons to succeed him in his fortune, the one enjoying the title of his Barony and lands with other additions of dignity conferred upon him by the Queen, the other successively holding the Prince's favor and his father's authority with the Queen (as a man borne to manage great affairs) hath, since her death, had the honor to be the first Baron created by the King now reigning. A rare blessing, and seldom befalling great counsellors to live and die in peace, with honor, leaving their posterity to succeed them in like estate.

"But now, having set down thus much concerning the course of his life and death, I will note some other particular things concerning his natural disposition not unworthy to be remembered.

"He was of a good and well tempered constitution of body, of a comely stature, and grave countenance. He had a quick apprehension of such things as he heard or read, and a very strong memory, which by daily exercise was confirmed. In his diet he was very temperate, free and cheerful at his hours of refection, and, for the most part, applying his talk to the company that were present, having by much confidence and long experience attained such general knowledge as he was able to discourse of matters concerning the best and most learned professions.

"During the time that he was Principal Secretary (as I have heard it reported) he carried himself so temperately, as he seldom or never shewed any outward sign of anger or discontent; albeit even then the chief business of the state was handled jointly by him and Sir Nicholas Bacon his brother-in-law, a worthy associate, as being a man of great wit, learning, and judgment, and advanced for his sufficiency to be Keeper of the Great Seal.

"In matters of Religion he dissented from the Papist and the Puritan, disliking the superstition of the one, and the singularity of the other; holding the midway between both, as a mean between the extremes. In the morning and evening he used ordinarily to read, or hear some part of Scripture in Latin read unto him: the rest of the day (excepting his times of refection at dinner and supper) he spent, for the most part, either in writing with his own hand, or else dictating to his secretaries, when (by reason of the gout in his hand) he could not write, though he would oft-times with much paine force himself thereto; and it was observed by divers, that albeit many weeks together his arms and legs were grievously tormented with that disease, yet his right hand was seldom or never so possessed with it but that within two or three days he was able to write.

"For his own particular affairs or private recreation, he afforded himself little or no time at all.

"In Courts of Justice (where he used to sit) his presence was so grateful as suitors desired to have their causes heard only before him, though by reason of his sickness or employment in more weighty affairs they were sometimes delayed to their greater expence, and they so much revered his wisdom and uprightness that they imputed the want of success if the cause went against them rather to the badness of the matter than to any error in the judgement. The Lawyers pleading before him he would oft times restrain from their superfluous tautologies and extravagant circumstances, enforcing them to the point and substance of the question; whereby suits were determined with more expedition for the benefit of poor clients.

"His own household he governed with great moderation; his ordinary expences being without excess, but not without decency. He was much delighted with building, which himself would term his Vanity, wherein he spent large sums of

“ But now leaving the further prosecution of this matter (as fit to be reserved for another time) I will address myself to my former purpose, and proceed with the particular description of the Queen’s disposition and natural gifts of mind and body, wherein she either matched or exceeded all the Princes of her time; as being of a great spirit yet tempered with moderation, in adversity never dejected, in prosperity rather joyful than proud: affable to her subjects, but always with due regard of the greatness of her estate, by reason whereof she was both loved and feared.

“ In her later time, when she shewed herself in public, she was always magnificent in Apparel; supposing haply thereby that the eyes of her people (being dazzled by the glittering aspect of those her outward ornaments) would not so easily discern the marks of age and decay of natural beauty; and she came abroad the more seldom, to make her presence the more grateful and applauded by the multitude, to whom things rarely seen are in manner as new.

“ She suffered not, at any time, any suitor to depart discontented from her, and though oft times he obtained not that he desired, yet he held himself satisfied with her manner of speech, which gave hope of success in a second attempt. And it was noted in her that she seldom or never denied any suite that was moved unto her, how unfit soever to be granted, but the suitor received the answer of denial from some other.

“ In granting Offices she used many delays, but, after long suite, she gave them voluntarily. The one perhaps she did, for that she loved to be sued unto and to be gratified with rewards; and the other that she might not seem to yield by importunity, and so loose the thanks that a good turn freely bestowed deserveth.

“ She was accounted in her latter time to be very near and over-sparing of expence; and yet, if the rewards which she gave of meer motion and grace had been bestowed of merit with due respect, they had doubtless purchased her the name of a very liberal Prince. Howbeit (notwith-

money, as appeareth by his Houses at Burghley and Theobalds; a matter wherein such as are therewith delighted can hardly retain a measure of expence; although by reason of his continual residence at Court he had very small use of them.

“ Of the public Treasure he was for the most part sparing, as best knowing the occasions of public expence. Of his own he was no ill husband; and indeed, in his later times as some have thought too much inclined to parsimony; an humour which commonly possesseth men abounding in wealth, and is in a manner inseparably annexed to old age.

“ Offenders against the State he punished with severity, yet oft times using lenity if the case required it. Offences against himself he was more ready to remit than punish, being so far from desire of revenge as he would not seem strange to receive into his favor even such as had openly wronged him by speech or action, and now and then to reward them, either for that he thought thereby to give them assurance of his affection, and to make them more firm, or else that he held it well becoming a noble nature to forbear revenge when it hath most power to execute it.”

standing the subsidies levied in many Parliaments and the diverse sums of money lent her by her subjects,) she was enforced to sell some of her owne Lands and Jewels to support the charge of the Irish war.

“ Certain it is that some persons attending near about her would now and then abuse her favour, and make sale of it, by taking bribes for such suites as she bestowed freely; likewise purveyors and other officers of her household, under pretence of her service, would oftentimes, for their own, vex and burthen with many impositions the poorer sort of the inhabitants near the usual places of her residence: and although it be accounted in a manner as great a fault for a Prince to be ill himself, as to have ill officers about him, yet, the consideration of her sex (she being a woman and wanting convenient means to understand the grievances of her people but by report of others) may seem to carry some colour of excuse.

“ She was very rich in Jewells, which had been given her by her subjects; for in times of Progress there was no person that entertained her in his house, but (besides his extraordinary charge in feasting her and her train) he bestowed a Jewel upon her; a custom in former times began by some of her special favourites that (having in great measure tasted of her bounty) did give her only of her own; though, otherwise, that kind of giving was not so pleasing to gentlemen of meaner quality.

“ During the long continuance of her Government many secret Treasons were practised against her life, both by strangers and also by some of her own unnatural subjects; but God that had ordained her to die (as she had lived) in peace, would not suffer them to prevail in their bad intentions; and Doctor Parry that had vowed to kill her (being alone with her in the garden at Richmond and then resolved to act that Tragedy) was so daunted with the majesty of her presence (in which he then saw the image of her grandfather King Henry the Seventh, as himself confessed,) that his heart would not suffer his hand to execute that which he had resolved. And the self same day that the late Earl of Essex, being then in disgrace, entered the City with diverse noblemen and gentlemen of quality in a confused troop, when report was made unto her of the manner thereof, she (being then at dinner) seemed nothing moved therewith, but onely said that ‘ He that had placed her in that seat would preserve her in it,’ and so she continued at her dinner, not shewing any sign of fear or distraction of mind; nor omitting any thing that day that she had been accustomed to do at other times: an argument of a religious resolution and great constancy in a woman (as I think) but rarely to be found in men of more then ordinary spirit.

“ Touching those commendable qualities whereto partly by nature and partly by education and industry she had attained, there were few men, that (when time and occasion served) could make better use or



more show of them than herself. The Latin, French, and Italian she could speak very elegantly, and she was able in all those languages to answer ambassadors on the sudden. Her manner of writing was somewhat obscure and the stile not vulgar, as being either learned by imitation of some author whom she delighted to read, or else affected for difference sake, that she might not write in such phrases as were commonly used. Of the Greek tongue also she was not altogether ignorant. She took pleasure in reading of the best and wisest Histories, and some part of Tacitus's Annals she herself turned into English for her private exercise. She also translated Boethius de Consolatione Philosophiæ, and a Treatise of Plutarch de Curiositate, with divers others.

“For her private pleasures she used them moderately and warily, without touch to her reputation, or offence to her people. She was in her diet very temperate, as eating but of few kinds of meat and those not compounded: the wine she drank was mingled with water, containing three parts more in quantity than the wine itself. Precise howers of refection she observed not, as never eating but when her appetite required it.

“In matters of recreation, as singing, dancing, and playing upon instruments, she was not ignorant nor excellent: a measure which in things indifferent best beseems a Prince.

“She was of nature somewhat hasty, but quickly appeased: ready there to shew most kindness, where a little before she had been most sharp in reproving. Her greatest grief of mind and body she either patiently endured, or politicly dissembled. I have heard it credibly reported, that, not long before her death, she was divers times troubled with the gout in her fingers, whereof she would never complain; as seeming better pleased to be thought insensible of the pain, than to acknowledge the disease. And she would often shew herself abroad at public spectacles (even against her own likeing) to no other end but that the people might the better perceive her ability of body and good disposition, which otherwise in respect of her years they might perhaps have doubted; so jealous was she to have her natural defects discovered, for diminishing her reputation.

“As for flatterers it is certain that she had many too near her, and was well contented to have them.”

“After” the Earl of Essex “his death,” says this writer, “the Queen imagined that the people's affection towards her waxed more cold than had been accustomed, and from that time forward entering into a more serious consideration of her years and natural infirmities, she fell at length into a sickness, proceeding first from some distemper of body, which concurring with the indisposition of her mind brought her to her end. It is credibly reported that not long before her death she had a great

apprehension of her own age and declination by seeing her face (then lean and full of wrinkles) truly represented to her in a glass, which she a good while very earnestly beheld: perceiving thereby how often she had been abused by flatterers (whom she held in too great estimation) that had informed her the contrary.

\* \* \* \* \*

“ But now to return, where I left, namely with the death of the Queen, for that divers rumours have been spread concerning the manner of it, I think it not amiss to note some particular circumstances which I received by information of such persons as had good means to understand the truth of things, and no reason at all to misreport them.

“ About three weeks before her death (her sleep decaying) she began to fall into a melancholy passion; and being persuaded to use the help of physic, she utterly refused it; either for that she thought her body being not thereto accustomed it would not do her good, or else that (having satiety of the world) she desired rather to die than live. For she would divers times say in the time of her sickness ‘ I am not sick; I feel no pain; and yet I pine away.’ She was wholly addicted to silence and solitariness, which gave occasion of suspicion that she was afflicted in mind: but being moved by some of her Council to impart such griefs as they doubted might trouble her, she answered that she ‘ knew nothing in the world worthy to trouble her:’ and it is a constant opinion of such as were most inward with her, that she was then free from any such impression, as it is not altogether unlikely, considering that melancholy diseases (as physicians tell us) proceed not always from the indisposition of the mind, but sometimes from the distemperature of humor in the body, causing a kind of numbness and stupidity of the senses. The Bishops (who then attended at the Court) seeing that she would not hearken to advice for the recovery of her bodily health, desired her to provide for her spiritual safety, and to recommend her soul to God, whereto she mildly answered ‘ That I have done long ago.’ She sate up six days together without any sleep, and yet was she not bereaved of understanding, but had the use thereof (even after her speech failed) as appeared by divers motions of her eyes and hands lifted up, when she was required by the Bishops to give testimony of the hope and comfort she had in God. It is reported, that when she was demanded whom she would have to sit in her seat after her death, she made answer ‘ No base person,<sup>a</sup> but a King.’ Afterwards (when she could not speak) being moved a second time to express her meaning touching that matter, and that (if she would have the King of Scots to succeed her) she should hold up her hand in token of assent, she forthwith lifted up her hand to

<sup>a</sup> Alluding to the lady Arabella Seymour. EDIT.

her head and turned it round in the form of a circle, discovering thereby (as it was said) what she had long before concealed. These reports, whether they were true indeed or given out of purpose by such as would have them so to be believed, it is hard to say. Sure I am they did no hurt.

“ During the time of her sickness the people began more boldly to discover their affections, and variable rumors were spread in the City. The wealthier sort feared sudden uproars and tumults; and the needy and loose persons desired them. Such as inhabited the suburbs carried their plate and treasure into the City as a place of most safety, by reason of continual strong watches kept there. Then some spared not to say openly that the Queen was past recovery: others affirmed that she was already dead and (to procure more credit to their reports) would name the very hour of her death; adding further that it was only concealed in policy, till some things were settled for the security of the State.”

\* \* \* \* \*

Toward the close of these Observations the writer has recorded the remarks and censures of the Populace as they stood to see the Queen's Funeral. Whatever may be the real value of these remarks, they form a Picture, and are worth preserving. They were uttered without restraint, at a moment of national interest, when every man saw change before him, and when every one's judgement prompted some reflection.

Having described the open Chariot, drawn by four horses, wherein lay the body of the dead Queen embalmed and enclosed in lead, over it, he says, was her Image in her Parliament robes, with a crown on her head and a sceptre in her hand, all exquisitely framed to resemble the life.

“ At the sight hereof divers of the beholders fell a weeping, specially women, who naturally are tender of heart and have teares at commandment. Then the people began to talke diversely; many seeming to marvel at vain and ordinary things; as namely, that living and dying a virgin, she was born on the vigil of that feast which was yearly kept in remembrance of the birth of our Lady the Virgin, and that she died on the vigil of the feast of the Annunciation of our Lady: that she departed the world at Richmond (where her grandfather King Henry the Seventh, whom she very much resembled, ended his life) and upon the selfsame day of the week whereon he deceased. That she had reigned so many years, as the greater part then living had never known other Prince. Some also there were that spake fondly of predictions going before her death, and among others it was given out that an old Lion in the Tower, bearing her name, (during the time of her sickness) pined away and died.

“ But among men of better understanding, the actions of her life and

the manner of her government were called to mind and censured. Some recounted the long and peaceable time of her reign, her clemency, and other virtues; wishing that things might continue in no worse state than they had done; alledging the old proverb, 'that seldom cometh the better.' Others again complained that they could not lightly be in worse state than they were, considering that the people generally were much impoverished by continual subsidies and taxes, besides other exactions and contributions extorted by corrupt officers; that little or no equality was used in those impositions, the meaner sort commonly sustaining the greater burthen, and the wealthier no more than themselves listed to bear; that wrongs, now and then, were either bolstered out by authority, or winked at for private respect; that many privileges had passed under her name for the benefit of some particular men to the detriment of the Commonwealth. Albeit it could not be denied but that of herself naturally she was well disposed, if she had not been mis-led by over-much credulity and secret informations of persons about her; an inconvenience which even the best Princes oft-times can hardly avoid.

"These and the like matters were diversely argued, as it falleth out commonly upon like occasions, while the Mourners passed along attending the Corpse."

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LETTERS

OF

THE REIGN OF

JAMES THE FIRST.

HUME says that JAMES THE FIRST was awkward in his person and ungainly in his manners; and Sir Anthony Weldon in the "Court and Character" of James, nearly in the same words with Balfour, goes into the detail.

His Majesty was of middle stature, moderately corpulent, his eyes large and always rolling, his beard thin, and his tongue so much too large for his mouth that he drank unseemly. His legs were weak, and his walk circular. Whatever his changeableness in other respects might be, he was constant to his apparel, usually dressing in the same fashion, and delighting to wear his clothes till they came to rags. He was constant also to the dishes which he preferred at his meals. His doublet was quilted for stiletto-proof. Both Weldon and Balfour add that he never washed his hands, but only rubbed his fingers slightly with the wetted end of a napkin.

Much of this is confirmed by a very curious Volume preserved in the British Museum, containing Sir Theodore Mayerne's Memoranda of his professional attendance upon King James, from 1611, to the time of his death. The same Volume also contains various Notices relating to Charles the First and Queen Henrietta Maria. The whole is in Latin, with copies of all the Prescriptions administered to the royal Patients. <sup>a</sup>

Sir Theodore Mayerne states that King James was born at Edinburgh June 19<sup>th</sup>. 1566, at half past eleven in the forenoon; <sup>b</sup> that he had a drunkard for a wet-nurse, to whose vitiated milk he was indebted for so considerable injury that, although weaned within twelve months, he could not walk till his sixth year: and it is remarkable that in another of Sir Theodore's Manuscripts, his "Ephemerides" or daily Journal of attendance upon other Patients, he states a similar fact of Anne of Denmark James's Queen, who was carried about in the same manner till her *ninth* year. <sup>c</sup>

Sir Theodore says, His Majesty's legs were slender, scarcely strong enough to carry his body; that his jaws were narrow and rendered swallowing difficult, a defect which he inherited both from his mother, and from King James the Fifth; <sup>d</sup> that his head was strong, and never

<sup>a</sup> MS. Sloane, Brit. Mus. 1679.

<sup>b</sup> "Jacobus I. Magnæ Britan. Rex, natus est Edimburgi anno 1566. 19 Junii, hora matutina XI½.

"Nutricem unam habuit, ebriosam; ablaetatus intra annum."—"Rex ad sextum usque etatis annum non poterat incedere, sed gestabatur, adeo debilis fuit a mali lactis temulentæ Nutricis suctu."

<sup>c</sup> MS. Sloane, 2063. fol. 189 b. REGINA. "Nata in regione frigidissima et aquilonari; quærendum an vixerit in Hypocæustis? Ad nonum usque annum non potuit incedere, sed brachiis gestata, hinc inde circumportata fuit."

<sup>d</sup> "Tibiæ a natura graciles minusque firmæ ad molem corporis sustinendam."—"Fauces angustæ difficultatem faciunt in deglutiendo, quod vitium Excellent. Majestati hæreditarium est a MATRE et avo JACOBO QUINTO, Scotiæ Regibus." MS. Sloane, ut supr. 1679.

affected by the sea, by drinking wine, or riding in a chariot; <sup>a</sup> that in moist weather and in winter he had usually a cough; that his skin was soft and delicate, but irritable, and that when he vomited, it was with so great an effort, that his face would be sprinkled with red spots for a day or two; <sup>b</sup> that he never eat bread, always fed on roast meat, and seldom or never eat of boiled, unless it was beef; <sup>c</sup> that he was very clumsy in his riding and hunting, and frequently met with accidents; <sup>d</sup> that he slept ill, waked often in the night, and called his chamberlains, nor could sleep be again readily induced unless some one read to him; <sup>e</sup> that he was passionate, but that his warmth quickly subsided; that he had naturally a good appetite and a moderately fair digestion; that he was very often thirsty, drank frequently, and mixed his liquors, being very promiscuous in his use of wines. <sup>f</sup>

Till 1613 he had never taken medicine; and, like his predecessor, was always averse to it. <sup>g</sup>

<sup>a</sup> "Cerebrum habet firmissimum, quod a mari, à vini potu, a vectione in rheda nunquam fuit perturbatum."

<sup>b</sup> "Cutis tenuis et delicata admodum, quæ prurit facillime." "Vomit eum magno conatu, ita ut post vomitum tota facies maculis rubris per diem unum et alterum variegata appareat."

<sup>c</sup> "In cibus non admodum ponat, nisi quod nihil comedit panis. Assatis carnibus fere vescitur, elixatis aut raro, aut nunquam, nisi bubulâ. Dentibus carens (qui excidere a catarrho) non masticat cibos sed deglutit." Sir Theodore adds, "Fructus ωραιῶν quavis hora diei et noctis edit, satis parce tamen quavis vice, sed sine ordine." Again, "Fructibus ωραιῶν plus æquo indulget E. M. unde aucta in corpore humiditas."

<sup>d</sup> "Julii 16. 1612. Contusio in pede sinistro ab occursu ligni sive allisione ad tignum, dum angustiozem subiret portam equitare."

"Rex EX SCOTIA veniens in Angliam, ex equo lapsus, FREGIT CLAVICULAM DEXTRAM." This sentence forms a comment to one part of Sir Robert Cecil's Letter to Sir Thomas Parry, on the King's approach toward London, printed in the former Series, vol. iii. p. 72. "Allo tempore a casu passus est; curatus fuit optime."

There are other instances in Sir Theodore's Journal which are unnecessary to quote. James usually concealed his hurts that he might not be pressed to take Medicines. In 1615 he received considerable injury from a fall down stairs at Lydiard Tregoze.

Speaking of James in his fifty-seventh year, Sir Theodore says, "Violentissimus olim Venationis exercitiis deditus Rex, nunc est quietior, et plusquam par esset jacet aut sedet; sed id ab imbecillitate tibiæ arthriticarum."

<sup>e</sup> "Male naturaliter dormit, et inquiete: sæpissime expergiscitur noctu, vocatque cubicularios, neque nisi legente Anagnoste obrepit somnus ut plurimum."

<sup>f</sup> "In POTU peccat quoad qualitatem, quantitatem, frequentiam, tempus, ordinem. Promiscue bibit CERESIAM, ALAM, VINUM HISPANICUM, GALLICUM DULCE, ALBUM (qui ipsi ordinarius potus est) ut plurimum crassum et turbidum. Aliquando, præsertim fluente alvo, ALICANTICUM tinctum. Attamen non curat sit vinum generosum, dummodo DULCE. Summa ipsi cum aqua et omnibus aquatibus antipatheia." In a side note, Sir Theodore adds to the list "VINUM MUSCATELLINUM turbidum, unde diarrhoea." In another place he says, "Nisi victus rationem mutet, præsertim in Vino dulci et turbido atque in fructuum ingurgitatione, nihil boni sperandum est."

<sup>g</sup> "Aversus ab omnibus medicamentis Rex."

Sir Theodore dwells particularly upon his grief for the deaths of Prince Henry, and of his Queen. The latter was followed by a severe illness at Royston.

Toward the close of life, His Majesty suffered under a complication of disorders; stone, gout, and gravel.<sup>a</sup>

Many of the particulars here mentioned, are perhaps beneath the sober dignity of History to relate:<sup>b</sup> but it is presumed that their appearance may be pardoned in a Work which claims no other merit than that of preserving a faithful portrait of manners, persons, and events, from contemporary sources.

FULLER describes King James's manner of speaking. "His Scotch tone," the historian says, "he rather affected than declined: and though his speaking spoiled his speech in some English ears, yet the masculine worth of his set Oration's commanded reverence if not admiration in all judicious hearers; but in common speaking as in his hunting, he stood not on the clearest but nearest way. He would never go about to make any expressions."

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<sup>a</sup> "Oct. 1. 1623. Post ingentem diarrhœam E. M. incidit in dolorem nephriticum sinistri lateris, vomuit, magna ut moris est *αποσιγία*, tandem post redditas per dies aliquot urinas crassas et turbidas *excrevit CALCULUM oblongum, friabilem.*"

<sup>b</sup> Numerous others are not quoted, of which the following are specimens:

"Diarrhœæ per totam vitam obnoxius Vere et Autumno, potissimum autem circa finem Augusti vel initio Septembris, post esum fructuum. Aliquando cum febricula, sæpius sine febre. Præludia hujus diarrhœæ ferè mœror animi, suspiria, suspicio omnium, cæteraque melancholica symptomata."

"Sæpissime laboravit dolore Colico à flatu (*qui affectus etiam fuit MATRI familiaris*). His ad vicesimum quartum usque ætatis annum gravior, deinceps mitior, semper evasit. Causæ istius doloris eadem fuerunt semper, jejuniùm, mœror, frigus nocturnum. A contrariis levamen."

"Multum mungit. Sternutat sæpissime."



## LETTER CCXLVI.

*Thomas Wilson, to Sir Thomas Parry at Paris.  
The State of England immediately after King  
James's Accession.*

[MS. COTTON. CALIG. E. X. fol. 359. *Orig.*]

\* \* \* \* \*

OUR English affayres goe on with a smooth pace and a smiling countenance, God grante them good continuance. Our virtuous Kinge makes our hopes to swell. His actions suitable to the tyme and his natural disposition. Sometymes he comes to Counsell, butt most tyme he spendes in Feelds and Parkes and Chases, chasing away idlenes by violent exercise and early rysinge, wherein the Sone seldome prevents him. The people according to the honest English nature approve all their Prince's actions and words, savinge that they desyre some more of that gracious affabilitye which ther good old Queen did afford them. He is att the present att Windsore havinge vewed all his howses, and att that he purposeth to entertayne his Quene and Sone, who about fourteen dayes hence are ther expected.

For matters *de facto*, domesticall, I shall not wryte

much till the Coronation and Parliament be past. Only, for gayning the love of the People ther ar many thinges in the meane while done, as takinge away of all Monopolies, and other matters reformed wher private gayne hath caused public grevance.<sup>a</sup> Our merchants which trade for Levant have on Sunday last given over ther patente, and the Kinge hath released ther yearly pension of 4000*l.* per annum.

\* \* \* \* \*

From Greenwich this 12<sup>th</sup> of June, 1603.

Your Lordship's most devoted and affectionate in all service or command,

THO. WILSON.

<sup>a</sup> King James in his "Proclamation inhibiting the use and execution of any Charter or Grant made by the late Queen Elizabeth, of any kinde of Monopolies, &c." states "that the Queene our sister deceased, finding, some few yeeres before her death, that some things had passed her hand at the importunity of her servants, whom she was willing to reward with little burden to her estate (otherwise by necessary occasions exhausted,) which though they had and might have foundation in princely prerogative, yet either by too large extending thereof, or for the most part in respect that they were of such nature as could hardly be put in use without hinderance to multitudes of people, or els committed to inferiour persons, who in the execution thereof did so exceedingly abuse the same as they became intollerable, had purposed to revoke all Grants of that nature, and did begin with some, which were held most unjust, putting the rest to the examination of her Lawes to stand or fall as in the construction of Law they might consist or not."

There is an exceeding curious Licence preserved in the Cottonian manuscript Galba C. II. fol. 253. from which it appears that William Treasurer, a maker of musical instruments, his heirs and assigns, had letters patents for eight years from King Philip and Queen Mary, dated July the 11<sup>th</sup>, in the first year of their reign, to provide and buy within the realm of England, in any place or places, one hundred thousand lasts of ashes, and four hundred thousand dozens of old worn shoes, and export the same to foreign parts. Queen Elizabeth on the 13<sup>th</sup> March, in the second year of her reign, confirmed the same for an additional term of twelve years. Treasurer, as a consideration for the renewed patent, having devised and given to the Queen a new Instrument Muscicall, sending forth the sound of Flutes and Records; and likewise promised and took upon him, at his labour, costs, and charges, to repair and amend before the feast of St. Michael next ensuing the great Organs in the Queen's chapel at Greenwich.

## LETTER CCXLVII.

*Sir Robert Cecil to Sir Thomas Parry. An Omission in a Letter from James the First to Henry the Fourth of France.*

[MS. COTTÓN. CALIG. E. X. fol. 406. *Orig.*]

\* \* \* There is no date to this Letter, but from Monsr. de Rosny being at Dover at the time it passed toward its destination, it must have been written about the 14th or 15th of June 1603. Under the name of Rosny, it is possible that every reader may not recognize the person who was afterwards Duke de Sully. His Memoirs are full of etiquette upon his arrival at this time; so that, knowing this, it will not appear very wonderful that the slovenly James was, for once in his life, punctilious upon a word.

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SIR,

His Majesty by the hastines of his Dispatch mistook in the description of his Lettre to the French King, and instead of this stile *A Mons<sup>r</sup>. mon Frere* etc. he hath written *A mon bon Frere* etc. The Newes of this errour comes from Mons<sup>r</sup>. Roseny<sup>a</sup> from Dover,

<sup>a</sup> This is the only Letter in these Volumes in which the name of Monsieur de Rosny will occur. He became Duke de Sully, February the 28th, 1606.

A short digression, even if it does not illustrate English History, will be pardoned here, as it relates one whose name has been long valued, and who shared in all the fortunes of Henry the Great.

The reader probably remembers the very particular mention in Sully's Memoirs of a Letter which he received in 1605 from Pope Paul the Fifth, who was anxious to effect his conversion. Sully says, "I answered this obliging Letter with all the deference it deserved. Without saying any thing upon the change of religion, I contented myself with praising the virtues and great qualities of his Holiness, assuring him of my obedience, my anxiety to serve him, and my ardent desire that I might have it in my power to be useful to him. My whole Letter was filled with thanks for the sentiments he professed towards me, and wishes for his complete prosperity; and, without affecting my religion, I forgot nothing which could be due to the cha-

wher the Messenger was sent, so as he is by this time farr on his way. The King being also here with the Queen in a great deale of business, and the Letter being

racter of a Sovereign Prince, and in particular to that which a whole Church gives to the Pope; I made no scruple to use the expression of kissing his feet, which, no doubt, would have been displeasing to my brethren the protestants."

The Cardinal Du Perron in his *Ambassades*, fol. edit. 1629, p. 443. has recorded the manner in which Pope Paul the Fifth received this Letter. He made the Cardinal read it over to him three times successively, "me disant à tous propos que Monsieur de Rosny Pobligeoit trop, qu'il lui faisoit trop d'honneur, qu'il ne se pouvoit voire une lettre mieux faite, n'y pour les conceptions, n'y pour les paroles, n'y pour la gravité et dignité de la maniere d'ecrire: et que s'il n'y eust point eu l'interest qu'il avoit, pour ses louanges qui y estoient meslées, il eust dit absolument, que c'estoit une des plus belles lettres, qu'il eust jamais leuës."

The original of Sully's Letter is at this moment preserved in the British Museum; it was purchased in 1816, of the Chevalier Binda, the private Secretary to Joachim King of Naples, in a Collection of Papers chiefly relating to the War of the League.

It has at least the merit of presenting the reader with a just specimen of what Sully considered as his best style. The *Memoirs*, It will be recollected, are not now presented to us in the form and language in which they were left by Sully, the form having been digested and methodized, and the language polished and corrected. The dotted parts of Sully's Letter, here given, have been destroyed in the original by mildew.

" Tres saint Pere,

" Les benedictions et graces infinies, tant spirituelles que temporelles, dont ce grand Dieu eternel a si liberalement et en toute plenitude favorise vostre Saincteté, et les signales tesmoignages de paternelle affection dont elle a voulu continuellement gratifier mon Roy et ma patrie, avoient desja aquis telle puissance sur mes volentes, et si bien dispose mon cœur a luy demeurer tres humble et tres fidelle serviteur que je n'estimois pas pouvoir rien adjouster a la passion extreme que j'avois d'estre honore de ses commandemens, ausquels j'ay voue perpetuelle obeissance; mais voiant a ceste heure par le brief dont il a pleu a vostre beatitude monorer tous mes dessains et mes esperances surmontees avec tel exes de bonte, pieté, et courtoisie je ne veus entreprendre d'exprimer par mes parolles le resentiment que j'en ay dans mon ame ny avec quels liens une grace si particuliere et speciale me tien attache a son fidelle service mais me contenteray de les admirer comme des effets procedans [du] ciel et d'une vertu qui na point sa pareille et sans la crainte que j'ay eue destre accuse je . . . . . de me taire que de parler confessant par un silence plain d'humilite mes deffauts et vos merites infinis. Lesquels me font esperer que a linimitation de celui qui vous a ceste si liberal de ses graces et le quel sans acception de personnes se plaist et delecte aux louanges et offrandes qu'il recoit de ses plus infimes creatures lors quelles procedent dun cœur sans feintise vostre pieté et clemence auroit agreable d'accepter les veux de mon bien humble service et que je dediassé mes jours et ma vie pour estre employés sous son obeissance quelque inutile que je luy peusses estre protestant neantmoins que si mon malheur me prive du moien de proportionner mes services a mon debuoir et a ma devotion mes desirs de parvenir a ceste felicite demeureront eternels et que Je publieray en tous lieux vostre gloire et louange immortelle randant mille graces a vostre Saintete des belles admonitions qu'il luy a pleu de me faire et la supliant en toute humilite de ne trouver mauvais si estimant ne pouvoir faire aucune action plus louable quen imitant les vostres Jadresse mes tres ardentés et continuelles prieres a ec grand Dieu createur de toutes choses afin quil luy plaise estant le pere des lumieres ass [ister?] et illuminer

all of his own hand, he is so loth to write all anew (becawse the backsyde lackes a woord) as his Majesty wold have you take notice to the Embassador privatly, and desire to have the Lettre, and you may easily amend that woord which will save all, and if the worst shold come, the King in his other Lettre d'Estat hath observed the right forme, for this escape is only in that of his owne hand.

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### LETTER CCXLVIII.

*Sir Robert Cecil to Sir Thomas Parry. The Treaty with Spain. A portion of a Letter.*

[MS. COTTON. CALIG. E. X. fol. 156. Orig.]

\* \* \* \* \*

THE Treaty with Spayne hath stayed untill the Spanish Embassadors arrivall, in whose howse one hath died of the plague, whereby his Audyence is differred ; but now he shall be receaved at Wynchester,

de son sainen esprit vostre ze . . . t beatitude et luy donner de plus en plus entiere congnoissance de sa verite et bonne volenté en laquelle consiste le salut et la felicite eternelle de toutes creatures, baisant en ceste devotion treshumblement les pieds de vostre Saintete comme celuy sur qui elle a aquis toutes sortes de tres estroites obligations, et qui desire conserver a lesгал de sa propre vie la qualite de

Votre treshumble, tres obeisant, et  
tresfidelle serviteur,

MAXIMILIAN DE BETHUNE ROSNY.

A Paris ce 17 Novembre, 1605.

Au tres sainen Pere le Pape."

where the Kinges Court resolveth to resyde as long as the Infection followes us not, which hetherto it hath done, though noe further (I thanke God) then among some hangers-on upon the Court. To give you my judgment what particular thinges wilbe concluded in the Treaty is more then I can doe for any thinge which yet hath passed ; but when I observe the fashyon of thinges how they are carryed, I doe conclude sufficiently that a Peace we shall have without the company of the States of the Lowe Countryes; whose fall or standing is the only object of good or evell consequence of the same. The Count of Aremberge hath in mylde termes expostulated with the Kinge for sufferinge leavyes at this tyme to be made for the Low Countryes: but he hath therein only received the ordinary answeare, and very truly. First that the King hath nether given Commission nor alloweth any pay to any. Next that he is a King of many people of active bodyes, to whom he cannot deny libertye to serve ether Princes or States not enemies.<sup>a</sup>

\* \* \* \* \*

And soe for this tyme I committ you to God's protection. From the Court at Wynchester this 27<sup>th</sup>. of September, 1603.

Your very lovinge  
freind

RO. CECYLL.

<sup>a</sup> The Letter is here burnt, and the remainder of the sentence gone.

Since my Lettre begonn, the Spanish Ambassador hath had audience at Wynchester publicly of the King and Queen. He hath congratulated with the King from his Master *in plenitudine Amoris* professing purpose to hold æternal Peace and Friendship. The King received it with reciprocq generall kindness, but added, that notwithstanding former Peace and non personall Amity, many particulers were to be traictyd of in the public considerations. He confessed so much, and shortly expecteth commission, till which time Arenberg retourneth to Bruxells, where he will atend it out of Spaine, and then come back within xx<sup>ty</sup>. dayes.

This day the Spanish Ambassador sent for private Audience which he shall have.

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THE peace which was concluded between England and Spain on the accession of James to the English crown, has been so emphatically referred to by the Historians of both countries, that even the unessential and trifling circumstances which attended its ratification in London, are not without their share of interest. They are recorded in a *Spanish Pamphlet* of the utmost scarcity, of which James's own copy is preserved in the library of the British Museum. Its title is, "Relacion de la Jornada del Excm<sup>o</sup>. Condestable de Castilla a las pazas entre Hespaña y Inglaterra, que se concluyeron y juraron en Londres por el mes de Agosto Año 1604. En Anvers, en la imprenta Plantiniana 1604. 4<sup>to</sup>." For the discovery of this curious Tract, as well as for the present Abstract of it, the Editor is indebted to his friend CHARLES KONIG, Esq.

The details entered into by the author, the diplomatical precision with which he adverts to the most trivial circumstances and occurrences on the Constable's progress, or to points of etiquette, with complimentary references to His Excellency, are characteristic of the times, but frequently bordering on the ludicrous. The Ambassador plenipotentiary upon this occasion was the Duke de Frias, Constable of Castile, who had been preceded the year before by Count Villamediana to congratulate

James on his accession to the crown of England, and as the bearer of overtures of peace. After the Count's return the Duke de Frias set out upon his embassy to continue the negotiation between the two crowns, accompanied by a great retinue, among whom were, as the two principal commissioners of peace, the same Count Villamediana, and senator Dr. Alexandro Rovida; on the latter of whom the laborious part of the mission appears chiefly to have devolved.

After having made some stay at Paris, the Constable proceeded to Brussels, where the Spanish commissioners were joined by those of Archduke Albert and his consort, viz. Count Aremberg and the Counsellor of State Juan Richardote. All these went before the Plenipotentiary, who remained in Flanders on account of indisposition and in order to watch the progress of the negotiation. Count Villamediana and Senator Rovida had an audience on the 19th of May, in which the latter, in an elegant Latin speech, introduced himself to the King as the humble organ of the deputation. The King's answer was: "*Gaudeo vehementer de adventu tuo, tum ob maximum quod speratur totius Christianitatis beneficium, tum propter personam tuam tam claram. Placcat Deo, ut negotium ad quod venis, ad communem utilitatem quamprimum perficiatur.*"

The first meeting of the Deputies took place on the 30<sup>th</sup> of May: those on the English side were, the Earl of Dorset, Lord Treasurer, the Lord Admiral, Lord Densier (Devonshire) Viceroy of Ireland, the Earl of Northampton and Lord Cecil. Lord Northampton opened the meeting with a speech, which was followed by one from Rovida; it is given at full length, and is no bad specimen of the Doctor's eloquence and latinity. This conference was succeeded by fifteen others till the end of August, when the business was sufficiently advanced to induce the Plenipotentiary to come forward: he embarked at Gravellines, to which port the King had ordered five of his best men of war (galeones) with a number of small craft to convey his excellency and suite to Dover. Being prevented by contrary winds and a very rough sea from making this port, they landed some miles above it, where Admiral Monson, who commanded the fleet, gave a sumptuous repast on board, of which the Constable, though but little inclined to it, courteously partook; but of the other cavaliers not one was sufficiently recovered to venture on performing the same act of politeness. In the mean while all the Spanish and several of the English commissioners, together with the master of the ceremonies, Sir Lewis Lukener, who had assembled at Dover to welcome the Ambassador, on seeing the fleet proceed to another quarter, had in coaches and on horseback made the best of their way to the spot where it was at anchor. At Dover the Ambassador was received, under a discharge of cannon, by the Mayor and Corporation. *Tuesday 17th.* The illustrious caval-



cade set out for London. The Duke, not quite recovered from the effects of the voyage, was carried in a litter. Near Canterbury they were met by Baron Otton (Lord Wotton), and Ser Rode (Sir John Roper), with upwards of five hundred cavalry (*tropas de cavallos*), accompanied by a great number of ladies in coaches and mounted on palfreys, together with a host of gentlemen with their servants in livery coats bearing the devises of their masters. *Wednesday* the 18th. Left Canterbury for Setemburg (Sittingbourn), where they found a prodigious concourse of people. Here they were also joined by the Earl of Northampton, Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports (governador de los *quatro puertos*). A great public dinner was given by the Constable. *Friday* the 20th. The whole party embarked in twenty-four covered barges (*feluccas*) and arrived in four hours in the "wide and delicious" river Thames, which was nearly covered with barges and boats filled with the curious, among whom, in a disguised (*disfraçada*) barge, was the Queen wearing a mask, together with the Countess of Suffolk, the Lord High Admiral, and Lord Cecil. The Ambassador and part of his suite landed at Somerset-house, the splendor of the apartments of which is much extolled, and his Excellency proceeded to his bed-room; the bed of morado damask bordered with gold. The King was absent hunting, at the distance of seventy miles from London. The Queen sent the Earl of Suffolk to welcome the Ambassador. *Saturday* the 21st. Thomas Esquine (Erskine) captain of the King's guard, waited upon him, to apologize for His Majesty's absence, which it was expected would be prolonged for two or three days. Feasting continued throughout the palace the same as on the preceding day, except that the Constable, still fatigued by travelling, took his supper in bed. *Sunday* the 22d. The English commissioners waited upon the Ambassador, with Lord Cecil at their head, who delivered a speech in elegant French; the following Wednesday was fixed upon for the first grand meeting. His Excellency was so well pleased, that, on taking leave, he accompanied the commissioners to the distance of *one* apartment farther than strict etiquette warranted. *Monday* the 23d was spent in receiving visits; "Baron Otton" came at three o'clock "in the evening." Feasting as on the preceding day. The Constable, to fortify himself against the fatigues of the next day, retired early to bed, in which he partook of his supper. *Tuesday* the 24th. Visits on business from the Archduke's deputies, except Count Ahrenberg, who was laid up with a fit of the gout. At 4 o'clock the Lord Chamberlain dispatched a gentleman to kiss the Duke's hands, and to inform him that the King was approaching. His Majesty arrived at 5 o'clock with thirty post horses. The audience put off till the morrow. *Wednesday* the 25th. After dinner the Ambassador and deputies proceeded in three coaches belonging to the King, the Queen, and the Prince, to the Audience, which took place at

two o'clock in an apartment where some dancing was going on (donde havia sarao) before the Queen, who was seated on a raised arm chair under a splendid canopy richly ornamented with rubies, emeralds, and hyacinths. As soon as the King was apprized of the Constable's arrival, he seated himself on the right hand of the Queen, the little prince Henry between them girt with a sword, forming altogether a very pleasing group. The King having embraced his Excellency, introduced him to the Queen, after which he took his seat next to his Majesty on a richly ornamented tabouret. After being welcomed and complimented by the King in french, the Ambassador took an opportunity, among other topics, of speaking in praise of the noble diversion of hunting, especially when coupled with the love of letters, so rarely met with among crowned heads. To which the King promptly, though indeed rather sharply replied, that if Kings and common Men of letters were mustered, perchance but one might be found among the former deserving of that appellation, but he apprehended that was more than could be said of the latter. *Thursday* the 26th. At ten o'clock in the morning, the first great meeting of the Deputies took place, and was adjourned at twelve for the purpose of sitting down to dinner; the Constable in the chair. His Excellency soon rose, and, with his hat off, drank to the Lord Treasurer the health of the King; it went round with unbounded applause, as did that of "the Queen" likewise given by the ambassador. The Lord High Admiral next drank unto the Ambassador the health of the King of Spain, after which Lord Cecil rose and stated that he had it in command from his royal Master to say, that His Majesty drank to one of the gentlemen present the health of the Constable, and that it should go round in the usual manner. After dinner the Deputies retired into the gallery, and the Ambassador to take his siesta, for the space of half an hour, when business was resumed, and continued till four o'clock. After this his Excellency had a private audience of the King, to which he went in state accompanied by Lord Panbru (Pembroke) and other noblemen, in royal coaches. He subsequently viewed the Palace, and the Gardens, where the Prince of Wales amused himself with wielding a pike and with other martial exercises. His Excellency then returned to Somerset-house, and took his supper in bed; the rest of the suite supped as usual. *Friday* the 27th. was the day appointed by the Queen to give an audience to the Ambassador, but Her Majesty sent an excuse, being tormented by the tooth ach (gran dolor de muelas). The day was spent in making purchases at the Exchange (Palé o Bolsa que llaman), and in receiving visiters, among whom was Baron Quingloss (Ld. Bruce of Kinlos) one of his Majesty's privy council. *Saturday* the 28th. the Queen informed the Constable, through Sir Lewis Lukener, that she would see him in the evening after the meeting of the Commissioners. At four o'clock the Earl of Sussex made his appearance, to escort his

Excellency and suite. They were ushered into the audience chamber, where the Queen, preeminent in beauty and elegance, was seated under a splendid canopy, with the Prince standing by her side, and upwards of twenty maids of honor, likewise beautiful in the extreme, drawn up in a line in front of the throne. Her Majesty rose from her seat, nor would resume it before the Duke had seated himself on a tabouret in front of her. She conversed with all the strangers in the most condescending and polite manner for upwards of an hour, and caused the Prince to exhibit his proficiency in dancing with three of the ladies. The Ambassador afterwards kissed her Majesty's hands, craving at the same time permission to salute the ladies present; a custom, the writer says, of which the non-observance on such occasions is deeply resented by the fair sex of this country; and leave was accordingly given. Prince Henry having expressed a wish to see a Spanish horse, his Excellency immediately ordered one to be sent to him richly caparisoned, together with an embroidered doublet and sash, with which he was greatly delighted. *Sunday* the 29th. was the day appointed for the solemn ratification of the peace (*juramento della paz*). A most imposing pageant was exhibited, by the procession of both the English and Spanish Commissioners and functionaries, in coaches and on horseback, with their attendants and servants, all in the most gorgeous attire. The Ambassador was received at the palace-gate by the Lord Admiral; at the foot of the staircase by the Captain of the Guard; and at the entrance of the presence-chamber by the Lord Chamberlain and other great officers of state. The King, accompanied by the Prince, walked up to the Duke de Frias, and placing him on his right and the Count Villamediana on his left hand, the procession, by the sound of trumpets and kettle drums, moved towards the Chapel, where an immense confux of people was assembled. Two richly furnished pews were erected near each other, the one for the King, the other (on the "Gospel-side" of the Chapel) for the Constable; the Queen was seated in a tribune by herself. Various pieces of church music were performed, after which the King and the Duke proceeded from their respective pews to a table in front of them, with a casket placed upon it. Lord Cecil then took out of the casket the parchment containing the articles of peace (these may be seen in Rymer's *Fœdera*, tom. xvi. p. 585.) and after having proclaimed its contents, kissed the document and presented it to the King, who handed it over to the Ambassador, and his Excellency to Dr. Rovidá. The King then placing his hand upon the gospel of a bible translated by St. Jerome and printed for Plantin (the publisher of the pamphlet before us) swore upon it, repeating word for word the articles read to him by Lord Cecil. His Majesty then took the hand of the Duke de Frias in token of restored peace and amity, after which both returned to their places. The air was now rent by the general acclamation of

“Peace, Peace, Peace; God save the King, God save the King.” Thus, the reporter adds, the ceremony ended, without the aid and intervention of any ecclesiastical rites. The procession then left the Chapel in the same order in which it had entered, all making their obeisance to the Queen on passing her tribune. The King now retired to his apartment, and the Ambassador with the rest of the noblemen and commissioners repaired to a room to rest themselves before the banquet commenced, which took place in the Audience Chamber. This apartment had been beautifully fitted up for the occasion; it was furnished with a buffet raised by several steps, and covered with a profusion of ancient and modern gilded plate of exquisite workmanship; an opposite side board bore vessels of gold, agate, and other precious materials. On each side of the table was a railing to ensure the respectful distance of the people. The dishes were brought in by gentlemen of the household preceded by the Lord Chamberlain, each making four or five obeisances before they placed them on the table. Earls Panbrue (Pembroke) and Southampton officiated as Stewards (Maestresalas). Grace being said (it is not mentioned by whom) their Majesties washed their hands with water from the same ewer, the towels being presented, to the King by the Lord Treasurer, and to the Queen by the Lord High Admiral; the Prince of Wales had a ewer to himself, which was, after him, used by the Ambassador. The reporter proceeds to describe the manner in which the illustrious party was seated at table, and enumerates the noble persons in waiting, among whom we have Lords Sosbrey (Shrewsbury), d’Arbé (Derby), &c. The first thing the King did was to send a melon and some oranges on a green branch to the Ambassador, observing that they were the fruit of Spain transplanted into England. The duke made his humble acknowledgment. His Majesty then rose, and, uncovered, drank to the Ambassador “the Royal family of Spain, and may the Peace be happy and perpetual;” the Duke rose, and having returned thanks and expressed his firm conviction that the peace just concluded would be lasting and beneficial to both crowns and to christianity at large, pledged his Majesty, and the toast went round to the great delight of the Royal entertainers. The Duke rose the second time, and in his turn drank unto the King, out of the *lid* of a beautiful agate cup set with diamonds and rubies, “the health of the Queen,” supplicating that his Majesty would vouchsafe to pledge him from the cup itself, which the King accordingly did, passing it, round the table, back to the Ambassador, who replaced it on the Royal cupboard. The assembled people now exclaimed, “Peace, Peace, Peace; God save the King.” After this a King of Arms made his appearance, who, by sound of trumpets and kettledrums, returned humble thanks to His Majesty for having concluded the much wished for peace with the King of Spain, which he craved permission to proclaim throughout the Kingdom. The

Proclamation is given in a Spanish translation. The Duke rose again and drank unto the Queen the health of "the King," out of the lid of a beautiful dragon-shaped vessel of crystal set in gold; Her Majesty pledged him through Don Blasco de Aragon who officiated as cup bearer, and the dragon was replaced on the Queen's cupboard. The King also drank unto President Richardote (Count Arenberg being prevented by gout from attending) "the health of the Archduke and his consort," of whom he spoke in terms of great regard and friendship. Soon after, the King sent a message to the Constable by the Earl of Northampton to acquaint him that this season was memorable to his Majesty not only because he had concluded a Peace, but also because one of his sons and princess Isabel were each about completing their fourth year,<sup>a</sup> and he hoped the latter would one day prove herself the reverse of a former Isabel and be instrumental to the preservation of peace and amity between England and Spain: the King would therefore allow the Constable to drink his son's health to him. The Duke immediately obeyed, and, in his answer to the royal message quoted the lines of Sannazarius's poem *De Partu Virginis*, in which allusion is made to the Virgin's atoning for the evil entailed upon the world by our first mother:

Cumque caput fuerit tantorumque una malorum  
Fœmina principium, lacrimasque et funera terris  
Intulerit, nunc auxilium ferat ipsa, modumque  
Quà licet afflictis imponat fœmina rebus.

The next health given by King James was "the Princess of Spain." It was followed by several others. The dinner lasted about three hours; at the conclusion the cloth was removed, and the table lowered (*pusieron la mesa en el suelo*), when their Majesties, according to ancient custom, placed themselves upon it (*de pies sobre ella*), to wash their hands. The Constable and Count Villamediana had a ewer between them; the rest of the guests took what ewers they could get. This ceremony being over, the King and Queen retired to their apartments; and the Ambassador with the commissioners repaired to the gallery to view the pictures. In the mean while dancing had commenced in the audience room, to which they were invited by a message from the King. They found the royal couple seated

<sup>a</sup> "Aquel día era dichoso para el, pues se hazia la paz, y cumplian sus hijos años, y la Princesa Isabella, quatro; — — que assi le diesse licencia para que le brindasse a la salud de los hijos." This passage is obscure. What "Isabel" King James could allude to, it is not easy to say. Perhaps it was one of the children of Philip III. who died at an early age, and are not particularly noticed by historians. His next health "The Princess of Spain" appears to countenance this supposition, under which the singular number has been substituted by the translator for the plural "hijos;" Prince Charles having, at the period above alluded to, nearly completed his fourth year.

under the canopy. The company was rendered more brilliant by upwards of fifty maids of honor and other ladies, all most splendidly dressed, and "beautiful in the extreme." The Prince of Wales was desired by his royal parents to open the ball with a Spanish *gallarda*, a partner being pointed out to him among the ladies; he acquitted himself with much grace and delicacy, introducing some occasional leaps (*con mucho donayre y continencia, y algunas cabriolas*). After this the Earl of Southampton invited the Queen, who, with three other ladies and gentlemen, danced a *brando*, which, Sobrino informs us, is a dance introduced from England into Spain. Various other dances, respecting the exact nature of which a profound silence is observed by lexicographers, were gone through, and the ball concluded with a *correnta*, danced again by the Queen and Lord Southampton. The party after this went to the window, where they had a view of a place fitted up with a kind of amphitheatre for innumerable spectators. Bears, the property of the King, were here baited by greyhounds (*lebreles*), a sight which appeared to give general satisfaction; a bull running about at the end of a rope, and tossing and goring mastifs let loose upon him, followed next; and the entertainment concluded with rope dancing and feats of horsemanship. Their Majesties now retired to their apartments. The Constable returned home escorted by fifty halberdiers with their bills. Owing to the fatigue of this busy day his Excellency sat down to supper in his private room. *Monday*, the 30th. His Excellency on awaking found himself slightly attacked by lumbago. The royal family made inquiries after his health in the course of the morning, and at four o'clock in the evening the King came in person, in a barge, accompanied by the Lords Admiral and Treasurer, and approaching the bed, gave him a hearty embrace (*y en la cama le diò un grande abraço*). *Non sum dignus ut intres sub tectum meum* was the Constable's return to this act of condescension on the part of the King, who ordered the Earl of Northampton to be interpreter for the rest of their conversation, the principal topic of which was the late negotiation. After having presented the patient with a large diamond ring in commemoration of the marriage, as he called the peace, the King withdrew, promising at supper to drink to the speedy recovery of the Constable. Late in the evening James set out on a hunting expedition. *Tuesday*, the 31st. The Queen sent the Lord Chamberlain to inquire after the health of the Ambassador. He also received a present from the King consisting of a ponderous service of plate, some of it gilt and enamelled, and of great antiquity. Presents were also given to Count Villamediana and the rest of the Spanish commissioners. *Wednesday*, Sept. 1st. The Ambassador received visits in bed. *Thursday*, the 2d. He found himself sufficiently well to rise and take leave of the Queen: in the evening the five English commissioners

took their leave of the Constable. *Friday*, the 3d. was spent in paying valedictory visits. *Saturday*, the 4th. The Queen sent by the Vice-Chamberlain a box set with diamonds, containing the portraits of both their Majesties, as also a stomacher (garganto) set with large pearls of great value, intended for the Duchess. At twelve o'clock, after dinner, the Plenipotentiary left London for Gravesend, accompanied by the Lords Northampton and Wotton and three other noblemen. *Sunday* the 5th. He proceeded with Lord Wotton to Rochester, for the purpose of obtaining correct information respecting that interesting part of the Thames and the river Medway. At the entrance of the harbour is a fort called "Stroub" (Stroud), and on the right side towards London, another known by the name of "Quinoer midvyve," which means, "half way between London and the sea." Rochester has a good suburbs called "Optenuru" (Upnor). The shipping consisted at this time of thirty first-rate galleons, and about fifty ordinary ones, together with four gallies ("galleras"), each with twenty-four rowing benches, and flatter than those belonging to the King of Spain. The magnificent appearance of the galeon called the Royal Admiral Ship, on board of which they went, surpassed every thing they had before seen or heard of. A constant firing was kept up from Fort "Stroub" and the man of war. The party proceeded to Sittingbourne and Dover, and made their passage to Calais on board the same man of war which had brought them over; the greater part of the suite, horses, coaches, &c. having been sent direct to Spain on board of another man of war.

At the end of this Pamphlet are three poems, written in honour of the great Pacificator, by the English College and Seminary at St. Omer.

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## LETTER CCXLIX.

. . . . . to the Bishop of Norwich, upon  
 matters of Religion.

[MS. LANSD. 841. fol. 32. *The Signature of this Letter purposely torn off.*]

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RIGHT HON. and my very good Lord, meeting with

so convenient a messenger as this my loving Couzin, I could not omitt my most bounden duty of writing to your Lordship at this present.

The Occurrences of the time, which perhaps your Lordship is not ignorant of, are especially about the matter of Religion. On Saturday last, being the ninth of this present, there was a Petition delivered to his Majesty by three or four Knights of Northamptonshire in favour of the Ministers which refuse Subscription; whereat His Majesty took such a deep impression, as the next day, being Sunday, he sat eight howers in council with the Lords. In this Meeting he first most bitterly inveighed against the Puritans; saying, that the Revolt in the Lowe Countries, which hath lasted ever since he was borne, and whereof he never expected to see an end, began first by a Petition for matter in Religion, and so did all the Troubles in Scotland. That his Mother and He from their Cradles had been haunted with a Puritan Devil, which he feared would not leave him to his Grave: and that he could hazard his Crown but he would suppress those malicious Spirits.

From the Puritans he proceeded to the Papists, protesting his utter detestation of their superstitious Religion, and that he was so far from favouring it, as, if he thought his son and heire after him would give any toleration thereunto, he would wish him fairly buried before his eyes.



Besides, he charged the Lords of the Council and the Bishops present, that they should take care themselves, and give order to the Judges of the Land, to the Justices and other inferior Officers, to see the Laws speedily executed with all rigour against both the said extremes.

Hereupon, yesterday, being Ash Wednesday, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Judges of the Land, giving the charge to the Gentlemen of the Country in the Star Chamber, as the manner is at the end of every Terme, declared His Majesty's pleasure; shewing withall in most vehement manner, how much themselves were incensed against the disturbers of the State in both extreames.

My Lord Chancellour delivered his Speech with teares. He asked three Questions; the first of the Lords of the Council, whether to gather hands to move his Majesty by Petition in matters of Religion (as certain Puritan gentlemen went about) were not a matter tending to Sedition and Rebellion? They all answered Yea. The second was to the Judges, whether those men that were deprived for not conforming themselves, cou'd be restored by Lawe? They answered No. The third was concerning Papists. Thus much I am bold to relate to your Lordship, not doubting but you are already, or shall be, more particularly informed by my Lords the Bishops

that were present. And so with acknowledgement of  
my ever bounden duty I rest

Your Lordship's ever to be commanded

London,

Feb. 14<sup>th</sup>. 1604.

To the right honourable my very  
good Lord my Lord The Bishop of  
Norwich, These.

---

### LETTER CCL.

*Meriel Littleton to Mrs. Barnaby of Bochelton, on her  
hope of obtaining a place for her Nephew in the  
Household of Prince Henry.*

[FROM THE LIBRARY OF THE SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES. *Orig.*]

---

DEARE AUNT

I AME as willinge to effect your request for your  
cosen Barnaby as you are to desier the same, but I  
assuer you thinges heare stand not nowe in such termes  
as happelie<sup>a</sup> manie imagen; for I would have you (good  
Aunte) assuredly beleve that there is as much (if not  
more) difficulty to place gentlemen with the Prince, as  
with the Kinge himself. Yonge Cornwalls frinds may  
bragge of their building of Castells in the aeier, but I

<sup>a</sup> haply.

dare assuer you theie are farr from havinge meanes to place him there. The Sonnes of nobilitie, and of great desert, are alredie denayed, howe then should such an obscure and unknowen fellow have preferment. My Brothers eldest sonne is as meet to attend him as any other of his sorte, and before Cornwall for manie respects, yet will not my brother open his mouthe for him untill the Prince be settled, and better hopes of prevailing then yet there are; what hereafter may be donne I knowe not, but if there shall appeare any possibility, beleve me (good Aunte) neyther my desier, nor my brothers endevors, shalbe wantinge for your kinsmans preferment.

I meane (God willinge) to be at Franckley by the later end of the Whitson week, after which time you shall see I will doe the uttermost of my endevors and power to pay you some of your money, and geve you newe assurance for the satisfaction of the rest at as shorte dayes as by any possible meanes I may, for as you were most nearest in blud to my deare husband of any to whom he was indepted, so shall you find that I (in the reverent remembraunce of him and for the love I beare you) will place you the first that I will endeavor truly to se satisfied and discharged. Thus, hopinge shortly to see you, I for this time bide you most hartely farewell, restinge

Yo<sup>r</sup>

MER. LITTLETON.

## LETTER CCLI.

*Thomas Lorkin to Mr. Adam Newton, the Tutor of Prince Henry, detailing the manner in which a young English Gentleman completed his Education at Paris, in 1610.*

[MS. LANSD. 841. fol. 100. Orig.]

\* \* Mr. Puckering mentioned in this Letter was probably the son of Sir John Puckering, who was for a short time Lord Keeper in the latter part of the reign of Queen Elizabeth.

The contrast which this Letter affords to the System of Education for the young Nobility, followed a hundred and fifty years before, as described in the unpublished Version of Hardyng's Chronicle, <sup>a</sup> deserves the reader's attention.

“ And as Lord's sons bene set at four year age  
 To scole at learn the doctrine of lettrure,  
 And after at six to have them in language,  
 And sit at meat semely in all nurture,  
 At ten and twelve to revel is their cure,  
 To dance and sing and speak of gentleness,  
 At fourteen year they shall to field I sure,  
 At hunt the deer and catch an hardiness.

“ For deer to hunt and slay, and see them bleed,  
 An hardiment giveth to his courage,  
 And also in his wit he taketh heed  
 Imagining to take them at avantage;  
 At sixteen year to werray and to wage,  
 To just and ride, and castles to assail,  
 To skirmish als, and make siker scourage,  
 And set his watch for peril nocturnaile.

<sup>a</sup> MS. Lansd. 204. It is the Chronicle as it was originally written, and presented to King Henry the Sixth: the Printed Version is the Chronicle as it was re-written and presented to King Edward the Fourth. The variations are very considerable.

“ And every day his armour to assay  
 In feat of arms with some of his many,  
 His might to prove, and what that he do may  
 If that he were in such a jeopardy  
 Of warre by falle, that by necessity  
 He might algates with weapons him defend :  
 Thus should he learn in his priority  
 His weapons all in armes to dispend.”

---

## SYR

THE chief errand of my last Letters was to let you understand of our safe comming hither. These will give you an Account of our tyme spent here. Our dayes therefore are thus divided. In the forenoone Mr. Puckering spends two houres on horsebacke; from seven to nine one morning, from nine to eleven another. Two other houres he spends in French; one in reading, the other in rendring to his teacher some part of a Latine author by word of mouth. A fifth hour is employed in learning to handle his weapon which entertains him till twelve of the clock, when the bell warns him to dinner, where the company continues together till Two oClock, either passing the time in discourse, or some honest recreation perteyning to armes. Then they are warned by the bell to dauncing, which houlds him till Three, when he retyres himself into his chamber, and there employs with me two other hours in reading over some Latin author; which done, he translates some little part of it into French, leaving

his faults to be corrected the morrow following by his teacher. After supper we take a brief Survey of all.

This is the Course which we have entred upon, and which we mean to follow till he be further advanced in the Language. Mons<sup>r</sup>. Ballendine hath commended unto us Paulus Æmilius in French, who writeth the History of the Country. His counsell we meane to followe. I have not yet found opportunitie to move him in that which yt pleased you to commaund me, but will wayt a fitt occasion. And thus desyring to have my humblest service remembred to yourself and worthy M<sup>rs</sup>. Newton I end, and rest

Your most humbly devoted  
in all duty and service

THOMAS LORKIN.

Paris this 6 of Novemb.

Stilo novo.

To the hono<sup>r</sup>able Mr. Adam Newton at the Prince's Court in England.

## LETTER CCLII.

*Sir Ferdinando Heyborn, to Sir Michael Hikes.*

[MS. LANSDOWNE 92. art. 61. Orig.]

\* \* \* This Letter is dated from Tottenham in Middlesex, where, in the parish church, the figure of Sir Ferdinando Heybourne kneeling in armour, still remains upon a Monument half of which only belongs to him. The inscription, now concealed by the lining of a pew, describes him as a knight and justice of peace, and says, "he waited at the feet of Queen Elizabeth of famous memory, and our Sovereign Lord King James, in their Privy Chamber."

The contents of this Letter have so much of professional appearance, that in the Catalogue of the Lansdowne Manuscripts it is entered as from Ferdinando Heybourne "a musician."

In the reigns of Elizabeth and James the First, Music was considered an essential part of good education, and was probably expected as a requisite qualification in a gentleman of the Privy Chamber. Sir Ferdinando, when he left the Court on Queen Elizabeth's demise took to farming to increase his income. He then, or subsequently, held a moiety of the manor of Wyloughby in the adjoining parish of Edmonton. Mr. Candler mentioned toward the close of this Letter was the brother of his second wife, the daughter of Mr. Richard Candler of Tottenham whose figure in a citizen's gown occupies the dexter side of the same monument with Sir Ferdinando. Sir Ferdinando Heybourne died June the 4<sup>th</sup>. 1618.

---

SIR

WHEN I sawe you last, you spake to me for some Virginall Lessons for your daughter. I have therefore made theis of purpose for you, which is more then I have doon since Queen Elizabeth dyed. For since her death I have had many things to drawe me from all

musicall exercises, and nothing to invite me therunto; till nowe that his Ma<sup>tie</sup> hath byn pleased graciously to consider of my yeeres and long service, and to grant me leave to wayt as I shall fynd myself able: and by that means I shall enjoye my self at home the more, and sometyme perhapps take pleasure to looke uppon the Virginalls when the wether serves not to hedg and dich, and to do those things that I must nowe get my lyving by: and then if my labor in this kynd, or any way, may do yow pleasure, I shalbe willing to bestowe it. If he that teacheth your daughter will coppie theis out, and leave my coppie at Mr. Candelers office in the Royall Exchange, and therewithall write me a word or two howe theis things may fitt your daughters hand, I shall, as my leisure will serve, remember yow sometymes with some such toyes: which is all I am able to do for my frends, among whome I desire to hold yow; and so I shall ever seeke to deserve. Totnam this 16<sup>th</sup> of Augt. 1611.

Y<sup>r</sup>. assured poore frend

FER. HEYBORN.

To my honorable frend Sr. Michaell Hicks give theis, at his House in London.



## LETTER CCLIII.

*Nicholas Charles to Sir Robert Cotton, upon the  
Creation of the new Nobility called Baronets.*

[MS. COTTON. JULIUS C. III. fol. 92 b. *Orig.*]

\* \* \* Sir Oliver Lambert, says Betham, having reduced the Province of Ulster in Ireland, the King, in order to preserve it in subjection, and to encourage a plantation therein by the English, instituted the hereditary dignity of Baronet, May 11<sup>th</sup>. 1611. The persons upon whom this honor was bestowed engaging singly to maintain thirty foot soldiers in Ireland for three years, at the rate of eight pence English by the day; and to pay the first year's wages into the Exchequer at one payment, upon passing their patents; which, with fees of honor, amounted to near Twelve Hundred Pounds.

With the precise circumstances of the discussion alluded to in the present Letter, the Editor is unacquainted.

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RIGHT worshipfull Sir, my duty remembred, I have made bould to trouble you with this Script, conteyn-  
ing some of the occurrences and buisnes of the Baro-  
nettes since your going out of towne. The matter hath  
bin heard on both sides, wherein by the Baronettes was  
shewed the promiscuous using of Baronett and Banna-  
rett, and their proofes held for litle and nothing worth,  
being accompted Monkish Stories; <sup>a</sup> and so made but  
a mistake in all ages. Withall it was urged that if  
they could shew a Baronett made formerly, and after-  
ward corruptly called a Bannarett, that then it were a  
good instance to prove them all one. This and some  
other such like argumentes, too long to be written,

<sup>a</sup> *Baronetti* and *Baronuli* occur, as diminutives of BARONES, in a deed in the Museum, dated 20<sup>th</sup>. July, 16<sup>th</sup> Hen. VIII<sup>th</sup>.

were used of eyther part on two severall dayes of hearing, and the last day it seemed to leane toward the Baronettes side, that they should be declared Banne-  
rettes; but with proviso to give place unto Barons  
yonger sonnes; and we have delivered in a note to the  
Lordes of the Privileges & Immunityes of a Bannarett,  
but what they will allow I cannot yet heare of: but on  
Saturday next the finall determination is expected, if  
some troublesome Spirit do not hinder it; which end  
I wish were well made, & am glad that you are not  
seen in it at this tyme. And no doubt it wilbe to the  
Content of you and other understanding gentlemen.  
Thus wishing to your worshipp all health & prosperity,  
I take my leave. From my Lodging in the Office of  
Armes, Thursday the 2d of Aprill Anno Dni. 1612.

Your Worshipp's bounden to be commanded

NICH. CHARLES, *Lancaster.*

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### LETTER CCLIV.

*Prince Henry to King James the First, upon the  
Match intended for him.*

[MS. COTTON. TITUS B. VII. fol. 437. *Orig.* ENTIRELY IN PRINCE  
HENRY'S HAND.]

---

May itt please your Majesty

SEING that your Majesty's pleasure, signified unto

me by my Lo. Rochester, is, that I sett downe my opinion concerning the Proposition lately made by your Ambassadour unto Villeroy; your Majesty must pardon both the bouldnesse of my writeing, and the weake-nesse of my opinion in a matter of such consequence.

Wherefore may itt please you to consider, that for so farr as your Ambassador hath hethertoo proceeded in itt, [he] hath wrought the same effect that might have benne looked for; but, when itt commeth unto a more particuler Negotiation, whether they will then yeald unto such conditions as your Majesty in your wisdomes shall thinke fitt, the successe of their next enterview will make you give a more neare guesse.

The cause which first induced your Ma<sup>ty</sup>. to proceede in this proposition by your Ambassador, was the hope which the D. of Bouillon gave your Ma<sup>ty</sup> of breakeing their other match with Spaine. If the continuance of this Treaty should onely upon that hope, and nott upon any desyre to effect a match with the second daughter, in my weake opinion I should that itt stands more with your Ma<sup>ty</sup>s honour to stay your Ambass. from moving itt any more, then to goe onne with itt. Because no great Negotiation should be grounded upon a ground that is very unsure or uncertaine, and depending upon their wills who were the first causers of the contrary. Next itt will not be honorable for your Ma<sup>ty</sup>. that the world should see, that when you shall have broken itt off, after a long Treaty,

you did itt onely to breake off the other, seing they will saye that itt is your owne falte not having made soone enough ane ouverture for the first.

Whether your Ma<sup>ty</sup> will proceede further in itt upon the desyre you have to make a match with the second, that, with the rest, I leave unto your Ma<sup>ty</sup>'s further and better judgement. Butt if your Ma<sup>t</sup>. be resolved to continew itt in respect of itt self, then I intreate your Ma<sup>ty</sup>. be sure, both of the certainty, and of the sending of her hether upon the conclusion, or at the furthest, att the goeing of the other in to Spayne.

I feare I have trobbled your Ma<sup>ty</sup>'s patience so long with a good tale ill tould; but you must impute this falte unto your command, and nott unto my presumption. I shall ever hould my self very happie to be commanded by him whom I have most reason of all others to love, honour, serve, and obey, and who shall ever finde me his

most humble, faithfull,

and obedient son and servant

HENRY.

Richmont, this 29 of July,

1612.

To the King's most excell<sup>t</sup>  
Majesty.

## LETTER CCLV.

*Lord Rochester to Henry Prince of Wales upon the subject of his intended Marriage. A. D. 1612.*

[IN THE POSSESSION OF LORD VISCOUNT STRANGFORD.]

\* \* This Letter is endorsed with the date of Oct. 4<sup>th</sup>. 1612.

Pleas your Highnes

I AM by his Majesty commandit to send your Highnes this Dispache from France as a mater personally concerninge your self, whairin his Ma. observes two things, first that the Match with the eldest daughter is utterly desperate; next that this proposition for the seconde daughter is so strongly apprehendit as they will refuse no conditiones that with reason may be demandit, and will accommodat all difficulties and hinderances that may in any sort interrupt the issue of a work so much acceptable, and by tham passionatly taken hold of; only that incongruity betwixt your Highnes age and hers is one inconvenience which neither syde can help.

As for the portione which accordinge to the example of the elder sisters, is but five hundreth thousand crounes, His Ma<sup>ty</sup> notwithstanding under other prentences thinks thair may be hope in respect of thair earnestness to increase the Summe.

In conclusion, his Ma<sup>y</sup>. willes that your Highnes consider that the Lady can not be maid rypper nor fitter then her age permittes, which is no more then Nyne yeers; but with all desyres to heere your Highnes free opinione what your conceyte is of this particular compared with the others. So humbly taking my leave I rest

at your Highnes command

RO. ROCHESTER.

Roystone, Saturday, 9 at  
night.

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## LETTER CCLVI.

*Prince Henry's Answer to the preceding Letter.*

[ALSO COMMUNICATED BY LORD STRANGFORD.]

MY LORD

Having perused the Dispatch which together with your Lordships Letter was sent unto me, and according to His Majesty's command considered of the points concerning my self in particular, I have retourned you this enclosed Answer to be delivered unto His Majesty, wherein if I do not fullie satisfie His Majesty's expectation, I hope so much the more to be excused

that I choose rather to bewray the weaknes of my judgement by obedience, then that His Majesty should not fynd in me a willingnesse to do my best endeavors for the satisfying of all his commandements, which I doubt not you will beleeve from

Yo<sup>r</sup> Lordships good friend

HENRY.

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THIS was probably one of the last Letters written by Prince Henry. He died at the age of eighteen, November the 6<sup>th</sup>. 1612, lamented by every rank of society. <sup>a</sup>

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## LETTER CCLVII.

*The Lady Elizabeth to the Lord Mayor of London, and the Master, Wardens, and Court of Assistants of the Merchant Tailors' Company, upon the eve of her leaving England, in behalf of her Man-Cook. A. D. 1613.*

[FROM THE COURT BOOKS OF THE MERCHANT TAILORS' COMPANY.]

\* \* \* The great honor which this Company had long received in having Kings for brothers of its fraternity, may perhaps in part account for the

<sup>a</sup> One of the Lansdowne Manuscripts preserves the following Verses written upon his death by Hugh Hollande, fellow of Trinity College Cambridge.

“ Upon PRINCE HENRY.

“ Loe where he shineth yonder  
A fixed Star in Heaven,  
Whose motion here came under  
None of the Planets seven.  
If that the Moone should tender  
The Sun her love, and marry,  
They both could not engender  
So sweet a Star as HARRY.”

petition of the present Letter. Richard the Second, Henry the Fourth, Fifth, and Sixth, Edward the Fourth, Richard the Third, Henry the Seventh, and Henry Prince of Wales, had all been enrolled among its members. <sup>a</sup>

Sir John Swynnerton the Lord Mayor of London in 1613, to whom the Letter is primarily addressed, was also a Merchant Tailor.

Court interference upon vacancies in city places, at an earlier period than this, has been already noticed, and was continued somewhat later. Charles the Second's Letter is still extant recommending a Clerk to this Company.

The Princess Elizabeth's application, however, as far as herself was concerned, was an attempt to pay a debt of gratitude. She was going to the Palatinate, and wished to secure the reversion of a new post for a faithful servant.

It appears from the Merchant Tailors' Books that the vacancy did not take place for some time after, when John Warde, whom the Princess had recommended, was not the successful candidate.

There is no date to this Letter, but it was received by the Company May 5<sup>th</sup>. 1613. The Princess had left England before the Letter could be laid before a Court.

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To my ho. freindd S<sup>r</sup>. John Swynnerton Lo.  
Maio<sup>r</sup> of London, and to the Wor<sup>ll</sup>. Maister,  
Wardens, and Assistants of the Company of  
Merchauntailors.

MY LORDE, I have not bin forward to wringe you with requests. As this the first, soe is it likely to be the last, especyally in this kinde.

That which I am to move you and yo<sup>r</sup> Company for, is this: I am given to understand that the Cooke belonging to your Hall, being an olde man, is not soe well able as he hath bin to doe your service, but, by reason of his Impotency, dryven to comitt the same to another: in regard whereof for that I have knowne the

<sup>a</sup> James the First was a member of the Grocers' Company.



bearer hereof, John Warde, to be suffycient for the operacion of such a place, havinge had experience of his honesty and discreete consideracion, doinge me service in the howse where I have lived since my cominge into England, I am willing to commende him unto you for the Cooke of yo<sup>r</sup>. Hall, to be accepted when that olde man shall leave his place by death, or otherwise resigne it. I presume my Lettre shall carrie that respect with yo<sup>r</sup> Lo<sup>pp</sup>. that to enlarge it with more inducements shalbe needless. Yf I may heare before I leave this place, that John Warde doth rest assured of yo<sup>r</sup>. favoures in this behalfe, it shall setle an affection in me to continewe

Yo<sup>r</sup> ffreinde

ELIZABETH.

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### LETTER CCLVIII.

*Nicholas Charles Lancaster herald, to Sir Robert Cotton. The prevalence of Duels.*

[MS. COTTON. JULIUS C. III. fol. 102 b. *Orig.*]

\* \* \* In the former Series of these Letters, one was introduced from Sir Francis Cottington to Lord Northampton on the punishment of Duels in Spain, accompanied by some particulars illustrative of the great prevalence of Duels in England at the beginning of the seventeenth Century. The present Letter affords a further confirmation of the fact.

SIR, not knowing how I may deserve that love and courtesie you have allwayes affoorded me, yet still presuming upon your favour, I have made bould to acquaint you with such newes as our Citye is filled with. And first the Lord Bruse is certeynly slayne by Mr. Sackvile in the feilds without Andwerpe in Brabant, and Sackvile himself sore wounded also. My Lo. Harington died within twoo dayes journey of Hidelberg, and a gentleman of his a brother to Sir Edward Bushell very trecherously killed by the meanes of Sir Andrew Keth master of the horse to the lady Elizabeth. But Keyth is in hould to be sent over into England. There is also a quarrell betweene my lord of Essex and Mr. Harry Howard, and one of them is gotten over, but there are letters sent to the Archduke and the French King to prevent theyre desperate proceedings. There is also a talke of a quarrell betweene my lord of Rutland and my lord Danvers, as also of other noble and gentlemen of good quality, but I thinke the truth of some few have given occasion to some idle brayne to coyne others and fill the world with rumors of Duells.

My Lord of Bedford they say is very sick, but my Lord Petre is not yet dead but in great danger: and amongst the rest to fill up the mouth of mortality Sir James Pemberton our late Mavor of London on Thursday morning last gave up the ghost. Thus desiring your pardon for my boldness, remembering

my thanks to Mr. Tho. Cotton and Mistris Cotton, and Mr. Bevill, I take my leave, from my Howse in Coleman Streete London, this 10<sup>th</sup> day of September Ao. Dni. 1613.

Yours, ever bound to your love and courtesy,  
NICH. CHARLES, *Lancaster.*

I have not yet seene Mr. Clarenceux and the returne of the Carrier was so short that I heard not of him above an houre before he was to go away, or else I would have written you some particulers concerning these Dueilles.

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### LETTER CCLIX.

*Lord Chancellor Bacon to the Lords of Parliament upon his Impeachment.*

[MS. DONAT. 4106. fol. 123. *Orig.*]

\* \* \* This was the Letter which the Duke of Buckingham presented to the Lords, when the consideration of Lord Bacon's case was referred to them from the Lower House; and it indicates the anguish of Lord Bacon's mind.

The particulars of his Lordship's fall are too well known to be more than glanced at here. Upon his Confession, when a Committee of the Lords were sent to him to demand whether it was his own hand which had subscribed it? and whether he would stand to it or not? he answered, "My Lords, it is my act, my hand, my heart. I beseech your Lordships to be merciful to a broken reed."

The original schedule of his debts, at the time of his death, is still extant, in the possession of Mr. Upcot of the London Institution. They amounted to Twenty-two Thousand three hundred and seventy-one pounds, one shilling, and three pence.

## MY VERIE GOOD LORDS

I HUMBLYE praye your Lordships to make a favourable and true construction of my absence. It ys noe fayninge nor fayntinge, but sicknes both of my harte and of my backe; thoughe joyned with that comfort of my mynde that persuadeth me, that I am not farre from heaven, wherof I feele the first fruites. And because, whether I lyve or dye, I woulde be glad to preserve my honor and fame, as farre as I am worthy, hearinge that some complayntes of base Bryberye are come before your Lordships, my requests to your Lordships are, First, that you will mayntayne me in your good opynion without prejudice untill my cause be hearde; Secondlye, that in regard I have sequestred my mynde at this tyme in great part from worldlye matters, thinkinge of my accompt and answeere in a higher Court, your Lordships would geve me some convenient tyme accordinge to the course of other Courtes to advise with my Counsell, and to make my answeere; wherin neverthelesse my Counsellis part wilbe the lest, for I shall not by the grace of God trick up an innocenye with cavillacions, but playnlye and ingenuouslye (as your Lordships knowe my maner ys) declare what I knowe or remember; Thyrdlye, that accordinge to the course of Justice I may be allowed to except to the witnesses brought against me, and to move questions to your Lordships for their crosse examinacions; and likewise to produce my owne wit-

nesses for discoverye of the truthe; and Lastlye, yf their come anye more petitions of like nature, that your Lordships would be pleased not to take anye prejudice or apprehension of anye number or muster of them against a Judge that makes two thousand Decrees and Orders in a yeare; not to speake of courses that have bene taken for huntinge out complayntes against me; but that I may answere them accordinge to the rules of Justice severallye and respectivelye.

These requests I hope to appeare to your Lordships noe other then just. And so thinkinge my selfe happye to have soe noble Peers and reverende Prelates to discernе of my cause, and desyringe that noe privilege of greatnes for subterfuge of guiltynes, but meane (as I sayed) to deale fayerlye and playnlye with your Lordships, and to put my selfe upon your honors and favours, I pray God to blesse your counsells and your persons; and rest

Your Lordships humble servaunt,

FR. ST. ALBAN, *Canc.*

9 Martij, 1620.

To the right ho. his verie good  
Lords the Lords Spyrituall and  
Temporall, in the Upper House  
of Parliament assembled.

## LETTER CCLX.

*Mr. Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville. The Prince  
Palatine's complaint.*

[MS. HARL. 389. p. 99. *Orig.*]

\* \* \* \* \*

Mr. MEDDUS told a friend of mine this week, that the Prince Palatine had written to our King, that, if His Majestie would have bestowed the money which he hath spent in Treaties and upon the Navy to Algiers in behalf of the Spaniard, upon his Daughter and children, their inheritance had beene preserved, and need not to have sued to their enemies; whereat His Majestie was offended not a litle.

Christ Coll. June 23, 1621.

## LETTER CCLXI.

*Mr. Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville. The Bishop of  
Lincoln made Lord Keeper. The King and Queen  
of Bohemia entertained at Amsterdam. The Earl  
of Southampton's search concerning the Earl of  
Hertford's marriage.*

[MS. HARL. 389. fol. 100. *Orig.*]

I AM told that Dr. Balcanquell should write that Dr. Williams had the Seale for L. Keeper thrice given

and taken from him in one day. They say the King should say that Charles was against him, and how could he make him recompense unless he gave it him : to which some report the Doctor answered He should be content with the Bishoprick of London, if he might hold his Deanry still in commendam. He hath sat and spake in Starchamber.

\* \* \* \* \*

The King and Queen of Bohemia were lately royally entertained at Amsterdam, where all the English women of fashion came to the Queene and were graciously accepted. One M<sup>r</sup>. Paget an English preacher preached before them. His text, that of the Revelation to the Angell of the Church of Smyrna, ‘ Be faithfull unto death and I will give thee a crown of life ;’ which he urged (as they say he can do well) according to the present occasion bravely.

I am told even now as a secret, that the Earl of South Hampton hath beene searching concerning the lawfulness of the Earl of Hertford’s marriage, which is that wherewith the King is offended : for it is sayd, that the last Parliament the King or somebody should propound a motion to pronounce that issue illegitimate, &c. &c. Some talk of other things, but I think all uncertain.

Yours to command,

JOSEPH MEAD.

Christ Coll. Jun. 30, 1621.

## LETTER CCLXII.

*Mr. Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville. The Benevolence.  
The King's Declaration at Theobalds.*

[MS. HARL. 389. fol. 140 b. *Orig.*]

\* \* \* \* \*

THE Benevolence goes on. A merchant of London who had been a cheesemonger, but now rich, was sent for by the Council, and required to give the King £.200, or to go into the Palatinate and serve the Army with Cheese, being a man of eighty years of age. He yielded rather to pay, though he might better have given nine subsidies according as he stands valued. This was told to me by one that heard it from his owne mouth. They talk also of Privy Seales.

His Majestie at Theobalds, discoursing publickly how he ment to governe, was heard to say He would governe according to the good of the Common-Weale, but not according to the Common-Will.

Christ Coll. Feb. 2. 1621-2.



## LETTER CCLXIII.

*William Laud Bishop of St. Davids, to Sir Robert Cotton, requesting the return of a Manuscript borrowed from the Library of St. John's College Oxford, of which he had been President.*

[MS. COTTON. JULIUS C. III. fol. 152. Orig.]

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SIR,

AFTER longe deliberacion I am boulded to imparte a business unto you which troubles mee. It is not long since I was President of St. Johns Colledge in Oxon; and duringe the tyme I was in that place, Sir William Paddye (a worthy benefactor to that poore Colledge) importuned the lending of an auncient volume of Beda to you, which the Statutes of that howse could not well beare; but that it was thought at that tyme unfitt to distast a man that had done soe much good for the Colledge, and intended much more. The cause which hee alleadged was, that you had use of it for some thinge that concerned your Howse and Inheritance.

Upon my cominge away from that Headshipp, there began (as there uses in such Societies) a faction about the choice of a newe Governour. The heate that was then strooke is not yett quenched in the

loosinge partye; and out of an opinion that I had some hand in the business for him that obtayned, they have beene soe angry with mee, that they have not only beene content to forgett all the service I did that Colledge, (which I can without vanity saye was some) but have picked all the occacions they could to detract from mee.

That which they have most colour for against mee, is the lending of this parte of Beda out of the Lybrarye: and though att that tyme when it was done, their consentes were more forward then other honester mens, yett nowe they are over bould with my reputacion, & chardge all the gylt of the accion upon me, & more too.

Sir, if it please you to thinke mee worth the havinge, you have now an opportunity to bind mee to you; and if it please you to lett mee have this Booke to send backe to the Colledge and be to take of that which troubles my owne mynd and gives some unadvised men too much occasion to be bould with mee, You shall in lewe of it have my continuall service; and if any thinge of worth in like kind come to my handes in any place where God shall send me to live, I will freely give it in recompence. This hath been the occasion, which hath kept mee from begginge your acquaintance: and because I find that I suffar att the Colledge everye daye more then other for it (though the President & some of the Seniors out of their due respectes to Sir

William Paddy forbear) I am very desirous to doe twoo things att once; namely to quitt that business, & to make my selfe both knowne and a debtor to you, both at once. I will hope you will refuse mee in neyther. And soe for this tyme I leave you to the grace of God, and shalbee reddey to shewe myselfe both to you and your worth

Your very lovinge frend

GUIL. MENEVEN.

Durham Howse,  
November 22, 1623.

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#### LETTER CCLXIV.

*Edward Tilman to Paul D'Ewes, Esq. The Death of King James, and the proclamation of King Charles the First. The Marquis of Hamilton reported to have been poisoned. News from Breda and Rome.*

[MS. HARL. 383. Orig.]

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#### NOBLE PATRONE

MY absence from Stow grieves mee not a little this sicklie time, but I am not at mine owne disposing till our Terme be ended.

\* \* \* \* \*

Of those that I left sick in your familie especiallie, I am not unmindfull in my best thoughts: the decease of our late King makes me conceive everie little sicknesse to bee mortall: a tertian turn'd into a burning fever hath divorced his soule from his bodie, and kept him from the honour his later designes have been supposed to aime at, of restoring Christendome.

On Wednesday King Charles was heere proclaimed, and I know not what the omen of yt was, but the joy of the people devoured their mourning. Wee had Thunder the same day, presentlie upon the Proclamation, and 'twas a cold season, but all feares and sorrowes are swallowed up in joy of so hopefull a successor. God bee blessed wee are not left destitute. The day of the King's death wee are not yet certaine of, 'tis thought 'twas March 24<sup>th</sup>. because the Lord Mayor was not at Pauls Crosse that day; but the 27<sup>th</sup> is given out for the day, and then was K. Charles first proclaimed at London.

The King, however naturallie impatient, yett before his death verie patient, hath left, they say, a Confession of his faith to be published, to stop the mouthes of Papists, that of late also have given out that Marquesse Hamilton died Roman catholique. 'Tis thought hee was catholiquelie poisoned, and so now is his name: but this will bee vindicated.

Newes about alarums in Breda and Spinola's campe, three nights together, the soldiers on both

sides being at quiet, and the cause not knowne. I heard of M<sup>r</sup>. Mede of Spectres reported, of an Arme hanging over Breda with a bloodie sword; and a Divell walking through Spinolas camp with *mort* in his mouth, &c. which M<sup>r</sup>. Elborough can acquaint you with.

The Pope hath furthered the French much of late in some designes toward Genoa, but repents now, because he sees his Cardinals are offended at yt. And upon that occasion this motto was set on Pasquine, *Cecinit Gallus, flevit Petrus.*

More Newes I have not; and this is ynough to trouble you. I would not bee tedious. I commend you and all yours to the mercie of God, wishing you more health then I as yet can attaine to, and rest

Yours to be commanded in the Lord

EDWARD TILMAN.

Cambr.

Aprill 1, 1625.

To my much honoured patrone  
Paul D'Ewes Esquire these.

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EXCLUSIVE of the Volume mentioned in a former page, relating to King James's health and personal habits, there are no less than nineteen others in the Sloane Collection of Manuscripts, folio and quarto, in the hand-writing of Sir Theodore Mayerne, filled with what he stiles his "Ephemerides," a Journal of the Cases which he attended from 1603 to 1649.\* The earlier Volumes, previous to 1611, relate to his French patients; the rest are his "*Ephemerides Anglicæ*," and record the disorders, prescriptions for, and cures of persons of both sexes of so great

\* MS. Sloan. Brit. Mus.

consequence, that they may be stiled, for the period they embrace, "The Medical Annals of the Court of England."

The ceremoniousness with which Sir Theodore prefaces the Patient's case in many instances, is entertaining. The day and hour of his birth, his personal formation, the state of the different organs of his frame, the peculiarities of his diet, his likes and dislikes, the diseases to which his parents were liable, and the casualties he had himself undergone in the course of life, are all exactly registered, with such remarks super-added as might tend to aid Sir Theodore's skill when again called in at any subsequent time. The whole written in Latin. Among the most particular of all perhaps is the Account of Robert Earl of Salisbury. It is given in the Note below,<sup>a</sup> though somewhat abridged.

On the 29th of July, 1617, he attended my Lord of Buckingham for a humor in his right ear, caused by riding barc-headed two years before, in the winter, hunting with the King.<sup>b</sup>

\* "MY LORD DE SALISBURY,  
28 Julii 1611.

"Natus anno 1563, 1 Junii, hora secunda post mediam noctem. Infans nutrici excidit, nutrix autem celavit malum. An. 48. 1 Junii 1611. Scoliosis a casu, non a natura: mater tamen aliquantulum gibba. Statura exigua et brevis. Thorax ab leva parte compressus, ab altera elatus. Pulmones licet comprimi debeant vitio confirmationis, nullum tamen inde sequitur respirationis symptoma. Corpus admodum macilentum et esiccum. Temperamentum calidum, siccum, biliosum. Cerebrum frigidissimum, humidissimum. Cor et pulmo, calida. Hepar calidum. Ventriculus frigidus, in quem bilis rejicitur ab hepate. Lien rotundus, durus. Renes calidi. Vesica passa est incommodum, δυσουριαν. Artus debiles. Pater et frater arthritici. Canit es cœpit anno xxxº. Omnia sensoria bona. Bene dormit per sex horas sine interruptione. Parum mungit. Pituutum per os attrahit. Excrementa a capite labentia, aliquando salsa. Nulla unquam vertigo. Nulla in pueritia convulsio. Nullus spinæ dolor. Nulla tussis. Vox facilis. Nunquam sanguinem sput. Nullus unquam thoracis affectus. Nulla cordis palpitatio. Bonus appetitus. Omnia edulia placent. Non delectatus salsis, nec utitur sale; non piperatis. Non edit pisces. Salso bove delectatur. Fructus edit quamplurimos præter poma. Edit cerasa præcoccia; uvas, quæ semper nocent. Ventriculus non bene coquit. Appetitus digestionem melior. Horis vj. a prandio sitit, tunc bibit alam et cerevisiam simplicem, ita movetur appetitus, alias non edit, nam bile oppletur stomachus. Vitium digestionis fermentatio, non pondus. Flatus plurimi, qui per posteriora vacuantur; istis cum turgent hypochondria, torpent actiones; iis redditis optime ambulat. Flatus per superiora nunquam. Nulla oris amaritudo. Nunc pereunt dentes; obnoxius catarrho in dentes, quorum quatuor avulsi. Ter bibit in pastu. Non sitit nisi post longum sermonem. Non amat vinum, neque eo utitur pro potu ordinario. Ob flatus, ante cœnum, tantillum vini Hispanici bibit. Nocet tamen capiti et siccit corpus. Natura biliosus. Animi mores ob Philosophiam quieti. Hæmorrhoides a patre, quibus subsistentibus, pater factus est podagricus. Has dominus passus est usque ad annum ætatis vicesimum quartum. Herpes circa collum. Facillime sudat. *Facile omnia admittat remedia.* Nihil unquam Siphillium." MS. Sloan. fol. 2058—2076.

<sup>b</sup> MS. Sloan. 2066. fol. 14. In the Volume 2069. fol. 1. we have a specimen of superstition relating to Buckingham: "Nota quod Literæ numerales nominis Ducis Buckinghami faciunt annum 1628, quo vir nobilis à milite Johanne Felton Anglo

From many of the entries the Duke of Buckingham appears to have been a man of gaiety. He is frequently disguised in these Volumes under the name of "Palamedes."

The following is Sir Theodore Mayerne's description of the Duchess, then Marchioness of Buckingham.

"Januarii 24, 1622. MADAME LA MARQUISE DE BUCKINGHAM. Annum ætatis agit xix. Habitus gracilis, corpus *μοιογραμμον*. Temperamentum ex sanguineo biliosum. Faciei color floridus. Mores compositi. Summa cum gravitate modestia. Vitium conformationis in spina dorsi. Gravida est, et credit longissimum partus terminum fore diem Annunciationis B. V. M. 25 Martii." <sup>a</sup>

In one instance we have "Præparationes missæ ad Ser Watter Raleigh: parandæ pro Ser Roger Aston." <sup>b</sup> "My Lord Duc de Lenox, Diarrhea a liberiori victu." "Mylade Walsingham, Cephalæa ingens." "Madame de Hadingthon, Affectus hystericus et melancholicus." "Madame la Contesse de Carse, Debiles oculi." "Mylade Bedford, Podagra."

It is remarkable that the leaves in these Volumes, containing the Account of Prince Henry's last illness in 1612, have been cut out, <sup>c</sup> probably by Sir Theodore himself, who endured great obloquy upon the Prince's death.

There is a Recipe for scents and emollients made in 1611 for MY LORD HAY, intitled "Odoramenta et quæ ad ornatum." These were "*Pulvis ad Caput*. *Pastilli ad suffitum Cubiculi*. *Aviculæ Cypriæ ad suffitum*. *Pasta ad manus dealbandas et emolliendas*. *Opiata ad dentes mundandos et confirmandos*. *Aqua ad colluendos dentes post usum Opiatæ*. *Radices ad dentes expoliendos*." <sup>d</sup>

In 1617 we have a prescription for the Queens black horse which had been seized with epilepsy, "pro Equo nigro Reginæ epileptico;" it begins "Equus est novem annorum;" in the margin is added, "Curatus fuit." <sup>e</sup> And in 1636, another prescription for the Kings dogs, "pro canibus Regiis rabidis." <sup>f</sup>

In 1626, the Queen of Bohemia sent for his advice. <sup>g</sup>

sicario cultro occisus fuit, die 23 Augusti. Hoc ex observatione et relatione D. More qui fuit ipsius Ducis medicus. Oblit in urbe Portsmouth, Thalassiarcha, classis maximæ in Rupella obsessæ subsidium mox vela facturæ præfectus, circa decimam matutinam.

GEORGIVS DVX BVCKINGAMI

MDCXVVIII.

i. e. 1628.

Flos fueram, fumus factus; fortuna fefellit  
Florentem; floris funera Flora fleat."

<sup>a</sup> MS. Sloan. 2067. fol. 1.

<sup>b</sup> MS. Sloan. 2063. fol. 234 b.

<sup>c</sup> MS. Sloan. 2064. fol. 49.

<sup>d</sup> MS. Sloan. 2063. fol. 71 b.

<sup>e</sup> MS. Sloan. 2068. fol. 128 b.

<sup>f</sup> MS. Sloan. 2072. fol. 191 b.

<sup>g</sup> He says, "Matrî Reginæ Angliæ Annæ quoad corporis constitutionem admodum

In 1628 we have the copy of a Letter which Sir Theodore wrote to King Charles the First upon his quitting the use of the Wellingborough waters in Northamptonshire: <sup>a</sup> and, in the same year, he prescribed for "Mons<sup>r</sup>. Cromwell, *valde melancholicus*." <sup>b</sup> In 1643, we have his "Advis pour Monseigneur le Conte de Northumberland sur l'Usage des Eaux de Townebridge." <sup>c</sup>

Whoever is desirous to know the state of the Physician's Science in the reigns of James and Charles the First, must consult the Volumes here described. Sir Theodore Mayerne was among the first who introduced the chemical practice, which time and experience have now fully established.

similis sibi ipsa videtur. Hactenus valde fuit robusta. Nunc sibi nullo modo cavet. Continuo stat. Regimen vivendi postulat. A purgantibus abhorret. Phlebotomiam admittit." MS. Sloan. 2068. fol. 18.

<sup>a</sup> "Lettre escrite au Roy, de Wellimboroughe, quittant l'usage des Eäues, 15 Aug. 1628." MS. Sloan. 2069. fol. 79 b.

<sup>b</sup> Ibid fol. 92 b. 15 Sept. 1628.

<sup>c</sup> MS. Sloan. 2074. fol. 101.



LETTERS  
OF  
THE REIGN OF  
CHARLES THE FIRST.

Mrs. HUTCHINSON has drawn a picture of strong contrast between the Courts of King James and King Charles the First.

The COURT of JAMES, she says, was a nursery of lust and intemperance, the fashion of which was so followed by the gentry of the land, that every great house in the country became a sty of uncleanness. But in the change of the King, the face of the Court was changed; KING CHARLES was *temperate, chaste, and serious*; so that the fools and bawds, mimics and catamites of the former court grew out of fashion; and the nobility and courtiers who did not quite abandon their debaucheries, had yet that reverence to the King to retire into corners to practise them.

Such was indeed the personal character of Charles the First. None of his predecessors possessed more estimable or more manly virtues. But in the favour of his people, in his unseasonable notions of prerogative, in negotiations, and in war, he was attended by a strange fatality. Like Lord Strafford, whatever he did, or had even a regard unto, was doomed to pass the fiery trial. The malevolence of his fortune was extreme.

In the Hargrave Collection of Manuscripts in the British Museum are the Reports of Cases in the King's Bench and Star Chamber beginning Trin. 3 Cha. I. and ending Trin. 7 Cha. I. by Sir Nicholas Hyde Chief Justice of the King's Bench, in his own handwriting.<sup>a</sup> At fol. 97. of the volume which contains them, the Chief Justice gives a particular and curious Account of the manner in which King Charles the First, previous to passing the Petition of Rights, consulted the Judges *secretly* on the claimed Right of the King to commit without shewing the cause, and on the effect which the Petition might have on his Prerogative in that respect. The Questions to the Judges and their Answers are given at length: and as these have never yet been in print, the reader may probably like to have them placed before him. They fill a chasm in what Rushworth has collected relating to the Petition, and are given in the Note below.<sup>b</sup>

<sup>a</sup> MS. Hargr. 27. fol. 86.

<sup>b</sup> "Nota, que apres cest Terme (Pasch. 4 Car. I.) fine, et en le temps del Parliament, et apres que le Petition pur les liberties del People fait accord et vote en ambideux les maisons, et per eux toutes agree d'etre present al Roy. Les Seigniors agree le 26 de May de present al Roy un Protestation de lour intents en le petition, et meme le jour le Roy done a eux accesse a lui, et ils en escript ce deliver en ceux parols:

"MAY it please your most excellent Majesty we the Lords Spiritual and Temporal in your High Court of Parliament assembled, do humbly and unanimously declare unto your Majesty that our intencion is not to lessen or impeach any thing that by the Oath of Supremacie we have sworn to assist and defend." (Compare Parl. Hist. viii. p. 356.)

Afterwards the said 26<sup>th</sup>. of May the King sent for the two Chief Justices, Hyde and Richardson, to attend him at White Hall, who came unto his Majestic, who in pri-

The greatest of all the errors that King Charles committed was the signing by commission the Bill which rendered the Parliament perpetual.

vate delivered them a Case, and required them to assemble together all the Judges, and under their hands to give their Answer thereunto. Which Case here followeth:

*First Question.*

“ Whether in no Case whatsoever the King may not commit a subject without shewing a cause.”

Whereunto they made an answer the same day under their hands, which was the next day presented to his Majesty by the said two Chief Justices, which followeth in these words:

*The Judges Answer.*

“ We are of opinion that by the general rule of Law the cause of commitment by His Majesty ought to be shewn; yet some case may require such secrecy that the King may commit a subject, without shewing the cause, for a convenient time.”

Which said answer being delivered to his Majesty by the said two Chief Justices, it pleased his Majesty then to deliver them a Second Case, and required them to assemble all the Judges, and under their hands to declare to him the Law therein, but required them to be very secret, and to reveale the matter to none, as he also had done in the former. Whereupon they all, the next day assembled, and after consultation had, they all subscribed their names to an Answer to the same, except the Lord Chief Baron, who by reason of sicknes was not present at their consultation; which Resolution was delivered to his Majesty by the said two Chief Justices the 30<sup>th</sup> of May. The said Second Question followeth in these words:

*Second Question.*

“ Whether in case a Habeas Corpus be brought, and a Warrant from the King, without any general or special cause returned, the Judges ought to deliver him before they understood the cause from the King.”

*The Judges Answer.*

“ Upon a Habeas Corpus brought for one committed by the King, if the cause be not specially or generally returned, so as the Court may take knowledge thereof, the party ought by the general rule of lawe to be delivered. But if the Case be such that the same requireth secrecy, and may not presently be disclosed, the Court in discretion may forbear to deliver the prisoner for a convenient time, to the end the Court may be advertised of the truth therof.”

This answer being so delivered, his Majesty then gave unto the said two Chief Justices a Third Question, and commanded them to assemble their brethren forthwith, and give him an answer to the same under their hands; which they also received, and the next day all met together, and, after deliberation had, they all subscribed their names to an answer to the same; which by the said two Chief Justices was presented to his Majesty upon the 31<sup>st</sup>. of May: no person being present with his Majesty at any of the said meetings. The said Third Question here followeth.

*Third Question.*

“ Whether if the King grant the Commons Petition, he doth not thereby conclude himself from committing or restraining a subject for any time or cause whatsoever, without shewing a cause.”

*The Judges' Answer.*

“ Every Law, after it is made, hath his exposition, and so hath this Petition, and the Answer must have an exposition as the Case in the nature thereof shall require to stand with justice which is to be lefte to the Courts of Justice to determine, which cannot particularly be discerned until such case shall happen: and although the Petition be granted, there is no fear of conclusion, as is intimated in the Question.”

Strafford's attainder was signed upon the same day, with the same pen. By the one, as the event shewed, the King was punished for consenting to the other. The Act which rendered the Parliament perpetual, by placing an irrevocable power in the hands of his enemies, sealed the King's destruction.

It was stated in the Observations prefixed to the Letters of this Reign in the former Series, that none had occurred to the Editor which bore upon the taste of King Charles the First for the Arts, nor any upon the last dreadful event of his life. But among M. Van Sypsteyns Manuscripts, sold by auction in London by Mr. Sotheby, in 1825, he saw a Letter in French from King Charles the First to the Prince of Orange in favor of one Torensius, a painter, who had been imprisoned at Haerlem, requesting on account of the excellence of his Art, that the term of his imprisonment might be shortened, as his Majesty meant to employ him. This Letter was dated from Westminster in the month of May 1630. \* Dr. Birch also in one of his manuscript Volumes in the Museum, has preserved a copy of the King's Letter of Warrant for purchasing a Collection of Paintings at Venice in 1634, of which he was to be a fourth

Upon the second of June, being Whitson Monday, in the morning, his Majesty came to the Parliament House, and the Commons were sent for by the Gent. Ussher, and in full Parliament the Petition was read: and then the Clerk of the Parliament read the King's Answer to the same, which followeth in these words:

*The King's Answer.*

“ The King willeth that right be done according to the Laws and Customs of the Realm, and that the Statutes be putt in due execution, that the subjects may have no cause to complain of any wrong or oppression contrary to their just rights and liberties; to the preservation whereof he holds him self in conscience as well obliged, as of his prerogative.”

Afterwards upon the 7<sup>th</sup>. of June the Lords conceaving this Answer not to be full and satisfactory, desired a Conference with the Commons, who meeting presently, they all agreed to petition His Majesty to give a full and satisfactory Answer to the said Petition in full Parliament; which being agreed upon, their Lordships presently sent four Lords, viz. the Lord President, the Duke, the Lord Steward, and Lord Chamberlain to desire His Majesty to appoint a time that both Houses might attend him with their said Petition: who, shortly after, returned with this Message, that His Majesty would come to the Parliament House that very Afternoon at four of the clocke, to receive the Petition and Answer the same: at which hour His Majesty accordingly came, and the Commons were sent for, lxxv. at whose coming, the Lord Keeper; in name of Lords and Commons, presented by speech the said Petition: to which His Majesty answered that he conceived that his former Answer had been full, and according to every man's desire, but because he found that it was not so conceived, he now resolved to give them such an Answer as none should find fault withall; and therefore commanded the Petition of Right to be read by the Clerk, which being read, the King's Answer was read in these words “ *Soit droit fait come est desier.*”

\* In the Catalogue of King Charles the First's Pictures, two only by this Painter occur.

part owner, provided his share of the purchase came to no more than eight hundred pounds. <sup>a</sup>

Peacham in the second edition of his "Complete Gentleman" 4<sup>to</sup>. 1634, having spoken of the Collection of Statues at Arundell House, says,

"King Charles also, ever since his coming to the Crown, hath amply testified a royal liking of ancient Statues, by causing a whole army of old foreign Emperors, Captains, and Senators, all at once, to land on his coasts, to come and do him homage and attend him in his Palaces of Saint James and Somerset House. A great part of these belonged to the great Duke of Mantua; and some of the old Greek marble bases, columns, and altars were brought from the ruins of Apollo's temple at Delos by that noble and absolutely complete-gentleman Sir Kenelm Digby kn<sup>t</sup>. In the garden at St. James there are also half a dozen brass Statues, rare ones, cast by Hubert le Sueur his Majesty's servant, now dwelling in St. Bartholomews London; the most industrious and excellent statuary, in all materials, that ever this country enjoyed. The best of them is the Gladiator, moulded from that in Cardinal Borghesi's Villa, by the procurement and industry of ingenious Master Gage. And at this present the said Master Sueur hath divers other admirable moulds to cast in brass for his Majesty, and among the rest, that famous Dianá of Ephesus. But the great Horse with His Majesty upon it, twice as great as the life, and now well nigh finished, will compare with that of the New Bridge at Paris, or those others at Florence and Madrid, though made by Sueur his master John de Bologna that rare workman, who not long since lived at Florence. At York-House also, the Galleries and Rooms are ennobled with the possession of those Roman Heads and Statues which lately belonged to Sir Peter Paul Rubens knight, that exquisite Painter, of Antwerp: and the Garden will be renowned so long as John de Bologna's Cain and Abel stand erected there, a piece of wondrous art and workmanship. The King of Spain gave it His

<sup>a</sup> "WHEREAS we understand that an excellent Collection of Paintings are to be sold in Venice, which are known by the name of Bartolomeo della Stane his Collection. We are desirous that our beloved servant M<sup>r</sup>. William Pettye should go thither to make the bargain for them, We ourselves being resolved to go a fourth share in the buying of them (so it exceed not the sum of eight hundred pounds sterling) but that our Name be concealed in it: and if it shall please God that the same Collection be bought and come safely hither, then we do promise in the word of a King that they shall be divided with all equality in this manner; viz. that they shall be equally divided into four parts by some men skilfull in painting; and then every one interested in the shares, or some one for them, shall throw the Dice severally; and whosoever throws most shall choose after first as he casts most, and shall take their shares freely to their own uses as they shall fall unto them. In witness wherof we have set our hande this eighth day of July in the tenth year of our Reign, A. D. 1634." MS. Donat. Brit. Mus. 4106. art. 68.

Majesty at his being there, who bestowed it on the late Duke of Buckingham."

On the last dreadful event of King Charles's life, a single Letter has occurred for the present Series. An Englishman at Venice details to another Englishman abroad, the arrival of the news of the King's death.\*

There is a Sermon among what are called the King's Pamphlets in the British Museum, entitled "The Subject's Sorrow, or Lamentations upon the Death of Britaine's Josiah King Charles," 4<sup>to</sup>. Lond. 1649; marked, in manuscript upon the title, as the production of bishop Juxon: being the only printed Sermon ascribed to him. It is written in a style of considerable fervour, and contains some interesting particulars of King Charles's character and manners.

Noticing his Majesty's eloquence, the writer says, that had he not had "some natural difficulties in pronunciation, he would have been approved the best orator and perfect master of language that ever Britain bred."

It is expressly stated in this Sermon that the King himself desired "that unto his Golden Manual might be prefixed his Representation kneeling, contemning a temporal Crown, holding our blessed Saviour's Crown of Thorns, and aspiring unto an eternal Crown of Happiness." <sup>b</sup>

Adverting to the calmness of the King upon the Scaffold the author says, "He cheerfully undressed himself to his spiritual repose."

The portion in which the strongest language is found in this discourse, is that addressed to Hugh Peters, in allusion to the Text of his memorable Sermon preached before the King: "Bind your Kings with Chains, and your Nobles with fetters of Iron."

The bishop addresses him as the carnal Prophet, who walked by the light of his own eyes, and called his darkness light; and "who (as the Jews unto our Saviour) reached vinegar and gall unto God's anointed in the agony of his sufferings."

\* The King's Speech upon the Scaffold was published "by special authority," surrounded with a black border. "London, printed by Peter Cole, 1649." It has a few marginal notes of particulars which occurred at the Execution.

<sup>b</sup> This very Portrait of King Charles the First, engraved by Marshall, adorned the original edition of the *Εἰκὼν Βασιλική*. 8<sup>o</sup>. 1648. The same Portrait, as large as life, in oil-painting, was afterwards put up in many of our Churches.

## LETTER CCLXV.

*Dr. Williams Bishop of Lincoln to the Duke of Buckingham, that he may be restored to the favour of the new King.*

[MS. HARL. 7000. art. 103. Orig.]

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MOST Gracious Lord, beinge com hither, accordinge unto the dutye of my place, to doe my best service for the præparation to the Coronation, and to wayte upon his Majestye for his royall pleasure and direction therein, I doe most humblye beseech your Grace to crowne soe many of your Graces former favoures, and to revive a creature of your owne, strucke dead onlye with your displeasure (but noe other discontentement in the universall worlde) by bringinge of me to kisse his Majestyes hand, with whom I tooke leave in noe disfavour at all. I was never hitherto brought into the præsence of a Kinge by any Saint beside your selfe; turne me not over (most noble Lord) to offer my prayers at newe Aulters. If I were guiltye of any unworthye unfaithfulnes for the time past, or not guiltye of a resolution to doe your Grace all service for the time to com, all considerations under Heaven could not force me to begge

it so earnestlye, or to professe my selfe as I doe before  
God and you

Your Grace his most humble  
affectionate and devoted  
servaunt

JO: LINCOLN.

Westm<sup>r</sup>. this 7<sup>th</sup>  
of Januar. 1625.

To my most gracious Lord the  
Duke of Buckingham, these.

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LETTER CCLXVI.

*Mr. Augustine Baker to Sir Robert Cotton, entreating  
for a present of Books for the English Monastery  
at Cambray.*

[MS. COTTON. JULIUS C. III. fol. 187. Orig.]

\* \* The Abbé Mann in his Short Chronological Account of the Religious Establishments made by English Catholics on the Continent of Europe, <sup>a</sup> says of the Benedictine Nuns of Cambray,

“ This Abbey was begun in the year 1623 by M<sup>rs</sup>. Francis Gavin and two others, all professed Nuns of the Monastery at Brussels. The establishment was made chiefly by means of father Rudisind Barlow, President of the English Congregation of St. Benedict, to which it ever after remained subject. These Nuns, besides the regular duties of the Order, were occupied in the education of young Ladies. In 1793 they underwent the same fate as all the other English Convents in France.”

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SIR, I was gladde to understande of your life and health, which this bearer being latlie in thes partes,

<sup>a</sup> Archæolog. vol. xiii. p. 267.



made known unto me. I shall praie to God that the prolonging of your daies maie be a meane to dispose you for the better departure, when it shall please God to call you out of this uncertein and short life. Ever since my being with you I have lived in a cittie in thes forein partes called Cambraie, assisting a Convent of certein religious English women of the order of St. Benet newlie erected. They are in number as yet but twenty nine. They are inclosed, and never seen by us nor by anie other unlesse it be rarelie uppon an extraordinarie occasion, but uppon no occasion maie they go furth, nor maie anie man or woman gette in unto them. Yet I have my diet from them, and uppon occasions conferre with them, but see not one another; and live in a house adjoining to theirs. Their lives being contemplative, the comon Bookes of the worlde are not for their purpose, and litle or nothing is in thes daies printed in English that is proper for them. There were manie good English bookes in olde time, whereof, thoughte they have some, yet they want manie; and thereuppon I am in their behalff become an humble suitor unto you to bestowe on them such bookes as you please, either manuscript or printed, being in English, conteining contemplation, Saints Lives, or other devotions. Hampole's workes are proper for them. I wishe I had Hiltons Scala Perfectionis in Latin; it woulde helpe the understanding of the English (and some of them understande Latin). The favour you

shall do them heerin will be had in memorie, both to-  
wardes you and your posteritie, whereof it maie please  
God to sende some hether to be of the number, as there  
is allreadie one of the name, if not of your kindred.  
This bearer will convey hether such bookes as it shall  
please you to single out and deliver to him. I desire  
my humble service to be remembred to my Ladie also,  
for whose soule with your owne and your posterities,  
myself and this Convent will be gladde to have such  
particular occasion as this will be to have you in  
perpetuall recommendation, wherein we will not be  
wanting.

Your beadsman and  
servant in Christ..

AUG<sup>N</sup>. BAKER.

Cambraye the 3d of  
June 1629.

To Sir Robert Cotton knight  
and baronett.

## LETTER CCLXVII.

*The Lord Dorchester to Mr. De Vic, Chargé d'Affaires at Paris. Queen Henrietta retired to St. James's preparatory to her confinement. A Doctor sent from France to attend her; who is ordered to return.*

[MS. HARL. 7000. art. 161. Orig.]

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SIR,

I HAVE received your Letters of severall dates and must in them acknowledge your diligence, by whose helpe we have a good representation of forraine Occurrents in the varietie of their motions and progresse. And that the correspondence may be mutuall, so farre as the duties of your employments are interested in the knowledge of affaires here, I will acquaint you with some particulars to that purpose, wherein it will bee of nearest alliance and sympathie with the place you are in, to understand first the good health and contentement the Queene enjoys at St. James, whither she is expresly retired to attend the happie hower for herself and us.

The place proves very aggreable to both their Majesties, as well for conveniency of lodgings which are well repartited for both, as for other respects; the king

having his reputation at risk, and the Queen her entertainment and devotion, for which the new built Chapel is already adorned, and the new come Capuchins lodged commodiously beyond the assistance of that state: &c. &c. the French Ambassador himself hath professed to me, he could not conceive how it was possible for things in all respects to be so well accommodated.

Yet in this general satisfaction something hath fallen out to cross it, by sending hither from France a certain Doctor to attend the Queen in quality of her domestique Physician. A point had been heretofore raised after earnest instance used for a Bishop and Physician to be sent over, and his Majesty's express pleasure in the contract declared here as well as the Marquis de Chastanet, &c. in France by Sir Thomas Edmunds. Yet this man hath been addressed to the Ambassador to introduce him into the Court, and the Queen perswaded in clear and plain terms to speak to the King to admit him as domestique.

His Majesty expressed his dislike of this proceeding, but with regard to the present state the Queen is in, and to the Queen mother (under whose name this man comes over) so as contenting himself to let the Ambassador know this Doctor may return as he is come, with intimation he should do it speedily. The state was afterwards changed, and the French Ambassador willing to help the matter speak to the King.

that the said Doctor might be admitted to kisse the Queenes hand and to carrie the newes into France of her Majesties safe delivery : which the King excused by a civil answere : and since commanded me to let him<sup>a</sup> understand that he heard him as Mons<sup>r</sup>. de Fontenay in this particular, and answered him accordingly. But if he should persist herein and presse him as Ambassador, he should be forced (considering what formerly passed both concerning the man and the matter) to say that which would displease him. And this I have let you understand with so particular relation of the circumstances, to the end you should want no information how the businesse passeth, in case there should bee occasion ministred to make use thereof, though otherwise you neede not speake of it. I thank you for your particular and frequent advertisments which His Majesty likes very well of, and I rest

Y<sup>rs</sup>. most assured

DORCHESTER.

Whitehall 27 of May

1630.

<sup>a</sup> The Ambassador. EDIT.

## LETTER CCLXVIII.

*The Earl of Dorchester to Mr. De Vic: announces  
the birth of the Prince of Wales.*

[MS. HARL. 7000. art. 162. Orig.]

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SIR,

I RECEAVED this morning by Mr. Hopton your last Letters, and though I had already written to you by this bearer, the cause of publick joy, since hapned, occasions the addition of these lynes to let yow know that yesterday before noone the Queene was made the happy Mother of a Prince of Wales. Herselfe (God be thanked) is in good estate, and what a child can promise that reckons yet but two dayes, is already visible, as a gracious pledge from Heaven of those blessings which are convayed and assured to Kingdomes in the issue of their Princes. As this hath sett on worke here whatsoever may serve to speake the fullnes of our harts in the language of publicke rejoysing, soe His Majestie hath thought fitt to communicate his contentment to the King and Queenes of France by his owne letters, whereof Mr. Montague is the bearer, and hath commission to invite that King and the Queene

mother to joyne with the King of Bohemia in christ-  
ning of the yong Prince. And soe in hast I rest

Y<sup>rs</sup>. to be commaunded

DORCHESTER.

From Whitehall

The 30 of May 1630.

To my very loving frend Mr. De  
Vic remaying for his Majesties  
affaires at Paris.

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LETTER CCLXIX.

*Mr. Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville. Sir Edward  
Coke declining in health. The Christening of the  
Princess Sophia youngest daughter of the Queen  
of Bohemia.*

[MS. HARL. 390. fol. 534. Orig.]

\* \* \* \* \*

SIR Edward Coke being now very infirme in body, a  
freind of his sent him two or three Doctors to regulate  
his health; whom he told, that he had never taken  
phisick since he was borne, and would not now begin;  
and that he had now upon him a disease, which all  
the drugges of Asia, the gold of Africa, the silver of  
America, nor all the Doctors of Europe could cure,  
OLD AGE. He therefore both thankt them and his  
friend that sent them, and dismist them nobly with a  
reward of twenty pieces to each man.

\* \* \* \* \*

The youngest daughter of the Queen of Bohemia was lately christened at the Hage under the name of Sophia. Her Godfathers were the States of Frize-land, and Godmothers the Countess of Keulinberg and Madam de Brederode; who each of them gave £30 sterling to be distributed in the Nursery, as the Godfathers did £40, and in a box of gold (worth £50) a Patent to their God-daughter for a pension of £46 *durante vita*.

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### LETTER CCLXX.

*George Gresley to Sir Thomas Puckering. The Birth of the Princess Mary, afterwards Princess of Orange.*

[MS. HARL. 7000. art. 236. Orig.]

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SIR,

UPON Thursday last the Duke of Vandom illegitimate brother to our Queen, arrived here from out the Lowe Countries, and is lodged at Sir Abraham Wyl-liams his howse.

Upon Friday morninge about four of the clocke the Queene was (God be praised) safely delivered of a Princess, who was christened the same morninge, by reason it was weake (as some say) it beinge borne three



weekes before the time: but I have heard it was done to save charges, and to prevent other Christeninge. The name MARIE; the Countesses of Carlisle and Denbighe godmothers, and the Lord Keeper godfather; the Lady Roxborowe governess, and the Nurse one M<sup>rs</sup> Bennet (some say wife to a Baker) and daughter to M<sup>rs</sup> Browne that keepeth Somerset House.

\* \* \* \* \*

Your very assured friend  
and servant,

GEORGE GRESLEY.

Essex House  
the 9<sup>th</sup>. of Nov.  
1631.

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THE Harleian MS. 6988. fol. 133. contains the following List of the Children of Charles I. and Henrietta, in the hand writing of their daughter the Princess Elizabeth:

- “ Prince Charles borne at Greenwich May 15, 1629.
- Prince Charles borne at St. James May 29, 1630.
- Princesse Mary borne at St. James November 4, 1631.
- James Duke of Yorke borne at St. James October 14, 1633.
- Princesse Elisabeth borne at St. James December 29, 1635.
- Princesse Anne borne at St. James March 17, 1636.<sup>a</sup>
- Princess Katharine borne at Whitehall Jan. 29, 1639.<sup>b</sup>
- Henry Duke of Gloster borne at Otlandes July 8, 1640.
- Princes Henrietta borne at Exeter June 16, 1644.

PRINCES ELISABETH.”

<sup>a</sup> Fuller, in his “Worthies of England,” relates the circumstances of the Princess Anne’s death as they were told to him by Mistress Conant one of her rockers. He says, “She was a very pregnant Lady, above her age, and died in her infancy when not full four years old. Being minded by those about her to call upon God even when the pangs of death were upon her, ‘I am not able,’ saith she, ‘to say my long Prayer,’ (meaning the Lord’s Prayer) ‘but I will say my short one, *Lighten mine eyes, O Lord, lest I sleep the sleep of death;*’ this done, the little lamb gave up the ghost.” Worth. *Midd.* p. 239.

<sup>b</sup> Katharine, says Fuller, survived not above half an hour after her baptizing.

*Ibid.* p. 240.

## LETTER CCLXXI.

*Mr. John Pory to Sir Thomas Puckering. The death of Lord Dorchester. Funeral of the Countess of Essex. Various News.*

[MS. HARL. 7000. art. 171. Orig.]

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NOBLE SIR

MY Lord of Dorchester being now dead, and on Sunday night with no great pomp buried in Westminster Church. Many there are both in Court and Towne nominated as competitors for his place; some Lordes, as my Lord Cottington in chief, my Lord Viscount Falkland, my Lord Herbert, and my Lord Ashton, likewise Sir Thomas Roe, Sir Isaac Wake, Sir Kenelm Digby, to whome some stick not to annex Mr. Walter Montague and Sir James Bagg.

My Lord of Dorchester, though he left no great estate behind him (not above £700 a year) yet left he a good name both of an able statesman, a sincere Protestant, and a true Englishman; bate me only the leane cheeks, canvas-trusses, and wooden shoes, which he mentioned once in Parliament. But then wee had a Duke. Since whose death we may say of my Lord Dorchester, as Virgil said of Hector, "*Quantum mutatus ab illo.*"

\* \* \* \* \*

On Friday my Lord of Essex, accompanied by my Lords of Warwick and of Holland, was present at the solemnization of his mothers funeral in the chancel at Tonbridge; her corps in a chariot covered with black velvet (attended on by eight Coaches and a great troupe of horse) being brought thither by Torches at midnight.

\* \* \* \* \*

Now it is current in every mans mouth that the Kings journey into Scotland is putt off till another year. But on Tuesday his Majesty carried the Queene a pleasanter voiage, namely from hence to Theobalds, thence to Royston, so on to Cambridge (where three Comedies are provided for their entertainment) and lastly to Newmarket, where their Majesties doe stay till a fortnight before Easter, and then do return.

The Statutes (as I take it) of 12<sup>mo</sup>. of Queen Eliz. (enacting that whosoever buildes a Cottage, without laying four acres of ground unto it shall forfait ten pound, and 40<sup>s</sup>. a year so long as that cottage doth stande) is now to be putt in execution here within twenty miles of London round about, where and in the suburbs of this Town will be found many thousand of such tenements.

I am told, (but not by any of either house) that my Lord Rich being newly returned out of France shall marry the Lady Anne Cavendish, daughter to the late Earl of Devon. Her portion to be £8000 from her

father, and £3 or 4000 from her mother. Her jointure, £2000 a yeare. My Lorde Riche his portion, after his fathers death, £6000 a yeare (all his brothers and sisters nobly provided for) and his present maintenance, untill then, £1500 per annum.

I heare that the unknighthed Catholique Lords, lying all under the lashe of Queen Elizabeth's statutes, (which, whensoever his Maty. shalbe pleased strictly to put in execution, he may soon undoe them all,) doe willingly compound for their knighthoods, paying only double to what they are in the Subsidy, whereas others, (if they can get it from them) must pay the treble, and one half over and above. My Lord Perpoint Earle of Kingston (who is £300 onely in the subsidy) is required to pay £2000 (which is almost seven times as much) but his Lordship refuseth so to do, and standeth upon his plea, and so, I hear, do twenty five Lords more.

The Earle of Banbury aged four skore and six is sayd now to lye upon his death-bed; but I hear that his sister, my Lady of Leicester, being six year elder, can yet walke a mile in a morning.

My Lord Bishop of Lincolne called this other day before a Committee of the Lords, did mucche repine at it, that he having been Lord Keeper, and for ought he knew being still of the body of that Counsell, should be brought before Referees, and not before the Body. The occasion was a complaint of D<sup>r</sup>. Lambe his chan-

cellor against his Lordship, because he would by the strength of the Common Lawe deprive the Doctor of his office, for that he would not renew his patent from his Lordship, when it was proffered him; whereupon my Lorde's Secretary having obtained the reversion of the Place, sues the Doctor at the common Lawe, *et hinc illæ lachrymæ.*

On Monday one Mr. Sandwicke kinsman to my Lord Ashton giving Mr. Henry Jermin, a prime servant to the Queen, some fowle words in the preaching court at Whitehall (as supposing while Mr. Jermyn was at play he had bandied balls on purpose at him, as he stood in the gallery at the upper end of the Tennis Court) Mr. Jermin struck him a boxe on the eare. Sandwich drew his sworde, and had not the thrust been put by by a footman, had hazarded Jermin's life. But how the Lords have censured it, I know not.

\* \* \* \* \*

Your humble Servant

JO. PORY.

London, Feb. 23, 1631.

## LETTER CCLXXII.

*Mr. Pory to Sir Thomas Puckering. The Queen prepares to act a Part with her Ladies in a Pastoral. Ben Jonson writes his Play of the Magnetic Lady. Her Majesty lays the two first stones of the Chapel for the Capuchins at Somerset House. Archbishop Laud. A Riot at Lincoln's Inn.*

[MS. HARL. 7000. art. 131. Orig.]

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NOBLE SIR

THAT story of king Henry the eights raigne written in latine by Sir Henry Bourchier was never yet printed, nor will hee publishe or communicate it, till Sir Thomas Cottons study be sett at liberty, that hee may compare it with the originals there, out of which he first took it. That which the Queens Majesty, some of her ladies, and all her maides of honour are now practicing upon, is a Pastorall penned by Mr. Walter Montague, wherein her Majesty is pleased to acte a parte, aswell for her recreation as for the exercise of her Englishie.

Ben Jonson (who, I thought, had bene dead) hath written a play against next terme called the Magnetick lady.

On Fryday at eleven in the fornoon Her Majesty with her owne handes helpt to lay the twoe first square corner stones, with a silver plate of equall dimension between them, in the foundation of her Capuchins churche intended to be built in the Tennis court-yard of Somerset house, which stones in the presence of 2000 people at least they consecrated with great ceremony, having caused to be ingraven upon the upper part of that plate, the pictures of their Magesties as Founders, and the lower side, of the Capuchines as consecratours.

\* \* \* \* \*

One day the last week my lord of Arundell and his sonne my lord Maltrevers having espyed my lord of Canterburies coach on Barnsted downe coming towards theirs, before they came a butts length short of it both their lordships alighted, and went a great pace towards his Graces Coach, who when they were approached said “What? And must my lord Marshal of England take so great paines to doe me so much honour? Were my legges as good as my hart, I should have mett your lordships the better half of the way.”

Then my lord of Arondell replied, it might well become an Earle Marshall to give so much respect to an Archbishop of Canterbury, besides the particular obligation from his lordship to his Grace for his noble usage of his sonne and daughter Maltrevers, while they were his prisoners.

Whereupon my lords Grace took occasion to congratulate unto both their lordships my lord Maltrevers his brave and hopefull progeny, of three sonnes and a daughter : and so they parted.

His Grace by his dyet hath so moderated his gout, as it is now rather an infirmity then a paine, hee lookes freshe and enjoys his health, and hath his wittes and intellectualls about him ; so that if any other prelate doe gape after his benefice, his Grace perhaps (according to that olde & homely proverbe) eat of the goose which shall graze upon his grave.

\* \* \* \* \*

On Munday in the evening diverse gentlemen of Lincolnes Inne throwing Brickbattes at a new built house at the lower end of their garden towards Holborne, because the owner had turned his house of office that waye, one out of the house dischargd haile shot upon Mr. Atturnies sonnes face, which though by good chance it mist his eyes, yet it pitifully mangled his visage.

Your humble Servant

JO. PORY.

London Sept. 20

1632.



## LETTER CCLXXIII.

*Mr. Pory to Sir Thomas Puckering. Various News. King Charles the First has the Small Pox. The Death of Gustavus King of Sweden, and of the Elector Palatine. Wagers laid that the King of Sweden is alive. The Duchess of Richmond sends a Silver Font for the Christening of Lord Carnarvon's Child.*

[MS. HARL. 7000. art. 185. Orig.]

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RIGHT HON<sup>ble</sup>.

BEING obliged in your turne to write to your Lordship thither unto Warwick, whether you be present or absent, the first thing that proffers itselfe to my memory is that my Lord Mayour, for avoiding a dearth, will not suffer any towne-dwellers to sell meale in these marketts, but onely badgers and meale-men out of the countrey.

On Satturday my lord of Leicester and Sir Robert Hanstruder, landed at Gravesend out of one and the same bottome, after his lordship had ended his ambassage with the King of Denmark; and Sir Robert his with the Emperour, being now to reside lidger in France.

Those fower of his Majesties ships royall which had bene so much talkt of, and have bene so long in providing and rigging at Chatham, are now at length gone to sea; Captain Plumley, the General, being not to open his commission untill hee be come into the midst of the channell.

I was tolde this other daye by a very knowing man, that they are first to take in the Queen mother and Monsieur at Dunkerk, and to carry them into Spaine; and then to bring Don-Ferdinand that Kinges onely brother to his government in the Low Countries. However it bee, time will give us the truth of their designe.

On Saturday also his Majesty having taken colde, after he had heatt himselfe at Tennis, some redd spottes appeared on his face and breast, which by Sunday morning were converted into the Small Poxe; yet the Queen (as I heard a French man of the court affirme) laye with him both those nights, and since also, in the daye time, will never be out of his company. This disease makes him not continually to keep his bedd; but all the day long hee is up in a warme room with a furr'd gowne on his back; and is merry, and eats and drinks hartily, and recreates himselfe with some game or other. And so (God be thanked) there is no doubt of danger in him.

On Fryday Dalbier a German (who was Count Mansfelds paymaster in all his warres, hee that should

have fetch't over the Dutch for the late Duke from Embden, and which hath served sometimes under the King of Sweden since his coming into Germany) Dalbier, I say, came to the court. And Burlamacki that accompanied him thither told me, the newes he brought out of Dutchland were as followeth: That hee was four dayes in the Swedish army, after the battell was fought. That hee sawe the dead body of the king of Sweden. That Papenheim, the bravest commander that ever serv'd the Emperour was slaine in the same battell. That the Swedish army gott the victory. That Walstein left his ordinance behinde him. That Bernard Duke of Saxon Weymar pursued Walstein towards Bohemia: that Dalbier, as hee passed through Frankford, understood the Chancelour Oxestern was gone up to consult with the Duke Elector of Saxony about carriage of the maine busines: and that when Dalbier was come to Mentz, hee found the king of Bohemia dead there of the plague which hee had gotten at Frankford.<sup>a</sup> Thus farre Burlamacks.

The manner of the king of Swedens death hee thus describeth; I mean Dalbier; the King (saith hee) being shott on the arme with a pistoll call'd to his cousin Bernard Duke of Weymar, to make way for his retreat, that hee might goe and dresse his wound.

<sup>a</sup> The King of Bohemia died at Mentz Nov. 29<sup>th</sup>. 1632; as it was subsequently said of a malignant fever.

But as the word was in his mouth, an horseman of the enemy prying the King steadfastly in the face, said, you are the birde wee have so long lookt, and with that shott him through the boddy with a brace of bullets; so that the King fell off his horse stark dead, and Duke Bernard slewe the man that had thus kill'd him. But that which soundes harshe and incredible in all mens eares, is, that the Kinges body, thus falling, should bee so much neglected as to be left all day and all night in the field, and to be found next morning stript stark naked among the promiscuous carcasses. But Browne that arrived here on Saturday, being sent post by Curtius the kinges Agent from Frankford, contradictes Dalbier in this, saying, the Kinges corpse, so soon as ever it fell, was layd in a waggon, and that being since embalmed it is carried along with the army as an incentive to stirre up his soldiers to revenge his bloud.

Both doe agree, that the King by his last will and testament constituted the Queen his wife to succeed him in authority, and ordered a councill of warr continually to attende her, that shee might signe and firme all their dispatches and resolutions.

If the King of Bohemia bee dead, the Emperour hath a great advantage therby, because there is none now living but himselfe that hath any title to that so long controverted Crowne. Besides, upon that Kinges death, our King and State are obliged to doe more for

a Nephew then for a brother in lawe; and more likewise for a widdow then for a wife.

Well, the mourning here in Court for both Kinges began on Sunday, and is to continue untill Newyeares daye: and yet some (and those not a few) are so incredulous, as they will not beleeve the death of either. For yesterday there came letters to town from Amsterdam, Haerlem, the Haghe, & Delft, which affirmed the king of Sweden to be alive, though those from Antwerp said the contrary. Yesterday there was at least 200<sup>li</sup>. layd in wagers that he is still alive. Mr. James Maxwells brother hearing them there yesterday affirme the kinges life so confidently, said hee would lay ten to one, the king was dead. Wherupon suche a throng of people came about him with golde in their handes as almost putt him out of countenance; and made him glad to accept no more but three pieces.

At night, with the tide, arrived from Delft a servant of one Mr. Berrington, a merchant adventurer, who saith that letters from Leipsig & Magdeburg doe avowe the king to be alive, and that the reason why it was generally thought he was dead, was, because so soon as hee was hurte he retired into his tent, and kept himselfe close there for twoe dayes under the surgeons hand.

Some friendes of mine doe tell me there will shortly bee a Parliament for establishing the young Count Palatine in his inheritance; which if it should come to

passee, the Kinges journey into Scotland must be pro-  
rogued untill another yeare, notwithstanding the gesses  
thereof be already sett downe.

On Sunday the Duchesse of Richmond sent to her  
godsonne, my lord of Carnarvons childe, a Fount of  
silver for him to be christened in, and twoe Colledge-  
Pottes,<sup>a</sup> one for the Nurse, and another for the mid-  
wife. So I rest and am

your humble Servant

JO. PORY.

London December 6.

1632.

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### LETTER CCLXXIV.

*Jo. Pory to . . . . .*

[MS. HARL. 7000. art. 186. *Orig.*]

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Decemb. 13. 1632.

\* \* \* \* \*

SIR W. C.<sup>b</sup> writes from Brussells, that the French  
there with the Queen Mother and Monsieur made ac-  
count to have kept a brave Christmas here at London,

<sup>a</sup> silver mugs.

<sup>b</sup> Sir William Curtius.

and for that purpose had trussed up their trinkets half topmast high: but it seemeth they reckoned before their host that should have been, K. C.<sup>a</sup> and that Mr. William Murray was not sent to the Queen mother in vain.

\*            \*            \*            \*            \*

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### LETTER CCLXXV.

*Mr. Gresley to Sir Thomas Puckering. The Queen of Bohemia declines her Brother's Invitation to England. The Duchess of Buckingham endeavors to overthrow her Father's Will. Mr. Prynne Star-chambered for his Work on the unlawfulness of Plays.*

[MS. HARL. 7000. art. 245. Orig.]

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SIR

THERE is very little more newes this Week then I found at my coming to Town, and therefore might imagine that you had as much the last Weeke, or the same which I now can send. Yet to shew myself not slothfuller than heretofore to do you any service I can here, I have adventured to informe what I have learned: viz.

<sup>a</sup> King Charles.

That the Queen of Bohemia prays the Kings pardon for not coming into England at this present, in that she much desires that their meeting might be without any mixture of mourning at all, which her late great loss will not as yet permit her to perform: besides the States and Princes in those parts offering to go up into the Palatinate with the young Prince her son, to establish him in some part of his Inheritance this next Summer, it might seeme some neglect in her to depart thence before the expiration of so short a time.

\* \* \* \* \*

The Dutchess of Buckingham hath put in an Information into the Court of Wards against the nowe Earle of Rutland, wherebie she endeavours to overthrowe the late Earle her father's will, and thereby to recover all his personal estate, with the Castle of Belvoir and divers other lands, as heir general, from the nowe Earle.

Mr. Prinne an Utter Barrister of Lincolns Inne is brought into the High Commission Court and Star Chamber, for publishing a Booke (a little before the Queene's acting of her Play) of the Unlawfullness of Plaies, wherein in the Table of his Booke and his brief Additions thereunto he hath these words, "Women actors notorious whores;" and that S<sup>t</sup>. Paul prohibits women to speake publiquely in the Church; "and dares then" sayth he "any Christian woman be so more then whoreshly impudent as to act, to speake



“ publiquellie on a Stage (perchaunce in man’s apparell  
 “ and cut haire) in the presence of sundrie men and  
 “ women?” which wordes it is thought by some will  
 cost him his eares, or heavily punnisht and deeply  
 fined.

\* \* \* \* \*

Your very assured friend  
 and servaunt

GEO. GRESLEY.

Essex House  
 the 31<sup>st</sup>. of Januarie  
 1632.

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## LETTER CCLXXVI.

*The Viscount Wentworth to the Earl of Newcastle,  
 defending his conduct in Ireland.*

[MS. HARL. 7190. fol. 12. *Orig.*]

\* \* \* Sir Thomas Wentworth Bar<sup>t</sup>. was made Baron Wentworth of Wentworth-Woodhouse in the County of York by Letters Patents, dated July 22<sup>d</sup>. 4<sup>th</sup>. Cha. I<sup>st</sup>. and upon the tenth of December following was created Viscount Wentworth. He was immediately after this made LIEUTENANT OF IRELAND, and on the 12<sup>th</sup>. of January in the 15<sup>th</sup>. of Charles the First was raised to the dignity of Earl of Strafford. He was beheaded upon Tower Hill, May 12<sup>th</sup>. 1641. His death, the reader knows, laid heavy on the conscience of King Charles the First.

This Letter, written six years before his fall, is in some degree pro-

phetic of the fate which befell him. "It hath been ever my fortune," he says, "that whatever I do, or have but a regard unto, must still pass the fiery trial."

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MY very good Lord

I have received three of your Letters, for which I humbly thanke your Lordship; and indeed they cam all at one passage over unto me, so as I could not returne an answeare unto them other then together.

I doe instantly desire your Lo<sup>d</sup>. to beleeve I write no complement to my Lord of Newcastle, for beleeve me at one worde (and more since you so commaund you shall not heare from me) I never writ any thing of my respect and affection to your person but I will seale to the uniforme truthe of it with the best bloode I have.

It is your Lo<sup>ps</sup>. greate goodnesse to expresse so much care of my health, and indeed I will not either too much indulge it, nor yet willfully cast it from me, and so in a very indifferent temper submit all to the good pleasure of Almighty God.

Ther hath been all possible indeavoure on that side to overthrowe or at least to blemishe the proceedings held this last summer, in the intitling his Ma<sup>ty</sup>. to the Province of Connaght, but his Ma<sup>ty</sup>. persists immovable to all ther arts, and gives us, his Ministers here, all the incouradgment and support we can desire; so as I am very confident that businesse will

go on to his desired end, and conclude with much honour and profit to his Ma<sup>ty.</sup>, with greate security and settlement to this kingdome; but to tell your Lo<sup>n.</sup> very plainly, itt will stande me upon to make sure to keepe my self close and squire in all to his Ma<sup>ties.</sup> service, for I see passing well if they can in any sorte devide me from that, I shallbe soundly paid single. Well I give them good leave; let them not spare me; hitherto they have not gotten an eye of me, and I trust God shall still open my eyes both wayes; and to give yo<sup>r.</sup> Lo<sup>n.</sup> a taste that ther are bold men in the opposition, where it seemes they want itt, and daire put it upon lawe, equitye, or honoure upon all or any of them; if ther be any of the three for them in the case aganst the Crowne I am content to loose my life, which I am indeed perswaded would not be taken to be the least pleasing thing in the worlde to some of them.

It is probable enoughe my Lo. of Somerset may marry my sister in lawe, “ther is bouthe a beame,” as the Hallifax phraise is, and yet it is most certaine the Earl of St. Albans affects me not at all; my Lord what thinke you, can I helpe either? whie then lett every man doe as he likes, for as it is in the ballett, “I like the humour well.”

As concerning my Lord Cottingtons having the staffe, I finde your Lo<sup>n.</sup> in one letter for the negative, and in your latter letter you incline to the affirmative; things in contingencye are never more then probable,

and I confesse to have been allsoe at my severall readings upon this pointe of learning as well as your Lo<sup>p</sup>.; yet still my opinion differs, for I was before Christmas very confidentt his Lo<sup>p</sup>. would have been Treasouroure, and now since Christmas, I begin to suspect it plaguely he may chance to goe w<sup>th</sup>out it; and in truthe I would give you my reasons, but that they are of many particulars which might require more lengthe then would well consist with civility.

'Tis very true indeed it is reported, and very loudly, that I was the death of the Late E. of St. Albans; beleve me they might as well impute his being three-score and twelve yeares old unto me as a crime; but hereupon they have taken hint and published me all over the Court for a man of the most austere and implacable nature in the worlde. I wishe with all my heart the staffe were once in sum good hande or other, for ther are some on that side that do so abhor to thinke that it should ever be my fortune to touche upon it, as till that be surely lodged, it is not possible to still thes base calumnies; they dayly springe against me to make me odious, nor yet for my innocencye to be publikly hearde: but at after, I trust a poore man may be admitted to become a gamester to save his owne stake, whilst ther is nothing left on the borde for them to loose.

I have indeed my Lord greate assurance in his Maties. gratiouse favour and justice, and have hitherto

abundantly tasted of both in my employment on this side, nor was I ever left, or the hande of his protection taken off me; and so as I hold that footing, in good faithe I shall dance roundly and merrilye with all the rest. I am very confident he holds me an honest man, and will vouchsafe to heare me as oft as ther is occasion; for the rest I have noe more to doe but to execute what he is pleased to commaunde, which I shall most readily and hartely pursue, be it with or aganst my opinion and affections.

By the way doth yo<sup>r</sup>. Lo<sup>d</sup>. learne of me, or I of your Lo<sup>d</sup>. to write still thus crookedly towards the right hande, for my parte I thinke wee have both got such a tricke of it as wee shall scarsly leave it so long as wee Live.

I am not of his opinion that makes your pretences at Court so hopeless; his confidence cannot overcome, nor reduce my beleefe; I am sure his Ma<sup>ty</sup>. hath all the reason in the worlde to grant your sute, being very much for his honoure and profit, and therefore the knowledge of his Ma<sup>ties</sup>. wisdom still makes me perswade myself it willbe done. I shall never think otherwise.

I heare nothing of his Majesties cumming hither; but once in foure or five yeares it may becum not altogether unworthy his looking upon.

Now before I shall in obedience to your Lo<sup>ps</sup>. desire goe to burne your Letters, I cannot but easily

believe they that made me the manslayer of the E. of S<sup>t</sup>. Albans, will impute my Lo. Mountnorris unto me for willfull and plaine murther; and therefore have sent your Lo<sup>p</sup>. the sentence past against him before a council of warre, to the intent you may have a clearer light into the trespasse that drew him within the danger of so heavy a iudgment. Only two things I assure your Lo<sup>p</sup>.; I gave noe opinion at all in the Cause, and that his Ma<sup>tye</sup>. avowes me in what hath been done; howbeit I understande sum other of the greate Lords open lowde aganst it, but it hath been ever my fortune that what ever I doe, or have but a regarde unto, must still passe the fierye triall.

Besides this proceeding had aganst the Lo. Mountnorris, ther is an other inquireye which hath been upon him, as touching sundry misdemeanours of his in his place of Vice-treasurer where the matter opens so foule upon him, as I doubtte he will lose his place, and be found deeply censurable in the Castle-Chamber at after.

And so I rise, and into the fire go your Letters; and may I also followe them if ever I be other to you, and all your commaunds, then

Your Lo<sup>ps</sup>.

most faithful and most

humble servant

Dublin this 27<sup>th</sup>. of

January. 1635.

WENTWORTH.

E. of Newcastle.

FROM the Harleian Manuscript 4931, fol. 86. we learn that the names of those who voted against the Bill for Lord Strafford's Attainder were posted up for a whole day, May 3d, 1641, in the yard which led to the Parliament stairs, with this Title

“THESE ARE THE BETRAYERS OF THEIR COUNTRY.”

The following were the names,

Lord Digby,	Mr. William Mallory,
Mr. Herbert,	Mr. Fettiplace,
Sir Richard Owen,	Mr. Griffith,
Sir Henry Slingsby,	Mr. Arundell,
Sir William Carnaby,	Mr. Edgecombe,
Capt. Digby,	Mr. Warwick,
Sir Edward Elford,	Mr. Loyd,
Mr. Holbourne,	Mr. Christoph. Price,
Mr. Tailor,	Mr. Parrey,
Mr. Price,	Mr. Travinnion,
Mr. Newport,	Mr. William Stanhope, quart.
Capt. Pollard,	Lord Compton,
Mr. Fenwick,	Sir Th. Fanshaw,
Mr. Venables,	Sir George Wentworth,
Mr. Edw. Kirton,	Sir Nic. Stanning,
Mr. William Withrington,	Sir Patrick Curvein,
Sir Richard Lea,	Mr. Weston,
Mr. Jo. Coventry,	Serjeant Hide,
Mr. Jane,	Mr. Selden,
Mr. Porter,	Mr. Chickley,
Mr. Scoone,	Dr. Turner,
Lord Buckhurst,	Mr. Th. Cooke,
Sir George Clifton,	Mr. Griffith,
Sir William Pennyman,	Mr. Portman,
Sir Thomas Danby,	Mr. Alberough,
Sir Robert Hatton,	Mr. Sidn. Godolphin,
Mr. Weston,	Mr. Noell,
Mr. Alford,	Sir Fred. Cornwallis,
Mr. Bridgman,	Sir George Wentworth.*
Mr. White,	

The following persons were absent whose good will for Lord Strafford was known :

Mr. Henry Piercy,	Sir Guy Palmes,
Sir Joh. Strangwaies,	Mr. Vaughan,
Mr. Strangwaies,	Mr. Chadwell.
Mr. Edw. Waller,	

\* This name occurs twice, as if intended to mark the person as a member of Lord Strafford's family.

Two hundred and four voted for the Bill, beside near twenty who declared themselves not to have been present at the hearing of the Cause.\*

\* Among what are called The King's Pamphlets in the British Museum, the Collection of which, begun by a Mr. George Thomason, was continued by an especial order of King Charles the First, there is a single folio sheet, printed at London in 1641, containing

" VERSES

*lately written by Thomas Earle of Strafford.*

1.

Go, empty Joyes,  
With all your noyse,  
And leave me here alone  
In sweet sad silence to bemoane  
Your vaine and fleet delight,  
Whose danger none can see aright,  
Whilest your false splendor dimmes his sight.

2.

Goe and insnare  
With your false ware  
Some other easie wight,  
And cheat him with your flattering light;  
Rain on his head a shower  
Of Honours, Favor, Wealth, and Power,  
Then snatch it from him in an houre.

3.

Fill his big minde  
With gallant winde  
Of insolent applause:  
Let him not feare all curbing lawes,  
Nor King and Peoples frowne,  
But dreame of something like a Crowne,  
And climbing towards it tumble downe.

4.

Let him appeare  
In his bright sphere,  
Like Scynthia in her pride,  
With star-like troupes on every side;  
Such for their number and their light  
As may at last o'whelme him quite  
And blend us both in one dead night.

5.

Welcome sad Night,  
Grief's sole delight,  
Your mourning best agrees  
With Honour's funerall obsequies:  
In Thetis lap he lies  
Mantled with soft securities,  
Whose too-much sun-shine blinds his eyes.



The charge against the Lord Mountnorris of mutiny, alluded to in the preceding Letter, formed one of the more memorable incidents of Lord Strafford's life. He came over to England, in consequence of the issue of the trial, to answer his accusers in person, and to vindicate himself from the charge of oppression.

## 6.

Was he too bold  
That needs would hold  
With curbing rains the Day,  
And make Sols fiery steeds obey?  
Then sure as rash was I  
Who with ambitious wings did fly  
In Charles his Waine too loftily.

## 7.

I fall I fall,  
Whom shall I call?  
Alas can he be heard  
Who now is neither lov'd nor fear'd?  
You, who were wont to kisse the ground  
Where e're my honour'd steps were found,  
Come, catch me at my last rebound.

## 8.

How each admires  
Heav'ns twinkling fires,  
When, from their glorious seat,  
Their influence gives life and heat:  
But O! how few there are,  
(Though danger from that act be far)  
Will stoop and catch a falling Star.

## 9.

Now 'tis too late  
To imitate  
Those Lights, whose pallidnesse  
Argues no inward gulltinesse:  
Their course one way is bent:  
The reason is theres no dissent  
In Heaven's High Court of Parliament."

Another Copy of this Sheet, with an "Elegiack Poem" also said to have been penned by the Earl a little before his death, printed in the same year, occurs in the Harleian MS. 4931: but, at the bottom is written in a contemporary hand "*Strafford never made a Verse in his life.* TESTE EPIS. ARMAGH."

## LETTER CCLXXVII.

*The Covenanters to the King. Proposals for Peace.*  
A. D. 1639.

[MS. HARL. 6851. art. 5. Orig.]

\* \* A short passage from Hume shall form the Introduction to this Letter. "The Scottish army was as numerous as that of the King, but inferior in cavalry. The officers had more reputation and experience; and the soldiers, though undisciplined and ill-armed, were animated as well by the national aversion to England and the dread of becoming a province to their old enemy, as by an unsurmountable fervour of religion. The Pulpits had extremely assisted the officers in levying recruits, and had thundered out anathemas against all those *who went not out to assist the Lord against the mighty*. Yet so prudent were the leaders of the malcontents, that they immediately sent submissive Messages to the King, and craved to be admitted to a Treaty." One of these Messages is now before the Reader, with the Answer which was sent in return.

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To the Kinges most excellent Majestie the  
Supplication of his Majesties Subjects of Scotland,  
humble shewinge,

THAT whair the former meanes used by us have not bene effectually, for recovering your Majesties favor and the Peace of this your Majesties native kingdome, wee fall downe yett againe at your Majesties feete, most humble suplicating that your Majestie wold be graciously pleased to appoynt some few of the many worthie Men of your Majesties Kingdome of England whoe are well affected to the true religion and to our

common peace, to heare, by some of us of the same disposition, our humble desyres, and to make knowen to us your Majesties gracious pleasure; that as by the Providence of God wee are joyned in one Iland under one King, soe by your Majesties great wisdome and tender care all mistakinges may be speedily removed, and the Two Kingdomes may be kept in peace and happiness under your Majesties long and prosperous raigne; for which wee shall never cease to pray, as becometh your Majesties most faithfull Subjects.

*(The Answer.)*

At His Majesties Camp, the eighth of June 1639.

His Majestie having understood of the obedience of the Petitioners in reading his Proclamation as was commanded them, is graciously pleased so farre to condescend unto their Petition, as to admit some of them to repaire to his Majesties Camp upon Monday next, at eight of the Clocke in the morninge, at the Lord Generals tent; where they shall finde Six persons of honor and trust appointed by his Majestie to heare their humble desires.

JOHN COKE.

## LETTER CCLXXVIII.

*The Marquis of Hamilton to King Charles the First.*

[MS. HARL. 7001. fol. 87. Orig.]

\*.\* Sanderson, in his History of the Reign of Charles the First, explains the object of this Letter. He says, "There fell out an accident in Scotland whilst the King was there, concerning the two Marquesses Hamilton and Argyle; upon some information that their persons were in danger, they both withdrew from the Parliament of Scotland, and for some days removed out of Edinburgh. The suggestions were examined in that Parliament, where they had power enough, yet nothing was apparent to their prejudice, and the examinations upon the whole matter sent hither by the King to the Parliament in England, such strange glosses and interpretations were made upon that accident, reflecting upon the King and his honour, as if at the same time there had been such a design to have been acted here as they had fancied there." <sup>a</sup>

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MOST SACRED SOVERAIGNE,

IT is an exceedinge great grief unto me that your Majesty's affaires suffer so great delays through the interruption of this unhappie business which occasioned my removal from Court upon those grounds I have by my former Lettres humbly represented to your Majesty. But seeing the effects thereof have been so far contrary to my intentions, I doe with all humility beg your Majesty's pardon for the same. Nor am I able to expresse my real trouble for that heavy aspersion I am informed is laid upon me, as if I could have admitted a thought

<sup>a</sup> Hist. of the Life and Raigne of King Charles, fol. 1658. p. 464.

of your Majesty's being privy to any such base acte which I heard was intended against me; a crime greater in me to have believed than in any else living, who hath had the honor and happinesse soe long to know your Majesty, and of whose goodness and favors I have had soe many and real testimonies, which at all tymes I shalbe ready to declare unto the world and make appeare by my carriage that I shall ever prefer the good of your Majesty's service before any thing that can concerne

Your Majesty's  
humblest servant, and most  
faiethfull and loyall subjecte

HAMILTON.

Keneill

the 23<sup>th</sup> of October

1641.

A printed sheet in the possession of Benjamin Heywood Bright, Esq. presents a View of the state of Holland at this time, in regard of its policy toward England, in

*“ The Copy of a Letter written by Mr. William Newton, one of the Gentlemen Ushers unto the Lady Elizabeth, unto his brother Francis Newton, Esq. one of the four Squires of the Body to his Majestie. From the Hage, March the 18<sup>th</sup>. new stile, 1641.*

“ Brother,

“ Wee are here at the Hage, but in little better case, as touching feares and jealousies, then you are in England: true, the matter of the Prince of Orange is seemingly composed, I wish I could say ended, fire raked up may possibly appeare, yea and flame. The States will not trust him with monies and paying of the Armie as formerly: but will set up and create a new Officer for that purpose. This sometimes dis-

contents his Highnesse. The Governor of Bergen ap Zome, that Town of so great strength, being once a neere servant to his Highnesse, and brought up a long time under him, in very neere services, and preferred unto that great place of trust by the Prince's mediation, him would the States now very faine remove: but the talk goes here that He will not hearken to it, having that great garrison firm on his side; as it is feared upon too just grounds. The Prince hath all the Armie, so that wee are not yet heere quite cleer of all surmises of after-claps. The Burgers in the Townes plainly give out that they feare the Prince hath been afore-hand with them: and one of the Burgemasters of Flushing, openly in my master the Prince's presence chamber, told my Lord Goring, in my hearing, that they had just cause to feare that the Prince's son's marriage with the eldest daughter of the King of Great Brittain, had set the Prince on such a high straine, that shortly hee doubted either their ruine or his owne. Pray God things may stand as they were, for unwonted aspiring thoughts produce many times enterprizes more pleasing than successful. If distempers should again break out here, I thinke wee must be forced to come to visit you in England. Truth is, the States Generall have never the better opinion of the Prince of Orange since this match: some think the worse. Nay their usuall respects are something colder toward my Lady and Master, who, I dare say upon my oath, is heartily grieved for this distance, and discorrespondence between the Prince and them, and hath no interest or partnership, but sorrow in it, and who must needs reape disconvenience by it: and may account this to the rest of her crosses. The Queen's entertainment at the Hage is in my very soule more royall then heartie, the Dutch liberalitie is almost at an end; and the Queen's entertainment begins to slaken with them: only his Highnesse holds on his wonted noblenesse in chearing her. They set her Majestie a day that they would be rid of her, if so it please or stand with her occasions. Proclamation against your Parliament delinquents, forbidding them strictly to reape hither during her Majesties abode here upon paine of imprisonment, and sending back into England with strict guard, hath been here published in all Townes and dominions of the States; yet two have bravely adventured to kisse her hand, who came hither wonderfully well disguised, and walked not openly in Court, lay in the Prince of Orange's owne lodging, and after two dayes took their leave either for France or Brussels. God knowes the Queene is very narrowly watched here, as a Personage of her quality may bee, and I durst pawn my life the Parliament hath some agents here meerly to attend that businesse; and three of them are, in my conscience, L. O. S. S. I. H. Her Majestie would have gone first to Cullen, to have attended upon her mother, then to Brussels, but was denied. The Prince of Orange seemed very forward to accomplish her desire in

both, as farre as lay in his power; but he was not so forward, but she found the Dutch as froward, who absolutely denied in plain termes, studying all the wayes they can to gratifie and complie with your Parliament; not caring who they displease, so they satisfie them. I verily thinke the Queen as the matter stands, will not trouble them long heere, and that yee shall have her in England yet a good while before Easter.

“ Thus hoping your welfare, and all our contents, from his Highnesse Court at the Hage this present Friday, March the eighteenth. I remaine your ever true loving Brother and Servant,

“ WIL. NEWTON.”

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## LETTER CCLXXIX.

*H. B., a member of the House of Lords, to the Speaker  
of the Higher House.*

[MS. HARL. 6851. art. 24. Orig.]

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MY LORD

I RECEIVED the last night a Summons from that honorable House, requireinge my attendance there on Monday next the 22th. of this moneth, accordinge to his Majesties Writt. It is true I was summoned the beginning of this Parliament, as of right I ought, and did not fayle to give my attendance uppon that service with as much diligence and affection to the publike as my poore ability could expresse; but I received many interruptions by scornes, menaces, and affronts from the people inhabitinge about the Citties of London and Westminster, contrary to the constitucion and

priviledges of that and all other Councells, where the members ought to come and sitt and retorne with honor and safety; and I doe not see the minds of those people so setled and composed that I may hope for better usage; wherefore I shall humbly desire their Lordships to excuse my absence until I may have some confidence of enjoying that honor and safety which heretofore I have not had. And so with my service to your Lordship I will remayne

Your Lordships humble servant

H. B.

Tawstocke the 15<sup>th</sup>  
of August, 1642.

To the Speaker of the Higher  
House of Parliament.

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### LETTER CCLXXX.

*Dr. Pinke, Vice-Chancellor of Oxford, to the Earl of Pembroke, Chancellor of that University, upon the dangers which threatened it at the opening of the Civil War.*

[MS. BAKER, IN THE PUBL. LIB. CAMBR. Vol. XXVIII. p. 431.]

\* \* \* On June 25th 1641, Archbishop Laud, then a prisoner, by his letters dated from the Tower of London, resigned the Chancellorship of the University of Oxford, when another, says Wood, quite of a contrary temper, rather a foe than a friend, was chosen Chancellor. This person



was Philip Earl of Pembroke. Wood represents him as illiterate; Lord Clarendon, that he pretended to no other qualifications than to understand horses and dogs. Lord Pembroke, although Lord Chamberlain, sided with the Parliament; Clarendon says, he had not sufficient ballast to endure a storm.

Dr. Prideaux, who was really the Vice-Chancellor at this time, had withdrawn himself from fear, leaving the Administration of his office to Dr. Pinke his senior deputy; one of the first acts of whose government was the raising a militia from among the members of the University for its defence.

The troops under Sir John Byron mentioned in this Letter, a hundred and fifty, or two hundred in number, had arrived in Oxford on August the 28th. They took their departure September the 10th.

On October the 29th, six days after the battle of Edge-hill, the King came to Oxford with his army. The fortification of it as a garrison town began in the following month.

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RIGHT HONOURABLE

MAY it please your Lordship to know, that this University is now in extreme danger of suffering all evils and calamities that warlike Forces may bring upon it. Such forces, we hear for certain, are some of them already upon their march, some others in raising to assault, and, if they may have their wills, I mean the common sort of them, to spoil and destroy us. My Lord, you have been solicitous whom to appoint your Vice Chancellor over us for this next yeare, but if these Forces come forward and do that execution upon us and this place that we fear they intend, there will be no use at all of any Vice Chancellor. For what will there be here for him to do, where there will be no scholars for him to govern? Or what should scholars do here, having no Libraries left them to study in,

no Schools to dispute in, Chapels to serve God in, Colleges or Halls to live or lodge in? But have all these ransackt, defaced, demolished; so that Posterity may have to say, ' See, here was for a long time, and till such a year, an University of great renown and eminence in all manner of learning and virtue, but now laid utterly waste, and buried in her own ruins:?' and then will the question be, what had they then no Lord Chancellor over them? or was he unable to protect them, either by his power, or his mediation and favour in their behalf? or were Men of place and Governors in the University so sleepy and stupid as not to implore his protection of them? or was he fore-acquainted with their dangers, and regardless nevertheless of what might befall them?

We are all of us very confident, that if your Lordship would vouchsafe to interpose with your intreaties for us to the Hon<sup>ble</sup> Houses of Parliament for our safety and security therein, all would be well with us, as now it is. The Delinquents that were one while sent for, are not one of them here at this time. Sir John Byron with his regiment of troopers, who have been a few days here, without the least damage or grievance that I know of to any man, we shall I doubt not, soon prevail withall to withdraw from us; if he may with his safety return back to His Majesty, who of his own gracious care of us sent him hither. And if your Lordship shall be secured that no other Forces shall be here im-

posed upon us, that will take the liberty to exercise that barbarous insolence with which the illiterate and ruffianly rabble of the Vulgar threaten us, against such and against such only our young men have lately taken in hand the Arms we have, being a few God knows, and in weak hands enough to save themselves and us from having our Libraries fired, our Colleges pillaged, and our throats cut by them, if they should suddenly break in upon us. And this, my Lord, is all the sinful intent we have had in permitting them to train in a voluntary and peaceable manner, so as they have done. Good my Lord, and that which I most earnestly beg of your Honor is out of the sense and humble request of the University; Vouchsafe to put in action, with all speed, what you in your wisdom conceive may be most effectual and prevalent with the Hon<sup>ble</sup> Houses of Parliament for the peace and security of this Place, and for the staying of our Students, a great part of whom, such stout and hardy men they are, are fled away from us home to their mothers. The Disciples when in danger of drowning clamoured our Saviour with ‘Master carest thou not that we perish?’ But I am bold to assume for your Honor, and to assure all of this University under your happy government, that you will not, so far as in your power is, suffer any one member of it to perish, no not to receive the least hurt; and that of your tender and vigilant care you have of us, you will at this time give us a clear and real evidence,

having this Representation of the peril that we are now  
in made unto your Honor by me

Your Lordships humble Servant

*The VICE CHAN. of the University  
of Oxon.*

New Coll. Oxon.

Sept. 7<sup>th</sup>. 1642.

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LETTER CCLXXXI.

*The Earl of Pembroke to Dr. Pinke, in answer to his  
Remonstrance.*

[MS. BAKER, *ut supr.* p. 433.]

SIR

IF you had desired my advice and assistance in time,  
I should willingly have contributed my best endeavours  
for your safety and protection; but your own unad-  
vised counsels and actions have reduced you to the  
straight you are now in. Any discretion might have  
foreseen that the admitting of Cavaliers and taking up  
Armes could not but make the University a notorious  
mark of opposition against the Parliament, and there-  
fore to be opposed by it. If you had contained your-  
selves within the decent modest bounds of an Univer-  
sity, you might justly have challenged me if I had

not performed the duty of a Chancellor. The best Council I can now give you, is, that you presently dismiss the Cavaliers, and yield up unto the Parliament such Delinquents as are amongst you, and then the cause being taken away, the effect will follow. When you have put yourselves in the right posture of an University, I will be a faithful servant to you, and as ready to do you all the good offices I can with the Parliament, as I am now sorry you have brought these troubles upon yourselves. So I rest

Your very loving friend

PEMB. *and* MONTGOMERY.

Written the 8<sup>h</sup>  
of September, 1642.

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## LETTER CCLXXXII.

*C. H. to William Sancroft, then of Emanuel College  
Cambridge, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury.  
The Battle of Edge-Hill. A. D. 1642.*

[MS. HARL. 3784. fol. 141. *Orig.*]

\* \* C. H. is believed to be C. Henshaw.

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ON Sunday last I saw the Battle which was the bloudest I believe the oldest soldiers in the field ever

saw. We have routed utterly their horse and slain & chased away so considerable a party of their foot, that the Enemy is very weak. Though we have lost some, yet few of eminency, save some prisoners. The Earl of Lindsey, Willoughby, & Colonel Lunston, the Lord St. John, with the Lord Fielding are slain, with many others. My Lord of Essex escaped us by being in an alehouse. We have his coach, & much money in it. There needs no more to assure any understanding man we had the day, than to tell them (which is true) we had all their ordnances in the field & fetcht them out next morning in their sight. They are so weak they have entrenched themselves, and we are now going on our intended march to Oxford, having only gone backward on Sunday to bestow this breathing on them. We have taken about five colours and cornetts, and lost about five or six colours, but never a cornett. The King hath five hundred of their horse alive, and of eighteen hundred not one horse is left them. At the beginning of the fight two double troops came over to the Kings party commanded by Sir Faithfeill Fortescue and Mr. Gervase Pain, & fought against that side. It is commonly reported the Earl of Essex his soldiers run away dayly. Three hundred prisoners are taken, among which is Serjeant Major Barrey a recusant of the Irish. Some of those affirm that on their side are slain no less then four thousand. My Lord Albeny is slain on the King's side, and Doctor

Lake. The King gave fire to the first piece, the Lord General having first demanded the word, which was “*Go in the name of God and I’ll lay my bones with yours.*” Marquis Hartford is now on march with ten thousand men armed out of Wales, and intends to meet the King at Oxford. Sir R. Hopton and Mr. Rogers bring as many from the West Country.

C. H.

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THERE is another Account of this Battle extant upon the Minutes of the Society of Antiquaries, to whom it was communicated by their Secretary Dec. 20<sup>th</sup>. 1792.

“It states that on Sunday the 23d of October, about 7 o’clock, there came warning to the band to which the writer belonged, of their address to the Court of Edgcote where they had left his Majesty the night before; that they must at all speed come away, for that the Parliament Forces were drawn very near them, and His Majesty intended to give them battle. But His Majesty and most of the Army were gone before to Edgehill six miles off, and there they saw the enemy about two miles off. So the Army drew down the hill into a plain of arable ground between Edgehill and Keynton. All was set in readiness by two o’clock, and then the great Ordnance played upon each army till three o’clock or after; that they joined both horse and foot in several wyngs as in such cases, and still the great Ordnance playing on both parts in terrible manner. It so continued, with many severall passages of wounded men brought off and slain on both parts, till six o’clock at night, and in apparent view,” says the writer, “our men got ground of them, and our Horse quickly routed theirs, and chased them about three miles in execution, the whilst the greatest part of the foot were now in exceeding hot service and many slain on both parts, but, it is said *most* of theirs, and conceived seven or eight thousand, and five pieces of Ordnance taken. How many of their Army fell can not be known but to those that miss them, or what men of eminence slain, but the Lord St. John who was shot through the body was taken and dyed next day, Sir William Essex<sup>a</sup> and divers others

<sup>a</sup> Lord Clarendon calls him Charles Essex, and says he had been bred up a Page under the Earl of Essex.

were taken prisoners. It is doubted whether our Lieut. Gen. is taken or slain being shot in the leg, his son the Lord Willoughby taken prisoner and sent by them to Warwick Castle, also carryed thither Coll. Longford,<sup>a</sup> Coll. Stradling, and Coll. Vavasour.

“ Sir Edmund Varney the Kn<sup>t</sup>. Marshall being the Master Standard-bearer slain, and the standard gotten by the enemy, but fetched off again and brought to his Majesty by Capt. Smyth a young gentleman whom his Majesty knighted the next morning in the field.

“ The Lord Abignye slain, many noble Gentlemen hurt, Cap. Howard second son to the Earl of Berkshire, Sir Nicholas Biron, Coll. Fielding, Sir Richard Grims, Sir George Shaw of Kent, and others.

“ The number of our common men lost not certainly known, but the next evening we perceived some of our Companies lessened, yet certainly not by a fourth part so many as of theirs.

“ Our Band attended his Majesty in a squadron on his right hand, and our servants at a distance behind us, but after an hour or thereabout he commanded Sir William Howard our Lieut. with our band to take charge of the Prince and the Duke of York, whereupon the Princes by his Majesty’s direction were drawn a little farther out of danger, but forwardly the great Bullets often fell near the King and them, and some passed over their heads that his Majesty was often importuned to draw off further, but by no means would, and presently rode away into the head ranks and encouraged them on with great valour and resolution, that all men were much distracted for fear of him, but praised be God he came happily off, and stayed all that night on the hill only by a fire, giving order for all things as occasion required.

“ Before it was quite dark we had a command from the King to carry the Princes away to the house they lay at the night before; but the passage being ill, it was now eight o’clock ere they alighted, from whence about two o’clock they hasted away to the King again at Edgehill, where we found all things preparing for another battle, and the enemy who had been somewhat better refreshed by their retirement into Keynton made some shew of expecting us again; but his Majesty who had that night often bemoaned the loss of so much blood among his own subjects, thought better for that time to draw away his army, than to put on his own men and horses again that had met with no relief but had stood and lain upon the cold ground from Sunday Evening to Monday noon.”

A third Account of this Battle, written by one Bernard Stewart, occurs in the Harleian Manuscript 3785.

All these Narratives, written at the moment, in their general tenor

<sup>a</sup> Lunsford.



confirm the details given by Lord Clarendon, but with the addition of some new and striking facts.

Lord Clarendon mentions one or two instances of wounded persons of rank being carried, after the Fight of Edgehill, to Oxford for surgical assistance: but among Sir Hans Sloane's Manuscripts is a Diary of one Byrne a Surgeon, whence it appears, from a case or two, that some who were wounded by gunshots both at Edgehill and Newbury were brought even to a London Hospital for assistance. Compare MS. Donat. 153. foll. 137, 139.

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## LETTER CCLXXXIII.

*The King to the Rector and Fellows of Exeter College  
Oxford, for the loan of their Plate.*

[FROM THE ARCHIVES OF EXETER COLLEGE. *Orig.*]

\*\*\* Ruding, in his Annals of the Coinage of Britain, has detailed numerous particulars of the loan made by the University of Oxford and its Colleges to King Charles the First, after the battle of Edge hill, of their money and plate. It was on this account that the King removed his Mint from Aberystwith to Oxford: and thence issued a very large proportion of the silver coin, still extant, which bears his name and effigies.

Ruding has given a particular enumeration of the Plate sent to the King by the Colleges, in the months of January and February 1643, amounting to something considerable as bullion. St. John's College however is omitted in the List: and the common report has been, that that College, of which the archbishops Laud and Juxon were successively Presidents, refused to deliver its plate to the King.

Among Dr. Rawlinson's Collections in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, is a folio volume of Memoranda relative to the Baskerville family, written by one Thomas Baskerville, who takes occasion to introduce an account of most of the Colleges with some of the College customs, and among others has the following relating to St. John's.

“ I am informed by my worthy friend Mr. Richard Rod, that when King Charles the First had his residence in Oxford, in the time of our

Civil Wars, the King wanting cash to pay his soldiers, he was necessitated to send for the College Plate to coin money, and accordingly had it delivered to him. But S<sup>t</sup>. John's College people being loath to loose the memory of their benefactors, gave the King a summe of money to the value of it, and so it staid with them some time; but the King's urgent occasions for money still pressing him forward, he sent to demand it a second time, and had it; vpon w<sup>ch</sup> the King ordered the rebus of Richard Bayly the then President of S<sup>t</sup>. John's, 1644, to be put on the money coin'd with the Plate. Mr. Rod did help me to half a crown of this money, which hath the Rebus of Rich. Bayly on both sides viz. under the King a horse back on one side, & under, this motto REL : PRO : LE : ANG : LIB : PAR. The Protestant Religion, The Laws of England, and the Priviledge of Parliament. And, under 1644. on the other side."

It should be added that Mr. Baskerville, who was a friend of Anthony a Wood's, lived about 1680, sufficiently near the time to ensure the accuracy of such a statement, to fabricate which he could have no sufficient motive. The existence of the coin with the R. B. upon it, and the additional circumstance of the College not having in its possession any plate with a date antecedent to the Restoration (the communion-plate excepted) corroborates what has been advanced, and so strongly, that the common report, founded doubtless on the retention of the silver in the first instance, is now unworthy of credit.

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### CHARLES R.

TRUSTY and welbeloved wee greete you well. Wee are soe well satisfied with your readiness and affection to our service that wee cannot doubt but you will take all occasions to express the same: and as wee are ready to sell or engage any of our Land, soe wee have melted downe our Plate for the payment of our army rayzed for our defense and the preservation of the Kingdome. And having received severall quantityes of Plate from divers of our loving subjects, wee have removed Our Mint hither to Our City of Oxford for the coyning thereof. And wee doe hereby desire you,

that you will send unto Us all such Plate, of what kinde soever, which belonges to your Colledge, promising you to see the same justly repayed unto you after the rate of 5s. the ounce for white, and 5s. 6d. for gilt Plate, as soone as God shall enable us; for assure your selves wee shall never lett persons of whom wee have soe great a care to suffer for their Affection to Us, but shall take speciall order for the repayment of what you have already lent to Us, according to our promise, and allsoe of this you now lend in Plate, well knowing it to bee the goods of your Colledge that you ought not to alien; though noe man will doubt but in such a case you may lawfully lend to assist your King in such visible necessity. And wee have entrusted our trusty and welbeloved Sr. William Parkhurst Kn<sup>t</sup>. and Thomas Bushell Esq. Officers of our Mint, or either of them, to receive the said Plate from you, who upon weighing thereof shall give you a Receipt under their or one of their hands for the same. And wee assure our selfe of your very great willingnesse to gratify Us herein, since besides the more publique Consideracions you cannot but knowe how much yourselves are concerned in our sufferings. And wee shall ever remember this particular service to your advantage. Given at our Court att Oxford this 6<sup>th</sup> day of January 1642.

To our trusty and welbeloved  
the Rector and Fellowes of Exe-  
ter Colledge in our University of  
Oxon.

## LETTER CCLXXXIV.

*The King to the Rector and Fellows of Exeter College, for individual subscriptions for a limited time for the support of Troops.*

[FROM THE ARCHIVES OF EXETER COLLEGE. *Orig.*]

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CHARLES R.

TRUSTY and wellbeloved wee greet you well. Wee doe with great unwillingness renew our desire of trouble and charge to any persons from whom wee have received such ample testimonyes of their duty and affection as wee confess to have received from you; but wee are confident you doe enough understand your owne welbeing to be soe much comprehended in ours, that you will upon all occasions extend the utmost of your abilityes to assist us, and therefore wee have thought fit to impart a busines unto you wherein all well affected persons about us have expressed great readines and alacrity to serve us, in undertakeing severally to pay soe many of our foote soldiers at fower shillings the weeke (for one month) as they think fit, in which without any great burthen to themselves they advaunce our service in a very considerable degree. Wee doe hereby recommend the consideration herof to you, not doubting but that you will so far express

yourselves this way, that wee shall not be disappointed of our expectation. Wee doe assure you in the word of a King that this charge shall lye on you but one moneth, beyond which you shall not need to feare it shall be comended to you. And our pleasure is that you retorne the names of the severall members of your Colledge who shall subscribe (with their subscriptions, for wee expect this supply from perticulers and not from the publike stock, which wee beleeve to be exhausted already for our ayde) to our Chancellor of our Exchequer within two dayes after the receipt of this our Letter, that he may present the same to us; and soe wee may be informed of the perticuler persons whoe in this our extremity are soe sensible of us. And soe wee bid you heartily farewell. Given at Our Court at Oxford this 27<sup>th</sup> day of June 1643.

To Our trusty and welbeloved,  
the Rector and Fellowes of Exeter  
Colledge.

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LETTER CCLXXXV.

*The King to Thomas Bushell, Esq. Master Worker  
of the Mines Royal, acknowledging his Services.*

[CART. HARL. ANTIQ. 111. B. 61. *Orig.*]

\* \* \* Thomas Bushell, Esq. had succeeded Sir Hugh Middleton in 1631 as Lessee of the Lead-Mines in Cardiganshire, which were so rich in silver as to come under the denomination of Mines Royal.

In an Indenture between the King and him dated July 30th, 1637, it is stated that he had given to His Majesty and his Privy Council information of the richness of the mines in the Principality, the goodness of the Ore of which had been, till then, so far unknown, that it had been transported to other nations for Potters ore, out of which strangers refined silver. In consequence, power was given to Bushell to set up the Mint at Aberystwith, which has been already mentioned, for the coining of all such bullion as should be drawn from the mines of the Principality: the mint to be from time to time regulated by the Warden of His Majesty's Mint in the Tower of London, whence the coining-irons were also to be received.

Bushell was, for a while, placed under sequestration by the Parliament; but, finally, had his Grant of the Mines Royal confirmed to him both by Oliver and Richard Cromwell.<sup>a</sup>

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### CHARLES R.

TRUSTIE and welbeloved, wee greete you well; callinge to minde your vigilant eye of care upon all occasions, and the manie true services you have actually done us in these times of trying a subjects loyalty: as in raiseing vs the Darbyshire Minors for our life Guard at our first entrance to this warr for our owne defence, when the Lord Lieutenant of that Countie refused

<sup>a</sup> Nor was it to the Parliament only that Mr. Bushell stood indebted for persecution. The following Letter from King Charles the Second while in exile speaks of the individual cruelty of certain persons who dealt with him. The Original is preserved among the Harleian Charters in the Museum, cart. 85. H. 37.

C. R.

Wee greete you well; beinge credibly informed that you and your partners continue your cruelty against Mr. Bushell, farmer of our Mines Royal, and recall your bargain made with him for the pre-emption of his own Lead, to the utter ruin of him and the rest that gave him credit, (notwithstanding the intercession of our deceased father's Letter) to the contrary, which you shall find us to be so sensible of, that, if by your oppression he be forced to leave the country and consequently his employment in our mines Royall for the public good, you may rest assured upon the word of a Prince we shall take and esteeme your severity or civility unto him as to ourself, and, when time shall serve, requite the same to you and your posterities. Given under our hand this fourth of August 1649, stilo veteri.

To

Thomas Deacon and Lucus Lucy, Merchants.

to appear in the service: supplying us at Shrewsbury and Oxford with your Mint for the payement of our Armye, when all the Officers in the Mint of our Tower of London forsook their attendance, except Sr. William Parkhurst: your changing the dollars with w<sup>ch</sup>. wee paid our Souldiers at six shillings a piece, when the malignant partie cried them downe at ffine: your stopping the Mutinie in Shropshire when the soldiers had left their arreares uppon the Countrye, and brought the asociacion of the Gentry to perfeccion: your providing us one hundred tonnes of lead shot for our Army without mony, when we paid before twentie pounds per tonne; and your helpinge us to twenty six pieces of ordinance, when wee were at a straight for supplying of Chester, Shrewsbury, and other places: your cloathing our liefe Guard and three regiments more, w<sup>th</sup>. suites, stockings, shoes, and moun-terees when wee were readie to march in the ffeild: your invention for our better knowinge and rewardinge the Forlorne Hope with Badges of Silver at your own charge when the soldiers were ready to run away through the instigation of some disafected persons:<sup>a</sup>

<sup>a</sup> The only specimen of this Badge at present known, is in the Cabinet of Edward Hawkins, Esq. of the British Museum, who also possesses a copy of the Proclamation under which it was issued: and which is too curlous not to be transcribed here.

“ CHARLES R.

“ Trusty and well beloved, We greet you well. Whereas we have received information that those Souldiers which have been forward to serve us in the FORLORN HOPE, are not looked upon according to their merited valour and loyal service. We do therefore require, that from hence forward the Commander in Chief, both of Horse and Foot, which lead up the Forlorn Hope, upon whom also we mean to bestow special Tokens of our Princely favour, do signify in writing the names of those

your contractinge with Merchants beyond the Seas, for providing good quantities of powder, pistoll, carabine, muskett and bullen, in exchange for your owne commodities, when wee were wantinge of such ammunicion : with diverse other severall services which wee hope our royall successors will never forget, and to assure you that wee shall beare them in our princelie remembrance, Wee hereby promise you, in the word of a Prince, to make those traiterous subjects Smyth, Wild, and Stephenson for to restore those lands of Chawford Dene, Hampsteede, and Euston which you sold them, and to free you and your three Sureties Edmund Goodier, Charles Mordent, and the ladie Anne Wade of the debts you owe to such rebellious persons as shall be proved they have assisted the Parliament (either by their purse or power) against vs, to the end that you maye enjoy your desires at Euston rocke and the

souldiers whom they find most forward in serving their King and Country, that care may be taken to reward their deservings, and make them specially known to all our good subjects. For which end we have thought fit to require Sir William Parkhurst knight, and Thomas Bushell esquire, Wardens of our Mint to provide, from time to time, certain BADGES of SILVER, containing *our royal Image* and *that of our dearest son Prince Charles*, to be delivered to wear on the breast of every man who shall be certified under the hand of their Commander in Chief to have done us faithful service in the Forlorn Hope. And we do therefore most straitly command, that no Souldier at any time do sell, nor any of our Subjects presume to buy or wear any of these said Badges, other than they to whom we shall give the same, and that under such pain and punishment as Our Council at War shall think fit to inflict, if any shall presume to offend against this our Royal command. And we farther require the said Commanders and Wardens of our Mint to keep several Registers of the Names of those, and of their Country, for whom they shall give their Certificate.

“ Given at our Court at Oxford, the eighteenth Day of May, 1643.

“ To our trusty and well beloved Si  
William Parkhurst knight, and Thoma  
Bushell esquire, Wardens of our Mint a  
Oxford.’



rocks in Wales, which your own industrie and Gods providence hath helped you unto. Given under our signe manual at our Court at Oxford the twelfth daye of June, 1643.

To our trusty and wellbeloved  
Thomas Bushell Esq. Warden of  
our Mint and M<sup>r</sup>. Worker of our  
Mynes Royall.

This Attestacion was shewed vnto Edward Panton and to Richard Sherwyn at their severall Examynacions before mee.

C. SPELMAN.

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WHILE upon the subject of services, the Reader will be pleased to see a Copy of a Minute made at Oxford in 1642. It is preserved in the Harleian Manuscript 6851. So few could be either trusted or relied upon by the King, that it became necessary to send persons who in condition were above the common rank of life, to seek intelligence of the enemy's movements.

“ COUNCIL of WAR at OXFORD

21 Jan. 1642.

“ Present,

HIS MAJESTIE

“ Ld. ll. Generall	Marquess Hertford
Earl of Bristoll	Earl of Devonshire
Ld. Capell	Ld. Newarke.
M <sup>r</sup> . Chanc. of the Exchequer	Mr. Secr. Nicholas
Sir Ja. Asteley	Mr. Percy
Sir Rich. Cave	Sir Wm. Bro.

“ It was then thought fit for the better discovery of the Motions and Intencions of the Rebels that henceforward there should be daily sent out certain Gentlemen or others on horsebacke, either unto or as near the towns hereunder named as conveniently they could go and to bring thence what Intelligence they could get and to make report thereof to the Lord Generall.

*Viz<sup>t</sup>.*

To NORTHAMPTON . . . . .	THE LORD SPENCER.
To LIECESTER . . . . .	THE LORD NEWARKE.
To READINGE . . . . .	EARL OF DEVONSHIRE.
To HENLEY . . . . .	EARL OF DORSETT.
To WICKHAM . . . . .	LD. CAPEL.
To ALESBURY . . . . .	EARL OF CORNEWATH.
To FARINGDON . . . . .	MARQUESS HERTFORD.
To BANBURY . . . . .	EARL OF BRISTOL.
To MORETON HENMARCH . .	SIR RICH. CAVE.

“ These Lords undertaking to send the next day, it was then ordered that the Lords and other his Majesties Commissioners should meet on Monday Morning at nine of the Clock, to settle amongst themselves a certaine course for continuation thereof; and farther to find out ten or twelve Gentlemen to be ready on all occasions to send abroad in case of Alarms.”

Another anecdote of the devotion of the King's friends in point of service, though of a later date, will not be misplaced here. It shows the state, also, to which some of the ministers of the King were finally reduced. Mr. Endymion Porter, writing to Secretary Nicholas from Paris  $\frac{9}{19}$  Decemb. 164 $\frac{6}{7}$ , says,

“ I am a sad man to understand that your Honour is reduced to want: but it is all our Cases: for I am in so much necessity, that were it not for an Irish barber, that was once my servant, I might have starved for want of bread. He hath lent me some monies, which will last me for a fortnight longer, and then I shall be as much subject to misery as I was before. Here in our Court no man looks on me, and the Queen thinks I lost my Estate for want of wit, rather than for my loyalty to my Master.”<sup>a</sup>

<sup>a</sup> MS. Birch. Donat. 4180. p. 254.

## LETTER CCLXXXVI.

*Queen Henrietta Maria to Sir Theodore Mayerne,  
from Exeter.*

[MS. SLOAN. 1679. fol. 71 b.]

\*.\* The total failure of the King's affairs, at the beginning of 1644, induced the Queen, then at Oxford, to entertain serious apprehensions for her safety. On the 17th of April she began her journey from Oxford to the West; the King attended her to Abingdon the first day, whence by short stages she went to Exeter, to stay till she was delivered; being then within little more than a month of her time.<sup>a</sup>

From Exeter the Queen wrote the following Letter to Sir Theodore Mayerne.

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Exceter ce 3. May.

MONSIEUR DE MAYERNE

MON indisposition ne me permet pas d'escire beaucoup, pour vous prier de venir si votre santé vous le permet: mais mon mal vous y convie plus comme j'espere que ne feroit beaucoup de lignes: C'est pourquoy je ne diray que cela, ayant tousjours dans ma memoire les soings que vous avés en de moy dans mes besoins, qui faict que je crois que si vous poués, vous viendrés, et que je suis et seray tousjours

Vostre bien bonne mestresse

et amie

HENRIETTA MARIE R.

<sup>a</sup> See Clarendon, Hist. Reb. vol. ii. p. 716.

The King, by a different conveyance, sent another Letter to Sir Theodore. It was comprised in a single line.

“MAYERNE,

Pour l'amour de moy, allé trouver ma Femme.

C. R.”

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SIR Theodore Mayerne and Sir Martin Lister, left London in the Queen's chariot on May 21st, and arrived at Exeter May 28th, 1644. The Queen was delivered of a daughter, Henrietta, afterwards Duchess of Orleans, on June the 16th.\* Within little more than a fortnight after her delivery Her Majesty left Exeter for Cornwall, whence in a short time she retired from the harbour of Falmouth to France, never to see the King again.

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## LETTER CCLXXXVII.

*The King to his Nephew Prince Maurice, then before  
Lime in Dorsetshire.*

[MS. HARL. 6988. art. 107. *Orig.* THE POSTSCRIPT IN THE KING'S  
HAND.]

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CHARLES R.

MOST dear and entirely beloved Nephew, wee greet you well. By the inclosed you will see the full state of our business here, and the several resolutions taken upon the motions of the Rebels in these parts. Waller being now joined with Essex, it is probable

\* There is a Portrait of her in the Town hall of Exeter, the gift of King Charles the Second to the City.

that he will not looke Westward untill they shall have tried what may be done upon our Army here, or on this Towne. But howsoever Wee desire you to keep forth Scouts and Intelligencers to give you timely advertisement, if he shall advance Westward. As soon as you shall have finished what can be done upon Lyme, or shall plainly see that it is not to be taken, wee desire you to draw with all your forces to Bristol, to be there in a readines to meet with or come to Us as there shall be occasion, whereof wee shall send you notice. And so Wee bid you most heartily farewell. Given at our Court at Oxford 28<sup>o</sup>. May 1644.

By His Mat<sup>ties</sup>. command,

EDW. NICHOLAS.

This is of so much importance for my service, that I desire you to take notice that this is not an ordinary dispache from a Secretary, but a particular direction from me, upon mature deliberation.

C. R.

To

Prince Maurice.

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No fresh Letters of historical interest of the year 1645 have occurred to the Editor for his second Series. In lieu of such, however, he presents the reader with a short Narrative by Sir Gilbert Talbot, relating to some transactions which took place in that year, and which either from the failure of the negotiation, or some other cause, have been left unnoticed by the Earl of Clarendon. The present copy is from the Harleian MS. 6859. p. 33.

“ *A NARRATIVE of the VENETIANS TENDER OF ASSISTANCE to KING CHARLES THE FIRST in his Civil Wars: and the Dissapointment of it. As likewise of the DESIGN of CONFISCATING THE ENGLISH MERCHANTS EFFECTS IN TURKEY to HIS MAJESTY’S USE; by Sir G. TALBOT.*

“ Being employed in the service of King Charles the First at Venice in the beginning of the Rebellion, I observed that the Venetian Ambassador who resided altogether in London gave such Weekly account of the Affairs of England and of the various success of the War, as came to him from the partial relation of the Rebels: and so great credit was given to his despatches, that it was not easy for me to gain any belief in the contradiction of his apparent mistakes; whereof I gave an account to the King my master.

“ To the end therefore that I might with more confidence and assurance aver matters of fact, His Majesty gave command to both his Secretaries of State (altho’ it was the province but of one) to give me, weekly, a true impartial Account of all that happened in the war, as well to his damage as advantage, with order to me to communicate it to the Venetians, because all the London Narratives lessened his Majesty’s Victories and magnified his Losses.

“ Within a short time after that I had begun this method, I was advertised of the unfortunate battle of Marsam-More,<sup>a</sup> wherein His Majesty’s Army received a very great loss.

“ Hereof I gave an early Account to the Doge (Francisco Erizzo) who was so much discomposed with my relation, that the good old man shed some tears, saying that it was pity so vertuous and worthy a Prince should receive such hard measure from his own subjects, of whose misfortune, he added, the Republic was so deeply sensible that they would readily assist his Majesty in so just a cause, with men, money, arms, or ammunition, whensoever he pleased to make use of them.

“ I returned Thanks in His Majesty’s name for that princely Offer, but knowing it was not in the power of the Doge to make so large an engagement for the Republic without express leave from the Senate, I told his Serenity that I would not fail to give his Majesty an account of his proffered kindness, but that it might go to his Majesty with greater authority, I humbly desired his Serenity that he would vouchsafe me his words in writing, least I might unhappily mistake his expressions.

“ To this he replied that he would assemble an extraordinary Pregadi that night, and I should have the result of it the next night, which he doubted not but would be to my satisfaction.

<sup>a</sup> Marston Moor.

“ I was accordingly sent for the next morning to the College, and a Vote of the Senate delivered to me in as large terms as the Doge had (the day before) expressed himself; this I sent away by an express the same day into England, and lest the Secretary might not understand the importance of it, being written in the rude Venetian dialect, I sent it likewise translated into English, and it was delivered to Secretary Nicholas at Oxford.

“ The King was then gone to Ragland Castle, and no present answer could be returned to the Paper: nor had I so much as a direction from the Secretary to entertain the Venetians with thanks till his Majesty’s pleasure might be known: but when so much time was elapsed (lest the Senate might think their compliment neglected) I pretended that I had received command from the King my master to let the Republic know that his Majesty was highly sensible of their kind and generous Offer which deserved the fullest expression of his thanks, but that he was not without hope to compose their disorders, without giving trouble to so good an Ally. But if he should be put to the last extremity, he was glad to know where he might fix upon so good and sure a friend as their voluntary generosity had shewed them to be.

“ His Majesty being at last reduced to very great straits and no notice taken all that while of the Venetian civility, I knew not what construction to make of it; I began to suspect the sincerity of the Secretary, for I was altogether a stranger to him.

“ To clear this matter, and withal to procure some settlement for my future subsistence in that imployment (which I had till then defraided upon my own purse and credit) I asked leave to return into England, and His Majesty gave me leave for six months.

“ When I came to Oxford the King was in great want, and the Lord Cottington, Secretary Nicholas, Chancellor Hyde, and Mr. John Ashburnham were in consultation which way to procure a subsistence for the household, *which for some time had been supported by the Sunday’s Offerings.* I had at that time occasion to speak with Sir Edward Hyde, and sent my name in to him. He called for me in, and said to the rest, in his merry way, ‘ possibly this Foreign Minister may acquaint us with some foreign project to get money when we want,’ and desired me to impart my skill. I told him he had not ill addressed to me, for I had been a long practitioner in that art, yet I knew but one way, which was when we have not of our own we must borrow of our friends. He replied my invention was dull, for they had tried all their friends already. I asked leave to differ from him in opinion, for I was well assured they had not tried the Venetians. ‘ It is,’ said he, ‘ because we do not take them to be so our friends as to lend us money.’ ‘ That is your own fault,’ said I, ‘ Sir Edward Nicholas can give you a better character of them.’ ‘ No,

believe me,' said he, 'not I.' 'Do you keep any copies of your Despatches by you,' said I. 'Yes,' replied he. I desired him then to examine my Letters of such a month. He went to his Office, and immediately returned with the original Order of the Senate.

"They all cried out upon him, and he defended himself by the hurry and confusion of marches, which caused this forgetfulness.

"Away ran Mr. Ashburnham to the King with this matter, and I was immediately sent for. His Majesty asked me why he was not made acquainted with this affair sooner? I answered, I presumed it had been imparted to him when I transmitted it at first to his Secretary. I further added, that I was put to a great loss for want of Directions, what return I should make to the Venetians, and I told him what message I had framed and delivered in his name, and begged his Majesty's pardon that I had done it without his commission. He replied, I had my pardon, for I ought not to have done less. He then commanded me to put myself in readiness, for he would within three days send me back to Venice.

"I took the boldness to say, it would not misbecome the greatest Subject that his Majesty had, to go upon the message; and I thought the Venetians would expect to be courted out of their money. Yet this I said, not to decline the Journey; for I was ready to obey his Majesty's commands. His Majesty took me at my word, and would have none else go.

"As soon as my Credentials and Instructions were finished, his Majesty was pleased to give me the honour of knighthood, caused me to be sworn Gentleman in Ordinary of his Privy Chamber, and raised my character to Envoy Extraordinary.

"I kissed his Majesty's hand, and began my journey with auspicious circumstances, but it did not end with the like success. I fell into a party of three hundred of Massy's horse, and escaped them miraculously; and endured no small storm upon the rocky coast of Lower Brittany.

"When I came to Paris, I met with several packets from my Secretary (whom I had left at Venice) mentioning the first rupture betwixt the Turks and the Venetians, and the daily increase of the appearances of war, from whence I began strongly to suspect the disappointment of all my hopes, yet resolved to proceed upon my Journey, in expectation that those differences might happily be accommodated by the Venetian prudence.

"But when I arrived at Venice, I found matters so irreconcilably exasperated, that I held it very improper to press the Venetians to the performance of their promise to his Majesty, and therefore turned my discourse, and told the Doge that his Majesty had remanded me expressly to return his most solemn Thanks for their generous offer of assistance to him in his domestic troubles, wherewith (altho' not yet quieted)



he was not more perplexed than for that they hindered him from being in a condition to send them aid against their dreadful enemy ; and since he was not able to serve them that way, he would send command to his Ambassador at the Ottoman Court to endeavour to do all the good offices of a mediator, to procure their peace with that Emperor.

“ Having passed this compliment I had no more to do at Venice, and had his Majesty’s leave to return for England without any formal Letters of revocation whensoever I should find it expedient. Yet, being disquieted beyond measure with the disappointment of my hopes, it came into my head to write to Sir Sackville Crow (then ambassador at Constantinople) both to acquaint him with the miscarriage of my business, and to advise him to try whether the Grand Signior might not be prevailed with to espouse his Majesty’s cause against his rebels (as it was the interest of all Princes to do, least their own subjects might take example from a prosperous rebellion to throw off all obedience) and, if he discovered any appearance that (by bribing the Vizier, or otherwise) it might be effected ; upon his Intimation of it to me, in cypher, I would procure his Majesty’s authority for him to proceed in it.

“ Having sent away the Proposal, I returned back for England, and coming into the West, was by the commission of the Prince of Wales (his now Majesty) made Governor of Tiverton ; which command, upon the march of General Fairfax into the West was abandoned by the former Governor, Col. Amias Pollard.

“ The Place, not long after, being assaulted by General Major Massey, who was happily repulsed, and then besieged by General Fairfax, and every hour in danger to be lost ; for my Horse were mutinous, and I had but two hundred Foot in Garrison, and some of my chief Officers unfaithful, and the enemy without, twenty two thousand strong ; therefore apprehending the worst, I burn’d all my papers, and among the rest my cypher with Sir Sackville Crow.

“ I was soon after stormed, and (a main Post being betrayed by Major Sadler) taken, and sent away prisoner to Lime, and thence to Weymouth, where obtaining my liberty upon exchange I went to the King at Oxford, which was the first time I saw his Majesty after my return from Italy.

“ I there gave him a more particular Account of my unsuccessful journey to Venice, and acquainted him with what Proposal I had made to Sir Sackville Crow, whereof his Majesty was well pleased to approve.

“ I stood in daily expectation of Sir Sackville’s Answer, which at length came to me in cypher, but I had burnt my key at Tiverton.

“ I went immediately to his Majesty and told him, that I had now received a Letter from Constantinople, but knew not what it contained in regard that it was written in cypher and I had burnt my key ; this was about twelve of the Clock, and his Majesty took the Letter, and

commanded me to attend him at Three in the Afternoon; when I came I found the Letter uncyphered by Prince Robert,<sup>a</sup> which gave all fair hopes of the design.

“ His Majesty therefore immediately sent away full power to Sir Sackville Crow to pursue the Proposal, which was, that since the English Rebels had got all the possession of the Revenues of the Crown into their hands, the Grand Signor would give leave to the Ambassador to confiscate and seize all the English merchants effects throughout his dominions for His Majesty’s service; whereunto the Grand Signor condescended.

“ The great consideration now was, which way this might best be effected. That the Grand Vizier was to be bribed no man questioned. But I took the boldness to speak my fear to His Majesty, that when the Merchants should perceive their danger, they would out-bribe the Ambassador, and reverse the order for confiscation; I therefore humbly proceeded that His Majesty should borrow a considerable sum of that Emperor, and impawn his subjects effects for reimbursement, and His Majesty approved of what I offered.

“ But Sir Edward Hyde (who could not brook to hear his method disliked, especially by a person unqualified to advise) used many arguments to prove the caution unnecessary; and so the Order went as he had first drawn it up. And the Ambassador when he was empowered, proceeded to sequestration.

“ Thereupon the Factors meeting in a general consultation, concluded that there was no way for them to avoid this ruin, but (as I had before conjectured) by over-bribing; and therein they were so successful, that they not only reversed the Order for sequestration, (representing to the Grand Signor that if it proceeded it would destroy the Cloth trade for ever, and diminish his customs) but prevailed with him to deliver up the Ambassador to be sent home to the Parliament, which proved the ruin of his fortune, and the loss of a Design which might otherwise in all probability have secured the Crown and Life of the best of Kings.

(Signed)

SIR GILBERT TALBOT.”

<sup>a</sup> The name by which Prince Rupert was frequently called, both in print and in conversation. EDIT.

## LETTER CCLXXXVIII.

*The Commissioners of the Parliament of Scotland to the English Commissioners, announcing the King's Arrival in the Scottish Army.*

[HARL. MS. 787. fol. 41.]

\* \* \* The reader need hardly be reminded that, at this time, Oxford had become the last refuge of loyal devotion. Its fortifications indeed were strong, but the forces of the Parliament were hemming it round, and no devotion could resist famine. The King saw the necessity of leaving it. At three o'clock in the morning of April 27<sup>th</sup>. 1646 he passed Magdalen Bridge, with M<sup>r</sup>. Ashburnham and D<sup>r</sup>. Michael Hudson; the King as Ashburnham's servant, and D<sup>r</sup>. Hudson as their guide. The route they took is minutely described in Peck's *Desiderata Curiosa*, where D<sup>r</sup>. Hudson's examinations before the Parliament are printed. Irresolution and a circuitous journey delayed the King's arrival at Southwell till the 5<sup>th</sup>. of May. The Scots, soon after his coming, quitted their post with some precipitation for Newcastle.

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RIGHT HONORABLE.

THE discharging of ourselves of the duty wee owe to the Kingdom of England, to you as Commissioners from the same, moves us to acquaint you with the Kings cominge into our Army this morninge: which having overtaken us unexpectedly, hath filled us with amazement, & made us like men that dreame. We cannot thinke that he could have been soe unadvised in his resolucions, to have cast himselfe upon us with-

out a reall intencion to give full satisfaction to both Kingdomes in all theyr just & reasonable demandes in all those thinges that concerne Religion and Righteousness. Whatsoever be his disposicion or resolucion, you may be assured that we shall never enterteyne any thought, nor correspond with any purpose, nor countenance any endeavours that may in any circumstance encroach upon our League and Covenant, or weaken the Union or Confidence between the Nations. That Union unto our Kingdome was the matter of many Prayers. And as nothinge was more joyfull to us then to have it sett on foote, so hitherto have we thought nothinge too deare to mainteyne it. And we trust to walke with such faithfullness and truth in this particular, that as we have the testimony of a good Conscience within ourselves, soe You and all the world shall see that we mynde your interest with as much integrity & care as our owne, being confident You will enterteyne noe other thoughts of us.

From Southwell

May 5, 1646.

Signed by the warrant and command  
of the Commissioners for the Parliamant  
of Scotland.

LOTHIAN

For the right honorable the  
Commissioners of the Parliamant  
of England.

## LETTER CCLXXXIX.

*King Charles I. to Dr. Juxon Bishop of London; the  
King sends him a Case of Conscience.*

[BAKER'S MSS. IN THE PUBL. LIB. AT CAMBRIDGE VOL. xxxiii. p. 402.  
*From the Original, then in the hands of Sir William Juxon, the  
Bishop's great nephew.*]

\* \* \* The Propositions which were now submitted for the King's acceptance were the cause of the following Letter, the subject of which gave him much uneasiness. Alexander Henderson, one of the most eminent of the presbyterian ministers in London, was sent at this time to persuade the King to consent to the extirpation of Episcopacy. In the personal controversy between them, the presbyterian was confessedly defeated. He died of chagrin and disappointment within a short time after he had left the King. Had Charles consented to the sacrifice, there seems reason to believe that he might have remained a King in name. But, to use Clarendon's words, "He was too conscientious to buy his peace at so profane and sacrilegious a price."

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Newcastle 30 Sept. 1646.

MY LORD

MY knowledge of your worth and learning, and particularly in resolving Cases of Conscience, makes me at this time (I confess) put to you a hard and bold task, nor would I do it, but that I am confident you know not what fear is in a good cause. Yet I hope You believe that I shall be loath to expose you to a needless danger, assuring you that I will yield to none of your friends in my care of your preservation. I

need not tell You the many persuasions and threatenings that hath been used to me for making me change Episcopal into Presbiterial Government, which absolutely to do, is so directly against my conscience, that, by the Grace of God no misery shall ever make me: but I hold myself obliged by all honest means to eschew the mischief of this too visible storm, and I think some kind of compliance with the iniquity of the times may be fit, as my Case is, which at another time were unlawful. These are the grounds that have made me think of this inclosed Proposition, the which as one way it looks handsome to us, so in another I am fearful least I cannot make it with a safe conscience; of which I command you to give me your opinion upon your Allegiance. Conjuring you, that you will deal plainly and freely with me, as you will answer it at the dreadful day of Judgement.

I conceive the Question to be, whether I may with a safe Conscience give way to this proposed temporary compliance, with a resolution to recover and maintain that doctrine and discipline wherein I have been bred. The duty of my Oath is herein chiefly to be considered; I flattering myself that this way I better comply with it, than being constant to a flat denial, considering how unable I am by force to obtain that which this way there wants not probability to recover, if accepted, (otherwise there is no harm done) for my Regal authority once settled, I make no question of recover-

ing Episcopal government, and God is my witness my chiefest end in regaining my power, is, to do the Church service. So expecting your reasons to strengthen your opinion, whatsoever it be, I rest

Your most assured, reall, faithfull,  
constant frend

CHARLES R.

I desire your opinion in the particulars, as well as in the general scope of it; and yet mend much in the penning of it. I give you leave to take the assistance of the Bishop of Salisbury and Dr. Sheldon, and either of them. But let me have your answer with all convenient speed. None knows of this but Will Murray, who promises exact secrecy.

If your opinions and reasons shall confirm me in making of this Proposition, then you may some way be seen in it, otherwise I promise you, that your opinion shall be concealed.

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THE restraint under which the King was now placed, induced him again, though ineffectually, to think of an Escape.<sup>a</sup> Finally, however,

<sup>a</sup> The "Perfect Diurnall of some Passages in Parliament and from other parts of this Kingdome," from Jan. 4<sup>th</sup>. to Jan. 11<sup>th</sup>. 1646-7, has the following passages:

"Monday, January 4<sup>th</sup>.

"Letters from Newcastle mention further what we gave you in the end of the last week, that the King would have escaped privately from Newcastle in the night time disguised (some say in the habit of a sailor), and that the suspicision was so great, and the stir so great upon it, that they were all up in the Town in guards all night, and Gen. Leven sent for his lifeguard of horse to be nigh the Town, and quartered them in the way to Tinnmouth. The King is much discontented at the Proceedings of the

his person was disposed of. "Upon the payment of two hundred thousand pounds in hand," says Clarendon, "and security for as much more upon days agreed upon, the Scots delivered the King up into such hands as the Parliament appointed to receive him." In the month of February 1647 he was removed to Holmby House in Northamptonshire; and in August that year came to Hampton-Court.

Mr. Endymion Porter in a Letter to Sir Edward Nicholas, a part of which has been already quoted, dated from Paris,  $\frac{9}{19}$  Decemb. 1646, says "It seems your Honors friends the Scots have sold the King, and yet they are his White Boys; and our Grandees lay the fault on his not taking the Covenant and signing the Propositions." So varying even those were who were deemed friendly to the King.

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## LETTER CCXC.

*The King to the Princess Elizabeth, from Hampton Court.*

[MS. DONAT. BRIT. MUS. 3299. art. 83. Orig.]

\* \* Three original Letters of King Charles the First to the Princess Elizabeth, occur in the Sloane Collection in the Museum dated 20<sup>th</sup>. 27<sup>th</sup> Oct. 1647 and 14<sup>th</sup> Oct. 1648. They were presented to Sir Hans

Parliament of Scotland, and that they should agree to deliver up his person to the Parliament of England."

"By another Letter from Newcastle the Report of his Majesty's intention to escape is confirmed, the arguments to enforce the belief that Paudon Gate was endeavoured to be opened, and the Sally-port adjoining, that Mr. William Murray was very late at Court that night, coming down the stairs at so unusual a time, though he gave the officer the word yet he stayed him in the guard three hours until the Governor sent for him; the conceit is, his Majesty would have gone into the Holland man of war which lies still at Shelds. The General intends to double his care, having appointed some officers out of every regiment to attend day and night, besides the lifeguard, a squadron whereof watch every night."

A Letter in the "Perfect Diurnall" from Jan. 11<sup>th</sup> to Jan. 18<sup>th</sup>. 1646-7, says, "The King did intend to escape, M. Murray was to act Ashburnham, and the King a servitude, the Dutch ship to convoy him, the wind being cross; Hartpoole was to be the place, but timely discovered and prevented; we shall see the event, something is brewing; more of that shortly.

York, Jan. 8, 1646."



Sloane in 1733 and had been preserved in the family of the Earl of Leicester. The first and last of these are here given.

The Princess Elizabeth and the Duke of Gloucester, it will be remembered, after the Duke of York had escaped from St. James's in 1648,<sup>a</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Among the Tracts in the British Museum called the King's Pamphlets there is one, of no common occurrence, intitled

"A DECLARATION of His Highnesse the DUKE of YORKE his going away from ST. JAMESES; and concerning the right honourable the Earle of Northumberland, from whom he went. April 22, 1648. Imprimatur Gil. Mabbot." Lond. 1648, 4<sup>to</sup>. It is as follows:

"On Friday night, April 21, 1648, the right honourable the Earl of Northumberland, having been forth, returned to Saint Jameses about eight a clocke at night, and found the Duke of York with his Brother in his chamber.

"His Lordship waiting upon his Highnesse, entertained some discourse with him for a time; and afterwards withdrew.

"The Duke (after that) went into his sisters chamber, and spent some time in mirth with the young Ladies.

"Between nine and ten of the clocke, the Earl of Northumberland went to his Highnesse chamber, to see him go to bed according as his Lordship used to doe about that time. And finding the Duke not there, supposing that he might be playing with the gentlewomen, (as he used to doe) his Lordship sent Mr. Sammon to see for the Duke. But his Highnesse not comming, the Earle sent another messenger, and a third, and so more, to looke in all places, supposing that he might perhaps have hid himself somewhere, as he had often done in sport, to make them looke for him. Yet after all this no news could be brought to certifie where the Duke was.

"Then his Lordship made strict inquiry who had seene him last, and where hee was. And it was advertised that he was within little more than halfe an houre before with the Gentlewomen, playing and very merry.

"It was also further certified, that a little before that time hee had gone downe the backe staires, and was passing the entry towards the garden, wher Mr. Howard and Mr. Owen, two of his gentlemen that waited on him, then were talking, and that the Duke seeing of them there, did presently returne up the staires againe: whereby it was (after he was gone) supposed that he came then downe with an intent to have gone away, but finding those gentlemen there, was prevented.

"It was also advertized that the Duke had that evening called to the gardener for the key of a backe door that was a private way into the Garden very seldom knowne to be opened, whereupon it was supposed that he went away that way.

"Hereupon search was made in the Gardens, and all about the Parke, but none could give any intelligence at all concerning him. But in the Garden, by the said private doore, there were the prints of mens feete which seemed to have lately trodden there, and there were some of the feete seemed very small, which they supposed to be the Duke's treading. These feetings were traced through the Garden, and every way over the Parke, and on the other side of the Parke towards the Cherry-garden, and they found on the other side of the Parke (against the Garden) the like prints of such feetings as were at the first door which was suspected in the Garden. But they could hear no further which way his Highnesse should be gone.

"Then the Earle of Northumberland sent that night to all places from whence he could suppose hee might expect assistance, to the finding and bringing of the Duke back. His Lordship sent a messenger to the Speaker of the House of Commons, and another messenger to the Lord Generall; he sent also to the Earle of Warwick, to the Lord Mayor of the City of London, and to Collonell Barkstead and Colonell Rich, that so hee might have all the assistance which might bee for the looking after

were taken from the Earl of Northumberland and committed to the care of the Countess of Leicester, with whom they resided first at London and afterwards at Penshurst.

Some time after the King's death they were removed to Carisbrook Castle in the Isle of Wight, where the Princess died of grief for the troubles of her family, Sept. 8<sup>th</sup>. 1650. The Duke of Gloucester remained there, with no other style than Mr. Harry, till 1652; when Cromwell permitted him to embark for Holland.

Sir Theodore Mayerne, who had prescribed for the Princess Elizabeth in 1649, has made an affecting Memorandum of her death in his *Ephemerides*: the immediate cause of her death was a fever: "*Ex febre maligna tunc grassante, obiit in custodia in Vecti Insula procul a Medicis et Remediis, die 8 Septemb. circa tertiam pomeridianam.*"<sup>a</sup>

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Hampton court 27 Oct. 1647.

DEAR DAUGHTER

THIS is to assure you that it is not through forgetfulness or any want of kyndenes that I have not, all this tyme, sent for you, but for such reasons as is fitter

him. His Lordship (also) caused a search to be made of his servants, and the Gentlemen, and all persons of the house to see who were missing, but found not one wanting. The Groome was called and search of the Horses made, and there was not one Horse missing, but all safe in the Stables. Also concerning the Duke, it was found that Hee went away without cloake or coate, and in his hose and shoes. And although His Lordship had had as much strictnesse as could be, to keep suspected persons from comming to the Duke, yet he made inquiry what persons they could thinke of that might be suspected, that had lately beene with him some few dayes before. And upon inquiry, no account could be given of any that they could suspect. Yet His Lordship was acquainted that there were (the day before) as the Duke was crossing the way, two poor men that had kissed his Highnes hand, seeming to be very poor mean fellows, but they had not time to speak much to him; only some few words, the discourse being so short, that (it was thought) they could not have time to doe any thing in relation to this design; but what those men were it is not known.

"Herein his Lordship endeavoured all that possibly he could for finding out the business, but could not be satisfied in any thing.

"Now it is so, that the Earl of Northumberland did never undertake to be answerable for the Duke; and so much his Lordship did declare to the Parliament upon the former intercepted Letters, which discovered his intentions to make an escape before. But according to the desires of the Houses his Lordship hath used the utmost of his endeavours to prevent it."

<sup>a</sup> MS. Sloan. 2075. fol. 33.

for you to imagen (which you may easily doe) then me to wryte: but now I hope to see you, upon Fryday or Saterday next, as your brother James can more particularly tell you; to whom referring you, I rest

Your loving Father

CHARLES R.

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LETTER CCXCI.

*The King to the Princess Elizabeth, from Newport in the Isle of Wight.*

[MS. DONAT. 3299. art. 85. Orig.]

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Newport 14<sup>th</sup> Oct. 1648.

DEARE DAUGHTER

IT is not want of affection that makes me write so seldome to you, but want of matter such as I could wishe, and indeed I am loathe to write to those I love when I am out of humore, (as I have beene these dayes by past) least my Letters should troble those I desyre to please, but having this oportunety I would

not loose it; though, at this tyme, I have nothing to say, but God bless you. So I rest

Your loving Father

CHARLES R.

Give your Brother my blessing with a kisse; and comend me kyndly to my Lady Northumberland by the same token.

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In the interval between the two last Letters the King had taken his flight from Hampton Court. The following particulars of which, with one or two new facts occur in "The Moderate Intelligencer" from Nov. 11th to Nov. 18th, 1647.

"November 11.

"This day will be famous in after times, because towards the end of it his Majesty escaped a kinde of restraint under which he was at Hampton Court, and according to the best Relation, thus: He, as was usuall, went to be private a little before Evening Prayer; staying somewhat longer than usuall, it was taken notice of, yet at first without suspition; but he not comming forth suddenly, there were feares, which increased by the crying of a grey-hound again and again within, and upon search it was found the King was gone, and by the way of Paradice, a place so called in the Garden, in probability suddenly after his going in, and about twilight. He left a Paper to the Parliament, another to the Commissioners, and a third to Col. Whaley."

## LETTER CCXCII.

*Charles Lewis Prince Palatine, to his Uncle King Charles; congratulatory upon the King's safety, and wishing for an accommodation with the Parliament.*

[MS. HARL. 6988. art. 108. Orig.]

\* \* Charles Lewis, second son of Frederick and Elizabeth, King and Queen of Bohemia, came into England at the age of eighteen, having previously been honoured with the Order of the Garter. While his younger brothers Rupert and Maurice were fighting in defence of the King, Charles Lewis went over to the Parliament, and actually condescended to sit in what was called the Assembly of Divines at Westminster. It has been supposed that his conduct was the result of a secret agreement between the King and himself, but there seems no ground for the supposition. The Lower Palatinate was restored to him, as his father's eldest surviving son, in 1648. He obtained leave from the Parliament to visit his Uncle the day before his execution: but the King declined the interview.

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SIR

YOUR Majesties favorable acceptance of my humble respects to and attendance upon your person since your comming from Holdenby, (notwithstanding the dislike you expressed of my wayes and of my reasons for them,) makes me hope that, whilst I doe informe mysele whether I shall have the permission to waite on your Majesty as I did lately, you will be pleased to accept this humble assurance of my joy for the safety

of your person, and of my constant wishes that a good understanding betweene you and the two Howses of Parliament may restore your and the Kingdomes greatnesse and happinesse. Yet, whatsoever may happen to the contrary, or your Majesty may thinke of me, I will never forget the personal respect and observance I doe owe you, as

Your Ma<sup>tis</sup>.

most humble and obedient  
neveu and servant

CHARLES.

Whitehall  
this 24<sup>th</sup>. of Nov.  
1647.

For Y<sup>r</sup>. Majesty.

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LETTER CCXCIII.

*The Prince Elector to the Lord Manchester, Speaker of the House of Peers, that some of the Welsh Prisoners who had been taken by the Parliament's Army might be transported for the service of the State of Venice.*

[MS. HARL. 7001. art. 119. Orig.]

\* \* \* The Victory alluded to in this Letter was gained by Col. Horton on the 8th of May, 1648, near Cardif, over the forces commanded by

General Langhorne. Two Letters from the Colonel describing it are printed in the Lords' Journals. The number of the prisoners was guessed at three thousand.

This Letter from the Prince Elector was brought in and read in the House of Lords on the same day on which it was written, when it was

“ ORDERED

To be sent down to the House of Commons, that Prince Philip shall have a thousand soldiers of those which are taken in Wales by Col. Horton, he giving good security for the landing of them in Italy.”

Another Order was made and sent down to the Commons, that Sir James Bannaton should have a similar number of the prisoners upon the same terms.<sup>a</sup>

The Commons, however, modified the Proposition; by them it was Ordered that Prince Philip should have power to entertain and transport *such persons as should WILLINGLY GO*, not exceeding the number of one thousand, upon the conditions tendered in the Prince Elector's Letter; and that it should be referred to the Committee for Prisoners to take care that the cautions and conditions were observed. Of the grant for Sir James Bannaton nothing was said in the Commons.<sup>b</sup>

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MY LORD

I COULD not but thinke it very seasonable upon this late News from Walles, once more to sollicite the Howse for their permission to transporte some of those prisoners there taken, for the service of the State of Venice, under the commaund of my Brother Prince Philip. And therefore shall desire your Lordship to move the Howse, that they would bee pleased to give leave unto my said Brother, or the Officers appointed by him for the levyng and transporting of a thousand of these prisoners, my Brother ingaging his word and the said Officers giving sufficient securitie that these Souldiers shall not bee employed to the prejudice of

<sup>a</sup> Journ. H. of Lords, vol. x. pp. 253, 254.

<sup>b</sup> Com. Journ. vol. v. p. 564.

the Parliament affaires. The grant of which desire as it will disburthen the kingdome of many disaffected persons, so will it make a further addition to their former favours unto

Your Lordships

most affectionate friend

to serve you

CHARLES LODOVIC.

Somerset House

this 12 of May 1648.

For my Lord of Manchester,  
Speaker of the House of Peeres.

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### LETTER CCXCIV.

*Jos. Kent, at Venice, to another Englishman abroad.  
News arrived from England.*

[MS. DONAT. BRIT. MUS. 3299. art. 97. Orig.]

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NOBLE SIR

I'M sorry I cannot thanke ye, for any of your Letters lately received, and the rather because you're pleased to deprive me of those favours which (you know) I ever had in a most particular esteeme.



This relates to you the news from home, which is extreme badd, as concerneing his Ma<sup>ties</sup> owne Person ; for the rest, I rather rejoyce then afflict myself. But to come to what I would saye, here followes the very words of William's other Masters letter to him from London, viz. " These are to let you know the sad and deplorable condition now fallen on us by our owne Army, who have in a hostile and violent manner seased on the Commons house of Parlament, seased upon forty one of the members in one daye by the soldiers of the Army, threatning above one hundred more who are forced to absent themselves from their dutyes, they not permitting any to goe in but such as they please. They have also garrisoned the City with the greatest part of their Army. What they will doe in the end God knoweth. They try for life whom they please by martiall lawe.

' The King they say is brought to Windsor and there they meane to try him for his Life.<sup>a</sup> What

<sup>a</sup> The Newspaper called " The Moderate Intelligencer," Dec. 21st to 28th, 1648, gives the following Account of the King's journey toward Windsor.

" Farnham, Dec. 10<sup>th</sup>. His Majesty came yesterday from Hurst Castle on horseback, dined at a Ladics, and after to Winchester to bed, this day he reposed at Alton, and came to this place to bed; tomorrow he will be be-times at Windsor Castle, to the governour of which, Col. Harrison (who performed this businesse, being assisted with about 2000 horse) will deliver up his charge, viz. the King, who by instructions is not to be spoken with, nor visited by any, but such as shall have speciall direction from the Parliament or Generall. The King is indifferent chearfull, having at departure of the Commissioners intimated his desire of a settlement and peace to his three Kingdomes, though his finall answer proved not satisfactory, and so no re-stitution to him, he being, as he said, one that had seen more trouble than his Predecessors, which could not but have impression upon him, as to make shorter his days than other ways he might have attained, be he permitted to live out them."

In " The Perfect Weekly Account," from Dec. 27th to Jan. 3d, 1648, a communication dated " Windsor" says,

will bee the end of this great and high presumption God knowes. They keepe the forty one members still prisoners, and carried Sheriffe Browne out of this citty prisoner to St. James, and say they will trye him for his life, for what God knoweth; the like they will doe to Sir W<sup>m</sup>. Waller, Coll<sup>ll</sup> Copeley, Sr. John Clotworthy, and Col<sup>ll</sup> Massey,<sup>a</sup> and I beleeve divers of our Aldermen will goe the same waye, as Langham, Gayre, Bunch, and Adams, if cann finde them. Here is no trade, nor like to be as long as these our Masters goe this waye. Pray for us.'

By which conclusion you maye easily discover the sad condition of our Presbiterian rebels, when a Parliament man of that faction writes to Venice (and to my William) to be prayed for. Some have advice that S<sup>t</sup>. Paul's Church is nowe a Stable for th'Army's

" Since the Kings coming hither many people have desired to see him, which they are not denied, yet are the Parliaments Votes observed that no Addresses be made to him, or any speake with him, without leave from the Lord General or the Speaker of the House of Commons. His Majesty hath three new suits, two of them are of cloth with rich gold and silver lace on them, the other is of black satin, the cloak lined with plushe. Since the King came to Windsor he shews little alteration of courage or gesture, and, as he was formerly, seldom seen to be very merry, or much transported with any news either with joy or sorrow: so now, although he expects a severe change and tryal, yet doth he not shew any great discontent.

" He demands the reason of the alteration of the deportments of those about him, and being told it was according to orders of the House that the knee, &c. should be forborne, he said he ne're lookt upon those any more than as of thing's ceremonies, which were at the election of any whether they would use them or not."

Again,

" Windsor 1 Jan. 1648. The Kings new cloaths are come to him, He put on one of his suits the last Lords day. He refused to observe the last Wednesday in publick, but useth his own private devotions as he pleaseth. He hears of the preparations to bring him to tryall, and seems to be well satisfied for what followes; but is very reserved in his discourse thereupon having not yet fully delivered his mind, whether he intends to plead or not."

<sup>a</sup> See Clar. Hist. Reb.

horse; their head quarters are at Whitehall. I cannot saye anything from Holland. Our Operas and Comedys are already begann, they I hope will invite you hither. My man hath a fuddle in stoare for your Adrian. My respects to noble cavaliere Wyllis, Doctor Warner, Messieurs Croyden and Nicholas, with all th'other gentlemen of our nation. My little prayers to you are, Sir, that you would bee pleased not to exercise too much crueltie on

Noble Sir

Y<sup>r</sup> most affectionate & moste  
humble Servant

JOS. KENT.

Venice the 15 Jan. 164<sup>8</sup>/<sub>9</sub>.

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LETTER CCXCV.

*Joseph Kent to the same: announcing the King's Execution.*

[MS. DONAT. 3299. art. 97. Orig.]

NOBLE SIR,

I HUMBLY beg your pardon for my last weeks silence, for I vow to God I was so strangely surprised with grief, that I could not prevaile with my troubled minde for half an hours repose, to give you some relation of

the sad and unexemplary murder of our Sovereign, whose soul is at rest.

The Antwerp Post came this morning, but without any Letters from our scandalous Island. I will impart with you what I have learnt from thence and Holland, concerning it.

Its written to several merchants of my acquaintance in Town that the Marquiss Hamilton and Lord Goring were, two days after His Majesty's execution, shot to death; some say they were beheaded, but all conclude they are dead.<sup>a</sup>

Gregory the ordinary hangman of London was commanded to assist to the Kings death, which he refused, but to invite him to it he was proffered two hundred pounds, which he would not hear of; then they threatened to burn him, and at last imprisoned him, because he would not consent to so great a wickedness; but a Judas will never be wanting, a Collonel formerly a brazier (to the great dishonour of the noble military art) with his servant a minister, both masked,<sup>b</sup>

<sup>a</sup> This was a false rumour. *Duke Hamilton* indeed, the Earl of Holland, and Lord Capel were all beheaded March 9th. 1648-9: but *Lord Goring* was not then within the Parliament's power.

<sup>b</sup> Colonel Joyce and Hugh Peters are the persons here alluded to. It is remarkable that upon the Journals of the House of Commons, 7th June, 1660, immediately after the Exception from pardon of the two executioners of the King, it was resolved that Mr. Hugh Peters and Cornet Joyce be forthwith sent for in custody by the Serjeant at Arms; as if a suspicion existed in the Parliament that they were really the persons. Journ. H. Com. vol. viii. p. 57. Lieut. Col. Joyce was also charged to have been the person who beheaded the King by William Lilly. Ibid. pp. 53, 56. Lilly's Hist. of his Life, 8<sup>o</sup>. 1715, pp. 89, 90. One Mathew had previously been secured as concerned in the King's murder as early as May 14th, 1660. Journ. H. Com. vol. viii. p. 25; and in 1662 two persons of the names of Daybone, or Dayberon, and Bickerstaffe, were likewise secured upon suspicion; but, as Mathew had been, so they were dis-

were those who cut the thread of His Majestie's life, and, in it, his loyal subjects happiness. A rogue of a

charged. In the *Gent. Mag.* for 1767, a claim to the performance of the horrid deed was set up by tradition for one William Walker, who died at Darnall in the parish of the Holy Trinity at Sheffield, in 1700.

After all, it seems most probable that the person who actually beheaded the King was the common executioner.


Among the Tracts relating to the Civil War, which were given to the British Museum by his late Majesty King George the Third in 1762, there are three upon this subject. One is intitled "The Confession of Richard Brandon the hangman (upon his death-bed) concerning his beheading his late Majesty. Printed in the year of the hang-man's downfall, 1649." The second is intitled "The Last Will and Testament of Richard Brandon," printed in the same year. The third is "A Dialogue or Dispute between the late hangman" (the same person) "and Death," in verse, without date. All three are in quarto.

The following are the most important paragraphs of the first Tract :

"The Confession of the Hangman concerning His beheading his late Majesty the King of Great Brittain (upon his Death bed) who was buried on Thursday last, in White Chappell Church-yard, with the manner thereof.

"Upon Wednesday last (being the 20<sup>th</sup> of this instant June, 1649,) Richard Brandon, the late Executioner and Hang-man, who beheaded his late Majesty, King of Great Brittain, departed this life; but during the time of his sicknesse, his conscience was much troubled, and exceedingly perplexed in mind, yet little shew of repentance for remission of his sins and by-past transgressions, which had so much power and influence upon him, that he seemed to live in them, and they in him. And on Sunday last, a young man of his acquaintance going in to visit him, fell into discourse, asked him how he did, and whether he was not troubled in conscience for cutting off the King's head. He replied, yes! by reason that (upon the time of his tryall, and at the denouncing of Sentence against him) he had taken a vow and protestation, wishing God to perish him body and soul, if ever he appeared on the Scaffold to do the act or lift up his hand against him.

"He likewise confessed that he had thirty pounds for his pains, all paid him in half-crowns within an hour after the blow was given; and that he had an Orange stick full of Cloves, and a handkircher out of the King's pocket, so soon as he was carryed off from the Scaffold, for which Orange he was profferd twenty shillings by a gentleman in White-hall, but refused the same; and afterwards sold it for ten shillings in Rose mary Lane.

"About six of the clock at night, he returned home to his wife living in Rose mary lane, and gave her the money, saying, that it was the deerest money that ever he earn'd in his life, for it would cost him his life. Which propheticall words were soon made manifest, for it appeared, that ever since he hath been in a most sad condition, and upon the Almighty's first scourging of him with the rod of sicknesse, and the friendly admonition of divers friends for the calling of him to repentance, yet he persisted on in his vicious vices, and would not hearken thereunto, but lay raging and swearing, and still pointing  at one thing or another, which he conceived to appear visible before him.

"About three days before he dy'd he lay speechlesse, uttering many a sigh and heavy groan, and so in a most desperate manner departed from his bed of sorrow. For the buriall whereof great store of Wines were sent in by the Sheriff of the City of London, and a great multitude of people stood wayting to see his corpes carryed to

minister, after his head was severed from his sacred body, elevated it publicly to the people; and which is

the Church-yard, some crying out, 'Hang him Rogue,' 'Bury him in the Dung-hill;' others pressing upon him, saying, they would quarter him for executing of the King: insomuch, that the Church-wardens and Masters of the Parish were fain to come for the suppressing of them, and (with great difficulty) he was at last carried to White Chappell Church-yard, having (as it is said) a bunch of Rosemary at each end of the coffin on the top thereof, with a rope tyed crosse from one end to the other.

"And a merry conceited Cook living at the sign of the Crown, having a black Fan (worth the value of thirty shillings) took a resolution to rent the same in pieces, and to every feather tied a piece of pack-thread dy'd in black Ink, and gave them to divers persons, who (in derision) for a while, wore them in their hats.

"Thus have I given thee an exact account and perfect Relation of the Life and Death of Richard Brandon, to the end that the World may be convinc'd of those calumnious speeches and erroneous suggestions which are dayly spit from the mouth of Envy against divers persons of great worth and eminency, by casting an odium upon them for the executing of the King; it being now made manifest, that the aforesaid Executioner was the only man who gave the fatal blow, and his man that wayted upon him, was a ragman (of the name of Ralph Jones) living in Rosemary Lane."

At page 7. of the Second Tract is an Account of Brandon. He is there stated to have been "twice condemned by the Law to be hanged for having two Wives, and by the mercy of the State pardoned, as a fit instrument of their new Reformation." "He was the only son of GREGORY Brandon, and claimed the Gallows by inheritance." "The first he beheaded was the Earl of Strafford."

Page 8. "This Squire Brandon was by the bloody Junto fetched out of his bed by a troop of Horse at their late inhuman butchery of their King; he making a show, as if he had been unwilling to do so vile and ungodly an act." "He said that His Majestie told him when he asked him forgiveness, that he would not forgive any subject that came to murder him." "His carcass was carried by four of his gibbetteers to Mary-Matt-Fellon, with great joy and hooting of the People, who pulled up all the nettles and weeds instead of rosemary, with which they strewed the ways and decked the posts, and tied about their hog's and dog's necks with black parings of cloth, crying, 'Two of the rogues are gone to the Devil, (meaning Dorislaw and Gregory) and we hope the rest will follow.'

"There is one Tench, a drum-maker in Houndsditch, that provided ropes, pulleys, and hookes (in case the King resisted) to compell and force him down to the block. This rogue is also haunted with a devil, and consumes away."

Finding the Interment of Richard Brandon at Whitechapel so distinctly noticed, the Editor of these Volumes, in 1821, applied to the rev. Mr. Mathias, the rector, to institute a search in the Parish Register whether such a burial really took place. The following was the answer which he received.

"Sir,

"I very willingly comply with your wishes, and have much satisfaction in sending you the result.

' 1649. Buriall. June.

21<sup>st</sup>. Rich. Brandon, a man out of Rosemary Lane.'

"To this is added a marginal Note: 'This R. Brandon is supposed to have cut off the head of Charles the first.'

"This Note is evidently not in the same hand with the Register, yet it bears the

more inhuman, its written that the little Duke of Gloucester was placed against the scaffold to see his royal father sacrificed. <sup>a</sup>

P. Rupert is joyned with the English, I meane the Irish frigates and ships, and are betwixt Dover and Calais. They have taken many small vessels coming and going to London, and one of the Parliaments men of war. In brief, without the immediate help from God we are a lost nation, and already pointed at by all that are Christians.

My humble duty and respects to noble Sir R. Wyllis, and all the other gentlemen of the nation, to whom I know you will impart this, although most horrid news; and I beseech you tell Mr. Worth I have received his Letters, which I answer not until tomorrow, because if I canne learn any thing else of news, I will add to him. Mr. Bayly very affectionately salutes Sir Richard and your noble self, to whom I will ever continue,

Noble Sir,  
Your most affectionate and  
most humble servant

JOS. KENT.

Venice the 11<sup>th</sup> Marche  
Thursday.

mark of antiquity. The Register Book appears to have been rebound within these thirty years, and this Note has narrowly escaped the binder.

Your faithful and obedient servant,

D. MATHIAS."

To Henry Ellis, Esq.

<sup>a</sup> This also was said at the time, but without foundation.

THE Newspapers of the day, though here and there perhaps erroneous in minute facts, convey a full impression of the Scene which was passing at this time.

“*The Moderate Intelligencer*,” Dec. 28 to Jan. 4, 1649, says,

“Paris Dec. 26<sup>th</sup>.”

“The Queen of England is returned from her devotions in the House of the Carmelites, where she hath been for divers days. She seems not dejected at the present state of the King her husband in England, yet, say her Ladies, her nights are more sad than usual.”

“*The Armies Modest Intelligencer*,” Jan. 19 to 26.

“Thursday Jan. 24.”

“News came this morning that an Ambassador from Holland landed yesternight, and is expected this day at London. Its reported he hath something to impart in behalf of the King, but whether his message be in the name of all the United Provinces, or only from Holland, is not yet known. Its believed only from the latter.

“It is also said that the Queen of Bohemia hath a desire to come over to see her brother.”

“*The Moderate Intelligencer*,” Jan. 25 to Feb. 1, 1649.

“January 25.”

“A Letter came this day from the Prince of Wales, in which he takes notice that his Father was in Treaty with his Parliament, and had the faith thereof for his safety; yet was by force taken away, and carried from place to place, and now upon trial for his life. He represents the fair opportunity that the Army had of making the Kingdoms happy in restoring him; which, if they would prosecute, he would give it all the furtherance he could, by pressing the King his father to what they or the Kingdom desired; but if they should be instrumental to take away his life, he left it to their consideration, how it would sound, and be resented by all the Princes and States of the World, that an Army, and such an Army should do such a thing.”

“*The Kingdome’s Weekly Intelligencer*,” Jan. 23 to 30, 1648-9.

“Munday Jan. 29.”

“The Embassadors of the States of Holland have indevoured to intercede for the King’s life, and speedily again will return into Holland, rather the witnesses of his death, than to return with the desired news of any longer continuation of his life.

“The King hath desired, that if any more days may yet be added to his life, he may be permitted to see his Children; but if that cannot be



allowed, he hath no desire to see them at all, because that the occasion of their meeting, and the last farewell at their departure will administer but more subject of affliction to him and them. His Children are this day with him; howsoever, it is believed on to-morrow he will suffer; and to that purpose the way is now rayled in from Whitehall to the great Gate as you go to King-street, about the middle whereof, it is said, the Scaffold will be raised."

"*The Moderate*," Jan. 23 to Jan. 30, 1649.

"From Harwich.

"Two Letters came the last Week from Prince Charles, the one directed to the Parliament and the other to his Excellency. That to his Excellency was sent to the House, without being opened. Neither of them are yet opened or reported.

"Whitehall, 29 Jan.

"Scaffolds are this day building, and will be all night, in order to the King's Execution. His Majesty burnt all his Papers this day, and his several clavises to the private Letters sent in characters to him, which done, His Majesty and Doctor Juxon did much rejoyce."

"The King's Children came this day to him; and the late dead, but now alive Lady Elizabeth amongst the rest."

"*The Moderate Intelligencer*," Jan. 25 to Feb. 1, 1649, says,

The night after the Sentence was passed, "he commanded his dogs should be taken away and sent to his wife, as not willing to have any thing present that might take him off from serious consideration of himself. Being desired to say somewhat, how far he was guilty of the death of his father and the rebellion of Ireland, he said, with reverence of God be it spoken, he had done nothing that he needed to ask pardon for."

"*The Kingdome's Faithfull Scout*," Jan. 26 to Feb. 2, 1648-9.

"Jan. 29. This day the Lord Gen. Fairfax (at a Council of War with his Officers) propounded (as is said) to put off the execution of the King."

"*The Perfect Weekly Account*," Jan. 31 to Feb. 7, 1648-9.

"Wednesday, January 31.

"In my last I told you the Scaffold was building at the Kings owne Gate for his execution, which was yesterday consummated, on which could no man have come with more confidence and appearance of resolution than he did: viewing the block (with the axe lying upon it) and iron staples in the Scaffold to bind him down upon the block, in case he

had refused to submit himself freely, without being any way daunted, yea when the deputies of that grim serjeant Death appeared with a terrifying disguise, the King with a pleasant countenance said he freely forgave them."

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The Journals of the House of Commons, at this extraordinary moment, present a strong contrast to the Newspapers. They seem to indicate a dread on the part of the Members least too much should be entered upon them.

“ Die Mercurii, 24<sup>o</sup> Januarii, 1648.

“ PRAYERS.

The House according to former Order, met; and adjourned itself till To-morrow Morning Eight of Clock.

“ Die Jovis, 25<sup>o</sup> Januarii, 1648.

“ PRAYERS.

The House, according to former Order, met; and adjourned itself till To-morrow Morning, Eight of Clock.

“ Die Sabbati, 27<sup>o</sup> Januarii, 1648.

“ Ordered,

That Dr. Juxon have leave to go to, and continue with the King in private, under the same restraint that the King is.

“ Ordered,

That the Duke of Gloucester and the Lady Elizabeth have liberty to visit the King.

“ Die Martis, 30 Januarii, 1648.

“ Ordered,

That his Highness Charles Lodowick, Prince Elector, have leave to go see and visit the King.

“ Die Martis, 30 Januarii, 1648.

Post meridiem.

“ Ordered,

THAT THE COMMON POST BE STAID UNTILL TO-MORROW MORNING, *Ten of the Clock.*

“ Die Mercurii, 31<sup>o</sup> Januarii, 1648.

“ Commissary General Ireton reports a Paper of divers particulars touching the late King's Body, his George, his Diamond, and two Seals.

“ The Question being put, That the Diamond be sent to Charles Stuart, son of the late King, commonly called Prince of Wales;

“ *It passed with the negative.*

“ The Question being put, That the Garter be sent to him ;

“ *It passed with the negative.*

“ The Question being put, That the George be sent to him ;

“ *It passed with the negative.*

“ The Question being put, That the Seals be sent to him ;

“ *It passed with the negative.*

“ Colonel Harrison, Sir John Danvers, Sir Michael Livesey, Mr. Scott, Lord Grey, Mr. Holland, Mr. Allen, Mr. Edwards, Mr. Oldesworth, Mr. Trenchard, Mr. Pine, Mr. Love, Colonel Fleetwood, or any Three of them, are to consider of the particulars presented, concerning the King's Body, and other things contained in that Paper, presented by Commissary General Ireton ; and also to peruse the papers of the late King ; and make report to this House, what they think fitt to be done therein : and this Committee is to meet in the Queen's Court, to-morrow at two of the clock in the afternoon, and Mr. Marten is to take care of it.”

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Excepting bishop Juxon, and archbishop Usher (who meant to witness the scene from his House, but fainted when the King came out), all who had taken an active part for their Sovereign, and still loved and pitied him, either shut themselves up or abandoned the metropolis upon the fatal day.

Evelyn, in his Memoirs, under Jan. 1649, says, “ The villany of the Rebels proceeding now so far as to try, condemn, and murder our excellent King on the 30<sup>th</sup>. of this month, struck me with such horror that I kept the day of his martyrdom a fast, and would not be present at that execrable wickedness ; receiving the sad account of it from my brother George and Mr. Owen, who came to visit me this afternoon, and recounted all the circumstances.”<sup>a</sup>

At the end of “ A Declaration of the Cornish Men concerning the Prince of Wales,” 4<sup>o</sup>. Lond. 1648-9, we have a short notice of the manner in which King Charles the Second received the Intelligence of his father's death.

“ Feb. 7. Letters from Southampton say that on Friday, Feb. 2<sup>d</sup>. the Prince received intelligence of his Father's death, and being much astonish'd thereat, declared himself with a sad dejected countenance to divers gentlemen attending his person, saying ‘ *O unfortunate Prince, that ever I should live to see this day ; now woe be unto the Kingdome of England.*’ With that the tears trickled down his cheeks, and his Highness betook himself to some privacy for a while.”

Nor was the grief for the King's death confined either to the Prince or

<sup>a</sup> Evelyn's Memoirs, vol. i. p. 233.

to England. In the Perfect Weekly Account, 28th Feb. to 7th March, 1649, we read, "Tuesday, March 6<sup>th</sup>. Most of the gentry of SCOTLAND since the death of the King, are clothed in mourning; and the *Chair of State* in the Parliament House, and *uppermost seats in the Kirks*, and *the Pulpits*, are clothed black."

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IT would have been satisfactory to the Editor of these Volumes to have given a few Letters of Archbishop Laud: there are many extant which show with what dread he for years viewed the gathering tempest. The limits to which this Work was necessarily confined forbade their introduction. Still it seems hardly right to suffer so eminent a character to pass entirely unnoticed here.

In the Diary of Byrne the surgeon, which has been already quoted in the mention of Edge-hill fight, there is a notice of his attendance upon the Archbishop in the Tower in the month of June, 1644, whence it should seem that health was breaking up with him.<sup>a</sup>

The Archbishop's sentence was "to be hanged, drawn, and quartered." He petitioned the Lords that in case he must die, he might be beheaded, not hanged. This, when referred to the Commons, was at first refused, but, upon a second application, after some debate, allowed.

Fuller notices the barbarity of those who witnessed his execution:

"Sir John Clotworthy," he says, "(a member of the House of Commons) being present, interrogated him concerning his assurance of salvation, and whereon the same was grounded. Some censured this interruption for uncivil and unseasonable, as intended to ruffle his soul with passion just as he was fairly folding it up to deliver it into the hands of his Redeemer. But the Archbishop calmly returned, that his assurance was evidenced unto him by that inward comfort which he found in his own soul. Then lying down on the block, and praying 'Lord receive my Soul,' the executioner dexterously did his office, and at one blow severed his head from his body. Instantly his face (ruddy in the last moment) turned *white as ashes*, confuting their falsehoods *who gave it out that he had purposely PAINTED IT to fortify his cheeks against discovery of fear* in the paleness of his complexion."<sup>b</sup>

<sup>a</sup> MS. Sloan. Brit. Mus. 153. fol. 151 b.

<sup>b</sup> Ch. Hist.

LETTERS  
DURING THE  
USURPATION  
OF  
OLIVER CROMWELL.

FEW Letters of the FANATICAL PERIOD have occurred to the Editor of these Volumes, and those few (with the exception of the Letters which Cromwell wrote to the Grand Signior and his Vizier) will perhaps excite no extraordinary or deep Interest. They are full of cant and grimace, and, for the most part, affect extreme Piety.

It is amusing to see how the Oliverians canted to each other even in moments of confidence.

Cromwell lays it down, in one Letter, quite as a military axiom, that he who prays and preaches best will fight best. The Ministers of New England who acknowledged that "desolate Ireland had been drenched and steeped in blood," still thought that, with their assistance, it might "be moistened and *soaked in the Waters of the SANCTUARY.*" The Congratulation to Cromwell of "some who feared the Lord in Herefordshire" is unequivocally impious. Harrison says to Cromwell, "Run aside sometimes from your Company and get a word with the Lord: why should not you have three or four precious souls always standing at your elbow, with whom you might now and then turn into a corner: I have found refreshment and mercy in such a way." And even Bradshaw concludes another Letter to Cromwell with "The Lord of Hosts be with you, the God of Jacob be your refuge."

There have been admirers of this Hypocrisy even in later times. So true is Seneca's adage, "*Prosperum Scelus Virtus vocatur.*"

## LETTER CCXCVI.

*King Charles the Second to . . . . . with  
Thanks for assistance.*

[MS. LANSD. 1236. fol. 87. *Orig.*]

---

I RECEIVED by this bearer One Hundred pounds, for which I heartily thanck you, and had sent sooner to you, but consideration of your safety caused me to forbear till this opportunity. I am very sensible of your former sufferings, and ere long I hope in God to lett you see how mindfull I am of what you have done.

Your assured faithfull friend

CHARLES R.

St. Germain

Aug. 30<sup>th</sup>. 1649.

60 . 65.

---

FEW names of persons are now preserved, out of the many who remitted money to Charles the Second during the hardships of his exile. He returned receipts to most, if not all; sometimes as in the preceding Letter, with the name of the person in cypher; at others expressed by initials so contrived as to blind the name. When Dr. Hamey the physician sent him money, the receipt, dated from Breda, entirely in the King's hand, was made to B. P. H. *i. e.* B. H. P. Balwin Hamey physician.

There is a curious passage referring to these contributions in the *Mercurius Politicus*, July 10<sup>th</sup>. to 17<sup>th</sup>. 1656, probably drawn up by Cromwell himself. It is preceded by the particulars of the capture of Lucy Barlow, the mother of the Duke of Monmouth.

“ Whitehall.

“ July 16. His Highness by warrant directed to Sir John Barkstead Lieutenant of the Tower, hath given order for the release of one that goes by the name of Lucy Barlow, who for some time hath been a prisoner in the Tower of London. She passeth under the character of Charles Stuart’s Wife or Mistress, and hath a young son, whom she openly declareth to be his; and it is generally believed, the boy being very like him, and both the mother and child provided for by him. When she was apprehended, she had one master Howard in her company, and the original of this Royal Transcript was found about her, sealed with Charles his signet, and signed with his own hand, and subscribed by his Secretary Nicholas, which you have here transcribed verbatim.

‘ CHARLES R.

‘ Wee do by these Presents of our especial grace, give and grant unto M<sup>rs</sup>. Lucy Barlow, an Annuity or yearly Pension of Five thousand Livres, to be paid to her or her Assignes in the City of Antwerp, or in such other convenient place as she shall desire, at four several payments by equal portions, the first payment to begin from the first of July 1654, and so to continue from three months to three months during her life; with assurances to better the same, when it shall please God to restore us to Our Kingdoms. Given under Our Sign manual, at our Court at Cologn, this 21. day of January, 1655. And in the sixth year of our Reign.

By his Majesties command.

*Nicholas.*’

“ By this those that hanker after him may see they are furnished already with an Heir apparent, and what a pious charitable Prince they have for their Master, and *how well he disposeth of the Collections and Contributions which they make for him here, towards the maintenance of his CONCUBINES and ROYAL ISSUE.* Order is taken forthwith to send away his Lady of pleasure and the young Heir, and set them on shoar in Flanders, which is no ordinary curtesie.”



## LETTER CCXCVII.

*Major General Harrison to Cromwell as Lord General. A Letter of cant.*

[FROM THE *Orig.* IN THE LIBRARY OF THE SOC. OF ANTIQUARIES.  
MS. NUM. 138. *art.* 6.]

\*.\* This Letter was written to Cromwell immediately after his departure for the Scotch campaign, which he finished on the 3<sup>d</sup> of September following with the Victory at Dunbar.

Harrison, like many others of his time, when the military sword was not wanted, had recourse to what was called the sword of the spirit; he was much given to prayer and preaching. At the Restoration he suffered as a Regicide. Pepys saw him executed at Charing Cross Oct. 13<sup>th</sup>. 1660, and says that upon the scaffold he "looked as cheerful as any man could do in that condition." Granger says he died exulting in the cause for which he suffered.

---

MY DEARE LORD

To spare your trouble I forbear to give yow my excuse for not waiting on yow to Ware. I know yow love me, therefore are not apt to except, though in this particular I had not failed, but that Orders from the Councell superseded me.

Considering under how many and greate burdens yow labour I am afraid to saie anie more, that I maie not add to them, but love and duty makes me presume.

The buisines yow goe upon is weightie, as ever yett

yow undertooke: the issue plainly and deeply concerns the life or death of the Lords people, his owne name and his Sons: nevertheless maie yow rejoyce in God (whose affaie itt is) who, having heretofore given yow numberlesse signall testimonies to other parts of the worke, will in mercie prosper this, that Hee maie perfect what hee hath begun. And to omitt other Arguments, that in Deut. 32. 27. hath much force on my hearte, especially the last words, " And the Lord " hath not done all this." I beleive if the present enemy should prevaile, Hee would as certainly reproach God and all that hitherto hath beene done as aforesaid, even as I now write, but the Jealousie of the Lord of Hosts for his greate name will not admitt itt.

My Lord bee carefull for nothing, but praie with thanksgiving (to witt in faith), Phill. 4. 6, 7. I doubt not your successe, but I thinke Faith and Praier must bee the cheife engines, as heretofore the ancient Worthies through Faith subdued Kingdomes, out of weakness were made strong, waxed valiaunt in fight, and turned to flight the armies of the Aliens. Oh that a spirit of Faith and Supplication maie bee poured forth on yow and your Armie! There is more to bee had in this poore simple waie then even most Saints expect.

My Lord lett waiting upon Jehovah bee the greatest and most considerable business yow have every daie;

reckon itt soe more then to eate, sleepe, or councell together. Run aside some times from your Companie, and gett a word with the Lord. Why should not yow have three or four precious soules allwaies standing att your elbow, with whom yow might now and then turne into a corner: I have found refreshment and mercie in such a waie. Ah, the Lord of compassion owne, pittie your burdens, care for yow, stand by and refresh your hearte each moment. I would I could in anie kind doe yow good, my heart is with yow, and my poore praiers to my God for yow. The Allmightie Father carrie yow in his very bossome, and deliver yow (if itt bee his will) from touching a very haire of anie for whom Jesus hath bled. I expect a very gracious returne in this particular: but I am sorry to bee thus tedious, pardon mee. Here is little newes, onely Charles Vane returned from Portugall, who left our Fleet indifferently well, and that they had seised nine of the Portugall's Shippes.

The Father of Mercies visitt, and keepe your Soule close to him continually, protect, preserve, and prosper yow, is the praier of, my Lord,

Your excellencie's loving Servant

Whitehall

whilst I breath,

3<sup>d</sup> July 1650.

T. HARRISON.

For His Excellency the Lord  
Generall Cromwell

humbly present

This.

## LETTER CCXCVIII.

*John Bradshawe the regicide, to the Lord General Cromwell; another Letter of cant.*

[MS. LANSD. 1236. fol. 97. *Orig.*]

\* \* Bradshawe died on the 11<sup>th</sup>. Oct. 1659. Grainger says, He declared, a little before he left the world, that if the King were to be tried and condemned again, he would be the first man that should do it.

---

MY LORD,

By the hands of this trustie bearer, accept I pray you of this paper remembrance and salutation from him who both upon the publike and his owne pryvate account is verie much your dettor, and with other your poore friends here prays for and adores the manifestation of Gods gracious presence with you in all your weyghty affaires; which as they are undertaken in zeale to God's glory and his peoples good, will, through contynuance of the same dyvine presence and mercy, be crowned with answerable successe; and whosoever belong to God in the Nation where you are, will in the close of all, have cause to say *perissemus nisi perissemus*. In the mean tyme, God can and will tame those stubborne spirits, and convince them of their hypocrysy who create you all this trouble, and give a mercifull testimony to the sinceritie of his poore servants hearts who have appealed unto him.

My Lord

I forbear particularizing things here: only this, God is gracious to us in discovery of many of our enemies desynges (which thereby have proved abortive), and delyvering their Councils in a good measure into our hands; and in watching over the common safetie, there is much acknowledgement due to the indefatigable industry of M. Generall Harrison, your faithfull servant and substitute in that worke here. Your Lordship will shortly heare of some numbers of godly persons in a regimentall forme here in London whose example will be followed by others of like good mynd in Norwich, Kent, and other places, who have sent for Commissions to us for that purpose, and our resolution is they shall not want Incouragement.

My Lord, I will trespasse no further upon your tyme. The Lord of Hosts be with you: the God of Jacob be your refuge.

The humblest of your welwillers,  
ffryends and servants

Whytehall

JO. BRADSHAWE.

30 Aug. 1650.

For his Excellencie  
The Lord Generall Cromwell  
Theise.

## LETTER CCXCIX.

*Mr. William Bateman to Mr. Hugh Bateman. The Distresses of the English Merchants. The "Liberty" a State Man of War cast away near Harwich.*

[FROM THE *Orig.* IN THE POSSESSION OF CAPT. HUGH BATEMAN, communicated to the editor by FREDERICK MADDEN, ESQ.]

\* \* \* This Letter details the situation of the English merchants at the time of the Rupture with Portugal, in 1650.

The King of Portugal, in common with the other Sovereigns of Europe, favoured the Royal cause, till Admiral Blake's appearance with a fleet obliged him to submit to the politics of the English Republic. He afterwards entered into a Commercial Treaty with Cromwell, the compact of which formed the groundwork of all the subsequent relations which have hitherto existed between the two Countries.

---

London, 12<sup>th</sup>. October 1650.

SIR

I THINK its not unknown to you our sad business of Portugal, where with others I am concerned somewhat deep, God restore it to the interested, for all is lost there: we have writing thence that they have seized two Millions of Crowns, which is worth five hundred thousand Pounds besides twenty and odd sail of Ships which are in the West Indies, which belong to English Merchants; and truly its thought that our

Estate will amount to near eight hundred thousand pounds. And further I must advise you that, about the beginning of September, the Parliament's Fleet met with a galion of the Portugals which was worth one hundred and fyfty thousand pounds which they attempted to take, but an unlucky shot come on her hold, which sunk her. There was three hundred men in her and all drowned but twelve men. Likewise by Letters of the 17<sup>th</sup>. Septemb<sup>r</sup>. last, we have advice that our Fleet was driven away from the place they lay at, and when they were gone Prince Rupert with twenty four sail of Ships and six fire ships came forth, and as yet its not known whither he is gone, and if he should go in to the Strayts as its conceived, and join with the French, we poor merchants are totally undone, for the French are very strong in shipping there, and we hear they are fitting out fifteen sail of ships more to join with the rest of their fleet. They have taken above thirty sail of English shipping from us at tyme, and sixty sail of Hollanders. The Parliament have warned away the Holland ambassador from honor, who is gone, and its feared that we may fall out with them. There is a State man of war, the Liberty by name, cast away near Harwich; she had fifty piece of Ordnance in her, and was coming up to be fitted to go in company of nine sail more for Lex<sup>a a</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Lixboa, *i. e.* Lisbon.

to lye on the coast of Portugal all winter. God send better news. I am afraid it may detain the business some whit.

To his lo. Cosen  
Mr. Hugh Bateman at his house  
at Chesterfield

These dd.  
Darbyshire.

---

### LETTER CCC.

*Certain Ministers and others of New England to Cromwell, upon his application to them to send Missionaries to Ireland.*

[MSS. SOC. ANTIQ. NUM. 138. art. 34. Orig.]

\* \* The barbarity of Cromwell in the Irish campaign of 1649 is sufficiently known.

Lord Clarendon has expressed his belief that the miseries endured by Ireland from the opening of the Great Rebellion till 1655, were exceeded by the sufferings of no nation but the Jews.

The Letter here introduced to the Reader, was the answer to one of the expedients proposed by Cromwell for gradually improving the condition of that Country. The difficulty of this undertaking had been long before acknowledged by King Charles the First in a Letter to the Duke of Buckingham, printed in the former Series. "As for News I can say but little yet; Ireland being the only Egg we have yet sitten upon, and, HAVING A THICK SHELL, we have not yet hatched it." <sup>a</sup>

Whether any of the New-Englanders absolutely settled in Ireland, in

<sup>a</sup> See the former Series, vol iii. p. 249.



consequence of Cromwell's proposal, the Editor of these Volumes is not aware. Some other correspondence probably exists upon the subject. The warmth with which Cromwell's butcheries are applauded in this Letter affords matter of astonishment.

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RIGHT HONOURABLE

As the state of England hath bene pleased to call you to cheife place of civil and military Command in Ireland, so hath the Lord to admiration prospered your undertakings there and made you a glorious Instrument of the execution of his just vengeance upon those bloody monsters of mankinde, and therein heard the cries of his dyeing and liveing people in Ireland, together with those of his Saynts in both Englands, who have cryed in his eares for vengeance against the inhuman murtherers of his poore people in Ireland; and what can the remnant left of his people there, or the rest of their bretheren in both Englands doe lesse, than thankfully acknowledge amongst all other wonders of God's grace done for you and by you, that he hath there also compased you about with his favour as with a sheld, and crowned you with renowned victories over these bloody rebels and enraged enemies of his name and saynts; nor can we doe other then thankfully acknowledge this as a superadded mercy to all the rest, that by his grace he hath kept it in the frame of your heart amidst all the glorious victories which under God you have gotten, thankfully to ascribe the glory thereof to him alone, who is the King

of Glory, the Lord of Hoasts mighty in battel, and your pious care in abaseing men and meanes to exalt the Lord in all your Victoryes, as it hath not a little honoured you in our eyes; soe have we looked at the same, as a speaking pledge that God will yet goe on to perfect his admirable worke by you: now therefore Redoubted Worthy, thinke with yourself 'What shall I render to the Lord for all his benyfits towards me, what further service hath the Lord to use me in, whoe hath done soe great things for me and by me.' Yea you are studdying (thrice noble Sir) which way to lift up the name of Jesus Christ there where it hath bene most vilely trampled upon, and where you are called to cheife place of rule, there to take effectual care that Jesus Christ alone may reigne, and that desolate Ireland which hath bene drenched and steeped in blood, may be moystened and soaked with the waters of the Sanctuary, for which end your Honour is pleased to cast your eyes, as upon godly people and ministers in England, soe upon such like in America also, whose hearts the Lord may moove to soe blessed a worke, We therefore whose names are underwritten doe, in behalfe of ourselves and some others here in New England humbly returne to your Honour many thanks for your noble offers respecting us also, and since your Honour hath so large a heart given you of the Lord as to desire to build him a Temple amidst the ruinous heaps in Ireland, and so royal a spirit as to be ready soe

nobly to befreind the freinds (even in America also) of any such workes, soe farr as to improve your uttermost interest for their furtheraunce in removing thither, and for their safe and comfortable habitation there, together with like care had of their injoying the Lord in his ordinances there, we know not but we may attend this providence of the Lord soe far also as to observe what further of the minde and counsel of God may appeare to us in your seasonable prosecution of your noble proposals, hoping that as we came by a call of God to serve him here, soe if the Lords mind shall cleerly appeare to give us a sufficyent call and encouragement to remove into Ireland, to serve the Lord Jesus there, wee shall cheerfully and thankfully imbrace the same. Thus commending your Honours weighty occasions to the Lords guidance and blessing, we humbly take our leaves, resting

Your Honours to serve you in  
the Lord

PEETER BULKLEY, *min.*

SAM. WHITING, *min.*

JOHN KNOWLES, *min.*

THO. COBET, *min.*

DANYEL DENYSON.

JOHN TUTTELL.

New England  
31. 10 Month 1650.

---

THE Conditions which these Ministers and godly persons proposed, previous to setting out for Ireland, are entered upon another Paper. They were as follow :

“ That in mater of Religion we may have like liberty established by favour of the State of England, for the exercise of the worship and government of Christ as here we enjoy in New England.

“ That such a proportion of outward encouragements in houses and lands as the State shall thinke fit in favour to bestow upon suche as principally and personally engage in this worke may be set forth by the Parliament or Counsel of State, and after divisions to be made by us with some appointed by the Parliament to our Associates.

“ That some quantity of land may be granted for the advancing of learning, by a Free-Scoole and College.

“ That we may have free choyce of the cheife millitary governour to be over the Garrison where we shall sit downe, and such a one as may be of our owne company, if we have any fit person amongst us, or if not, that we may have liberty to nominate some other godly man which the state of England may approve of.

“ That in regard we come from a pure Ayre, we may have a place in the more healthfull part of the country.

“ That in regard of the meanness and inability of sundry godly persons (which doe or may desire to joyne with us) to transport themselves and famelics, the State would be pleased to think of some way of lending them some helpe.

“ That we and our company may for some yeares be freed from publique charges.

“ That noe Irish may inhabite amongst us, but such as we shall like of.

“ That we and our company may have convenient tyme allowed us for our transportation into Ireland.

“ Lastly intimate our sufferings under the tyranny of Episcopacy, which forced us into exile (to our great hazzard and losse) for noe other offence but professing that truth which (through mercy) is now acknowledged.”

## LETTER CCCI.

*Oliver Cromwell to Col. Hacker. He that prays and preaches best will fight best.*

[MS. LANSD. BRIT. MUS. 1236. art. 99. Orig.]

SIR,

I have the best consideration I can for the præsent in this businesse, and although I believe Capt. Hubbert is a worthy man, and heere soe much, yett as the case stands, I cannott with satisfaction to my selfe and some others revoake the Commission I had given to Capt. Empson, without offence to them, and reflection upon my owne judgement. I pray lett Capt. Hubbert knowe I shall not bee unmindefull of him, and that noe disrespect is intended to him. But indeed I was not satisfied with your last speech to mee about Empson, that he was a better præcher then a fighter or souldier or words to that effect. Truly I thinke Hee that prayes and præches best will fight best. I know nothing will give like courage and confidence as the knowledge of God in Christ will, and I blesse God to see any in this Armye able and willinge to impart the knowledge they have for the good of others. And I expect itt bee encouraged by all Chiefe Officers in this Armye especially: and I hope you will doe soe.

I pray receive Capt. Empson lovinglye. I dare assure you hee is a good man and a good officer. I would wee had noe worse. I rest

Your lovinge friend,

Dec. 25,

O. CROMWELL.

1650.

For Col. Francis Hacker att  
Pebles or else where.

Thiese.

## LETTER CCCII.

*Cromwell to the Lady Elizabeth his wife.*

[MS. HARL. 7502. Orig.]

MY DEEREST

I COULD not satisfie my selfe to omitt this poast, although I have not much to write, yett indeed I love to write to my Deere whoe is very much in my heart. It joyes mee to heere thy soule prospereth; the Lord increase his favors to thee more and more. The great good thy soule can wish is that the Lord lift upon the light of his countenance which is better then life. The Lord blesse all thy good counsell and example to those about thee, and heere all thy prayers, and accept thee alwayes. I am glad to heere thy Sonn and Daughter

are with thee. I hope thou wilt have some good opportunitye of good advise to him. Present my duty to my Mother, my Love to all the familye. Still pray for

thine

Edenburgh

O. CROMWELL.

3d of May, 1651.

For my beloved wife Elizabeth Cromwell att the Cockpitt in Westminster, theise.

---

WHEN Cromwell became Protector in 1653, his wife assumed the style and title of PROTECTRESS.

The following appears to have been their daily establishment of Diet :

“ The Privy Lodgings for his Highness the Lord Protector in Whitehall are now in readiness, as also the Lodgings for his Lady Protectoress ; and likewise the privy Kitchin, and other Kitchins, Butteries, and Offices ; and it is conceived the whole Family will be settled there before Easter.

The Tables for Diet prepared are these.

A Table for his Highness.	A Table for the Gentlewomen.
A Table for the <i>Protectoress</i> .	A Table for Coachmen, Grooms,
A Table for Chaplains and Strangers.	and other domestic Servants.
A Table for the Steward and Gentlemen.	A Table for Inferiors or Sub-servants.”

Weekly Intelligencer of the Commonwealth,  
Tuesday, March 14<sup>th</sup>. to Tuesday, March 21, 1653.

## LETTER CCCIII.

*Congratulation from "some that feared the Lord" in Herefordshire to Cromwell, upon his dissolution of the Long Parliament.*

[MS. SOC. ANTIQ. NUM. 138. art. 59. Orig.]

\* \* \* Congratulatory Addresses came into fashion in the time of Cromwell. The Art of framing them, as the present specimen will show, arrived very early at its maturity.

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THE humble and thankfull Congratulation of some that feare the Lord in the County of Hereford (who are the smallest and unworthiest in the Nation).

After so many throes and pangs (severall contests betweene the Powers of the World and the Interest of Christ) we conceive the great and long desired Reformation is near the Birth. We blesse the God of Heaven, who hath called you forth and ledd you on, not only in the high places of the ffeild, making you a terror to the Enemy; but also (among those mighty ones whom God had left) to the dissolving of the late Parliament.

O, my Lord, what are you, that you should be the Instrument to translate the Nation from Oppression to Libertie, from the hands of corrupt Persons to the Saints? and who are we? that we should live to see



these dayes, which our fathers long'd to see, and reape the harvest of their hopes? To be lowe in our owne eyes when God raiseth us is a true testimonie of humility and uprightnes. No action of service or honour ever swel'd the heart of Christ; him, we believe, You make your Patterne.

Let the high praises of God be in our mouths, and the Generations to come tell of his wonders. Let the improvement of this opportunity be your Care and our Prayer, that you may follow the Lambe whithersoever he goeth, and we attend you with our persons, petitions, purses, liyes, and all that is deere to us, and remain

Your ffaithfull and humble servants,

signed by us in the name of many more;

BEN. E. MASON,	WROTH ROGERS,
JOHN HERRING,	JO. CHOLMELEY,
RICHARD NICHOLETTS,	MORGAN WATKINS,
THO. SEABORNE,	RICH. WALSHAM,
ROBERT WEAVER,	JO. WOODYATT,
RICH. DELAMAIN,	JOHN GARNONS,
	WALTER MEIRICKE.

Heref<sup>d</sup>. May 7<sup>h</sup>. 1653.

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THE feeling expressed in this Letter was not universal. Many supposed that Cromwell in dissolving the Parliament intended to restore King Charles the Second. This is strongly expressed at the close of a Ballad on the subject, even as late as the month of July, preserved in manuscript

among the King's Pamphlets in the British Museum, entitled (like several others) "A New Ballad to the Tune of Cock-Lorrell." The Parliament had been dissolved on the 20th of April.

" Will you hear a strange thing ne'er heard of before,  
A Ballad without any lies;  
A Parliament that is turn'd out of door,  
And a Council of State likewise.

Brave Oliver came to the House like a sprite,  
His fiery look struck the Speaker dumb:  
' You must be gone hence,' quoth he, ' by this light  
Do y' intend to sit here till Doomsday come?'

With that the Speaker look'd pale for fear,  
As if he had been with the night-mare rid,  
In so much that some did think that were there  
That he did ev'n as the Alderman did.

But Oliver though he be Doctor of law <sup>a</sup>  
Yet seemed to play the Physician here,  
Whose physick so wrought in the Speaker's maw,  
That it gave him a Stool instead of his Chair.

Sir Arthur <sup>b</sup> thought Oliver wondrous bold,  
I mean that Knight that was one of the five,  
For he was loth to loose his freehold;  
But needs must he go whom the Devil doth drive.

And gone he is for the North-Country,  
In hope thereabout to make some stir;  
But in the mean time pray take it from me,  
Brave Arthur must yield to brave Oliver.

Harry Martin wonder'd to see such a thing  
Done by a Knight of such high degree,  
An art which he couldn't expect from a King,  
Much less from such a John Dorie as he.

But Oliver, laying his hand on his sword,  
Upbraided him with his Adultery,  
Then Martin gave him never a word,  
But humbly thank'd his Majesty.

<sup>a</sup> He was created Doctor of Laws May 19th, 1649, by the University of Oxford.

<sup>b</sup> Sir Arthur Haslerigge.

Allen the coppersmith<sup>a</sup> was in great fear,  
 He did us much harm since the war began,  
 A broken cit was he many a year,  
 And now he 's a broken parliament-man.

Bold Oliver told him what he had been,  
 And him a cheating Knave did call,  
 Which put him into a fit of the spleen,  
 For now he must give an Account for all.

It went to the heart of Sir Harry Vane,  
 To think what a terrible fall he should have,  
 For he that did once in the Parliament reign  
 Was called, as I hear, a dissembling Knave.

Bradshaw that President, bold as a Pope,  
 Who loves upon Kings and Princes to trample ;  
 Now the House is dissolv'd, I cannot but hope  
 To see such a President made an Example.

Now room for the Speaker without the Mace,  
 And room for the rest of the rabble rout !  
 My masters, methinks it's a pitiful case,  
 Like the snuff of a Candle thus to go out.

Some like this change, and some like it not,  
 For they say they are sure it was done in due season,  
 Some say it was the Jesuit's plot  
 Because it resembled the Gun-powder treason.

*Some think that Cromwell with Charles is agreed,  
 And say 't were good policy if it were so,  
 Least the Hollander, French, the Dane, and the Swede  
 Do bring him in whether he will or no.*

And now I would gladly conclude my Song  
 With a prayer, as Ballads are wont to do ;  
 But yet I'll forbear, for I think *ere 't be long  
 We may have a King and a Parliament too.*

July 13, 1653."

<sup>a</sup> He is called Francis Allen, Esq. in the List of the Council of State. Cromwelliana, p. 119.

## LETTER CCCIV.

*Mr. Thomas Bateman to Mr. Hugh Bateman; the  
Dissolution of Barebone's Parliament.*

[FROM THE *Orig.* IN THE POSSESSION OF CAPT. HUGH BATEMAN,  
*communicated to the Editor by* FREDERICK MADDEN, ESQ.]

\* \* \* The original Instrument by which Oliver Cromwell, under the title of Captain General of the Armies, convened a hundred and thirty-nine persons from different Towns and Counties of England, Scotland, and Ireland, who formed what was called "Barebone's Parliament," was exhibited to the Society of Antiquaries, Feb. 9th, 1793, by Francis Stephens, Esq. It was at that time in the possession of Mr. Robert Fleetwood, the great-great-grandson of George Lord Fleetwood.

A printed List of the Members of this Parliament, with an engraved View of the manner of its sitting, by Hollar (though without his name), was published upon a single sheet at the time.

The Dissolution described in the Letter here given, bears a sort of miniature resemblance to the dissolving of the Long Parliament by Cromwell in person.

---

 LOVING COSEN

YESTERDAY morning Mr. Kent and I went to Westminster where we came to the Resolving of the Parliament. The Corporal of the Garde went up with a fyle of muscateers to the door of the House, and he only went in and told the Speaker his business, and took the Mace, and turned them all out of the House, and locked the doors, and carried the keys away with him, and carried the Mace to the Court of gard; so all these Parliament men went to White Hall where they

surrendered their commissions to him that gave them ;  
my wife and I present. Our services to you and your  
Lady, and I am

Sir

Your faithful Servant,

THO. BATEMAN.

London the 13<sup>th</sup>. Decembr.

1653.

To his lo. cousin Mr. Hugh  
Bateman, at his House at Chester-  
field dd. Derbyshire.

Post payd.

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AMONG the Pamphlets given to the Museum Library by his late Majesty is "A true Narrative of the Cause and Manner of the Dissolution of the late Parliament upon the 12<sup>th</sup>. of Decemb. 1653, by a Member of the House then present at that Transaction,"<sup>a</sup> which gives a statement not unlike that in the present Letter, though more circumstantial. It says,

"Reader

. "Knowing that various reports will be spread concerning the Dissolution of the Parliament, I hold it needful to give you a true and particular account of the matter of fact, waving many circumstances that are material which were previous to this change.

"Yesterday morning being the 12<sup>th</sup>. instant very many persons came an hour and more sooner to the House than was usual, which was the first apprehension that was taken of any thing to be done, but, by that, something more then ordinary was conceived would be attempted. The Speaker taking the chair, a member made his address to him to this effect ; that he must disburthen himself of some things that had a long time lain upon his heart ; that he was now to speak to the *esse* or being, rather than the *bene esse*, or well-being of the Common-wealth, which was ready to sink under us through the ill management of the power entrusted with us ; and that for his own part he must resign his power from whence he had it, foreseeing clearly that their waitings and expectations of ever

<sup>a</sup> 4<sup>o</sup>. Lond. 1653. It was published Decemb. 19<sup>th</sup>.

coming on to things of public good, were more and more disappointed, and so came to these particular instances :

\* \* \* \* \*

“ For these considerations they could not satisfy themselves to sit any longer, and so be guilty of bringing confusion and desolation upon the Nation. But if any would yet be so hardy as to continue there, he would say unto them in the words of the Prophet, ‘ Ephraim hath joined himself to Idols, let him alone.’

“ This was seconded by two others, who interwove their speeches with some bitter invectives which were heard with patience. After them another Member stood up, and declared himself to speak with much disadvantage, in that he had not, as the other, *any premeditated thing* to say ; but told the Speaker he had in his hand an expedient in reference to the things comprehended in the Vote of Saturday last that he hoped would satisfy all ; and that the Committee for regulating the Law had ready to be offered to the House Bills of very great concernment to the good and ease of the people ; and protested before God, Angels, and Men, his dissatisfaction to the thing moved as being destruction to the Commonwealth. Others standing up to second him could not be suffered to speak : but some others pressing the former motion, saying withall it was not now a time to debate. The Speaker being of their judgement (*the whole business being before contrived*) without putting it to the question or adjourning to any other place, left the chair, and went hastily out of the House with them : some thirty and odd staid within, who mutually declaring that they had profest in the presence of the Lord *that they were called of GOD to that place*, which was the principal motive that drew them thither ; and that they apprehended their said call was chiefly for promoting the interest of JESUS CHRIST. Beginning therefore to consider what to do, Coll. Goff and Lieut. Coll. White came in and entreated them earnestly to go out, pressing it often. It was as earnestly replied to them, that at their personal request they could not, but desired them to withdraw unless they had command to put them forth ; which, when they perceived, they commanded in some musqueters ; upon which they withdrew. Soon after, several were sent for to come to White Hall, where an Instrument was drawn up for resigning the power to the General, which was subscribed by many, but refused by others. This the late Speaker with a short preamble delivered to the General, who was ready with his officers to receive it.”

## LETTER CCCV.

*King Charles the Second to the Earl of Leuen, from  
Cologne.*

[MS. BIRCH. MUS. BRIT. 4156. fol. 165. *Orig.*]

\* \* \* Lord Clarendon says, that the King and his sister the Princess Royal arrived at Cologne about the middle of September, 1655; but this, and the succeeding Letter, bear date from that place *early in the month of AUGUST.*

---

Collen, 12<sup>h</sup> Aug. 1655.

MY Lord Leuen, I heare you haue made some contracte to leauy men in Scotland and to transporte them beyonde the seas for the seruice of some forraine Prince, w<sup>ch</sup>. I doubte not you have vndertaken without the least ill purpose towards me; but I looke vpon all designes of that nature as most prejudiciall to my seruice and mischiuous to the Kingdome, and therefore desire you not only to decline it your selfe, but to disswade all your frindes from it, and I am confident your affection is such to me that you will satisfie me heerein; and you shall allwayes finde me to be,

Your affectionate  
frinde

CHARLES R.

For the Earle of Leuen.

*Indorsed in another hand*

12 Aug. 1655  
Charles Stuart to the Earl of Leuen.  
Intercepted Letter.

## LETTER CCCVI.

*King Charles II<sup>d</sup>. while in exile, to his aunt the Queen  
of Bohemia.*

[MS. LANSD. 1236. fol. 106. *Orig.*]

\* \* \* According to Clarendon the King remained at Cologne “above two years, contending with the rigor of his fortune with *great temper and magnanimity* ;” that is, as the present Letter will explain, with the thoughtlessness which afterwards distinguished him in England.

A short passage in Pepys’s Diary affords a comment upon that part of the present Letter which relates to the King’s taste for dancing and fiddlers :

May 31<sup>st</sup>. 1664. “I was told to-day, that upon Sunday night last, being the King’s birth-day, the King was at my Lady Castlemaine’s lodgings (over the hither gate at Lambert’s lodgings) dancing *with fiddlers* all night almost; and all the world coming by, taking notice of it.”<sup>a</sup>

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Collen Aug. 6.

MADAME

I AM just now begining this Letter in my Sisters Chamber, wher ther is such a noise that I never hope to end it, and much lesse write sence. For what concerns my sisters journey and the accidents that happened on the way, I leave to her to give your Ma<sup>ty</sup>. an account of. I shall only tell your Ma<sup>ty</sup>. that we are now thinking how to passe our time; and in the first place of danceing, in which we find to<sup>b</sup> difficultyes, the one for want of the fidelers, the other for some body both to teach and assist at the danceing the new

<sup>a</sup> Pepys’s Memoirs, vol. i. p. 206.

<sup>b</sup> two.



Dances : and I have gott my sister to send for Silvius as one that is able to performe both : for the fidelities my L<sup>d</sup>. Taaffe does promise to be there convoy, and in the meane time we must contente our selves with those that makes no difference betweene a himme and a coranto. I have now received my Sisters pickture that my deare cousin the Princess Louise was pleased to draw, and do desire your Ma<sup>ty</sup> thank her for me, for 'tis a most excellent pickture, which is all I can say at present, but that I am,

Madame,

Your Ma<sup>ties</sup>. most

humble and most affectionate  
nephew and servant

CHARLES R.

To the Queen of Bohemia,  
my dearest Aunte.

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## LETTER CCCVII.

*Oliver Cromwell when Protector, to the Grand Signior,  
respecting the surprizal of an English Ship called  
the Resolution.*

[COMMUNICATED BY THE RIGHT HON. THE LORD VISCOUNT  
STRANGFORD.]

\*.\* Lord Clarendon says, that Cromwell's greatness at home, was but a shadow of the glory he had abroad.

Four years previous to the writing of this Letter, Cromwell had especially authorised the publication of a "Message which he sent to the Great Turk, with his Demands and Proposals, and the releasing of the English Captives." Lond. 1654. 4<sup>to</sup>. The Tract which contains it, concludes with this paragraph: "As touching the influence the Lord Protector hath gained by his Message to the Turks, 'tis a thing wonderfully to be admired; and indeed it causeth no little admiration throughout all Christendom: for true it is, the Argier men of War are become associates with the English, and will not permit a man of our Nation to be carried captive into thralldom; but seize and take all their Sallee ships, and others, that have any English in them, and bring them in to Gen. Blake, who at this very instant *rides triumphant in the LEVANT OCEAN.*"

The Sultan of the Turks to whom the Letter here placed before the Reader was addressed, was Mahomet the Fourth.

---

OLIVER by the grace of God Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and the Dominions and Territories thereto belonging.

To the high and mighty Emperor, Sultan Mahomet Han, Cheife Lord and Commander of the Mussulman Kingdome, sole and supreme Monarch of the Easterne Empire, greeting.

Most high and mighty Prince

We doubt not but you have found by your owne experience, aswell as by information of such as have bin of Councill with your royall preedecessors, that the Amity and Traffique so long continued betweene both Nations hath bin of great advantage and benefit in many respects: to the disturbance whereof We should be very unwilling that any occasion should be offered on our part; who desire nothing more then a

continuance and increase of that friendship which hath bin established. But it falleth out that the same hath bin too frequently interrupted, by such as exercise pyracy and spoile at Sea; who though they are enemies to all entercourse and civill Society, and dishonorable to Princes and States, yet find places of retreat and succor in some part of your dominions. An instance whereof (to omit many others) appeareth in the late surprizall of an English Ship called the Resolution; which being laden with cloth, tynne, lead, and money (to the value of two Hundred Thousand dollars) and bound for your owne Port of Scanderone, was yet in her passage (nere Candy) assaulted by seaven Ships of Tripoly, (part of your Majesties fleete, and then actually in your service,) and by them carried to Rhodes, another of Your Majesties Ports; where we are informed the Captaine Bassa hath bin so farr from disowning the Action, that he hath in scorne and contempt of the Capitulation, secured the Ship and Goods, as also the Master, Mariners, and Passengers, who had not a ragg left to cover them. Which barbarous act, so repugnant to the Emperiall Capitulations (which ought to be held inviolate), so injurious to Trade, and so dishonorable to your Majesty, we cannot pass over without a due consideration and representation to You, as a manifest breach of Peace: and therefore We doe presume so much of your wisdome and justice, that you will not only command

a totall and compleate restitution to be made of the Ship, Goods, and Money, and releasement of the Men, but also for your owne honor take course for suppressing those pyrates, and prohibiting their retreat into places and receiving favour and succor from persons under your obedience; as also for punishing such as countenance or abett them, and for a generall redress of all former injuries too commonly practised on our people, both to our dishonor and their irreparable loss. In all which we have given order to our Ambassador residing at your High Port to informe you more particularly; desiring to understand your resolution herein, that upon knowledge thereof we may take such course as shalbe agreeable to justice and to the good of our people, whom we are bound to protect in their lawfull courses of Trade. And so we wish You health and true felicity. Given at Our Pallace at Westminster the 11<sup>th</sup>. day of the moneth of August 1657.

*Indorsed*

Copie of His Highnes Letter to  
the Grand Sig<sup>r</sup>. Aug<sup>st</sup>. 11<sup>th</sup>. 1657.  
Resolution.  
For Constantinople.

## LETTER CCCVIII.

*The Protector to the Vizier Azem, upon the same.*

[COMMUNICATED BY THE LORD VISCOUNT STRANGFORD.]

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OLIVER by the grace of God Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and the Dominions and Territories thereto belonging.

To the high and excellent Lord, the Vizier Azem

High and excellent Lord

As we have now done to the Grand Signor your Lord and Master, so doe we also to You, complaine of an act of violence and injustice exercised towards divers Merchants of this Commonwealth interested in an English Ship called the Resolution; which being laden with cloth, tynne, and money, and bound for the Grand Signor's owne Port of Scanderone, in a peaceable course of trading, was (notwithstanding) in her way (nere Candy) assaulted by seaven Tripoly Men of Warr actually ingaged in the Grand Signor's service, and by them carried to Rhodes: where the Captaine Bassa hath secured the Ship and her lading, and imprisoned the master, mariners, and passengers,

being in number forty five persons. Which Act, so contrary to the Emperiall capitulations, and to the very essence of Commerce, being an absolute breach of the Peace between both nations, We cannot but judge wilbe held very dishonorable to the Grand Signor, and accordingly resented by him, even to the severe punishment of the Captaine Bassa who so readily owned the action, and of those others, enemies of humane society, who are guilty of an attempt so foule and disgracefull to a Monarch pretending justice. And we shall not doubt but, as an intimation of his justice he will command compleate restitution of Ship and Goods, and releasement of the persons: otherwise you must shortly expect a ruine and dissolution of all Trade, besides the confusion and danger that may grow to your owne State. And therefore We presume you will, (though for noe other respect then your owne interest and safety,) be instrumentall to procure reparation in this particular, and an utter extirpation of those Sea Rovers; that so Peace and the effects thereof, which have bin found so advantageous to both nations, may be preserved, to the mutual good of each. In all which We desire you to give eare and credit to our Ambassador there, and to procure such speedy answer and returne from his Emperiall Majesty as may stand with equity and with the continuance of that Amity which hath bin settled between both nations, and which We shall not willingly give the least occa-

sion to disturb<sup>e</sup> without some great provocation. Given  
at Our Pallace at Westminster this 11<sup>th</sup>. day of the  
Month of August in the yeare 1657.

*Indorsed*

Copic of His Highness Letter  
to the Vizier. Aug<sup>t</sup>. 11. 1657.  
Shipp Resolution.  
For Const<sup>s</sup>.



END OF VOL. III.

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