THREE MEN OF THE TUDOR TIME

LADY FRANCES BERKELEY

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EDWARD, FIRST LORD NORTH.

From the collection of the Earl of Guilford.

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BY
LADY FRANCES BUSHBY

LONDON
DAVID NUTT, 57-59 LONG ACRE
1911

TO THE MEMORY OF

MY DEAR HUSBAND

TO WHOSE UNFAILING SYMPATHY, SOUND CRITICISM,

AND LITERARY KNOWLEDGE, I OWE SO MUCH

PREFACE

THESE gleanings of family history, first written in a shorter form, were intended solely for my own kinsfolk. It seemed fitting that such references to the Norths as were to be found scattered among the records of the past, many as yet undiscovered, some unheeded or forgotten, should be garnered up and strung together in some connected form. Thus it came to pass that I set forth upon this pleasant enterprise, and the task finished, the work was laid aside. But as time wore on, it seemed possible that some of the contents of this family scrap-book might prove acceptable to certain readers beyond the narrow limit at first assigned it. For surely no authentic detail of those wonderful times, no matter in what fashion presented to him, can be wholly without interest to the student of Tudor history ; for whoso enters upon that fruitful field, enters upon a land of enchantment, a fairyland of fact ; he grows ever more covetous of the treasure within his grasp ;

he will not brook the loss of a single grain of gold-dust from that very El Dorado of research. More especially must he feel this when he reaches the reign of Elizabeth ; for this was the golden age of high endeavour and of great result, giving the rein to every energy and the spur to every talent. There was work for all then : war for the soldier, the New World for the adventurer, the New Learning for the scholar—above all there were those new aspects of the Faith, those vital questions to which each man must give an answer whether he would or no. There were no sleepy hollows in those strenuous old times.

I have not sought to touch upon the great events, the vast upheavals of the Church and State, with which men's minds were filled, any further than seemed needful to sketch in a slight background for the portraits before me. If I may call to witness so great a name in so small a matter, I will say with Plutarch, 'I will only desire the readers not to blame me, though I do not declare all things at large, but briefly touch divers . . . my intent is not to write histories but only lives.' [1] Aye, and not even lives, for the men of whom I write, rode not always upon the crest of the wave ; they rather show themselves as might some great diving bird—often he is lost beneath the restless sea, yet ever and again he

[1] *Plutarch's Lives.* Englished by Sir Thomas North. (Alexander the Great.)

rises, claps his wings, cries aloud, and oars his way upon the waters to be seen of all men ; then again he is lost.

It now only remains for me to offer my hearty thanks to those who with their kindly courtesies and friendly aid have sped me on the way. Their names will be found on another page, but since this is essentially a family record, I may say here, that from the Norths themselves I have met with help and encouragement without which I could have had neither heart nor adequate material for the work.

FRANCES BUSHBY.

October 1911.

The author offers her best thanks to

H. N. G. Bushby, Esq.,
E. A. Fry, Esq.,
The Dowager Countess of Guilford,
The Earl of Guilford,
The Rev. Augustus Jessopp, D.D.,
The Lord North,
J. E. L. Whitehead, Esq., Town Clerk of Cambridge,

for valuable help rendered in divers directions.

EDWARD, FIRST LORD NORTH

CHAPTER I

EDWARD NORTH was born at Walkringham in Nottinghamshire in the year 1496. It is stated in an old family record[1] that it had then been the home of his forefathers for many generations; for how many there is nothing to show, but going back to the earliest available sources, we find that one of the family, Robert by name, was married to Alice, daughter of John Harcourt of Oxfordshire, and from this Robert, who died in 1470, Edward North of Walkringham was lineally descended.

In 1419, William, a cadet of the North family, was sent to Normandy, and was granted letters of protection for three months, for the purpose of buying wines and provisions for the army of King Henry V, who had then nearly completed his brilliant campaign in France. William must have been not ill-pleased with his foreign surroundings, for he ended by settling in the country,

[1] *Some Notes concerning the Life of Edward, first Lord North*, by Dudley, fourth Lord North.

and, following the example of his royal master, took to wife a daughter of the land, receiving from the Duke of Brittany, as the reward of military service, the hand and estates of Aliette, heiress of the house of de Callac ; and the family of ' de Nort,' as they were styled in France, subsequently added the name of de Callac to their own. The descendants of William North held in several instances high offices of state, one of them, Pierre, having been ' Grand Veneur de France,' as well as Councillor and Chamberlain to King Louis the Eleventh. On the marriage in 1520 of Françoise de Nort-Callac, heiress and only representative of her branch of the family, with Guillaume de Brue, her husband assumed the name of de Brue-Callac, and the name of de Nort fell into disuse.[1] The foreign branch here passes out of sight, and we return to the Norths of Walkringham.

Roger, the grandfather of Edward, first Lord North, had two sons, Thomas and Roger. On the death of his father, Thomas, the elder, came into possession of the family estate, and was succeeded in due course by his son, another Roger. We learn from an Inquisition of the Heralds taken June 18, 1557, that this ' Roger North, gentleman, died seized of five messuages and the moiety of another messuage, ten cottages, nine tofts and the moiety of another toft, one

[1] *Wroxton MSS.*

windmill and three hundred acres of land, eighty-four of meadow, and a hundred and ten of pasture, in Walkringham, Buckingham, Stourton, Burton, and Littleborough.'[1] He died April 9, 1557, leaving a son, Edward, then between three and four years old, and it is related that when the boy came of age, he did fealty for his lands in Walkringham.[2] Thomas' heirs held the family estates for some generations later. Roger North of Rougham, in his lives of his three brothers, tells how one of Thomas' descendants, Sir Charles, a Cavalier, and High Sheriff of his county, fell upon evil days after the Restoration. It would appear that he died childless; be that as it may, with him all record of the elder branch ceases.

Thomas' brother Roger had been sent to London to push his way in the world. Evidently he was a likely lad, who did not allow the grass to grow under his feet, for after spending some years in mercantile pursuits, in which he seems to have prospered, he went a-courting to Christian, daughter of Richard Warcup of Sconington and widow of Ralph Warren. His suit was successful, and Mistress Warren brought her husband so rich a dowry as to enable the couple to bring up their only son Edward 'in a costly way of breeding.' They chose for him the

[1] Notes by the late Charles Augustus North, Esq.
[2] *Ibid.*

profession of the law, a career in which both character and talents well fitted him to succeed. The boy had early shown a love of learning, great industry, and quick intelligence. He was hot-tempered and subject to sudden outbursts of anger; but this failing, we are given to understand, he learnt in great measure to overcome in later years.

Edward was but a lad of thirteen when, by the death of her husband,[1] Mistress North was left to carry out alone the plan formed for the boy's education, a task which it seems she wisely and faithfully performed. He was then at St. Paul's School, under the famous William Lilly, ever memorable as the first master to teach Greek in any public school in England. Thence, Edward passed to Peterhouse College, Cambridge, where he was to begin his legal studies. His University career must surely have been a happy and successful one, since he became in after years a substantial benefactor to his old College, presenting it with the patronage of the Vicarage of Burwell, and making a bequest to the Master and Fellows, of the Rectory and advowson of Ellington, besides providing for the maintenance of certain poor scholars. In recognition of these endowments, his portrait was hung in

[1] Roger North, who died 1509 and was buried in the church of St. Michael ad Bladum at the Corn Market, by Paternoster Row. This church was destroyed in the fire of 1666.

the Combination Room of Peterhouse, with this inscription:

> 'Nobilis hic vere fuerat si nobilis ullus,
> Qui sibi principium nobilitatis erat.'

After leaving Cambridge, Edward North was in due course called to the Bar, and soon entered into a considerable practice. His talents alone would have ensured him success, but he was, moreover, a young man who had an eye to the main chance, a large amount of worldly wisdom; this seems to have characterised him through life, and doubtless contributed much to his advancement. Added to this, he had good legal as well as City interest. Of his two sisters, Joan, the eldest, had married Alderman Wilkinson of London, while Alice became the wife of Thomas Burnet, Auditor of the Court of Exchequer. With the tide thus in his favour, he was borne swiftly forward on the stream of life, becoming while still quite a young man Advocate for the City of London, an appointment to which a fixed yearly fee was attached; and it is likely that in this and other ways he was now earning a good income by his profession.

It does not appear that he had any thought of marriage until the age of thirty-three, when he took to wife a rich widow who had been already twice married. Her first husband was Edward Myrffyn or Mervyn, son of Sir John Mervyn; her

second, John Bryganten of Southampton. Mistress Alice Bryganten was the daughter of Oliver Squyer of Southby near Portsmouth, of whom we know no more than his name; but it may be assumed from two of his grandsons having been knighted, that he belonged to a 'knightly family,' i.e. entitled to bear arms, it being in their day a condition, occasionally though rarely dispensed with by the sovereign, that the grandparents of a knight on both sides should have had that privilege. This new departure in life greatly improved North's fortunes. One of his descendants [1] writes of the affair in his quaintly amusing way, that 'it sheweth that he was not hasty in parting with his liberty, for he well knew the want of that to be one of the chief *remoras* to young men as to their applications in the way of preferment and otherwise, and therefore when he came to sell himself he suffered not his affections to overrule his judgment.' Truly such a marriage sounds prosaic enough, but it would be unfair to take it for granted that North's feelings had no share whatever in the matter: his wife Alice is named with words of affection in his Will; he desires to be laid beside her, leaving a liberal bequest to her son, John Bryganten; and we shall see later that she turned out an invaluable housewife and helpmate. By this marriage North had two sons, of whom Roger, the elder, was destined to leave his

[1] Dudley, fourth Lord North.

mark as a brilliant soldier and diplomatist; the younger, Thomas, as a scholar; and two daughters, Christian, who married William, third Earl of Worcester, and Mary, the wife of Henry, ninth Lord Scrope of Bolton, Lord President of the King's Council of the North.[1]

[1] He is, perhaps for this reason, often described as 'Lord Scrope of the North.'

CHAPTER II

North's increased fortune enabled him to purchase soon after his marriage the castle and manor of Kirtling, or Catlage as the old writers have it; a place of great antiquity and interest, once in the possession of Harold, Earl of East Anglia,[1] and later in that of Judith, daughter of Earl Waltheof and niece of William the Conqueror; it was famous also for a Synod held there, 'what time the Clergymen were at hote strife among themselves about the celebration of Easter.'[2] But Kirtling as it then stood was not up to the standard of modern comfort in those days; so the old castle was swept away to make room for a new and very costly mansion. This building contained a large gallery furnished with an organ, harpsichord, and other musical instruments, and another for pictures, of which North made a fine collection.

His prosperity was now assured. In 1531

[1] Afterwards King of England.

[2] Camden's *Annals*, Englished by R. N. Gent.

he became, by grant from King Henry the Eighth, a Clerk of Parliament, with a salary of £40 a year. This seems little enough, but it must be remembered that £40 was then worth nine or ten times as much as now. The duties must have been lighter, while the office itself was one of greater consideration than at present; it was not uncommonly held by persons of high rank, of whom North's successor, Sir William Paget, afterwards Lord Paget, is an example. 'But had the place been of meaner condition, he had wisdom sufficient to instruct him that it is better for those who have their fortunes to make, to play a small game than to sit out.'[1]

This promotion was followed by his appointment as one of the King's Sergeants-at-Law, and in 1541 he resigned his Clerkship of Parliament on being named Treasurer of the Court of Augmentations, a post in which he succeeded Sir Thomas Pope, afterwards Earl of Down, the well-known founder of Trinity College, Oxford. This Court was a temporary one; its province was to deal with the business arising out of the great increase of revenue accruing to the Crown on the dissolution of the Monasteries. In 1542 North was knighted, nominated High Sheriff of the counties of Cambridge and Huntingdon, elected to represent the former in Parliament, and about

[1] *Some Notes, &c.*, by Dudley, fourth Lord North.

the same time became Lord Lieutenant of that county.

After filling the post of Treasurer for four years, Sir Edward was raised to the joint Chancellorship of the Court of Augmentations, a dignity which he shared with Sir Richard Rich, afterwards Lord Rich. On the retirement of his colleague a few months later, he assumed the sole jurisdiction of the Court. 'The most consummate integrity,' says Lodge, 'and the most vigilant application were requisite in those who were to receive suddenly this enormous influx of various wealth and to methodise and direct a new system of revenue.' The same writer bears testimony to Sir Edward's conduct as 'eminently disinterested,' and speaks of his 'nice conscience' when placed in a position in which he might have amassed immense wealth, adding that 'he contented himself with the fair emoluments of his office, and with grants, comparatively of no great amount, of Abbey lands.' Among these was the manor of Wormley in Hertfordshire, then in the joint occupation of Elizabeth Woodville and Polydore Vergil, the historian.[1] This manor was sold by North soon after it came into his possession.

We have already seen that application and energy were inherent qualities in his character; it would seem that business went briskly forward under his sway, and that the officials of his Court

[1] *Wroxton MSS.*

were up and stirring betimes. A manuscript still exists in the Chapter House, Westminster, in which the Auditor of this Court states his intention to proceed as to arrears 'within myne offyce to-morrow at six of the clocke in the mornynge.' It was the wise custom in those days to make full use of the golden hours of morning; daylight was deemed far more precious than now, doubtless in great measure for the reason that the means of obtaining artificial light were then so clumsy and so miserably inadequate.

Somewhere about this time Sir Edward bought from the Lord Chancellor, Sir Thomas Audley, the lately dissolved Monastery of the Charterhouse; he resold it later to John Dudley, Duke of Northumberland, on whose attainder in 1553 it reverted to the Crown, after which it once more came into North's possession by a grant from the King. Sir Edward built on the site of the old monastery a new and complete residence, thenceforth referred to by him as his 'house in Charterhouse Yarde.' [1]

[1] 'A little without the Barres of West Smithfield, is Charterhouse lane, so called for that (it) leadeth to the sayd plot of the late dissolved monasterie, in place whereof first the Lord North, but since Thomas Howarde, late Duke of Norfolke have made large and sumptuous buildinges, both for lodging and pleasure.' Stow's *Survey of London*, vol. i. p. 357.

'Dudley, (third) Lord North had a house at or near the east end of the Charterhouse.' Stow's *Annals*, enlarged by Strype, vol. i. p. 234. This was the house he inherited from his great-grandfather. Surely these extracts dispose of the statement, more than once repeated, that North occupied the old buildings and used the ancient Chapel as a banqueting hall.

The immense growth of London since those days comes home to us with the recollection that Sir Edward writes of the Charterhouse as 'my house nere London.' 'It was,' says Strype, 'a very large and goodly mansion, beautified with very spacious gardens, walks, orchards, and other pleasures, enriched with divers dependencies, lands and tenements thereunto belonging, and very aptly seated for wholesome air and many other commodities.'

About this time North was employed in various public affairs. Some time during April 1544 he had, together with Sir Thomas Pope, an audience of the King at Westminster, to return to him the Great Seal on the resignation of the Lord Chancellor Audley, then too ill to deliver it in person, and in 1545 he was associated with the Bishops of Westminster, Worcester, and Chichester on a commission appointed to overlook and regulate the annual distribution by the Deans and Chapters of Canterbury, Rochester, Westminster, and Winchester of certain sums of money appointed by their various statutes for the relief of poor householders and for the repair of the highways. At Winchester £100 a year was to be set aside for these purposes. In 1546 North was sworn of the Privy Council, and evidently now stood well in the King's favour. But Henry was at the best a fickle and dangerous master, and despite all his native caution North had much

ado to keep clear of the rocks; moreover, he had enemies at Court who lost no opportunity of poisoning their master's ear. We are told how, early one morning, while Sir Edward was still in his bedchamber, there came an unfriendly messenger to command his immediate presence at Court, 'which message was also delivered with some harshness.' An official in attendance noticed that Sir Edward received the summons with some signs of agitation; but he was soon calm, for the same man tells how, when they came into the presence chamber, 'the King was walking, and continued doing so with great earnestness, and every now and then cast an angry eye on him (North) which was received with a very still and sober carriage. At last the King brake out into these words: "We are informed that you have cheated us of certain lands in Middlesex!" Whereunto, having received no other than a plain and humble negative, after some space he replyed: "How was it then, did we give those lands to you?" Whereunto Sir Edward answered, "Yes, Sir, Your Majesty was pleased so to doe." Whereupon, having paused a little, the King put on a milder countenance.'[1] He took Sir Edward apart, talked with him for some time in private, and then the storm passed, and all went smoothly as before.

The King's days were now numbered, and

[1] *Some Notes, &c.*, by Dudley, fourth Lord North.

soon he was to learn from Sir Anthony Denny, who alone of all the Court dared approach him with the news, that all hope of recovery must be abandoned. On his death-bed he named North one of his sixteen executors, making him a bequest of £300. These executors formed a Council entrusted with absolute power to carry on the government during the minority of the young King, then little more than nine years old. But some inconveniences arising in consequence of there being no head whose name might appear in orders and proclamations, and who might be empowered to receive foreign ambassadors and perform other ceremonial offices, they elected from among their number the King's maternal uncle, the Earl of Hertford, conferring upon him the style of Lord Protector, and creating him at the same time Duke of Somerset, Mareschal, and Lord Treasurer. The Protector, who was to assume in outward respects all the dignity of royalty, nevertheless bound himself to obey the Council in all matters affecting the government of the State ; but to a man of his unbounded ambition and overbearing temper, such a pledge soon became intolerable, and Somerset lost no time in overthrowing the authority of the Council and usurping for himself entire control, a step in which he felt secure of the support of the people, by whom he was adored. A new Council

was formed, on which Sir Edward North and his former colleagues, with the exception of the Earl of Southampton, were retained; but thenceforth they had little or no voice in public affairs.

CHAPTER III

The Protector was no sooner well in the saddle than he began to take thought for the advancement of his favourites. One of these, Richard Sackville, had cast a longing eye on the Chancellorship of the Court of Augmentations, and it would seem that pressure was put upon North by Somerset to resign his office in Sackville's favour, a promise being given that he should receive some compensation. Be this as it may, he retired from the Chancellorship, and Sackville was appointed in his stead; but although North appears to have been out of favour with the Protector, he remained a member of the Council to the end of the reign. In the last Parliament called by King Edward the Sixth he was for the second time elected Knight of the Shire for the county of Cambridge, the King sending letters specially recommending him to the Sheriff of the county.

Life at the Charterhouse was by no means a round of unbroken peace. Sudden brawls and deeds

of violence were common enough in those days, a hasty word often met with the swift conclusive answer of a dagger thrust; and so it came about that two assassins one day set upon a gentleman of Sir Edward's household, and slew him in Charterhouse Yard. The men were caught, brought to justice, and soon afterwards hanged at Tyburn.[1]

A close friendship existed between the Dudleys and the Norths, and by this Sir Edward was doubtless largely influenced, so that it is not surprising to find that his connexion with Lord Guilford Dudley led him, on the death of the young king, to declare at once for 'the Lady Jane.' His signature is among the twenty-one, headed by that of Archbishop Cranmer, affixed to the letter sent in answer to an appeal to the Council by 'the Lady Mary,' as the future Queen was then styled. In this answer she is urged by the senders to desist from her claim to the Crown and 'to submit her selfe unto Queen Jane, now her soveraigne, so would they hold amity with her, els should shee proove greevous unto them and to her selfe.' But the blood of the Tudors ran in Mary's veins; it was far from her thoughts thus meekly to resign her claim, and she was in truth to prove grievous to others if not to herself. While at Hunsdon House she had received the news of her brother's death, and had lost no time

[1] Machyn's *Diary*, January 1553.

in taking horse and pushing on towards London, to the end she might be proclaimed Queen forthwith. She had not ridden far, ere she was stopped by a messenger spurring in hot haste to warn her that 'the Lady Jane' had been already proclaimed, and to entreat her to seek safety in flight. Thus baffled at the outset, she turned her horse's head and her own dour visage towards the east coast, and sped away with all her following to Kenninghall in Norfolk, where she had partisans upon whom she could rely; and while she was lodged there, six ships lay off Yarmouth ready to escort her had it been expedient for her to fly the country. At Kenninghall Castle she awaited the turn of the tide which was to make her footing sure, and it was from thence she issued her appeal to the Council and received its answer. It is well to be able to record of a Queen who is certainly not one of the spoilt children of history, that on Mary's accession, she granted a full pardon to all who had signed, with the exceptions of Northumberland, Suffolk, Sir John Gates, Captain of the Guard, and a few others who had been chief among her enemies. North himself was ere long restored to favour; he was sworn of the new Privy Council and took his seat in the House of Lords as Baron North of Kirtling. In 1554 he was placed on a Commission with Sir Thomas Pope and others for examining the accounts of Sir Thomas Gresham, then the Queen's Agent

for negotiating a loan from the merchants of Antwerp. It had been the practice of her predecessors to borrow large sums at exorbitant interest from the merchants of that city, but the credit of our sovereigns usually stood so low as to make it necessary for them to obtain the aid of the City of London in guaranteeing the security.

The Queen was soon to need all available resources to meet the vast financial drain which followed among other dismal consequences upon the Spanish marriage. This alliance was hateful to the English people, who regarded it as destined to prove fatal to their civil, above all to their religious liberties, and who looked forward to the coming of Prince Philip with feelings of aversion and mistrust. North was despatched with other lords to receive the Prince on his arrival at Southampton,[1] July 19, 1554, and to conduct him to Winchester, where his marriage with the Queen was to be solemnized, and where he was to receive from the Spanish Ambassador the title of ' King of Naples and Jerusalem,' conferred on him by his father in honour of the occasion. The mission of North and his colleagues must have been more honourable than pleasing. Lord Howard of Effingham had but lately had the daring to fire across the bows of Philip's own ship, because the captains of his squadron had failed

[1] Holinshed, p. 1113.

to lower their topsails to the English flag, a salute then customary and rigorously exacted as an acknowledgment of the supremacy of England in the narrow seas. Fresh from this experience and conscious of his own unpopularity, Philip was in no mood for courtesies: he left unreturned the salutes of the highest of the nobles, and bore himself with so much arrogance and ill-humour as greatly to intensify the feeling against him. 'He was,' says Speed, 'the first man of that fleet that
1554 set foot on the shore, which no sooner don, but he drew his sword and so bare it naked in his hand as he went.' [1]

It would seem from North's repeated appearance on public occasions that he must have held some office at Court. On the occasion of Cardinal Pole's mission as Legate of Pope Julius III, North took part in his reception,[2] carrying the sword of state before King Philip. Pole came charged to receive on behalf of the Pope the submission of England to the Holy See, and to confer in return a plenary pardon and indulgence, and he was welcomed at Court with little less than royal honours.

After this, we lose sight of North for some
1557 years, until he and his daughter, the Countess of Worcester, appear as among the chief mourners at the funeral of the Countess of Arundel,

[1] Speed's *Chronicle*, p. 824.
[2] November 24, 1554.

October 27, 1557. The Countess was interred with all the stately and solemn observance then customary at the obsequies of the great. We read that 'My lady was brought to the Church with the Bishop of London and Paul's Choir, and the Master and Clerks of London, and then came the corpse with five banners of arms borne: then came four heralds in their coats of arms, and bare four banners of images at the four corners; and then came the chief mourners, my lady of Worcester, and my Lady Lumley, and my Lord North, and Sir Anthony Selenger. Then came a hundred mourners of men, and after, as many ladies and gentlemen all in black, and a great many poor women all in black and veils, and twenty-four poor men in black, bearing of torches, and many of her servants in black coats bearing of torches. The twenty-eighth day of October was the mass of requiem sung; and a goodly sermon; and after mass her Grace was buried; and all her head officers with white staffs in their hands, and all the heralds waiting about her in their coat armour, and my lord abbot of Westminster was the preacher; a godly sermon, and my lord of London sung the mass, and the bishop of ( ) sang the mass of the ( ), and there was a ( ) mass said, and after to my lord's place to dinner, for there was a great dinner.' [1]

[1] Machyn's *Diary*, October 27, 1557.

Towards the end of Mary's reign, North was placed on the Commission for the suppression of heresy, and after this he is no more heard of until he reappears with the accession of her sister to the throne.

CHAPTER IV

North was no stranger to the young Queen on her accession. There is a tradition that as Princess Elizabeth she was at one time a prisoner in Kirtling Tower. History makes no mention of her having been at any time in North's immediate charge, but in those days, whether for convenience, or as a measure of indulgence to themselves, state prisoners were not uncommonly lodged in the houses of persons of importance, and it may well be that while in the custody of Sir Henry Bedingfield at Oxburgh, or of the Gages at Hengrave, the Princess was brought to Kirtling for awhile. Nichols inclines to this view, and it may also be remembered that Elizabeth was for some time in the keeping of Sir Thomas Pope, a friend of North's, with whom, as we have seen, he had been associated in several public duties. Sir Thomas was by far the most indulgent of her governors, and this may have been one of the many thoughtful expedients by which he is known to have lightened her captivity. At all events the Princess carried away no bitter memories of

Kirtling and its owner, for she twice visited him at the Charterhouse, and returned to Kirtling in 1578, as the guest of his son. On her accession, North attended her on her progress from Hatfield, and received her at the Charterhouse on her first entry into London ; the name of Lady North also occurs among those of the ladies of honour about the Court at that time. The Queen made this
1558 magnificent progress on November 23, 1558, and remained at the Charterhouse for six days, on all of which she sat in Council. As she drew near to Highgate, she was met by the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Sheriffs, and moved onward with a brilliant train of nobles, ladies, knights, gentlemen, and gentlewomen, a thousand or more in number. 'The whole of London,' says de Feria, 'turned out to meet her with great acclamations. They tell me her attitude was more gracious to the common people than to others.' [1] This was almost invariably the Queen's demeanour when she went abroad among her faithful lieges ; however haughty and imperious towards her Ministers and Courtiers, she above all things desired popularity with her people, and loved that they should see her at her best. None knew better than she the magic of a royal smile, none better the power that lies in all the pomp and pageantry of a Court, to fan each latent spark of loyalty into a leaping flame.

[1] Count de Feria, Spanish Ambassador, to the King of Spain.

Arrived at the Charterhouse she received, surrounded by a crowd of courtiers and ladies, the Spanish Ambassador, whose business it was to convey to her the congratulations of his royal master, and to present her on his behalf with a ring which had belonged to her sister. The Queen left the Charterhouse about two o'clock on November 28, and passed to the Tower. On this occasion she departed from her ordinary method of travelling on horseback or in a litter, and used her coach, probably driven by her Dutch coachman William Boonen, who had lately brought it from Holland. It was the first carriage of the kind used in England, and doubtless excited much surprise as it rumbled through the streets of old London.

During the arrangements for the Queen's coronation, North was appointed one of the Lords Commissioners to examine and decide upon the claims made by divers nobles and others to enjoy sundry privileges and to perform certain ceremonial offices on that occasion. In December 1558 he 1558
was appointed Lord Lieutenant of Cambridgeshire and the Isle of Ely, and in 1559 his name appears amongst those of the Lords who opposed the re-enactment of the Act of Uniformity and that for the alienation of certain revenues of the See of Winchester. This closes the record of his Parliamentary and official career. He seems to have wearied of the atmosphere of a Court and

1560 the burden of public affairs, and in 1560 resigned his seat on the Council and retired almost wholly into private life. Advancing years and the infirmities now creeping upon him may have influenced him in this, and the death of his wife, which took place in the same year, no doubt had its influence also. Lady North died at the Charterhouse. Machyn thus describes the removal of her body from thence to Kirtling and its burial there: 'The xix day of August my Lade Northe (was carried) from Charterhouse towards Cambregshyre with a C men in blake rydyng, and Master Clarenshus sett them in order, and a grett denur with venesun, wine and strong bere.

'The xxij day of August was bered in Cambregshire my Lade North, the wyff of my Lord North, with ij haroldes of armes, Master Clarenshus and Master Somersett, and mony mornars in blake gownes; then cam a grett baner of armes borne; and then cam the corse kevered with a pall of blake velvett and armes; and baners borne abowtt the corse; and then cam mony women mornars in blake; and the plase and the chyrche hangyd with blake and armes, and after to the plase to dener, for ther was myche a-doo; and thys was at Cateleg my Lord's place; and ( ) dyd pryche at the bereall, and was mony pore men and women that had gownes and mete and drynke.' [1]

[1] Machyn's *Diary*, August 22, 1560.

North must have felt deeply the loss of so good a wife. She had been 'a great and constant assistant to him in the improvement of his fortunes, always shewing herself a discreet and provident person in the government of his domestique affairs.' [1] So we may picture to ourselves North's household as a typically well-ordered one. The lady of a great house in those days was in every sense the housewife; she ordered and controlled her little kingdom with a nice eye to every detail, and deemed that in so doing she suffered neither hardship nor loss of dignity.

[1] *Some Notes concerning the Life of Edward, first Lord North*, by Dudley, fourth Lord North.

CHAPTER V

Since his early years North had been but lightly touched by the sorrows of life until the death of Lady North cast a shadow on his home; he had indeed suffered the loss of his pretty daughter Mary, Lady Scrope of Bolton, but on the whole things had gone prosperously with him. He must have had comfort in his children now. Sir Roger, handsome, brave, accomplished, albeit a little too fond of spending, was eminently a son to be proud of, while the bookish Thomas must have had the entire sympathy of his father, who we are told 'had a great love of scholars and of learning.'

In his retirement North did not wholly lose touch with the Court. His name is found amongst those of the Queen's subjects who yearly offered her New Year's gifts. These were always very numerous and of the most miscellaneous kind, and were contributed by all classes, from the highest officers of state, who usually brought money, to 'Smyth the dustman,' who in 1576 presented

'two boltes[1] (or rolls) of cambrick.' Presents were given in return, persons of importance receiving a piece of silver or silver-gilt plate, but there is reason to believe that the balance commonly told in the Queen's favour. In 1561 North's gift was '£20 in dimi soveraignes in a purse of purple silk and silver,' and Sir Roger's '£6 in French crownes in a purse of red silk and gold knitt.' In return North received 'oone guilt cup with a cover, per oz. $30\frac{3}{4}$ oz.' and Sir Roger, 'oone guilt bolle with a cover, per oz. 15 oz.'

North appeared but once more as a public character, and the occasion was a notable one. On July 10, 1561, the Queen paid him her second visit at the Charterhouse, where she remained for four days. She rode through the City preceded by her heralds and trumpeters, and attended by a brilliant train. Her coming is thus described in 'Nichols' Progresses'—'The Queen came by water unto the Tower of London by twelve of the clock; her business now was to visit her Mints, which she did in person, where she coined certain pieces of gold, and gave them away to several about her; whereof one she gave to the Marquis of Northampton, and another to the Lord Hunsdon. About five o'clock she went to the Iron-gate, and 1561

[1] Doubtless a variant of 'bullet.' This word is used in *Hakluyt's Voyages*, vol. iii. p. 188, to describe a sealed roll, which, in that instance, was of paper or parchment.

so over Tower Hill unto Aldgate Church, and so down Houndsditch to the Spittle, and down Hog-lane, and so over the fields to the Charterhouse, being the Lord North's place, attended in great state as was customary when she went abroad: before her going on horseback, Trumpeters, the Gentlemen Pensioners, the Heralds of Arms, the Sergeants at Arms, then Gentlemen, then Lords, and the Lord Hunsdon bearing the sword immediately before the Queen; after the Queen the Ladies riding.'

Doubtless the welcome prepared for the royal lady was worthy the splendour of her coming. It is told of her host that 'his household affairs were ordered in a way of more eminence than usual in those times' and that 'he delighted to live in an equipage rather above than under his condition,'[1] so it may well be supposed there was now no lack of royal cheer. What a temptation to pry into the kitchens and butteries, and stay, were there but time, to have a good gossip over the dainties the kitchen-folk are so busily preparing! One can see the cooks hurrying to and fro before the glowing fires, armed with long ladles and fearsome looking knives; and can hear the sputtering of the grease as they baste the fat joints upon the spit! Look at the array of fowls soon to be borne steaming into the dining hall; they are of all sorts and sizes, from the lordly bustard,

[1] *Some Notes, &c.*, by Dudley, fourth Lord North.

the bittern, the swan, the peacock, and the heron, down to the choicest of little songsters, the blackbird and the lark! One remembers with a pang, that blackbirds often figured in an Elizabethan bill of fare, and though we are not told that on this particular occasion four and twenty of them were baked in a pie, it is nevertheless true that the old nursery legend is not wholly a myth. It is on record that at one of the banquets set before the Queen, live birds of some sort were immured within a pasty, and that when the pie was opened they all took wing and flew round the dining hall.

If such a stir is going on in the kitchens, we may be sure there is also much ado to get the great banqueting chamber ready for the feast. There is the dais and the canopy of state with its rich hangings, the long tables dressed with 'the grett cuppe with the cover and a lyon upon the Toppe all gilte, the spones whereof some are percell gilte with the Apostles at the endes of them' and those with 'the flatt knoppes; the neasts of Bowles with covers, the silver Ale pottes and Possett pottes,' and what not besides? Could space be found for such a list as North himself has made, the tables would be all ready laid for us. We can feel ourselves at home too in 'the chamber over the pastrie,' with its 'bed of downe and bedstedde of walnutt, with the testour and counterpointe to the

same of yellow and blew pattern,' and can look from the window over the fields and pleasant orchards.

To those familiar with the portraits of Lord North, it is not difficult to picture him as he stands on the steps of the Charterhouse, surrounded by his family and household, in readiness to receive the Queen. Sir Roger is at his father's side, and Thomas has thrown aside his books to join the group. 'Molton, my chaplain,' is doubtless there, 'my olde porter William Winter, Elizabeth Denham, Dorothy Johnson, Lilian Clopton,' and many others, all on the tiptoe of expectation; the old lord dressed in one of his two best gowns of black velvet, which he has himself described, 'the one faced with sables, the other faced with unshorn velvett, having tenne pairs of square agletts of gold uppon the sleves of the same gowns,' and wearing round his neck 'the grett cheyne of fyne golde which my wieff did give me before my marriadge with her.' His neatly trimmed hair and beard, warm in colour once, must be touched with silver now; his figure, never above the middle height, a little bent perhaps, and thinner than of yore. But he is the same man still, as he looks straight out of his full dark eyes from under their high arched brows, and listens to the dull roar of many voices, gathering strength as the cavalcade draws near, until the sudden clamour of the trumpets breaks in and masters

all, and he catches the first glimpse of the heralds in their coat-armour, all glorious in a July sun. And now the Queen with all her brilliant train comes clattering into Charterhouse Yard.

We are told how the royal guest tarried at Lord North's house until the thirteenth of July, 'when she took her way from thence to Clerkenwell over the fields unto the Savoy to Mr. Secretary Cecyll, where she supped. Here her Council waited on her, with many Lords, Knights, and Ladies, and great cheer (was) made till midnight, and then her Grace rode back to the Charterhouse, where she lay that night. And the next day she departed thence on her Progress into Essex; and the chief streets of the city being renewed with fresh sand and gravel for her equipage, she passed from the Charterhouse through Smithfield under Newgate; and so along St. Nicholas Shambles, Cheapside, Cornhill, into Aldgate and Whitechapel. All the houses were hung with cloth of arras and rich carpets and silk, but Cheapside was hung with cloth of gold and silver and velvets of all colours, all the crafts of London standing in their liveries, from St. Michael the Quern as far as to Aldgate. The cavalcade was after this manner: first, serving men riding; then the Queen's Pensioners, Gentlemen, Knights, the Aldermen in scarlet, the Sergeants of Arms, the Heralds in their coat-armour,

then my Lord Mayor bearing the sceptre, then the Lord Hunsdon bearing the sword, and then came the Queen's Grace, and her footmen richly habited; the Ladies and Gentlewomen followed; after all, the Lord's and Knight's men in their masters' liveries, and at Whitechapel the Lord Mayor and Aldermen took their leave of her Grace; and so she took her way towards Essex, and I suppose lodged that night at Wansted House (the Earl of Leicester's) in the Forest.'

There is but one more event of importance to chronicle in North's life. At some uncertain date before the commencement of 1563, he took to wife, Margaret, daughter of Richard Butler, a widow already thrice married. All this lady's known history is thus quaintly set forth in her epitaph:

'Lo here the Lady Margaret North,
In Tombe and Earth doth lye;
Of Husbands foure the faithfull Spouse,
Whose fame shall never dye.
One Andrew Fraunces was the first,
The second Robert hight,
Surnamed Chartsey, Alderman;
Sir David Brooke, a Knight,[1]

[1] Lord Chief Baron of the Exchequer. On the day after Queen Mary's coronation, he and others, says Machyn, 'were dobyd Knights of the Carpet.' He appears to have borne a high character. His favourite maxim was, 'Never do anything by another that you can do by yourself.'

Was third. But he that passed all,
And was in number fourth,
And for his vertue made a Lord,
Was call'd Sir Edward North.
These all together doe I wish
A joyfull rising day:
That of the Lord, and of His Christ,
All honour they may say.

'Obiit 2 die Juni, An. Dom. 1575.'[1]

It will be seen that Lady North survived her husband ten years. She was buried in the chancel of the Church of St. Lawrence, Jewry, by the side of her third husband, but no trace of her tomb remains, the building having been entirely destroyed in the fire of 1666.[2]

Margaret, Lady North, was a rich woman, bringing her husband 'howshold stuff and ymplements of housewifre, beddinge and other utensils,' besides 'landes tenements and other hereditaments lyinge in London, Southwerk, Chertsey and elsewhere.' But this marriage, unromantic as it seems, North could hardly have made for money; his fortune had placed him above such a temptation; he needed nothing for himself, nor did he seek to further his children's interests by the connexion, since he left to his widow absolutely,

[1] Stow's *Survey of London*, book iii. p. 45.

[2] The remains of those who had been buried in it were re-interred under the site of the North aisle. The Church of St. Lawrence was rebuilt by Sir Christopher Wren.

all she had brought him, with some additional gifts as tokens of his affection. But he was all alone: his two sons were out in the world, and Christian, his only surviving daughter, was married to the Earl of Worcester. He had no housewife to order his domestic affairs in the old accustomed way, no kindly hostess to welcome his guests to the Charterhouse, where—near to London as it was—there must have been many coming and going. He must greatly have felt the lack of helpful companionship.

The short space of life now left him was devoted to the management of his private concerns. His unusually long and curious Will, executed in March 1563 must alone have taxed his time and thoughts considerably. In it he expresses his desire to be buried at Kirtling, 'beside my well-beloved wife, dressed as shall seem most meet to mine Executors; the expenses about the same I do refer likewise wholly to the discretion of my said Executors, requiring and instantly desiring them so to order it that the same may be to the glory of Almighty God and to the relief and comfort of the poor and needy people there (Kirtling) and in the place where it shall please Almighty God that I shall end this transitory life.'

The executors to this Will were Sir William Cordell, Master of the Rolls, Sir James Dyer, Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, Richard Alington and William Thornton. Of his estates,

North made an entail said to be of unusual strictness considering the law and custom of the time; leaving a remainder after his own family to that of his cousin, Edward of Walkringham. Collins writes, 'He might have made a greater addition to his fortune than what he left, had he not been a person of very great integrity.'[1] No contingency seems to have been unprovided for and no one forgotten, from the Duke of Norfolk and the Earl of Leicester, who were to receive each a silver cup, to Richard Milner the carpenter, who was to be forgiven all his debts and duties and to receive a legacy into the bargain. North left his son and successor, Sir Roger, his 'Parliament Robe,' 'Besechynge Almightie God most humbly to blesse him, and to give unto him His grace trulie and faithfullie to serve the Queen's Majestie and this Realme, and to beware of pride and prodigal expenses, and to live with poore honestie and so to dye, to the comfort of himself wyeff and children and frendes.' Sir Roger's daughter, Mary, was to have £100 on her marriage, 'so as she be not married before she shall accomplishe the age of sixtene yeres.' The executors were directed to sell the Charterhouse if expedient, for the payment of the very numerous bequests, funeral and other charges; and in the event of their doing so, £400 of the sum so raised was to be applied to the payment of Sir Roger's debts. In pursuance of

[1] Collins' *Historical Peerage*, vol. iv. p. 455.

these instructions, the older portion of the Charterhouse was sold in 1565 to Thomas, Duke of Norfolk, for £2,500, while the house which North had built for his own use was reserved as a family residence for some generations later.

Lord North died at the Charterhouse, December 31, 1564, and was buried in a chapel he had himself built, adjoining the chancel of Kirtling Church. A black marble monument was placed over his tomb by his executors, bearing this inscription :

'Serva Fidem,
Edvardum finxit Northum natura beatum,
Addidit et magnas gracia Regis opes.
Providus et sapiens claros suscepit honores,
Et tamen in tanto comis honore fuit.
Quæ natura dedit, quæ gracia principis auxit
Omnia mors una sustulit atra dies.
Qui obiit ultimo Decembris
Anno Domini 1564.'

On the screen of the chapel was carved this legend :—

'Orate pro bono statu Edvardis Northe et Alicie Northe.'

ROGER, SECOND LORD NORTH.

From the collection of Lord North.

ROGER, SECOND LORD NORTH

'It is better to see learning in noble men's lives, than to reade it in philosophers' writings.'—Sir Thomas North.

(Introduction to North's 'Plutarch.')

CHAPTER VI

It is difficult even in the romantic age of Elizabeth to find a more picturesque figure than that of Roger, Lord North. Born in 1530, his boyhood was passed we know not how, but it seems probable that like others of his family he was sent to Peterhouse, Cambridge, to which College his father had been so large a benefactor. Be this as it may, it is evident that he received not only a thorough physical training, but a considerable share of mental culture; such an education as would have fulfilled the ideal of Sir Humphrey Gilbert, who held that a boy's upbringing should be such that 'all the nations of the world shall know and say, that when the face of an English gentleman appeareth, he is either a soldier, a philosopher, or a gallant courtier.' We shall see that young Roger became something of all these.

He was early introduced to the Court, in which it is believed he was a page of honour,[1] entering

[1] This is not incompatible with his having spent some time at Cambridge, for in his day boys were started on a University

freely and eagerly into its amusements, especially that of tilting, in which he soon learnt to excel. It was a very costly one as then practised, and his expenditure in this and other ways seems to have been a source of no little concern to his cautious and business-like father, upon whose purse he made pretty heavy demands. A fine portrait,[1] the property of Lord North, represents him while yet a mere stripling, as he appeared at a mimic joust which took place in Greenwich Park, the combatants being on foot. He wears round his left arm a scarf of red silk, which, according to tradition, was tied there by Queen Elizabeth's own hands.[2]

The various sports and manly exercises common to the youth of the day seem to have satisfied Roger up to the age of about twenty-five, when he went a-courting to Winifred, the widowed daughter of Richard, Lord Rich, and shortly after

career very early in life. Instances are even recorded of scholars matriculating at ten or eleven years of age.

[1] The hair in this portrait is of a dark auburn.

[2] The Queen was still a Princess when this mimic joust took place, and there appears to be some doubt as to the precise occasion on which the decoration was bestowed. It has been suggested that this might have been at the grand tournament, described elsewhere, held during the year of the Queen's coronation, and that the scarf might have been painted into the picture afterwards. Instances are not infrequent in which decorations of other kinds are known to have been added to pictures of earlier dates than those on which the honours were conferred; when the man was decorated, his portrait was decorated too.

took this lady to wife. Her first husband, Sir Henry Dudley,[1] eldest son of John, Earl of Warwick, afterwards Duke of Northumberland, had been slain at the siege of Boulogne at the age of nineteen.

The young widow had doubtless been thrown much into Roger's society, owing to the association of their respective fathers as joint Chancellors of the Court of Augmentations. Winifred was evidently a lady who preferred home life to the

[1] This Sir Henry Dudley must not be mistaken for Warwick's sixth son, also Sir Henry. According to Banks, Warwick had thirteen children, of whom two were named Henry and two Katherine. In Banks's *Dormant and Extinct Baronage*, vol. iii. p. 571, occurs the following entry: 'John Dudley, Earl of Warwick (afterwards Duke of Northumberland). His wife was Jane, daughter and heir* of Sir Edward Guilford, Knight, by whom he had eight sons† and five daughters, viz. Henry, who died at Boloin; John, who had the title of Earl of Warwick in his father's lifetime; Ambrose, afterwards Earl of Warwick; Robert, who became Earl of Leicester; Guilford, who married the Lady Jane Grey and was beheaded; another Henry, who married Margaret, daughter and heir of Thomas Lord Audley of Walden, and was slain at the siege of St. Quintin; Charles, who died a child.‡ The daughters were: Mary, who married Sir Henry Sidney, K.G.; Katherine, who married Henry Hastings, Earl of Huntingdon; Margaret, Temperence, and another Katherine.'

* She succeeded, on the death of her brother, Sir Henry Guilford, Comptroller of the Household to King Henry the Eighth, Sir Henry having died childless.

† It has been repeatedly stated that Warwick had only five sons: John, Ambrose, Robert, Guilford, and Henry.

‡ *Sic.* Banks accounts for only seven sons.

atmosphere of Courts, so we can learn very little about her. She bore her husband two sons, John and Henry, and a daughter, Mary, who died unmarried.

Roger soon began to take part in public affairs. In 1555 he was elected Knight of the Shire for the county of Cambridge, and sat for the same county in the Parliaments of 1558 and 1563, continuing to represent it until in 1564 he went up to the House of Lords. From his early years he had lived much in the eye of the Court, and the comely youth who had so well acquitted himself in the lists stood well with the Queen as a man. She dubbed him a Knight of the Bath among those created at her coronation,[1] and in the same year his name appears in the list of 'Officers of the Queen's Privy Chamber,' an appointment for which he received a salary of £30 per annum. This first year of the Queen's accession was one of boundless festivity; it was signalised not only by the conferring of many honours, but by many of those brave shows in which she and her people so greatly delighted. Among these was a grand tournament in Greenwich Park on July 10, in which Sir Roger was one of the three challengers. It is thus described by Churchyard:

'The tenth of the same month, the Queen being still at Greenwich, well knew how pomps and

[1] January 15, 1559.

shews, especially military, with her own presence thereat, delighted her subjects, and perhaps herself too. Now therefore was set up in Greenwich Park a goodly banqueting-house for her Grace, made with fir poles and decked with birch branches and all manner of flowers, both of the field and garden, as roses, July flowers, lavender, marygolds, and all manner of strewing herbs and rushes: there were also set up tents for the kitchen, and for the officers against tomorrow, with provisions laid in of wine, ale, and beer. There was also made up a place for the Queen's Pensioners, who were to run with spears. The challengers were three, the Earl of Ormond, Sir John Perrot, and Mr. (Sir Roger) North; and there were likewise defendants of equal valour, with launces and swords.' [1]

Though active and energetic in a marked degree, Sir Roger was not, in his early manhood, constitutionally strong. In February 1559 we 1559
find Sir William Cecil writing to Archbishop Parker [2] to beg that the bearer of the letter, Sir Roger North, might have a dispensation from fasting in Lent 'in consideration of his evil estate of health, and the danger that might follow if he should be restrained to eating of fish.' The observance of fast, or as they were then called 'fish-days,' was strictly enforced during the

[1] Nichols' *Progresses of Queen Elizabeth.*
[2] *Petyt MSS.*, Inner Temple, No. 47.

Reformation period and for some time afterwards, as a measure of civil policy, in order to husband the very slender meat supply of the country, for the encouragement of the fishing industry, and 'the breeding up of sea-faring men.' Cecil, himself among the staunchest of Protestants,[1] none the less firmly insisted on compliance with this law; a fact to which he makes reference in a postscript to the letter above mentioned. 'Your Grace seeth, notwithstanding my earnest conference with you in these matters, I am, in probable cases, moved to relent.' Penalties were enforced by the municipal authorities for killing, cooking, or eating flesh at such seasons; for the first offence, ten shillings, for the second, twenty shillings and imprisonment; towards the end of Queen Elizabeth's reign, the higher fine reached three pounds. Owing to the vast tracts of forest then existing, and the consequently inconsiderable acreage available for pasture, the supply of meat was exceedingly limited, and so impossible was it to maintain the whole of the live stock through the winter, that the greater number of the sheep and cattle were killed in the autumn and salted down for winter use,[2] with the result that the poor were then largely

[1] de Spes, the Spanish Ambassador, wrote to King Philip that Cecil was 'indescribably crazy in his zeal for heresy.'

[2] The meat when salted was commonly covered with pig's lard, hence the building in which it was stored received the name of larder.

dependent for their food on salt meat or upon fish, which, owing to difficulties of transit, must, in the inland counties at least, have reached them either salted, or often not absolutely fresh.[1]

[1] May not the prevalence of leprosy in England in those days have been due to this cause ?

CHAPTER VII

Although during his earlier years, tilting and other amusements claimed an important share of Sir Roger's time, ere long there began to unfold before him a series of events destined to solidify his character and to develop all
1564 its latent worth. When in 1564 his old father passed away, his own succession to the title and family estates plainly filled him with a new sense of responsibility; the manly sports and courtly graces of his youth, though not indeed abandoned, henceforth were to be the ornament rather than the business of his life, 'but as the work of his left hand.' He took to heart his father's last injunction to 'beware of pride and prodigal expenses,' and set himself diligently to the management of his estates. It would have done the old man's heart good, could he have known that the carefully kept 'Booke of Household Charges' of Roger, Lord North, was some centuries later not only to be reckoned among the choice treasures of the historical

antiquary, but to furnish valuable data to the political economist.

In 1568 North was elected Alderman and Free Burgess of the town of Cambridge, and was presented on the occasion by the Corporation with the customary presents, which in this case consisted of 'a marchpane and a pottle of ippocras.' [1] These marchpanes, or cakes of almond paste, of which we read so constantly, were commonly presented as complimentary gifts at any important ceremonial,[2] and were often fashioned into the semblance of castles, temples, and other fanciful devices. They seem to have been indispensable at every great feast in those days, and were much in favour as New Year's presents to the Queen. It strikes one as a little unfair that, while the Alderman himself only received a 'pottle of ippocras, Lady North's allowance was a gallon; besides this, she had a marchpane all to herself, and 'a box of fine wafers.'

The keen eye of the Queen had marked North as a man fit to shine in a wider sphere than that of the tiltyard, and she began to turn his talents

[1] Hippocras, red wine mingled with spices and other ingredients; named after Hippocrates.

[2] When Sir John North was made Alderman and Free Burgess of Cambridge, he received 'a marchpane, a gallon of ippocras, a gallon of white wine, a gallon of claret wine, and a sugar-loaf, the charge whereof was thirty-eight shillings and ninepence.' White sugar had only lately been imported for the first time by Bristol merchants, and sugar-loaves were highly esteemed as presents.

to good account by employing him on various diplomatic missions. The first of these was in
1568 1568, when he was sent with the Earl of Sussex [1] on an embassy to Vienna to invest the Emperor Maximilian the Second with the order of the Garter.[2] Maximilian's brother, the Archduke Charles, was then paying court to the Queen, and it was said that North, in the interest of Leicester, with whom, as we have seen, he was connected through his wife's first marriage, sought to discourage the Archduke's suit by putting forth an opinion that Elizabeth would never marry; but this appears hardly probable, for North and Leicester were not at this stage on very friendly terms, though they afterwards became so. Leicester had nothing to hope from the good offices of Sussex, who was never his friend in this or any other matter. The favourite's insolent pretensions at this time knew no bounds; they had for years been a standing grievance with the nobles and courtiers, and de Quadra,[3] who watched the minutest doings at Court with a quite feline subtlety and intensity, wrote to his master, 'I think this hatred of Lord Robert will continue, as the Duke (of Norfolk) and the rest of them cannot put up with his being King.' On another occasion de Quadra spoke of

[1] Thomas Radcliffe, third Earl of Sussex.

[2] There is a portrait of the Emperor at Wroxton, presented by him to Lord North on this occasion.

[3] Alvaro de Quadra, Bishop of Aquila, Spanish Ambassador to England.

him as 'the King that is to be.' His ambition seemed in truth to be not without warrant: nevertheless the present aspect of affairs caused him no little anxiety, and he lost no opportunity of throwing discredit on the Archduke's suit. Said he, 'No good Englishman would allow the Queen to marry a foreigner.'

North remained for five months at the Court of Vienna,[1] and on his return to England was entrusted with the Archduke's portrait to present to the Queen. Castiglione, in a letter to Lord Cobham, describes how, on the evening of North's 1566
arrival, Elizabeth called him after prayers into her private chamber opening out of the Oratory, conversed long with him, and having looked at the picture, ordered that it should be framed, but, adds Castiglione sarcastically, 'as yet she does not wish it to be seen, fearing, no doubt, lest its beauty should dazzle the minds and sight of others.'[2] Elizabeth no more meant business in the case of the Archduke than in that of any other of her many suitors, but was hard pressed just then by her ministers and by both Houses of Parliament, either to marry or to name a successor to the throne. While determined to do neither, she was keeping up the hollow pretence of favouring the Archduke's suit, in order to gain time and to

[1] Camden's *Annals*, done into English by R. N. Gent, book i. p. 85.

[2] *Calendar of Hatfield MSS.* part i. p. 356.

cajole her subjects into the belief that she intended at last to choose a husband.

Despite the family connexion between them, North and Leicester were at this time on unfriendly terms. The favourite's pretensions became more and more intolerable to the majority of the nobles, and North had ranged himself on their side, as we gather from the following extract from a letter of the Spanish Ambassador, Guzman de Silva:

'The ill feeling between the Duke of Norfolk and his party and the Earl of Leicester goes on increasing. The Duke is at his house, but he has powerful friends near the Queen. The Admiral[1] who belongs to Lord Robert's[2] party, and Lord North who is opposed to him, had high words some days ago, and if these people were not very cool headed, something serious might be expected to come of it, as they fear here. I, however, have no such apprehension considering the temper of the people.'[3]

North had been appointed a Commissioner of Musters for the county of Cambridge, and it seems that the zeal and energy with which he discharged his military duties sometimes brought him into collision with the civil powers. On one occasion he had threatened to enrol the

[1] Lord Howard of Effingham, Lord High Admiral of England.

[2] de Silva often refers to Leicester as 'Lord Robert' although he had been created Earl of Leicester in 1564.

[3] Guzman de Silva. London, May 11, 1566. *Spanish State Papers.* Record Office.

servants of scholars of the University for military duty. The Dons were indignant; appealing to the Lords of the Council they obtained a decision in their favour, and thenceforth the scholars' servants were privileged to exemption. It seems that the duties of a Commissioner of Musters included the furnishing forth of the Militia Bands; at least it is difficult to account on any other ground for a licence issued to North on one occasion 'to buy two thousand brode wollen cloths.'

His work as Commissioner seems to have kept 1569
him fairly busy, and fresh duties were soon entailed upon him by his appointment[1] as Lord Lieutenant and Custos Rotulorum of the county of Cambridge and the Isle of Ely, an office which in those days meant hard work. Just now, especially, there was plenty to do. Cecil believed that war with Spain was imminent, and England was not yet strong enough to defy her power. No means of defence was to be neglected, and the new Lord Lieutenant was directed by him to put the forces of the county in such order and readiness that they might be always prepared to serve at an hour's notice. But Philip was not yet ready to strike.

The laws of the day were of a harshness so extreme as to shock the more cultured moral sensibilities of our time, yet, as a magistrate, it was

[1] November 20, 1569.

North's duty to enforce them. About this time he sent a scholar who was charged with having used foul words to the Mayor, to stand for three hours upon the pillory and to give sureties for a hundred pounds, in default of this, both his ears would be cut off within nine days ; but the latter penalty was commuted to the nailing of one ear to the pillory for three hours, and eventually—at the request of the Vice-Chancellor—the sentence was reduced to standing in the pillory for three hours, without any further penalty being entailed on the offender.

It has been stated that North was employed on a mission to the Court of France during the reign of Charles the Ninth [1] and though details are not forthcoming, it appears highly probable that he accompanied Walsingham when sent as
1570 Ambassador Extraordinary in 1570, to strengthen the hands of the resident Ambassador, Sir Henry Norris, in his attempts to secure greater toleration for the Huguenots. For about two years from this time, no trace is to be found of North's presence in England, and Lloyd's statement that he spent two years in Walsingham's house, gives further warrant for the belief that this was the mission to which he was attached. It is likely that he stayed on in Paris for some portion of the time during which Walsingham filled the post of

[1] *Some Notes concerning the Life of Edward, first Lord North,* by Dudley, fourth Lord North.

resident Ambassador in succession to Sir Henry Norris. If this were so, he must have passed within the sanctuary of the English Embassy the awful night of St. Bartholomew.

The Queen Mother was during these years deeply involved in schemes for the furtherance of a marriage between her second son, Henri, Duke of Anjou, and Queen Elizabeth, who, for her part, was no more really serious in the reception of his suit than she had been in that of his brother Charles, and as she proved to be later, in that of his brother the Duke of Alençon. The subtle Walsingham was fitly matched against Catherine in her crafty game, and his house was the very best of schools for a rising diplomatist.[1]

On North's return to England he was called upon to face a duty of a very painful sort. When Thomas, Duke of Norfolk, was charged with high treason for complicity in the Ridolfi plot, North was one of the six and twenty peers who, with the Earl of Shrewsbury as president, were summoned to Westminster Hall at two days' notice to sit on the trial. Conducted as State prosecutions then were, the Duke's sentence was a foregone conclusion. He had been a prisoner for eighteen weeks, during which time he had been denied the use of books and the advice of friends or of Counsel; while the Crown lawyers came primed with incriminating papers and well prepared 1572

[1] 'He saw all men, but no man saw him,' said Lloyd.

arguments. It was only on the eve of his trial that he learnt it was to take place on the following day, and not until he appeared at the bar did he learn the precise nature of the charges against him. He was guilty, as he himself afterwards confessed, yet the story of his trial and execution must move men's pity to the end of time. It could hardly have been unmoved that his peers heard his parting 'Fare ye well, my Lords,' as he turned from the bar, and saw the gentleman-jailer precede instead of follow his prisoner, shouldering the 'axe of death' with its edge turned towards him, according to the grim fashion of the day. The Earl of Sussex, a connexion of the Duke's family, was among the peers who sat on his trial, and Norfolk, knowing that his execution was a certainty, had already made a will in which he directed that his best George and Garter should be given to Sussex.

CHAPTER VIII

North's life was now a busy one, and already a fresh field of energy was opened to him by his appointment to the High Stewardship of the town of Cambridge. What were the precise duties of this official in the old days it is difficult to determine, but he was plainly a person of much importance in the town, holding sway over the civic authorities, and acting in some sort as a civil Governor. We shall meet with him later in the exercise of these powers.

Meanwhile he had plenty to occupy both time and thoughts at home. His sons were now of an age to need his help and counsel for their start in life. John, the eldest, was at Cambridge, and it is probable that Henry also spent some time at College before entering upon an adventurous career. In 1572 we find John senior Master of Arts of his year, a position he owed to the influence of Burghley, exerted at his father's request.[1] The boy could not have been sixteen when he received

1572

[1] *State Papers Domestic*, Eliz. vol. v.

this degree; a strangely youthful M.A. he seems to us now, but it must be remembered that in his day and long after, students were entered at the Universities at a very early age. It was not unusual to matriculate at twelve, or even earlier, and common to do so at from fourteen to fifteen. The standard was, of course, lower, and evidently a University course could be completed very early in life.

North had not been more than two years at home after his return from Paris, when he was charged with a very important and, as it proved, a difficult mission to the French Court, to which he was accredited as Ambassador Extraordinary on the death of Charles the Ninth, for the purpose of presenting letters of condolence to the Queen
1574 Mother and of congratulation to Henry the Third on his accession to the throne.[1] Besides the merely ceremonial duties entrusted to him, North was charged with the more serious and delicate task of urging upon the King the conclusion of peace with the Huguenots, together with a larger measure of toleration for them in the future, and of pressing for the renewal of the Treaty of Blois, first concluded in 1572; providing that the sovereigns of England and France should assist one another on every occasion and for every cause. The Ambassador was to beg the pardon of the Huguenot Marshals Montmorency and de Cossé,

[1] *Calendars of State Papers Foreign*, Eliz.

who since their implication in the Coconnas plot, had been lying in the Bastille under the Queen Mother's displeasure. In this suit he had the support of the Duke of Alençon, who had constituted himself the champion of the Huguenots, but whose influence went for very little with the King or with his mother, who both disliked and distrusted him.

North was further commissioned to move the King to intervene on behalf of the Princess Charlotte of Bourbon. This poor lady, though strongly inclined towards the reformed faith, had been forced before attaining the canonical age to take upon herself religious vows, and had been immured in the Convent of Jouarre, of which she had been made Abbess. Having succeeded in making her escape, she had taken refuge at the Court of the Elector Palatine,[1] a step which so enraged her father, the Duke of Montpensier, that he refused to hold any communication with her and denied her all means of support. Another matter with which North was charged was that of advocating the interests of the English merchants, to obtain for them some further privileges in regard to their trade with France; this we are told he did very earnestly, 'bringing with him a particular discourse which contained little lack of two quires of paper.'

Here the Ambassador's avowed duties ended,

[1] Frederick III, surnamed 'The Pious.'

but he had others of a less tangible kind, needing no small delicacy and tact. He was charged not to be too cordial to the Duke of Alençon, then a suitor for Queen Elizabeth's hand; some ordinary salutation only was to be used towards him, and a like reticence was to be observed towards the King and Queen of Navarre. In his secret instructions from Walsingham it is set forth that 'to Mauvissière'[1] he (North) 'shall not do amiss to use him such speech as to induce him to believe him more French than Spanish, for that the Frenchman is a good fellow, frank of nature, whereas the Spaniard is proud, and so insolent as naturally the Englishmen abhor him, and that therefore he thinketh the amity of France more necessary than that of Spain.' On the other hand North is enjoined that 'if he find the House of Guise bear the great sway in Court, it will be necessary for him, after the Spanish Ambassador has been to visit him, to seek some apt means to have frequent conference with him, to nourish a jealousy of some straight amity between England and Spain.'[2] It will be seen that in setting forth for the Court of France, the Ambassador was launched upon a sea of intrigue; it needed no common man

[1] Michael de Castelman Sieur de Mauvissière (b. about 1520, d. 1592) was a distinguished general and statesman. He was twice sent as ambassador of France to England.

[2] *Calendars of State Papers Foreign*, Eliz.

to steer clear of the rocks and shoals which now beset him.

Before leaving London, North paid a visit to the French Ambassador, La Mothe Fénélon, and the two held a long conversation, but it does not appear that much business was discussed. Many were the compliments and professions of friendship made by the two diplomatists on behalf of their respective sovereigns. North dwelt much on the good intentions the Queen his mistress had towards King Henry of France; how earnestly she desired to maintain a solid peace with him, and to keep inviolably the firm friendship then existing between herself and the Queen Mother and her children; he felt sure that could he adequately fulfil the mission his royal mistress had entrusted to him, the Queen Mother would be amply satisfied. For all which the Frenchman thanked him with much effusion, and after many ornamental speeches and some little further discourse, 'milord de North' [1] was bowed out.

[1] *Correspondence diplomatique de Bertrand de Salignac de la Mothe Fénélon*, vol. vi. p. 255.

CHAPTER IX

It was autumn when North set sail for France; the Court was then at Lyons, and thither he and his following journeyed on horseback, some part of the retinue having gone before. He had among his suite a very able workfellow, to wit, his brother Thomas, who was, as we know, a notable French scholar. La Mothe Fénélon had written in advance to Messieurs de Gourdan and de Calliac, plainly persons of note, requesting that they would give the Ambassador an honourable reception and accommodate him with horses in Picardy. Fénélon also wrote to the Queen Mother begging her to give orders that the English Embassy might be hospitably entertained and furnished with horses for the remainder of the journey, and that on his arrival, Lord North might be graciously received by her Majesty herself, for, said Fénélon, the English people will argue much as to her Majesty's intentions from the manner in which the Ambassador may be received.[1]

[1] *Dépêches de la Mothe Fénélon*, vol. vi. p. 252.

North's arrival had been anxiously awaited by Dr. (afterwards Sir Valentine) Dale, sometime Master of the Requests,[1] then resident Ambassador at the Court of Henry III. Dale hoped much for the oppressed Huguenots from the intervention of 'so meet a man,' believing that North's presence would give them heart, and that it might result in some important steps in the direction of peace, though 'it is doubted lest the King will dally with all men by talk of peace and in the meantime get the advantage of corrupting some of the heads: or by surprise.'[2] The Queen Mother and her son were looking no less anxiously than Dale for the Ambassador's coming, yet with no friendly eyes. His departure for the French Court had been delayed beyond their expectation, and they were disposed to seek the cause in some untoward change of policy on the part of Elizabeth. But his arrival shortly afterwards lulled their suspicions and called forth a display of friendliness as demonstrative as it was false. La Mothe Fénélon's counsels had not been wasted upon Catherine. Both she and the

[1] The Master of the Requests was an officer of the Queen's household, and had no connexion with the ancient Court of Requests then existing. It was his business to receive and answer all private petitions made to the Queen, and he had an office hard by the Court Gates. Burghley, as he himself told Camden, was the first to hold the post, when in the household of the Protector Somerset. Camden's *Annals*, Englished by R. N. Gent, book iv. p. 495.

[2] *Calendars of State Papers Domestic*, Eliz.

King received the Ambassador with the greatest distinction, and employed towards him all the blandishments they so well understood how to use. His perfect mastery of the Italian tongue stood him in good stead, for both mother and son took pleasure in conversing with him in it.[1] He was at first favourably impressed, and wrote in warm terms of the honourable manner of his reception and of the gracious and dignified bearing of the King; Thomas also sent home a glowing report. Touching the remarks of the brothers upon the war with the Huguenots, La Mothe Fénélon writes to the King, 'they might have said less and written less, and have spared the truth, but they have spoken straightforwardly and have expressed their firm belief that while you have good inclinations towards peace, you have not omitted a single provision necessary for an effectual war; in all which things you are proceeding day by day and succeeding according to your desire. Nevertheless they foresee you will have great difficulties in this war.'

Soon after his arrival at Lyons, North was entertained at a grand Court Ball, and the Queen Mother, who was quite in the humour just then to do him honour, placed him beside her.[2] The two sat watching and discussing the gay scene, and as the minstrels were piping and thrumming

[1] *Cal. State Papers Foreign*, Eliz. Dale to Walsingham.
[2] Martin Hume, *Courtships of Queen Elizabeth*, p. 181.

for all they were worth, Alençon led out his pretty sister Marguerite to dance. To say he was bred in such a Court, is to say that he was a graceful and finished dancer, and it must have been good to see the couple treading a measure in those brilliant surroundings, amid the glitter of jewels and the soft shimmer of cloth of gold. As North's eyes followed the beautiful Queen of Navarre, Catherine drew his attention from her to Alençon. 'He is not so ugly nor so ill-favoured as they say; do you think so?' North could but return a courtier-like answer, and the Queen went on, 'It is from no fault on our part that the marriage with your mistress has not taken place.'

Alençon, though well formed and lithe of limb, was otherwise not favoured by Nature, and was now greatly disfigured by a recent attack of smallpox. This defect, to which Elizabeth constantly referred with repugnance, diminished whatever chance he might have had as her suitor. Catherine and the King, on their part, had very good cause to desire anything that would take Alençon out of France; he was of a mischievous and turbulent disposition, and his presence at Court always meant a stirring up of the waters of strife. Given two such characters as his own and Elizabeth's, we may feel assured that the projected marriage, had it come to pass, would soon have resulted in a fine display of fireworks.

All went smoothly for awhile. But Elizabeth's

Ambassadors were not deceived by the wiles of 'Madame la Serpente';[1] they knew that she and her son were playing a treacherous game, seeking to hoodwink them with a hollow profession of friendship, while giving secret encouragement to their Sovereign's enemies; more especially to the Scottish faction. Dale writes, 'they make fair weather till their own storms be past,' and true enough, they soon threw off the cloak of hypocrisy which had so poorly furnished their disguise. North shrewdly suspected that the Queen Mother's overdone flatteries and exaggerated praise of Elizabeth's beauty and accomplishments were spoken in covert derision, and this is not difficult to believe. These keen-witted, ambitious women, each playing for her own hand, and plunged to the hilt in intrigue, could never really be friends; those first compliments and honeyed words were but the salute before the duel. Both nature and circumstance had long ago proclaimed war between them, and so it is that wherever the names of these imperious Queens are linked together, we seem to hear the clash of arms. England, while possessing all the elements of greatness, was not yet great; the defeat of the Spanish Armada had yet to raise her above the

[1] Maisonfleur, who had been sent by Alençon with letters to Elizabeth, wrote to the Duke from England addressing him as 'Lucidor,' and designating the Queen Mother as 'Madame la Serpente.' Martin Hume, *Courtships of Queen Elizabeth.*

level of a second-rate power in Europe, and her demands were now treated with indifference, and almost with contempt, by the most contemptible of Kings. Moreover, all the influence of the Guises was thrown into the balance against her, so that on the whole her position at the Court of France was not a very commanding one.

North found a very able and loyal supporter in the resident Ambassador, but his task was none the less a hard one. Catherine de Medicis held complete sway over the King, or, as Dale's secretary Wilkes has it, 'The Queen Mother's pestiferous counsel enchants him.' Referring to the treacherous and shifty policy of Henry and his mother, and the difficulty of North's position in regard to them, Dale exclaims, 'God help the poor man that shall deal with them in matters alone!' They took small pains to conceal their enmity. Wilkes was in the King's ante-chamber just before North had his second audience, and was suffered to overhear some remarks of the King 'which tended to a kind of scorning, and how the Queen of England was not so dangerous a creature as she was deemed, and how this English Ambassador had brought him many fair terms from his mistress, and—with a kind of flouting countenance—that she was not to be feared, and so forth.' [1]

[1] *Calendars of State Papers: Domestic*, Eliz. Wilkes to Walsingham.

Things went from bad to worse ; the gentlemen of the English Embassy complained that in order to show contempt of their royal mistress and to humiliate themselves, the Duke of Guise had in a rude manner desired them, when at Court, to stand uncovered on some occasion when it was not customary to do so, and had used towards them such words and gestures that had they been anywhere else they would have known how to answer him. They averred that with the exception of the Comte de Charny, who had shown them much courtesy, no gentleman of the French Court had saluted or conversed with a single member of their legation, or had shown them any signs of goodwill. The insolence of the King and his mother knew no bounds. It was reported to North that two female dwarfs dressed in imitation of his royal mistress had been introduced into Catherine's chamber, where they had been incited to mimic Elizabeth for the amusement of the Queen Mother and her ladies. To crown all, a buffoon dressed in imitation of King Henry VIII was paraded before the Court in the presence of the Ambassador and his suite. With the cool impertinence so characteristic of the woman, the Queen turned towards him with a smile of derision, remarking that the fool was 'just like King Henry of England.' This was too much for North, and at once the angry Englishman within him broke forth. 'The tailors of France

ought to know how that great King was accustomed to dress, for he came over the sea divers times with banners flying, and made some noise among men here.' [1] One can almost see the look Catherine turned upon him at these words—anger, surprise, and then perhaps just a touch of amusement. The woman had a sharp and ready tongue, and withal a fund of shrewd common sense and a keen perception of humour. She could both give and take, and could ever appreciate a well-delivered thrust, albeit aimed at herself. Sometimes in the midst of a war of words, she would burst into a fit of laughter. So it may well be that North stood higher rather than lower in her esteem after this encounter.

Though Catherine and the King, and—for a time—their suite, treated the Ambassador with such scant courtesy, his wisdom and tact won him, in the end, golden opinions at the French Court. Dr. Dale writes, 'Lord North shows his good nature and virtue in all his doings. . . . He is taken in this Court for a perfect courtisan and wise man.' Leslie, Bishop of Ross, the Queen of Scots' agent, was at this time busily at work at the Court of France in his mistress's interest, and had presented a book to the King, 'full of pestilent persuasions to take upon himself the

[1] Referring to Henry's successful campaign of 1513, during which he took part in the famous 'Battle of the Spurs,' and the sieges of Terouenne and Tournay, as he did also in the siege and capture of Boulogne in 1544.

protection of the Scottish Queen.' A copy of this came into the hands of North, who urged upon the Bishop that such practices were likely to endanger not only his mistress's chances of liberty, but her life, and 'so charmed the Bishop' as wellnigh to persuade him to abandon his line of policy, 'sed simia semper erit simia' adds Dale.[1]

In November 1574 North set sail for England. His farewell to the Duke of Alençon is thus described to Queen Elizabeth by Dr. Dale. 'When Lord North took his leave, he had occasion conveniently to do his duty to Monsieur; said nothing but that he was to do him service. He (the Duke) said nothing, but wrung him by the arm, the old token between them, as one that would say "et cupio et timeo."'[2] But despite all his professions, it is not to be supposed that 'my little frog' as Elizabeth had jestingly named him, was at all more serious in his wooing than the Queen in her reception of his suit; 'Cette vielle' did not attract his youthful fancy. More than twenty years her junior, dissolute in habits and uncomely in features, he was in every way unfitted for the position the Queen Mother had, in furtherance of her own political ends, designed for him. Elizabeth had played fast and loose with both his brothers in turn, and was now carrying on the same game of empty coquetry with the little

[1] *Calendars of State Papers Domestic*, Eliz. [2] *Ibid.*

frog. Nothing was further from her mind than to yield one jot of her power into the hands of a husband. Sir James Melville [1] once put this fact before her very bluntly. 'Madam, I know your stately stomach; ye think if ye were married ye would be but Queen of England, and now ye are King and Queen both; ye would not suffer a commander.'

In spite of much discouragement, North's mission was not in the end unfruitful. The Marshals de Montmorency and de Cossé were set at liberty, the Princess Charlotte of Bourbon was, in 1575, formally released from her vows and permitted to marry the Prince of Orange, who had long been a suitor for her hand; and on April 30 in the same year, the King in the presence of Dr. Dale and of a number of dignitaries of France, 'laying his hand upon the Holy Gospel' solemnly renewed the treaty of Blois.

On North's return to England he lost no time in reporting to the Queen the indignities offered her in the persons of her Ambassador and his suite. Her anger was unbounded. She was then at Hampton Court, and straightway sent to London for La Mothe Fénélon. The poor man must have started on his journey with some anxious forebodings, for he knew the Queen was in a rage, and Queen Elizabeth in a rage was a perfect hurricane of a woman. He found her in her

[1] Ambassador of Mary, Queen of Scots, to England.

audience chamber attended by her council and ladies, and at once the storm burst upon him. She denounced the King and his mother in language truly Elizabethan. Raising her voice to a high pitch, to the end she might be heard of all, she permitted herself, writes Fénélon, to use some very coarse words; these he discreetly omits, but the Queen had plenty more to say. Listen to her strident tones as she denounces her enemy. 'If there had been any honour in the Queen your mistress, she could not have spoken with insults and derision of so honourable a prince as the late King Henry my father; I myself should be ashamed to speak in such a sort of her or of any prince soever; but Lord North has at any rate given her her answer,' repeating the spirited retort already quoted.[1]

Then up spoke Fénélon for the honour of his Queen; he, too, in a loud voice, to be heard of all the council and ladies. 'I answered her,' he says, very frankly, 'giving her back word for word.' 'There is no more honourable Princess under Heaven than my royal mistress; I declare and will maintain it, were it with my latest breath, that my Lord North neither saw nor heard, from her, from the King, from M. de Guise, nor from

[1] 'Le dict de North avoit aulmoins respondu que les tailleurs de France avoient peu sçavoyr le façon comme s'abilloit ce grand Roy, car quelques foys avoit il passé la mer a bonnes enseignes, et avoit bien, fait parler de luy par della.' *Dépêches de la Mothe Fénélon*, vol vi. pp. 320–335.

any other prince or noble of the Court, any such things as could be interpreted to the discredit of your Majesty, nor against the honour of the late King Henry your father, nor against the dignity of the English crown, and if my lord North or any others have given a different report, they have misunderstood matters; they have not conducted their negotiations in such a manner as is fitting between princes.'

'It came to my mind Sire,' writes Fénélon to the King, 'to demand of the said lady, that before I left her presence she should retract what she had said of the Queen your mother, or that she should give me my congé to leave her kingdom altogether; but remembering that the present state of your affairs would make such a course undesirable, and that it was the thing your enemies would most wish for, I followed a different course and remonstrated with the said lady.' [1]

La Mothe Fénélon's remonstrance was a very long-winded affair, and we may be sure that in the mouth of the angry Frenchman, it took the form of an impassioned declamation; it is a marvel how Queen Elizabeth ever sat through it all; perhaps she did not; far more likely she sprang from her seat, stamped her pretty foot, and launched forth from time to time a little declamation of her own; for when the Queen was in a temper, dignity was cast to the winds. But

[1] *Dépêches de la Mothe Fénélon*, vol. vi. pp. 320–335.

Fénélon managed to get in a good deal, and it seems so far succeeded, that in the end the Queen was in a measure calmed, and brought herself to send some amicable message to the Queen Mother. Fénélon wrote several despatches to the King and Catherine describing the heated passages between himself and Elizabeth, and angrily declaiming against 'milord de North et sa trouppe.' They had been malicious and had been primed by other malicious persons who desired to create an open breach between the sovereigns, and he had told Elizabeth that wise and prudent as she was, he wondered that she had allowed herself to be so deceived. Fénélon's fears of an open rupture were not without grounds. Elizabeth had threatened a declaration of war, and there were those among her council who would have welcomed any excuse for such a measure. But the wily Walsingham knew that in the present unprepared state of England's defences, such a step would be disastrous in the extreme, so he cast oil on the troubled waters, and at length the storm abated. The indignity Elizabeth most resented was that offered to her father's memory; she told Fénélon that she felt it to be a greater outrage than anything that had been said or done to her during all her life. She had a great admiration for King Henry, and prided herself on her resemblance to him in character.

ROGER, SECOND LORD NORTH.

From the collection of Lord North.

CHAPTER X

AFTER his return from the Court of France, North began to busy himself about the enlargement and improvement of the House in Charterhouse Yard which had been built by his father.[1] He set about putting the place thoroughly in order, as appears by the following list of charges for building and household stuff. 1576

The Charges of my Lords buildings at his howse in Charter House Yeard nere London, done there between ye last of August 1575, and the last of January 1576.

And also of the Howsehold stuff and other necessaries for ye same howse bought w^t^'in ye said tyme as appeareth more at large by p'ticler Bills th^re^of.

Buylding

Bricklayer	Pd. to the Bricklayers ..	lxviij li	xj s	ij d
Mason	Pd. to the free Masons..	xxxvj li	—	—
Carpenter	Pd. to the Carpenters .	xxxix li	xv s	—
Smyth	Pd. to the Smythes ...	xv li	xvj s	iij d
Joyner	Pd. to the Joyners	xxj li	xiv s	—
Plom'er	Pd. to the Plomer	x li	xiij s	vj d

[1] The ancient Monastery of the Charterhouse had been sold by the executors of Edward, Lord North, to Thomas, Duke of Norfolk, with the exception of that part of it which lay to the east of the Chapel.

Glasier	Pd. to the Glasier	v li	ix s	xj d
Tyler	Pd. for Bricke and Tyles	iij li	xj s	iiij d
Nayles	Pd. for Nayles	—	xxxiij s	v d
Lyme	Pd. for Lyme Sand and Lathe	—	xxxviij s	iij d
Pavying	Pd. for paving tyles and paving	iij li	iij s	viij d
Plastering	Pd. for Plastering	iiij li	vij s	—
Carriages	Carriage of gravell and rubbishe	—	xiiij s	—

Howsehold Stuffe

Napery	Pd. for Naperie	ix li	ij s	—
Sheets	Pd. for Sheetes	x li	xiij s	—
Pewter	Pd. for Pewtr vessell ...	—	lij s	—
Tables	Pd. for Tables, Cupboards, bedsteads & Stooles	xij li	xvj s	iiij d
Bedding	Pd. for feathrbedds, com'inge & othr bedding	xxiiij li	xiiij s	iiij d
Carpetts	Pd. for grene table carpetts.....	iij li	vij s	vj d
Hangings	Pd. for mending of hangings	iij li	—	—
Potts	Pd. for blackjacks and hall potts	—	xiij s	vj d
	Pd. for necessary howsehold stuff for ye kychen	—	xxxix s	vj d
Hangings &c.	Pd. for howsehold stuff bought of Mr. Halton	l li	ij s	iij d

R. North.

Sum' a tot' lis of the Charges of the sayd buyldings and Howsehold stuff bought within the said tyme ys.....	iijCxxvij li	xj s	—

About this time North seems to have been a good deal at Kirtling, but his days were not long

spent there in peace. It must have been soon after his return from France that the bitter quarrel first arose between himself and Bishop Cox of Ely. The Bishop had been in the habit, as Willis tells us,[1] of alienating for his own benefit, property belonging to his See, by granting leases of various lands and residences 'and so seems at first setting out not to regard what concessions he made to raise his fortune.' The Queen, who had a mind to the manor and park of Somersham in Huntingdonshire, addressed a conciliatory letter to him with her own hand, asking for a lease of the property for herself; but the Bishop, who had now had enough of such bargains, evaded the request. Here he was clearly in his right, but Elizabeth could not brook denial. She desired North to negotiate, and he sent to the Bishop a common friend—Mr. Poley—to open the matter. Poley, however, met with a flat and not too polite refusal, and the Bishop in the heated correspondence which followed, charged North and others with having instigated the Queen to ask for the lease for their own benefit. North indignantly replied that her Majesty desired it solely for herself, and there seems no reasonable ground for doubting his statement. Both were handy with their pens, and the language of both was hot and intemperate. The Bishop hurled forth wordy missiles against his foe; to use his own suggestive phrase, he

[1] Willis's *Survey of Cathedrals*, vol. iii. p. 357.

'was stirred up to write much after the manner of the Prophets.' Without putting North on quite so high a platform, it may be said that he wrote much after the manner of Bishop Cox, and if the attack was fiery, the 'fierce lord' knew how to defend himself. Meanwhile the Queen was hardly less incensed.[1] She was not a woman to be lightly turned from her purpose. North wrote of her, 'She is right King Henry hir father. For if anye strive with hir, all the Princes of Europe cannot make hir yelde.'[2]

This was not the first time the Queen had come into collision with Bishop Cox. Before the Papal excommunication had crystallised her somewhat nebulous faith into an aggressive Protestantism, she had observed in her private Chapel a high ritual, and the Bishop had refused to officiate in it on account of the crucifix and lighted candles. Elizabeth was at this time playing with negotiations for a marriage with the boy Don Carlos, Infante of Spain, and was desirous of conciliating the Catholic party. When Guzman de Silva, the Spanish Ambassador, complained that her clergy were preaching against such ornaments, she exclaimed angrily that she would order a crucifix to be placed in every Church in England.

[1] The letter beginning 'Proud Prelate,' purporting to have been written by Queen Elizabeth to the Bishop in connexion with this affair, was a daring, and, until lately, a very successful literary forgery.

[2] *Calendar of Hatfield MSS.*, pt. 2.

The Bishop's hostile attitude towards such proceedings, made her now all the more willing to give ear to various charges preferred against himself and his wife by some of their poorer neighbours, of covetous practices and harsh treatment of the poor. Strype supports the Bishop's accusation that North had from revengeful motives made himself the mouthpiece of the complainants, but his own statement on this point is sufficiently convincing. He shows that he did not enquire into the alleged grievances until commanded to do so, and that he was acting as the Queen's Commissioner in laying a report upon them before the Privy Council. He declared that everything he had done 'was by order of a person that he dared not to disobey.' Moreover when the first heat of anger had passed away, it is plain that his own kindly nature reasserted itself, for he offered to act as mediator between the Bishop and the Queen if the Bishop would redress the grievances of certain poor persons. In answer to other charges, of unthankfulness and want of charity, he stoutly affirmed that he never at any time received lands or other benefits from the Bishop without rendering a full equivalent in rents or other payments, with the exception of the High Stewardship of the Isle of Ely, an office from which the appointment of a Bailiff had 'wiped all the benefits,' and to which, though technically in the gift of the Bishop, he had really

been appointed by the Queen.[1] He thus narrows down the charge of ingratitude to the admitted fact that the Bishop at his request had spared a recusant neighbour of his 'who could never vouchsafe to come to God's service in the Church.' 'I mervayle,' says he, 'that your Lordship shameth not to throwe this in my dishe. . . . And if ye presse me I will tell you that that favour came not gratis.' He ends by thus exhorting his opponent. 'Shake off malice, use not revenge, and forgeve your brother.' But forgiveness did not come easily to Bishop Cox. Willis says of him, 'He was a person of a vindictive spirit,'[2] and North writes, 'When I here that the Bishopp of Ely hath forgeven any man, I will crie Nunc dimittis.'

Strype,[3] in his grossly partial account of this affair, has entered exhaustively into the Bishop's grievances, while failing to do justice to North. That the Bishop had been one of the leaders of the Reformation was enough for Strype, whose account of the affair many subsequent writers have been content to swallow without salt; but enquiry into other sources of information, makes his portrait of 'the good Bishop' almost unrecognisable, and presents in its place that of a nature

[1] *Calendars of State Papers Domestic*, vol. cv. North to Bishop Cox.

[2] Willis's *Survey of Cathedrals*, vol. iii. p. 357.

[3] *Annals of the Reformation*, vol. ii. pt. 2. p. 533 and appendix.

harsh, worldly, covetous, and revengeful. Sir John Harrington tells[1] how, when the Bishop had been made Chancellor of the University of Oxford by his pupil King Edward VI, its fine Library almost wholly disappeared. Several versions of this affair have been given, but perhaps the most charitable, as well as probable, is that of Wood, who writes of 'the mad work' the Bishop and the persons employed by him made, 'by burning the illuminated or depicted vellum books under pretext that they tended unto Popery or conjuration.' The Bishop, himself a man of vast learning, should have known better than to lay unholy hands on these priceless treasures, the destruction of which, together with other 'mad work' of himself and his subordinates, earned for him the name of 'Cancellor of the University.'

In the end Somersham was never surrendered by the Bishop. When on his death it actually fell into Elizabeth's hands, she retained it for her own enrichment, together with the whole of his episcopal estates, for fourteen years, during which time she neglected to fill up the vacant See. This fact is hardly compatible with the theory that she desired the estate in the first instance for the benefit of others. Why did she not, when it came into her possession, hand it over to them?

North had a private suit against the Bishop with regard to Downham, another property of the

[1] *A Brief View of the State of the Church of England.*

See, concerning a title which he claimed had been conveyed to him by the purchase of certain leases, but this was fairly tried and given against him. No blame seems to attach to either party to this action, however it may have served to embitter strife. The Bishop left a poor reputation behind him; some years after his death, his monument in Ely Cathedral was defaced by the people, on account, as it was averred, of his evil memory.[1] When we add to the evidence before us our general knowledge of North's character, surely we may say of him, as we might of any other tried friend against whom we heard some startling allegation, 'I cannot believe it! it is so unlike him'; and that this was so, we shall soon have very ample proof.

[1] Willis's *Survey of Cathedrals*, vol. iii. p. 359.

CHAPTER XI

When not engaged at Court or on diplomatic service, North appears to have spent most of his time at Kirtling. The picture which presents itself of his home life there is a very attractive one. His household accounts serve to throw a very interesting light upon his relations with his family and servants, as well as on his amusements and on countless domestic affairs. We find there was a large consumption of wax candles in that household. Then there was the black soap; how refreshing it sounds, how beautifying to the complexion! Stow, whose many wanderings through grimy old London must quite naturally have led his thoughts to the subject, says that in those days there was a grey soap speckled with white, 'very sweet and good.'[1] Why did not my lord buy some of that? He could have got it at that shop in Grass Street, at a penny a pound. But perhaps after all the black soap was only for household use.

[1] Stow's *Survey of London*, book iii. p. 15.

North must have been greatly beloved by his kinsfolk and retainers; the frequent entries of 'gifts and rewards,' speak of a large-hearted liberality to both. His brother Thomas came in for a goodly share, as well as Thomas's children, Edward and Bess, the said Bess being presented with sundry smocks, petticoats, fans, and other bits of finery, as well as more substantial gear; while Edward, among other benefactions, was furnished forth to visit my lord of Bedford. Then we find the kind-hearted master smoothing the way for the marriage of one servant, standing Godfather to the child of another, making sundry gifts at humble weddings and christenings, and giving presents to the 'Kitching Folk' when perhaps the poor souls had been working double tides for some great feast. He saw a good deal of his brother Thomas and his 'sister North' and their children, and when his sister North's visits to Kirtling were over, he would send her up to London in a litter and pay the cost.

The master of Kirtling had everything in it to make life pass pleasantly according to the fashion of the day; we may picture him and his friends disporting themselves in the green bowling alley so indispensable to every country house of his time, or in the 'artillery garden,' for so the archery ground was named in the olden

days.[1] But though in itself a goodly sport, pleasure was not wholly the end of this artillery practice. In those days, every male between the ages of seventeen and sixty was required to learn the use of the long-bow and arrows, and to practise once a week at the butts; for despite the now prevailing use of firearms, the long-bow was still held in esteem as an implement of war. Accordingly, on every village green there was a weekly gathering at which archers of divers ages would let fly under the critical eyes of the village fathers, every man of whom was a past-master in the art of bowmanship.

North had another source of delight in his 'ambling nagges,' with their infinite variety of trappings, and their saddles 'some motley' some covered with storks' skins, and others trimmed with velvet. These 'ambling nagges' were carefully trained to carry their master with graceful ease at such times as his mood did not impel him to prick forward at a 'Canterbury pace.' For teaching his horses to amble, he paid fourteen and fourpence, which of course means nine or ten times as much as now. Besides the nagges, there were his beautiful goshawks and falcons,

[1] See 1 Samuel xx. 40, for an example of the use of 'artillery,' as applied to bows and arrows. The word formerly signified not only weapons from which missiles were discharged, but every implement of warfare, including trumpets, drums, &c.

and one is sorry to add, quails for quail fighting, then a highly fashionable amusement. Albeit so familiar with the brilliant scenes of the tilt-yard, knights and their dames did not despise these Lilliputian jousts, which furnished some excitement in a leisure hour to gratify their love of sport. Sir Nigel of the White Company himself was not more pugnacious than are these lovely little fowl, and only those who have seen them join issue in battle can conceive the dash and spirit of the charge. When such pastimes grew wearisome, there were always the players, the minstrels, the piper, and the fool to while away an idle hour. North was a student too, and a lover of poetry, and he sometimes tried his hand at turning a verse himself. In a copy of Chaucer's 'Canterbury Tales,' once belonging to him, are to be found some lines to which his signature is attached; they are headed by the motto or maxim which he had chosen for himself: *Durum Pati.* These verses were evidently jotted down as mere fledgelings of fancy, awaiting maturer development, and are chiefly interesting as indicating the direction in which his thoughts were wont to travel, and as showing that he had something of his brother Thomas's love of scribbling. The following are the only ones worth reproducing :—

'Durum Pati' [1]

From love above, a spendyng breath
Is lent to us to lead our lyfe,
To live, to dye when hateful death
Shall rydd us hense and stynt oure stryfe.
My inward mane to heavenly thyngs would trade me
And styll thys fleash doth evermere dyssuade me.
R. NORTH.

These worldly joies that faier in sight apeares
Arr luring baits whereto oure minds we cast
Thrice blessed they that have repenting yeares
To hate their sinns and leve their follies past.
My inward mane to hevenly things would trade me
But aye this flesh doth still and still dissuade me.
R. N.

In trifling tales by poets told,
Whoe spends their time and beats their braine,
And leves good bookes that virtues hold,
Doth spare the strawe and spoile the graine,
Sotch folke build upp their howses in the sand
And leves God's trewth by which we ought to stand.
R. N.

[1] This must have been North's 'Impresa,' a personal motto which it was the fashion to adopt in the Elizabethan times, and which was frequently borne on their shields by combatants at a tournament. It seems to have been his habit to write it in his books; it is to be found, together with his signature, on the title page of a copy of Nowell's *Reproof* which belonged to him, and as will be seen later, it occurs in his epitaph. It was not the heraldic motto of his family, and was used by no other member of it than himself.

CHAPTER XII

North and his pen were busy for the most part with more practical matters than rhyming. He was, above all things, a man of energy and action, and he had plenty of work to do in Cambridgeshire. It was no light matter to be, as he was, a Commissioner of Musters in those troublous times. These officials had to make returns to the Lords of the Council of the names and particulars of all persons bound to render military service to the State, to certify that they had been mustered and reviewed at certain intervals, and to report upon the number of men, horses, and arms to be furnished at their own cost by the gentlemen of the county and others; and a very brisk correspondence was carried on between North
1584 and the Lords of the Council on such matters. About this time he had to see to the fitting out of eight hundred Cambridgeshire men, and undertook that it should be thoroughly done, although a great burden for that small shire, and the supply

of armour scant and of an unserviceable sort. His difficulties did not end here; his military zeal caused divers disagreements between himself, the justices of the county, and others, and he specially complained of the opposition he encountered from Mr. Edward Styward,[1] 'a blynde man, verie ryche, and the most intractable man in hir Majesty's service.'

While leading a country life, North did not fail to keep in touch with the world. A running footman was kept going to and fro to bring the news from London, receiving from three and sixpence to four shillings for the journey, and the routine of life at Kirtling was sometimes broken by visits to Leicester at Kenilworth and to other friends. It appears that North and his brother Thomas were present as guests at that famous visit of the Queen to Kenilworth, where, it is said, Shakespeare was present as a looker-on among the crowd, and the poet may all unwittingly have rubbed shoulders with Sir Thomas, to whom he was to be indebted for the plots of some of his most famous plays, and it may be added, for some unrivalled passages of English also.

North's companionship must have been good for Leicester, to whom he gave much good advice; he seems to have had the power of calling forth his friend's better feelings. Probably during

[1] *Sic.* ? Stuart.

some of these visits, the conversations took place to which North refers in his statement made in proof of the validity of Leicester's marriage with Lettice, Countess of Essex.[1] He tells 'how the said Earl of Leicester did sundry times by many good and godlie speeches both acknowledge and also humbly thank the Lord God for
1578 His infinite mercy and goodness, still devising and studying how he might walk in those ways that might be most pleasing to his merciful God,' and North, as he says, 'ever comforted his lordship therein and hartned him thereto. . . . And the said Erle did divers times impart to him the hartie love and affection which he bare unto the Countess of Essex, whom he knew to be a most godlie and virtuous gentlewoman.' Leicester had been secretly married to the Countess, North being one of the few persons present.

About this time North paid a visit to Buxton. At this place and 'the Bath' were the only springs in England frequented by the health seekers of the day; the discovery of the waters of Tunbridge Wells and their efficacy for the cure of disease, as well as that of the springs of Epsom, had yet to be made by his grandson, Dudley, third Lord North.

Buxton was a very fashionable watering-place in those days. Leicester resorted there, Sir

[1] Lettice, Countess of Essex, was a daughter of Sir William Knollys, Comptroller of the Household.

William Fitz-William, Sir Thomas Smith, my Lady Harrington and many others of note, not to mention the Lord Treasurer Burghley, who would betake himself to the wells for a bout of 'drunkennesse' as he merrily expressed it, first drinking the waters and then bathing, as the method was.[1] It is to be hoped that the Buxton waters drove away the gout, or whatever North's ailment may have been, for he now needed all his bodily and mental energies. This year was 1578
to mark a very important episode in the home life at Kirtling; nothing less than a visit from the Queen, and there was much ado to get all in order for the eventful day. Her host had long been busy with preparations for her coming, making alterations in divers directions for the accommodation of her Majesty and her vast train of courtiers and retainers; there were improvements too in the Banqueting House, and new kitchens were built. We may be sure that a man of North's brisk temperament would busy himself with the supervision of every detail; his clear head and keen eye would be brought to bear on many practical matters, and he must have got through plenty of hard work, and withal plenty of shoe leather, so that it is not surprising to find that he had to get two pairs of shoes re-soled, a job for which he paid the cobbler

[1] Strype's *Annals of the Reformation*, 2nd ed., vol. ii. pt. 2, p. 137.

one shilling per pair. Besides all the building that had been going on, there was a great domestic revolution taking place within, a great 'trymming upp of chambers and other rowmes.' Twelve score yards of mats were ordered for the great chamber, the upper gallery was laid with new Bedfordshire matting, and a tawny carpet bought for the little parlour. These items are worth notice as showing that Bedfordshire then held, as it still holds, a foremost place in the straw and rush plaiting industry, and also that matting was beginning to replace the loosely strewn rushes and scented herbs in the houses of the rich; though these were still largely in use, and many were ordered for the Queen's visit. The tawny carpet for the little parlour may have been for the table, as tablecloths were called table-carpets in the olden days. It is clear that no pains were spared to give the royal guest a fitting welcome, and that a loyal heart lent impulse to a generous hand; for North had a sincere and respectful attachment for the Queen; a feeling which, despite her faults and follies, she was undoubtedly capable of inspiring in many of the worthiest of her servants.

It was now August, and in a few weeks the Queen would be at Kirtling. She was moving forward on a two months' progress through the
1578 eastern counties, and as an officer of the Household, it was North's duty to attend her Majesty.

Mendoza,[1] who was evidently an eye-witness, describes a lively episode which took place during this progress, throwing the Court—at no time a nest of doves—into a state of unwonted excitement. A violent quarrel which Leicester describes as 'sudden and passionatt' arose between North and the Earl of Sussex[2] at a banquet given to the Ambassadors of France, whom Elizabeth especially desired to impress with the splendour of her equipment. On this occasion she was displeased at what she chose to consider the meagre display of silver on the sideboard. Sussex, as Lord Steward of the Household, was held responsible for this, and the Queen angrily called him to account for it. In excuse he pleaded that for many years he had attended the Sovereigns of England on their progresses, and had never seen them take so much plate as her Majesty was carrying now. But the poor man was only floundering deeper into the mire, the enraged Queen bade him hold his tongue, and before the astonished Ambassadors, told him he was a great rogue, and, withal, the more good she did for such people as him, the worse they got. Turning to North she asked him whether he thought there was much or little plate on the sideboard? He agreed with her Majesty that there was very

[1] Bernardino de Mendoza, Spanish Ambassador.

[2] Thomas Radcliffe, third Earl of Sussex, Lord Steward, and afterwards Lord Chamberlain of the Household.

little silver, blaming the Lord Steward for it. On leaving the Queen's presence, he found the insulted official outside in a furious rage, and a storm of words followed, Sussex accusing him of having spoken wrongly and falsely in what he had said. North made answer that if Sussex were not a Lord of the Council he would prove what he had said to his teeth. The wrathful Sussex then carried his grievances to Leicester, complaining of North's knavish behaviour. Leicester told him such words were unfitting to apply to such a person as North. 'Whatever you may think of the words,' quoth Sussex, 'he is a great knave.' 'So that they (Leicester and Sussex) remained offended with one another, as they had been before on other matters.' [1] Sussex and Leicester were in truth never the best of friends; when on one occasion the two had come to high words before her Majesty at Greenwich, she interposed to effect a somewhat tardy and superficial reconciliation. She now took upon herself the like office of mediator between her two angry courtiers, spurred on let us hope to the endeavour, by sundry disquieting pricks of her own conscience; and though possibly in her hands the healing process may have partaken somewhat of the nature of cautery, the wound was eventually closed, though not without some difficulty, as is

[1] Bernardino de Mendoza to Zayas, August 14, 1578. *Spanish State Papers.* Record Office.

shown by the following letter from Sussex to the Lord Keeper.[1]

'The Queen hath given me licence for the better furtherance of my health, to go into the country till Saturday. I was at Westminster hoping to have met your lordship there, and missing you, am bold to trouble you with these lines. Her Majesty hath dealt with me very earnestly to be contented that the matter between Lord North and me might be ended to her contentation and to my honour, and although I have desired her Majesty to forbear it, yet finding her so desirous of it, I was in fine contented to refer it to her Majesty to be ordered with such provisions for my honour as might be to my satisfaction, which her Majesty hath promised, and said at her coming she would deal with your Lordship therein. My request is that I may be as well dealt with as others either of my quality or my inferiors be, and so her Majesty may command of me as far as of any other. It hath been told me North is sent for to come to the Court. If it so be, before he be made to know his fault, truly I may not yield to be bragged with him in that place, because himself hath said he will be strong in the Court, and if I offer anything to him, it should be good for me to come strong, and the open actions of others have given me room to credit his brags.

[1] Sir Nicholas Bacon.

'Therefore, my lord, to be plain with you, if he come to the Court before he be made to know his fault, I will either forebear to come there, or if he do come, I will come in such sort as I will not fear part-taking against me, which perhaps may offend her Majesty, whereof I would be very sorry, and yet my honour driveth me to it. My paper is little, your Lordship wise, and therefore I trust this shall suffice to your Lordship as my good Lord to understand my meaning.'

'From Barking 4 November 1578.'

'The words which my Lord North spake to the Queen and what she thereupon said to myself I heard with my own ears, which I must and will credit.' [1]

Possibly the Queen's outbreak of irritability may have been in some sort due to the nerve fag following on pain and want of sleep; for it appears that somewhere about that time she suffered from violent toothache, 'excessive anguish,' Strype calls it. He professes himself unable to determine whether this distemper proceeded from some natural cause, or from the magic arts then being practised by certain necromancers to compass her Majesty's death. Three waxen images, whereof one stood for the Queen, the others for the two persons nearest to her,[2]

[1] *Calendar of Hatfield MSS.* pt. 2, p. 224.

[2] Strype very plausibly suggests that these were Leicester and Burghley.

had been discovered in the house of a magician near Islington, who practised conjuration upon the effigies to the end that the persons represented by them might perish. Meanwhile the poor Queen continued to suffer, 'insomuch that she took no rest for divers nights, and endured very great torment night and day.' A foreign physician named Pénot was then in England, and happened to be at Court; probably he was in the suite of the French ambassadors who were following the progress. To this 'outlandish physician' the Lords of the Council resorted to advise on the Queen's case, but Pénot was a wary man. He seems to have feared that his interference might be fraught with unpleasant consequences, and declined to prescribe. But the Lords of the Council were too much for him; they insisted, and raised such a buzzing about his ears that at length he yielded, and ordered several remedies, advising that if they proved ineffectual and the tooth was hollow and decayed, it should be drawn out.[1] Poor Gloriana! it is to be feared she had to endure the wrench; how one would like to know what the remedies were and how the affair ended.

[1] Strype's *Annals of the Reformation*, vol. ii. pt. 2, pp. 206–207.

CHAPTER XIII

Queen Elizabeth's memorable visit to Kirtling took place while on her progress from Sir Thomas Rivett's in Norfolk. She arrived before supper
1578 on September 1, leaving after dinner on the 3rd. It must have been with strange feelings that she rode through the great gateway of Kirtling Tower, to which more than twenty years before she had come as a prisoner. But there was little time now for sad memories. 'Lord North,' says Churchyard, 'was no whit behind any of the best, for a franke house, a noble heart, and well ordered entertaynment,' and the scene that now burst upon the Queen's view was one of right royal welcome. First, an oration was pronounced by a gentleman of Cambridge, and 'a stately and fayre cuppe' presented from the University in the presence of the assembled guests, 'all the ambassadors of France beholding the same.[1] Later,

[1] The French ambassadors de Bacqueville and de Quincy, who had been sent to renew, on the part of the Duke of Alençon, his offer of marriage with the Queen, were received by her at Long Melford while on her progress to the eastern counties, and

we may picture her Majesty played in to supper to the tune of 'Siche and Siche,' 'Greensleaves,' or some such fashionable air, by Lord North's minstrels, and as Leicester, too, had brought his minstrels with him, there was no lack of music at the revels.

When the guests were seated, 'the gentlemen of the shire did beare the Queen's meat to the table, which was a great liking and gladnesse to the gentlemen, and a solemn sighte for strangers to looke uppon.' But there was more than enough work for these worthies, and they must presently have needed the help of Lord North's serving men, all arrayed in their picturesque summer liveries of Reading tawny,[1] with gold neck chains and a badge of arms upon the left sleeve, as the fashion then was. The 'kitching folk' must have been hard at work that day. Besides the staff of Kirtling itself, Leicester's cooks were there, as well as others who had come from London for the festivities. It could hardly have been a case of 'too many cooks,' where there were such countless 'oxen, muttons, veales, lambes, and pigges' to be roasted; not to mention bucks for the making of a hundred and

magnificently entertained. De Quincy returned to France in August, Rambouillet and L'Aubespine were sent to support de Bacqueville in his negotiations; they joined the Court at Norwich. The three ambassadors with their suites accompanied the Queen to the end of the progress and were present during her visit to Kirtling.

[1] Forty yards of tawnie cloth for liveries at 8*d.* the yarde £16 4*s.* Household accounts.

seventy-six venison pasties, and conies for a hundred and twenty-eight pasties more. North made a careful entry of the expenses incurred for this short visit of two days, and it will be worth while to give the account in full.

A brieff Collection & Declaration of all such provision as was spent at ye house of ye right honourable the Lord North of Kertlinge, at ye Q. Ma^ties comying thither on monday ye first of Sept. to supp^r, and tarying there untill Wednesday aft^r dynn^r next following (being in the xxth yeare off her Ma^ties reigne). And also brieff Note of the Gifts rewards and oth^r charges y^t grewe upon ye same.

Manchets [1] 1200	w^h was made of east xvij qt^r didi	xvij li	xj s	iij d
Cheatbread 3600	by wheat			
Whitebread & Cheatbread bought	xxiij doos	—	xxiij s	—
Cheatbread	—	—	—	—
Hoggesheads of Beare	Lxxiiij	xxxij li	vij s	vi d
Toones of Ale	ij	iiij li	xiiij s	—
Hoggesh of Claret Wyne	vj	xxvij li	—	—
Hoggesh of White Wyne	i	iiij li	x s	—
Rundlets of Sack cont. 20 Gall.	1	—	liij s	iiij d
Hoggesh of Vinegar	i	—	xxxiij s	iiij d
Steares & Oxen	—	—	—	—
Oxen	xi di	xlvj li	—	—
Muttons	lzvij	xxvj li	xvj s	—
Veales	xvij di	xj li	xiij s	iiij d
Lambes	vij	—	xxxv s	—
Pigges	xxxiiij	—	xxxiiij s	—
Geese	xxxij	—	xxxij s	—
Capons	xxx doos & iij	xxvj li	xvj s	vj d
Turkies	vj	—	xx s	—
Swannes	xxxij	x li	xiij s	iiij d

[1] Small loaves of white bread.

Mallards & yong Ducks	xxij doos & ix	vj li	xvj s	vj d
Cranes	l	—	xiij s	iiij d
Hearnshawes	xxviij	iiij li	xiiij s	iiij d
Bitterns	vx	xviij li	vj s	viij d
Shovellers	xii	ij li	—	—
Chickins	iij xix doos di	xix li	xviij s	—
Pigeons	cvxx. xvij doos	xi li	xvij s	—
Pewytts	viij doos x	v li	xvij s	viij d
Godwytts	lxviij	xvij li	—	—
Gulls	xviij	iiiij li	x s	—
Dottrells	viij doos iij	v li	viij s	—
Snypes	viij	—	iiij s	—
Knotts	xxix	—	xxix s	—
Plovers	xxviij	—	xxx s	—
Stynts	v	—	v s	—
Redshanks	xviij	—	xviij s	—
Yeowhelps [1]	ij	—	ij s	—
Partriches	xxii	—	xi s	—
Pheasants	i	—	iiij s	—
Quailes	xxvij doos	ij li	xi s	viij d
Curlewes	ij	—	xiij s	iiij d
Connyes	viij doos	iiij li	xvj s	—
Staggs	iiij made into 48 pasties	—	—	—
Buckes	xvj made into 128 pasties	—	—	—
Gamonds of Bacon	viij	—	xxx s	—
Larde	xiij lbs	—	viij s	viij d
Neats Tongs, feet and udders	xixx i	—	liij s	iiij d
Butter	iiijC xxx lb	vj li	vij s	vj d
Eggs	ijMvc xxij	iij li	iij s	—
Sturgeons	iij Caggs	—	xlvj s	viij d
Craye Fyshes	viij doos	—	xiij s	iiij d
Turbutts	viij	—	liij s	iiij d
Oysters	A cartload & 2 Horse loads	v li	—	—

[1] A provincial name for the thick-knee or stone plover, sometimes called the shrieker on account of its piercing cry. Some writers have given the name of yarwhelp or yarwhip to the godwit, but as this bird is also included in the above list, it is obviously not the yarwhelp referred to by North.

Anchoves	i Barrell	—	x s	—
Pykes	ij	—	xx s	—
Carpes	ij	—	vj s	viij d
Tenchies	iiij	—	vj s	—
Pearchies	xij	—	xii s	—
Redd Hering	iijC	—	vij s	vj d
Holland Cheeses ...	vj	—	xx s	—
Mrch panes	x	v li	—	—
Ypocras	vj gall	—	xxxs	—

Gyftes and Rewards to ye Quenes Ma^{ties} Officers and Servants ...	xlviij li	—	—
Rewards to Noblemens servants, Gent. servants and others	xli li	—	—
Paym^{ts} to sundrie p'sons labouring and taking paynes about this busyness	vij li	—	vj d
Charge of ye bancketting howse, ye new kychens and tryming upp chambers and other rowmes	xxxij li	ij s	iiij d
Basketts, hamps, jacks, casks & oth^{r} necess'	xj li	—	—
Carriage of provisions to ye hale & oth^{r} things	iij li	xiij s	viij d
Ryding charges & furniture of horses	iij li	xix s	ix d
Wax lights and torchies.....	iiij li	vij s	—
Suger	xvj li	iiij s	—
Grocerie ware, banketting stuff, salletts rootes and hearbes	xxxix li	—	xxi d
Keping off Wylde fowle	—	xx s	—
Hyering of pewt^{r} vessell.....	—	xx s	—
Keping & scouring of pewt^{r} vessell	—	xxvj s	viij d
The losse of pewt^{r} vessell xlv lb at viijd a lb	—	xxxij s	ij d
Charcoales bought and spent	iij li	—	—
P^{d} to ye Cookes of London	xxi li	—	—
Making a standing for ye Q. in the p'ke	—	xxv s	—
Candles spent vxx lb	—	xxv s	—
Wheat flour & Rye meale spent in ye pastrie	iij li	—	—

Thinerlase of expences (above the ordin'ie charge) by the space of a fortenight before and aft. her Ma^ties comyng	xx li	—	—
Foren charges about this busyness	iiij li	—	—
The Jewell given to ye Quenes Ma^tie	Cxx li	—	—
R. North. Tot'lis	vij Clxij li	iiij s	ij d

On the day after her arrival, the Queen was entertained with a grand joust or some such spectacle in the park, and there was enough to amuse her within doors as well as without. No doubt the fool, the piper, and the minstrels did their parts, as well as the players, of whom we are told North was a great patron. Moreover, the Queen loved a game of cards, and as we see by the accounts, she and her host had often before sat down together to a game of Maw, Primero, Post, or Saint, North losing in right courtier-like fashion. It is no uncommon thing to meet in his accounts with such entries as 'Lost at Maw with the Queen £28.' 'Lost at play with the Queen £32.' 'Lost at play to the Queen £70.' So we may be sure that on this occasion the time-honoured custom was duly observed.

It will be seen by the accounts, that a jewel priced at £120 was offered to the Queen during her visit; probably it was presented at her leave-taking. The value of money was so much greater then than now, that it seems safe to say

the ornament would in our own day have been worth £900 or £1000.

Whenever her Majesty was pleased to move forward with her Court, there was plenty of work for the harbingers in making ready for her coming, and much ado to get the unwieldy and gigantic cavalcade under way. A vast train of baggage and a motley crowd of minor officials followed in its wake; among these the barbers with their tents formed a conspicuous and important feature. The office of chief barber among those licensed to follow the Court, was one much sought after; it was a piece of patronage in the gift of the 'white staves,' and one Mathews, a former servant of Lord North had been appointed to the post. He must have served a good apprenticeship and have been an artist in his way, to judge by the well-kept beard and moustache of his late master.

The Queen took her leave of Kirtling after dinner on September 3, and passed to Sir Giles Alington's, North following the Court to the end of the progress and returning home on September 26.

It must have been about this period that Mark Gerard painted the fine portrait of North now in the possession of the Earl of Guilford at Waldershare. It represents him in a black Court suit, with well starched ruff or piccadilly[1] as it was

[1] This form of ruff was first introduced from Spain, and was named pica or picadil from a supposed resemblance in its stiffly

ROGER, SECOND LORD NORTH.

From the collection of the Earl of Guilford.

then called, holding his wand as an officer of the Queen's Household; the very type of an Elizabethan courtier.

The name of Lady North is but rarely met with, but occasionally she is mentioned as having joined in some procession or been present at the funeral of some great personage. She is last heard of in November 1578, and it seems likely 1578
that her death took place not very long after that date. Her husband's name is not to be found for a considerable time after the close of that year, and this seems to point to his having withdrawn for a while from society. This year was in other ways an eventful one for the Norths, for it saw John start as a volunteer for the wars of the Netherlands, while Henry joined Sir Humphrey Gilbert in the first of his ill-fated expeditions to Newfoundland.

North comes again into notice in August 1580 1580
as the writer of a letter to Dr. Hatcher, Vice-Chancellor of the University of Cambridge, in which he makes apology for one of his retainers who had been summoned by a beadle to appear before the Vice-Chancellor and had failed to do so. He sends the man with 'my good friend Mr. Goldwell,' to receive such correction for his

arranged pleats to a row of pikes or 'Chevaux de frise.' The name became corrupted into that of piccadilly. The street of Piccadilly was so called from the sign of a hostelry built there by one Higgins, who had made his fortune as a manufacturer of these ruffs.

contempt as shall seem good to the Vice-Chancellor, and with regard to the disturbance with which the offender had been charged, pleads that he was provoked thereto 'by the scholers rayling of his master, impossible for any servant to bear if he love his master. . . . It proceedeth now to hard terms; the scholers sayth they will come by the Lord North covered, and do it.' He prays the Vice-Chancellor to bear with his long and undigested letter, 'discribbled' as fast as his pen can set it down, and in a later one, thanks him for having handled the matter with such good wisdom.[1] Here we again have evidence of the kindness of heart which had plainly won for North the affection of his household. Evidently Dr. Hatcher was large minded enough to let the offender off easily.

About this time, North lost a friend in Francis, Earl of Bedford, known as 'the good Earl of Bedford,' and his name is among those of the mourners at the funeral, which took place with great pomp at Chenies nearly two months after the Earl's death; an occasion which he had desired by his will, should be improved by twenty sermons, to be preached within five months of his decease by 'godly learned and discreet ministers.[2]

North was desirous of a second marriage, but

[1] Heywood and Wright's *Cambridge University Transactions.*
[2] Wiffens' *Memorials of the House of Russell*, vol. i. p. 516.

it seems that the courtship was unsuccessful. In October 1582, he appears as suitor for the 1582
hand of the second of three co-heiresses, daughters of a country neighbour, Sir Thomas Rivett. He wrote to Burghley, anxious to secure his interest in the matter, as on the death of their father, who was ill and not expected to survive the winter, Burghley was to become guardian to the two youngest, the eldest being already married to a Mr. Haydon. It appears that Sir Thomas would not be likely to look favourably on the affair, for, referring to the relations between them, North writes that he is ' not in great favour there.' He enters at considerable length into details concerning the property settled on these sisters, suggesting that the youngest would prove a suitable match for one of Burghley's own family.

In February 1584, North was still at Kirtling, 1584
and much occupied with County business. He wrote to Burghley complaining bitterly of the conduct of the two Chief Justices, more especially that of Chief Justice Anderson, for their discourtesy towards himself and other magistrates of the county, in discrediting them in open Court with a miscarriage of justice in consequence of their ignorance of the law. He calls Anderson ' the hottest man that ever sat in judgment.' About this time North was appointed to act with Sir Francis Hinde, John Hutton, and Fitz-Rafe

Chamberlain, as her Majesty's Deputy Commissioner to enquire into and settle all disputes on the subject of keeping horses and brood mares in the county of Cambridge and the Isle of Ely. As Commissioner of Musters he was evidently very zealous in his duties. He had to inspect, as he writes, 'all the able men, armour, etc., within the shire, howbeit the armour they have is very unserviceable and insufficient.' The poor man seems to have had a hard task to maintain the efficiency of the Militia Bands under his command, and was engaged in a perpetual struggle to obtain the bare necessaries for their due equipment.

CHAPTER XIV

After all the busy experiences of his past life, North was now, at the ripe age of fifty-five, to enter upon active military service. When Leicester, as Captain General of the forces, embarked for the wars of the Netherlands, North was among the volunteers who accompanied him. The Queen had twice been offered the Protectorate of the States General, but shifty as ever, she hung back from committing herself to so decided a step, refusing it against the advice of her wisest counsellors, and when at length persuaded to accept it, she quickly withdrew again into the position of friend and supporter, one into which she had, in the first instance, been practically thrust against her will by the growing intensity of the popular hatred of Spain. A treaty was at length concluded by which she agreed to assist the States against their Spanish foes by raising and maintaining 4000 men at her own cost till the conclusion of the war. The States, on their part, were to

make over to her the towns of Brill, Flushing, and Ramaquins.

England had long been face to face with the imminent danger of war with Philip ; the diligent training of Militia Bands in every county had fostered a martial spirit, and when the welcome news of the proposed muster was proclaimed throughout the land, the people pressed forward to answer the call like hounds slipped from the leash. Although only 4000 men were demanded, in a few days 7000 were eagerly waiting to embark. Such was the position of affairs when North followed Leicester to the wars among ' the flower and chief gallants of England.' [1]

The wealth and resources of the States greatly moved him to wonder and admiration. Soon
1585 after his arrival he wrote to Burghley, ' Had your lordship seen with what thankful hearts these countries receive all Her Majesty's subjects, what multitudes of people they be, what stately cities and buildings they have, how notably fortified by art, how strong by nature, how fertile the whole country and how wealthy it is, you would, I know, praise the Lord that opened your lips to undertake this enterprise, the continuance and good success whereof will eternise Her Majesty, and beautify her crown with the most shipping, with the most populous and wealthy countries that ever Prince added to his kingdom, or that

[1] Stow's *Annales of England*, p. 711.

is or can be found in Europe. I lack wit, good my Lord, to dilate this matter.' [1]

North was desiring with eager expectancy that this jewel should be added to his royal Mistress's crown. Leicester, in fact, claimed it for her some months later, and in her name assumed the government of the States. This step, wise in itself, but taken entirely without authority, aroused the anger of Elizabeth, who insisted that he should be removed at once from the governorship and allowed only the style and status of 'Captain General of the Forces.'

Leicester and his brilliant following were received with almost royal honours, and entertained with endless festivities, but North's life at the Hague was nevertheless uncongenial to him. His mental energies were evidently wont to outrun his bodily strength, and his health seems to have failed him. Moreover, his position in attendance on the Captain General was perhaps hardly a fitting one for a man who had at one time filled the post of an Ambassador Extraordinary. Leicester felt this strongly, and wrote to Walsingham to remonstrate, '. . . There is another matter I must trouble you withal, and full fain I would have it redressed; it is my Lord North. Her Majesty hath commanded him hither in my company; he doth certainly do me all the honour he can devise, and he hath not the best body for such a place,

[1] *State Papers, Holland,* Eliz. Record Office.

specially he having no charge nor any allowance in the world, and surely his expenses cannot be little, albeit his grief must be more, to have no countenance at all but his own estate, and a man of his years and long service. He doth take it her Majesty doth place him for some respect of mine, which will gender an inward grudge to me at length. I am not the cause of it. He is a wise gentleman, and for any need I see I shall have of Mr. Bartholomew Clark,[1] I assure ye I had far rather have my Lord North's counsel and assistance; and for law here is one, the other little Clark, who is much beyond Bartholomew in all learning of law, as hath well appeared here already. If at Mr. Davison's[2] coming, ye can either with honour and allowance keep my lord here, or else in some good sort by Her Majesty called for home, rather than to attend here without any charge or countenance, I would gladly wish it. That in the meantime it will like ye to write to my lord how careful and mindful I have been of him, shall do me a great pleasure.'

'At the Hague, this 22nd of January 1585.'

Later, Leicester made an unsuccessful application for the governorship of Brill[3] for North.

[1] Dr. Bartholomew Clark, LL.D., was one of a Council appointed to advise Leicester.

[2] Envoy from England to the States.

[3] Brill had now become an English possession. It was the first fortified town in Holland, and the first in which the standard of Dutch independence was raised.

He wrote to Walsingham 'I understand Sir Thomas Cecill will give upp the Brill, I did once commend my Lord North to Her Majesty for it, though I will not willingly be sene in it, for that I heare he meanes to make my lord tresorer deall for my lord Borrowe[1] yet I beseeche you put Her (Majesty in) mind of my Lord North, who hath bine verie painfull and forward in all these services from the beginning, and his yeres meete for it. I pray you faill not herein to speake for him, but not willing Sir Thomas or my lord tresorer to know. It may appere to be Hir Majesty's choyce.'

Leicester wrote to Burghley also in North's interest, requesting that he might either be placed on the commission for the States, or have leave to return to England. But Leicester was under a cloud just then, and the authorities 1586
were not in a mood to listen to his recommendations. North, too, seems to have suffered from the common lot of courtiers, enemies at Court, as may be inferred from the following passage in a letter from Thomas Vavasour to Leicester. 'Not forgetting that one question which, perchance, may import you to know, was demanded me, which was, how you used and esteamed my lord North. I answered, so well as yt was impossible to use any better. Answer was made me, and by

[1] Lord Burgh was appointed.

great persons, " I pray God he deserve it ! What ther meaning was, I know not ; your excellency may best gather." ' [1]

After a time North's health improved, and on his release from attendance at the Hague he joyfully started for the seat of war. He wrote very fully to Burghley on several occasions, of the position of affairs. Leicester had won his admiration as a General, ' he doth with much honour and little loss win the things he taketh in hand. The States promise much and perform most miserably. If his Lordship were not exceeding careful, prudent, and importunate with them for things necessary, there would nothing be had, and as it is, it cometh so slowly and scantily from them as they tire all men that dealeth with them in their matters, beside this late return of Sir Thomas Heneage hath put such buzzes in their heads as they march forward with leaden heels and doubtful heart. The Lord God turn all to good. There is no doubt my good Lord, if you suffer my Lord of Leicester to go forward as he has begun, he will do great honour to God and service to Her Majesty, as no subject did ever better or the like, truly he is a man of exceeding travail of body and mind, of a marvellous despatch and very resolute, better things there cannot be in any, neither did I look

[1] *Leicester Correspondence*, p. 194.

to find that which I daily see and the soldiers daily find to their contentation.' [1]

It was now May, and during the past month the enemy had been smartly trounced. 'If the Spaniard have such a May as he hath had an April, it will put water in his wine,' said North. But there was still plenty of hard fighting to do; Parma was a good general, while Leicester, hampered by the shifty and niggardly policy of the Queen, had not the resources necessary for the conduct of a difficult campaign.

Want of recognition could not daunt so chivalrous a spirit as that of North. 'I will leave no labour nor danger,' he writes, 'but will serve as a private soldier, and have thrust myself for service on foot under Captain Reade, whom I find a noble and notable soldier.' This was 'old Reade' whom Leicester had declared to be 'worth his weight in pearl.' North writes that Reade had the honour of being the first to enter the sconces (or forts) of Nimegen and Bergholt, lately besieged and captured by Leicester's forces, and adds, 'If I durst join myself with my Captain, I might truly say I was with him in all dangers, all which I leave for others to report.' Nimegen had made a very stubborn defence, and North had been six nights in the trenches before it, but seems to make little of that. He had chosen

[1] North to Burghley, May 29, 1586. *State Papers.* Record Office.

his motto *Durum Pati* advisedly, and lived up to it in serious earnest, like the chivalrous gentleman he was. He wrote that his only desire was that her Majesty should know he lived but to serve her, 'a better barony than I have, could not hire the Lord North to live on meaner terms.' [1] These spirited words were written from Arnheim under considerable difficulties; he begged that the camp paper, bad ink, and the many blots by which his letter was defaced, might be pardoned. He was, happily for Burghley, a very good penman, so doubtless made things as clear as his materials would permit.

Leicester's forces were then advancing to the relief of Grave, and were only within a few miles of it when he received the astounding intelligence of its treacherous surrender by the Dutch Governor Hemart. 'There was no good reason even for women to have surrendered the place,' cried the enraged Leicester when he heard the news. North's indignation knew no bounds; it was the strongest town, he said, in all the Low Countries, it was impossible to be assaulted, had abundance of men and victuals, and he would have dared answer for it for four months longer. 'The most that can be made of it (the surrender) is most vile cowardice mixed with such negligence as is unspeakable.' In another letter to Burghley he writes: 'All the

[1] Motley's *United Netherlands*, vol. ii. p. 51.

towns have more papists than protestants, and those continually labour with all devices to bring in the Prince of Parma, and the good men begin so much to fear, as they all entreat my Lord (Leicester) to send English soldiers to their towns, otherwise they acknowledge all will be lost. . . . My good Lord, the whole country is full of treason by these papists, and my Lord keepeth nothing but with a strong hand; his lordship travaileth in body and mind as much as a man can possibly do; if he were not of great prudence and of a marvellous patience, it were impossible for him to bear their (give me leave I pray your Lordship to term them as they are) artful dealing and most vile and miserable usage: he was set back by Her Majesty, but if God grants him life and Her Majesty's favour, he will work all to some notable good end or to a speedy end. I will trouble you my good Lord no further, but beseech the living Lord to bless you and us in this action; to whose merciful protection I commend your Lordship. From Utrecht 26 June. Your good Lordship's assured at commandment,

'R. NORTH.'[1]

(addressed) 'To the right honourable especiall good Lord the Lord Tresorer of England.'

The tardy recognition of North's services came at last; no details are forthcoming as to the time or manner of his promotion, but a

[1] *State Papers, Holland.* Record Office.

letter written by him, August 25, concerning a dispute between the Lord President and the Lord Marshal, points to his having been at that time, at all events, in a post of authority. But whatever his position, he strove onward with unabated zeal.

Great deeds, whether of friend or foe, were sure to call forth generous praise from 'the enthusiastic Lord North,' as Motley has called him.[1] Touching the siege of Grave he wrote: 'The Prince of Parma doth batter it like a Prince.' Towards his brave brothers in arms too, his heart went out in admiration and pity, as in the case of Commander Kloet, ''Tis the bravest man that was ever heard of in the world.' Kloet's cruel death filled him with indignation. He had heard the exaggerated reports then flying from mouth to mouth of the horrors and indignities inflicted upon the young commander, but the naked truth was bad enough. During the storming and capture of Neuz, of which he was Governor, Kloet had been carried to his house grievously wounded in five places, and with his leg nearly severed from his body. Death was sure enough, but his enemies could not wait. Parma was disposed to spare him, but Archbishop Ernest,[2] who held chief sway, demanded his immediate execution as a personal favour. A Jesuit priest

[1] Motley's *United Netherlands*, vol. ii. p. 27.

[2] Ernest of Bavaria, Elector and Catholic Archbishop.

was sent to save the Commander's heretic soul, followed by a party of soldiers commissioned to destroy his poor maimed body. He lay in bed, tended by his young wife and her sister, despite whose entreaties they forthwith hanged him from his own window.[1] No wonder this ghastly deed aroused North's righteous anger. 'Thus, with their holiness, they made a tragical end of an heroical service. It is wondered that the Prince (of Parma) would suffer so great an outrage to be done to so noble a soldier, who did but his duty.'[2]

It was only a few weeks after the enactment 1586
of this tragedy that Leicester was defeated at Zutphen, owing to a strategical blunder which not all the valour of his little army could repair. In a skirmish of the evening before, North had been wounded in the knee by a musket shot, and was 'bedde-redde,' but the news of a battle was more than his eager spirit could withstand. Unable to walk, he had himself carried to his horse, lifted to the saddle, and 'with one boot on and one boot off, went to the matter very lustily.'[3] His son Henry, too, was in the field, gallantly winning his spurs; he was among the Knights Bachelors dubbed by Leicester as the Queen's Vicegerent after the battle, while North

[1] Motley's *United Netherlands*, vol. ii. p. 29.
[2] North to Burghley. *State Papers, Holland.* Record Office.
[3] Leicester to Sir Thomas Heneage. *State Papers, Holland.*

himself was one of the four more highly distinguished by the title of Knight Banneret. This designation arose from the custom anciently prevailing, of converting the pennon of the Knight Bachelor into a banner by tearing off the ends during the ceremony of creation. The honour may justly be esteemed the Victoria Cross of those days. It was conferred usually upon the field of battle, and only for deeds of conspicuous valour performed there. This chivalrous custom was then fast dying out, and towards the end of the sixteenth century had fallen almost entirely into disuse, so that North may probably be reckoned among the last of the Knights Banneret. Even in this moment of personal triumph, his heart must have been heavy, not alone on account of the reverses of the day, but because his wife's nephew, Sir Philip Sidney, that brilliant ornament of a brilliant age, met with his death wound on that disastrous field. He was carried to Arnheim, where he died a month later,[1] and North, who afterwards accompanied his remains to England, was probably one of those friends, by whom we are told he was tended and comforted at the last. It was not until February 16 that he was buried with great ceremony at St. Paul's. North rode in the procession among the peers in a long mourning cloak, 'with deep saddle-cloth, bordered and fringed, and other trappings.'[2]

[1] October 7.

[2] *Harleian MSS.* 285, fol. 182.

The question as to whether he should be appointed to supersede Leicester was much discussed in London.[1] After Leicester's recall, however, North returned to the wars, and served for some months under Lord Willoughby, who formed so high an opinion of his soldierly qualities, that in view of his own retirement, he named him as one of the men best fitted to fill the post of Captain General of the Forces. But North's services were now needed elsewhere. In the spring of 1588 he was summoned in haste from the wars to look to the military condition of affairs at home, in preparation for the Spanish invasion, now looming upon England in the near future.

[1] Unsigned document headed 'Advices from London,' February 12, 1587. *Spanish State Papers.* Record Office.

CHAPTER XV

North lost no time in answering the summons home. He wrote to Burghley on his return of the haste with which he had made the journey, in order to perform the services entrusted to him. Things had been getting worse and worse while he had been away at the wars; he was dismayed at the condition into which the military defences of the county of Cambridge had fallen, and with characteristic energy was soon at work. He reported to the Lords of the Council [1] that the county was very badly furnished with armour and munitions and many of the trained bands were dead or removed, but that he would see all defects supplied. He requested to be furnished with corselets, powder, and muskets, and appointed Captain Cheston to be muster-master for the county.[2] Clergy as well as laity were laid under contribution in this time of need, Dr. Perne, Dean of Ely, contributing one demi-lance, one light

[1] May 1588.

[2] This officer seems to have fulfilled much the same duties as an adjutant in our own time.

horse, a petronel, a pikeman, and a billman, the rest of the clergy bearing their due proportion.

He was indignant with the Justices of the county, whose patriotism was clearly not all that might have been desired; many of these, he writes to Walsingham, refuse to furnish petronels 'using for their defence some nice and curious reasons which might well have been forborne in this time of special service.' He complains to the Lords of the Council that many of the Justices best able to do so, refuse to furnish petronels, and desires that 'some order may be taken with them,' sending in the names of those 'who neither showed petronels nor sent answers.' Their Lord Lieutenant at all events set them a good example, furnishing at his own charges 'of his voluntary offer' 1588
sixty shot,[1] fifty horses, sixty horsemen, thirty of whom were furnished with demi-lances and thirty with petronels, and sixty foot soldiers, forty with muskets and twenty with calivers, to attend her Majesty's person.

The Armada, consisting of six vast squadrons, had by this time actually set sail; a hundred and thirty-two great ships in all, full fraught with men and arms; twenty-seven thousand one hundred and twenty-eight soldiers and mariners, one thousand four hundred and ninety-three pieces

[1] A 'shot' in those days meant a man provided with firearms. We find that about this time, an order was issued for 'Shott to be horsed to watch the coast.'

of artillery ; and one hundred and eighty friars for the conversion of England. To those in ignorance that it carried within it the seeds of disaster and death, this vast flotilla might well seem to deserve its name of the ' Invincible Armada,' but endless delays and hopeless mismanagement had begun their work long ere the once mighty fleet had set sail. Moreover, the great galleons which loomed so large and terrible were from their very bulk unfitted to cope with lighter and more manageable craft, while within the Spanish ships, stored as they were with scant provision of damaged meat and foul water, all was in disorder. Medina Sidonia well knew the weakness of his squadrons and his own unfitness to take the command which had been forced upon him, and besought Philip to abandon the enterprise, but the King, fanatic as he was, inflamed with the desire not only to magnify the power of Spain but to reclaim England to the Catholic faith, was deaf to all reason. The Jesuit Fathers, Parsons, Campion, and the rest, had long been busy in the cause in England ; it was God's cause said Philip, and He would prosper it. Philip had been wrought to such a pitch of morbid enthusiasm by the arguments and persuasions of the Spanish clergy, as to believe that a miracle, if need be, would complete the work he had begun.

The Armada had not been long at sea, ere the forebodings of Medina Sidonia were fulfilled.

Tempestuous weather worked havoc with his archaic squadrons, till battered and disabled, they were forced to put into the Bay of Ferrol to refit. It was well for England; all unprepared in the supreme hour of her need, every day's delay was her gain. Her little fleet numbered only thirty-four ships ready for action: these were supplemented by a few merchantmen supplied by various seaport towns, and sundry small craft fitted out by the nobles and country gentlemen.[1] The Queen's extreme parsimony and political dishonesty had barred the way to all effective preparation, and it was no easy task—it was indeed an impossible one—to repair at the last moment the neglect of years: but now under the spur of dire necessity, every nerve was strained for the tardy salvation of England, and all was hurry and excitement. Able-bodied men of every class and of all sorts and sizes were called upon to serve; mariners were gathering to the ships, soldiers mustering and training on every village green, shipwrights working for the dear life, while the clang of the armourer's hammer rang out on the summer air.

[1] It appears that Sir John North was serving with the fleet. The Lord High Admiral Howard writes to Walsingham: 'Young North, who served the Palatine, and hath been in the fleet all this time, came yesternight hither from Ipswich.' *State Papers relating to the Defeat of the Spanish Armada*, edited by Sir J. K. Laughton, vol. ii. p. 144. Sir John Laughton quotes this letter as referring to Sir Henry North, but it was John, not Henry, who was referred to.

The trusty Lord Lieutenant had never slackened his efforts to improve the condition of affairs in Cambridgeshire. He saw how dire was the peril, and set himself with all his might to face it; if the storm was to sweep over England, he would ride in the teeth of the gale.

The Camp was now forming at Tilbury, and the doughty old soldier was needed there to take his place with those who were to guard the Queen's person. Among the Acts of the Privy Council, we find the following entry:—

July 1588. 'Letter to the persons following, signifying her Majestie's intention to erect a Camp for the gard of her person that among the rest choice ys made of them, therefore to require them to dispose of their business that they may take uppon them that charg, and to repaire with all convenient speed to the Court.

Lord Gray ..	.. Lord Marshall.
Lord North ..	.. Capten of Demi-lances.
Lord Norreys	.. Capten of Light Horse.
Mr. Treasurer	.. To be Colonel General of the Footmen.
Sir Robert Cesil	.. To be Master of the Ordinance.

(Note) 'The Staff for the camp at Tilbury.'

And now the Invincible Armada had left its moorings in the Bay of Ferrol, the great galleons

were slowly sailing day and night nearer and nearer. One evening towards nightfall, a merchantman brought tidings to Plymouth that the mighty squadrons were at hand. Then upon the still air broke the sudden clash of the alarm bells from tower and steeple ; the beacon fires took up the tale, flaming it from hill-top to hill-top till the heart of every Englishman was afire too ; and soon the big guns were roaring out the news that the battle had at last begun ; that great sea fight which after all was to be won for England by valour and the winds.

CHAPTER XVI

THE cloud which hung over the land in the summer of 1588 had passed away. Peace reigned over a united England, and North was relieved for a time from the grave anxieties and stress of work into which the coming of the Armada had plunged him. The strenuous life of the past years had told upon his health, and he must have rejoiced to find himself once more at peaceful Kirtling, free to return to his country sports, his bowls, his 'ambling nagges,' and his hawking. One can picture him riding forth; his falconer in attendance with a fresh cast of hawks in all their gay apparel, their master carrying upon his fist a falcon sleek and beautiful, an epitome of strength and grace. Her bells jingle, as from time to time she rustles her stiff plumes and shifts her taloned claws, impatient for freedom to cleave the air with her strong pinions. She was never made for servitude, yet has given of her best to man; he has trained her wild instincts to obey his will, she will answer to his lure, she will make sport for

him, but one treasure she proudly withholds; she will never give him her heart.

In that eventful year of 1588 North had lost his friend Leicester, who had died of a fever caught on his journey home to Kenilworth after the dismissal of the forces at Tilbury.[1] Since the days when in Flanders they were brothers in arms, North appears to have had a sincere friendship for him, and although we find in his character so much to condemn, the fact that he was capable of inspiring attachment in North's chivalrous nature must add strength to the growing conviction that his memory has been too harshly dealt with by historians. Among other fallacies, the alleged murder, at his instigation, of his first wife, a stain which the dramatic pen of Scott has rendered almost indelible, is shown by the searchlight of later history to have no better foundation than the calumnies of his enemies at Court; among these was notably the Earl of Arundel, who was paying off an old score. 'He is infamed by the death of his wife,' said Burghley. When the news reached him, Lord Robert Dudley, as he then was, well knowing the use that would be made by others of so handy a weapon, at once insisted on the holding of a coroner's inquest, and a jury was impanelled, some of whom were hostile to him, and not one of whom knew him personally. By 1588

[1] September 9, 1588.

his request, Lady Robert's[1] brother, Arthur Robsart, and her brother-in-law were present at the enquiry, and, said Dudley, 'if more of her friends could have been sent I would have sent them.' 'They could find no presumptions of evil,' said Blount,[2] 'though some of the jurymen were sorry that they could not.' So the upshot of it all was a verdict that the lady died from a fall downstairs, a perfectly natural explanation to those among us who, in exploring some ancient castle, have narrowly escaped a like fate.

There was no man better hated than Leicester, and none of whom more slanderous falsehoods were circulated, but there is no doubt at all that he had his better moods, and worthier, if transient, aspirations after better things. De Quadra, the Spanish Ambassador, wrote on one occasion, 'At last he (Leicester) appears to have made up his mind to be a worthy man and gain respect.' None who have followed his career in the Low Countries can doubt that, despite all his blunders and faults, he had, when removed from the atmosphere of Court intrigue, and braced by the wholesome frost of royal disfavour, that within him which might have made him a grand figure in history. If the saying be true that 'a lie is half over the world while truth is putting on its boots,'

[1] Lady Robert Dudley is very generally called Amy Robsart, but incorrectly, as she was legally married.

[2] Lord Robert's equerry.

we may take it that in Leicester's case she has been more than three centuries in donning them, and even yet is not properly shod! Nevertheless it comes as somewhat of a surprise that a man so palpably honest and free from hypocrisy as North —'an honest soldier' as Motley has called him— should have written of Leicester to Burghley in such terms as these :

'The untimely death, my singular good Lord, of that noble Earle of Leicester, is a great and a generall loss to the whole land, and cannot but be generally and greatly lamented of the good and best sorte. In his life he had advanced the glory of God, and loyally served his soveraigne; he lived and died with honor, in speciall grace and favor of her Majestie and the good subject. We are all like Christians and friends, to praise the name of the Lord for this his blessed deliverance out of this wicked and wretched world, and to prepare ourselves ready to waite on the will of our Lord God, seeing death is a thing most certaine, and the coming thereof a thing most uncertaine. Now, my good Lord, for that I have my harte long sithence settled to love your Lordship, my purpose is to acquaint your Lordship with my actions, that what I do, or where I am, you shall have power to command me. The state of my bodie being farr from health and yet not sicke, my grief cannot be determined by all the

doctors of Cambridge. They send me now to the bath, in hope the drinking the waters and bathing may do me good, whither I am going, and by the sufferance of God will be there Thursday next, the 12th of this present, and there will abide (without contrary commandment) until the 10th of next moneth. Your good Lordship may thinke me over bold that I do thus trouble you with these trifells. I am resolved to honor you above all the world, which I will testifie with all my words and deeds that issue from a faithfull harte. So praying the Lord God to bless your Lordship with all heavenly and earthly blessings, I take my leave.

'At Kirtling, 9th September,

'Your good Lordship's friend at commandment,

'R. North.'[1]

The waters of Bath seem to have given some temporary relief; at all events North was able in
1589 the following April[2] to take his place among the peers who sat on the trial of Philip, Earl of Arundel.[3]

As Lord Lieutenant, North had many heavy duties, some of which were painful also. One of these was to report to the Lords of the Council the number of recusants to be found within his

[1] *Lansdowne MSS.* 57. [2] April 18, 1589.

[3] A verdict of 'guilty' was pronounced against the accused, who was formally sentenced to death, but afterwards reprieved. He died some years later while a prisoner in the Tower.

jurisdiction, with a view to the infliction of penalties upon them. The enormous fine exacted at this time for non-attendance at Church—£20 a month—drove many into outward conformity and many to prison. North evidently disliked these harsh measures. He had recommended the palaces of Ely, Downham, and Somersham, belonging to the now vacant See of Ely, as suitable for the safe custody of such persons.[1] The last will be remembered as having once been a subject of dispute between himself and the late Bishop of Ely, whose See had now been left vacant for seven years and was to remain so for seven years longer. This recommendation on North's part, in itself goes far to refute the Bishop's accusation against him. Had he really coveted the property of Somersham, he would surely, when it fell into the Queen's hands, have pushed his own interests rather than those of the recusants, whom he evidently desired to see comfortably lodged, and not relegated to a common prison. The principal Catholics were sent to the Isle of Ely in North's custody, and were afterwards confined in Wisbech Castle. It was alleged that this was a measure taken for their own safety, as they could not otherwise have been protected from the fury of their Protestant neighbours in the event of a second Spanish invasion.

[1] North to Walsingham. *State Papers Domestic*, Elizabeth, vol. ccxi. No. 67.

It was a common thing in those days to place State prisoners on parole, in charge of divers nobles. When, some years earlier, the Queen ordered the arrest, on a charge of heresy, of Lord Henry Howard, brother of Thomas, fourth Duke of Norfolk, and of Lord William, the Duke's third son, they were consigned to North's care pending their removal to the Tower. On the occasion of a former arrest, in 1583, Lord Henry had been sent on parole to the custody of Sir Nicholas Bacon at his house at Redgrave. Mendoza, writing to King Philip of the arrest of 'Lord Harry' and his nephew, remarks that Lord North is 'a great heretic,' [1] as he would certainly appear from the point of view of a Spanish ambassador.

We have already met with an instance of North having begged indulgence for a recusant
1589 from the Bishop of Ely; and in March 1589 we find him making excuses for one Henry Cooke—a gentleman, two-thirds of whose property had already been confiscated by the Queen—for that 'he liveth modestly, without offence by word or deed, and doth find a light horse, well furnished for Her Majestie's servis, and a pikeman well armed.' Cooke is referred to as 'a man of quiet behaviour, and small spirit.' North begs that some widow women too, may be left in peace, because they are 'of the meanest behaviour—not

[1] *Spanish State Papers.* Record Office.

worth speaking of.' This seems at first sight to be hardly a recommendation, but the strange excuse points to the conclusion that 'mean' is here used in its ancient sense of 'moderate.'

Religious persecution was abhorrent to North's nature. To the end of his days there was always a soft corner in his heart for recusants. When in 1598 Sir William Stafford was confined in the Gatehouse at Westminster, awaiting trial on a charge of heresy, North visited him in his prison, helped him in arranging his business affairs, and interceded for him with the Queen, writing to Cecil that he had been talking to her Majesty about the idle matter penned by Sir William, and pleading 'that she would be pleased to free him from the prison and the charge, in respect of his poor wife and children.' The kind old man was in part successful, the Queen yielding so far as to order Sir William's release from the Gatehouse, directing that he should be consigned to the custody of the Bishop of Winchester,[1] under whose influence he became an orthodox churchman.[2]

The relations between North and Burghley were evidently of a very friendly sort. On July 28, 1589, North wrote the following letter to the Lord Treasurer, begging to be informed of the time and place fixed for the marriage of his son with Mistress Brooke :[3]

[1] Thomas Bilson. [2] *Calendar of Hatfield MSS.* pt. 8. p. 218.
[3] Daughter of Lord Cobham.

'I am given to understand, my special good Lord, that the mariage between Mr. Robert Cecill and Mistress Brooke will shortly be solemnised, and if I can come by any good thing worthie the sending, I will not fail to do it, otherwise I will undoubtedly, if God so will, honor the feast, and the least that 'longeth to your Lordship with my presence and do all other services in my power, praying your good Lordship to lett me know the time and place. Your good Lordship seeth how very ready I am to trouble you. For the subsydie matters when the Queen's letter and bookes and commission come down, I will do all that I can with good conscience to further that service, leaving every man a good and large peniworth of his own goods, and yet advance the rate. As there shall happen any occasion in this shire worthie advertising, I will forthwith repair with my intelligence to your Lordship, upon whom I will with all friendly love and service depend, trusting your good Lordship will remember to send me word of the mariage, if you will have so ill a guest; so praying God to bless your Lordship with long life and honor, I take my leave.

'At Kirtling, 28th July,

'Your Lordship's most assured to commande,

'R. North.'[1]

Doubtless Cecil received in due course a

[1] *Lansdowne MSS.* 61–78.

handsome wedding present, perhaps one of the 'fayre standing cuppes' so much in favour at that time as gifts, but the giver was not to be among the wedding guests. A little later he writes to Burghley, that indisposition holds him from Mr. Cecil's marriage, and passing on to matters of business, writes that he has completed the subsidy to the reasonable contentment of all men, but fears that Burghley will adjudge him 'over liberal to the subject.'

Indisposition brought with it no abatement of zeal, no slackness in the performance of duty. True to his motto, he had never shrunk from toil and hardship, he had been working on, ill or well, to negotiate the subsidy then being levied, in a spirit of justice and fair dealing. The following extracts from a letter to Burghley will serve to show how carefully he entered into every detail, and how great was his desire that while each should take his rightful share, none should be unduly burdened :

'The 12th of this present, I received your 1590
good Lordship's letter together with a booke of names of Mr. Foscew's collection, and my booke also. I trust your good Lordship doth thinke that I . . . . . .[1] mutch by the subside bookes, but nott by my knowledge of men's estates, otherwise I should have committeed as many errors as

[1] Illegible.

ys in yt booke. Wherein I find sett dowen almost all those wh lent before, many yt dwell in other contries, many dead and removed, and all the able men in the contrie. I knowe your Lordship's meaning ys, not yt every mane which ys able shall lend, nor lend as mutche as he ys able. For yt purpose and being perswaded hir Ma^tie^ will be pleased wt the lone of 2000£ now, as she was before . . . I assure myself to see yt 2000£ spedilie paid wt good contentment. And yet every ^P^son yt cane alledge before your Lordship or otherwise, and trewly prove reason to be discharged either of the hole or parte, may be eased, suppliing his room wt another ^P^son or adding another to him, neither trobling your Lordship dailie wt newe prive seales nor dealing hardly wt any. There be some ^P^sons whoe in their severall callings continewally labor wt their great charges in hir Ma^tis^ servis, them I thinke fitt to forebeare, as also all those wch lent money the last time . . . Your Lordship writeth in your letter yt of your own knowledge Jhon Killingworth of Cambridge ys unable to lend 100£, for that he is sett in subside, but at 20£ goods. I pray your Lordship give me leve to thinke your knowledge cometh by information . . . I am constrained to justifie my worde and deed wch I speke of knowledge and of no reports and thus in particular of Jhon Killingworth . . .

This Killingworth hath more money abrode for comodite then any one mane knowen in Cambridgeshere. This ys yt Killingworth whoe ys become a poore bailife of Peterhowse to defraud hir Ma^tie^ of subside of hors and armor . . . I say againe there ys no mane in this cowntrie better able to beare ye burden of 100£ then he, neither ys there any mane yt liveth more sparingley . . . I have laboured your L. ye longer in this matter because I goe faithfully to worke in hir Mat^is^ servis. I have used all the expedition I can to retorne your L. my booke, I trust your L. will testifie wt me yt I ame not the latest or last lietenant in accomplishing hir Ma^tis^ servis. I do wish your L. might here and alow ye reasons of them yt will sue for abatement or discharge. So may your L. take as mutch or as litell as you please, and I will remaine redy to ^P^forme all duties whereunto I shalbe comanded, beside love and honor your L. and pray the Lord to bless and kepe you in life and health to his good pleasure.

'At Kirtling, 13 Dec. 1590,

'Your good L. assurid at commandement,

'R. North.'[1]

We here lose sight of North for a few years, until in 1595 he comes again into notice as Lord

[1] *State Papers.* Record Office.

Lieutenant of Cambridgeshire. Sir Horatio Palavicino made complaint that the Lieutenant had made excessive demands upon him for the Queen's service in the matter of men and arms, and the horses he could not supply unless he provided coach horses, as some others had done : he begged he might be exempt.[1] North was inclined to insist ; this caused a disagreeable feeling to arise between the two, and Cecil played the part of mediator, begging some indulgence for Sir Horatio. Possibly because he was a foreigner, North believed him to be in ignorance of the extent of his obligations to the State. The affair was in the end amicably settled, North courteously expressing his willingness to meet Sir Horatio 'with all good faith and honesty, yea and more than half way.' 'My usance is to be as good as my word, and (I) purpose not to begin to break my promise to you.' That he kept it is amply shown by the contents of his letter to Sir Horatio.

'For that there be some duties to be performed in her Majesty's service at this muster, wherein I think you ignorant and yet most forward, good Sir Horatio, to do things to further the same, I have thought good to respect you with all the favour that I may lawfully do. The law commandeth the appearance of all your men servants from sixteen years old to sixty ; and the view of

[1] Sir Horatio's letters are in Italian.

all your armour, shot, and weapons for footmen. Let it please you to inform yourself what armour, shot, and weapons, you are bound to find by law; bring all that same fair written unto me at the muster, and stay your furniture at home. You may also keep at home all or as many of your ordinary serving men to do your lady service, as shall seem good unto you. Notwithstanding, I pray you to bring or send all their names in writing whom you do stay at home. Command your servants of husbandry not to fail to make their appearance. If you do please to come to the muster yourself, your presence will countenance and assist the service that day very well.'

'At Kirtling, 20 April 1595.' [1]

North wrote to Cecil that he had had some hours' conversation with Sir Horatio on ordinary subjects. We have already had evidence of the former's familiarity with the Italian tongue, and this must have helped to promote friendly relations between the neighbours. Sir Horatio was undoubtedly a very rich man, but he appears to have been in great dread of being reputed richer than he really was, and of being over assessed in consequence. It is pleasant to meet with evidence of the complete and lasting nature of the reconciliation between these two men; four years

[1] *Calendar of Hatfield MSS.* pt. 5, p. 138.

later, we find North a guest at Sir Horatio's house at Babraham in Cambridgeshire, writing to Cecil that Palavicino's entertainment is fit for the greatest state in England, but that is of less account than his friendliness.[1]

We meet with constant evidence of North's kindly and upright nature. On one occasion a dispute had arisen from some unknown cause between himself and one Colville, and Burghley took the matter in hand, and succeeded in patching up the quarrel. North wrote to thank him for his honourable handling of the matter, adding, 'Mr. Colville shall find me free from remembrance of any unkindness past.' About the same time, one Mistress Elrington, a friend of Burghley's and a woman of great wealth, was roused to violent indignation against the Lord Lieutenant on account of his interference with some of her retainers in the exercise of his official duties. Her wrath was also, and with greater cause, directed against one of his servants, who bore her a grudge for injuries done to his father; this man she accused of entering by force the house of one of her tenants, killing her dog, and using despiteful speech against herself. North explained to Burghley that the tenant's place was an open ale-house,

[1] Sir Horatio Palavicino was an Italian banker and financier, who appears to have been naturalised in England. He lent very large sums to the Queen for public purposes on the joint security of herself and the City of London.

and that while divers were drinking there, his servant rose up from the company, and, finding in the yard as he went a greyhound he knew to be Mistress Elrington's, cut off one of his legs with his sword, and went his way without speech to any man. North adds: 'I do as ill like him therefor, as I did her, who with despiteful words sent away my dog into Northamptonshire.' He says he has no quarrel with the gentlewoman; he sought to show her good will, as Burghley had requested him, but she rejected it. On another occasion we find him giving good advice as to one of Burghley's wards, destined, it appears, as a husband for some member of the Lord Treasurer's own family: he recommends that the youth should be but little with his mother, 'for surely God is not served in that house, and His name continually blasphemed, even by herself and her friend, in that violent sort as it is fearful to hear.' It is impossible not to discover in such letters as these, the spirit of a large-hearted God-fearing gentleman.

CHAPTER XVII

North had inherited the manor of Harrow Hill from his father, and spent part of the summer of 1596 at his house there. Several of his letters about this time are dated from Harrow Hill. In one, he writes to Sir Robert Cecil, to tell of a strange thing that has happened to him. Since leaving Court he has received a paper without superscription, 'containing the form of a prayer compounded in such divine, religious, and most Christian manner, so briefly, effectually, and apted with words of such force, as no creature living, neither with wit or art, can put to, pull from, or remove any word in it without the defacing of the most heavenly prayer I ever heard.' He considers it would be worthy of Cecil to 'boult out' the author. After more flattering words of a like sort, he passes on to other matters, desiring to hear of her Majesty's well-being, and of the state of the Navy. 'At Harrow steeple we see far and hear nothing.' 'From Harrow Hill, June 7, 1596.' He accompanies this with a brief note, asking Cecil to do

as he thinks best as to showing the letter to her Majesty or suppressing it. 'I do not acknowledge the having, but seeing of a prayer.'[1] It is much to be regretted that the prayer which aroused so much enthusiasm is not forthcoming: one is inclined to imagine that the old courtier suspected the Queen herself of having composed it.

When Cecil was appointed Secretary of State,[2] North wrote his friend the following letter of congratulation:

'I heartily thank God, good Mr. Secretary, that her Majesty hath graced you with this title, which your painful service hath long sithence deserved, and which will encourage you to undergo the great burden you are charged withal. The Lord God bless you in all your counsels and actions and assist you with His Holy Spirit. I would sooner have congratulated this your dignity if sooner I had known it. Harrow Hill hath late news or none at all.

'At Harrow Hill, July 9, 1596.'

Much insight is to be gained into the Court life of the day from the gossiping letters of Rowland White. About this time[3] he wrote of North— 1595
coupling his name with that of Sir Henry Leigh— 'they play cards with the Queen and that is all the honour that will fall to them this year.' White just

[1] *Calendar of Hatfield MSS.* pt. 6, p. 211.
[2] July 1596. [3] 1595.

saved his reputation as a prophet with regard to North, who on August 30, 1596, was sworn of the Privy Council as Treasurer of the Household. During the same year, Mark Gerard painted his second portrait of North. The original is in the possession of the present Lord North. It represents the Treasurer in full court dress, holding his wand of office.

For some little time past, rumours had been flying from mouth to mouth that the Queen intended this preferment for North. Sir William Knollys, who was himself an aspirant for the post, received the news with much discontent. His father had filled the office of Treasurer; Sir William had hoped to succeed him, and had written to bespeak Cecil's interest, expressing the desire that should he fail to obtain the Treasurership, he might receive the appointment of Comptroller, the step next in importance, rather than that of Vice-Chamberlain, which he had heard her Majesty designed for him, but which he gave it to be understood he would not accept. He referred to the Queen's reported intention of appointing North to the Treasurership as 'a thing never seen before,' and expressed dislike at the prospect of serving under him.[1] Sir William was evidently in the worst of tempers when he penned this letter. He was in the end appointed Comptroller of the Household,

[1] *Calendar of Hatfield MSS.* pt. 6, p. 287.

and it is to be feared the Treasurer found in him a not too loyal colleague.[1]

North's bodily powers seem to have been somewhat overtaxed by the increase of work. He pointed out to Cecil that it would be an advantage to him in regard to the state of his health, to have his lodging and maintenance at Court, if Her Majesty of her great goodness would grant it, but he did not venture to ask it.[2] The matter was, however, in some way brought to the Queen's notice, and the favour was granted.

In October 1596, White writes, 'I hear my 1596
Lord Treasurer,[3] Lord Buckhurst, Lord North, and Sir John Fortescue, are appointed Commissioners for the States business.'[4] North seems to have been called upon to serve in a variety of directions. On September 22, 1596, the Queen wrote to Sir Drew Drury, Lieutenant of the Tower of London, discharging him from his office, and desiring him to deliver up his charge and his prisoners by inventory, to Sir Richard Berkeley the newly appointed Lieutenant, in the presence of Lord North, Treasurer of the Household, and of others named by her.[5]

In 1597 North received a fresh mark of the Queen's favour in his appointment to the Keeper-

[1] On the death of Lord North, Sir William Knollys obtained the coveted appointment of Treasurer of the Household.

[2] *Calendar of Hatfield MSS.* pt. 6, p. 510.

[3] Burghley, Lord High Treasurer of England.

[4] *Sidney State Papers*, vol. ii. p. 6.

[5] *Calendar of State Papers, Dom.*, Eliz.

ship of the Royal Parks of Eltham and Horne, Purveyor of the Manor of Horne, and Surveyor of the Woods of that estate. It is likely that these offices demanded no great personal attention from him, and that as Treasurer of the Household he spent much of his time at Court. He neglected none of the duties of a courtier, year by year, punctually presenting the Queen with a New Year's gift of £10 in gold in a silken purse, and receiving, as the custom was, a piece of plate in return, usually from twenty to twenty-one ounces in weight. Besides the customary New Year's gifts, her Majesty did not disdain to accept at odd times, little bits of finery of trifling cost; thus we find an entry in North's private accounts of 'Froggs and Flies for the Queen's gloves 1s.' 'Gloves for the Queen 15s.' Doubtless these were of an ornamental sort; he paid much less for his own gloves—seven shillings a pair. The Queen would smilingly accept any number of presents great or small, and gloves seem to have been peculiarly acceptable. The Spanish Ambassador, Mendoza, was told that the presents of gloves and perfumes he had brought with him, had been of great service to him in obtaining ready access to her Majesty's presence.

At the end of 1596, we find North laid up at the Charterhouse, much worried at his enforced absence from Court. This has pained him, he writes, more than his limbs have been pained

SIR JOHN NORTH.

From the collection of Lord North.

by the gout; he assures Cecil that he has not been idle nor unmindful of her Majesty's service, but has been working hard to make up the accounts of the royal household. He expresses his determination to serve her Majesty faithfully in his office, regardless of slander and discontent.[1] Possibly his efforts in the direction of economy may have aroused dissatisfaction among some of his subordinates, for it appears that when the accounts of the year were closed, the Queen was shown to have saved £1217 and more, as compared with the expenditure of the previous one, notwithstanding that she had lately incurred some heavy charges. It must be stated, however, in justice to his predecessor, that North's tenure of office did not cover the whole of the financial year.

North met with a sorrow about this time in the death of his eldest son, Sir John, who died in London of a 'calenture' or infectious fever, during the summer of 1597. The old man wrote 1597
sadly to Burghley of his trouble, anxious for the future of his grandson and heir Dudley,[2] then between fifteen and sixteen years old. Following the custom of the day, when marriages were arranged much after the French fashion, North desired that the boy should be betrothed to one of

[1] *Calendar of Hatfield MSS.* pt. 6, p. 510.

[2] So named after his godfather, Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester.

Burghley's kinswomen, no doubt conceiving that such an alliance might promote Dudley's advancement in life. The old man's project was, however, for some unknown cause, not destined to succeed. He thus broaches the subject to Burghley:

'God having taken away my eldest son, my most honorable good Lord, hath therefore frustrated all my resolutions formerly established, so yt I ame to begine ye world againe: yt is trewe, my good Lord, yt I faithfully love and honor you, for more proof thereof I lett your Lordship knowe that as you do command me so shall this my littell son of XV years old [1] be bestowed as your Lordship shall command, which is the greatest jewell I cane offer your Lordship, and will thinke myself mutch honoured if his
1597 chance might be to an alliance with your house, —for I ame wondersly pleased with your honourable favor, and with ye kind love of your Lordship's worthie son, the Secretary. When I shall next waite on your Lordship, you shall knowe my mind at ye full; confessing my harte hath bene and ys mutch trobled wt the untimely death of him who was readie and furnished wt. gifts to supplie my rome in ye servis of Hir Ma^tie, humbly praying your good Lordship to geve some order for finding him (Dudley) ward, (?)

[1] His only surviving son, Sir Henry, was then forty-one years old and married.

for so he must prove to be. The Lord God bless your Lordship with long life. So humbly take my leve. 8 June.

'Your Lordship's most assured friend at c^{om}

'R. NORTH.'

Addressed: 'To the right honourable, my singular good Lord, the Lord Treasurer of England.' Endorsed: '8 June, 1597.'

'Lord North to wyt upon a proposal of marriage between his son and a kinswoman of ye Lord Treasurer.' [1]

[1] *Lansdowne MSS.* 84.

CHAPTER XVIII

STURBRIDGE Fair was in the Elizabethan age one of the most important and largely attended in England. It was a great resort of the Cambridge students and the residents in and about that town, and the servants from Kirtling were wont to do a good deal of marketing there, bringing home goods of a very miscellaneous sort: salt fish, kettles and frying pans, dog couples, horse meat, groceries, gunpowder, matches, and so forth. On one occasion, one of the servants, Parish by name, who likely enough had been making too merry at the fair, and who seems to have been at the best a very turbulent fellow, crossed in a ferry-boat to Chesterton on the return journey, with some Cambridge scholars. A brawl arose, and Parish, whipping out his dagger, wounded one of them. An attempt was made to arrest him, but his fellow servants, together with the retainers of Sir John Cutts, or Coutts, effected a rescue by force of arms, and Parish then went into hiding.

North, with other justices, was attending the sessions at the Castle, and Parish's duties had brought him to Cambridge with his master. On that day towards evening, the scholars, burning to avenge their comrade, swarmed into the town like angry bees. A group of them, headed by one Nowell—a man of great size and strength, who, as a fellow of King's College, should have known better—and all armed with swords, clubs, and other weapons, gathered near St. John's College, where they were joined by other bands. While all were clamouring for justice upon Lord North's miscreant retainer, there rose above the hurly-burly the ringing sound of horses' hoofs, and the old lord himself, with all his following, came clattering down the street. At once some thirty or forty scholars sprang forward to bar his way, some seized his horse's bridle and bid him stand, some cried 'Strike,' others 'Deliver Parish.' Lifting up his voice amid the tumult, he called on his retainers to keep the Queen's peace and strike no blow; then lighting down from his horse, which had become very restive by reason of the noise and glitter of arms, he spoke to the rioters on foot. 'Here did his Lordship deliver many honorable speeches,' [1] and his firm and reasonable words seem to have taken their effect. He then signified his intention to go forward to his lodging, probably to his old

[1] From a Report drawn up on the part of the University.

resort the Falcon Inn,[1] 'which his Lordship did accordinglie, the scholars that were in the street before him, still givinge hym place as he went forward, until he came somewhat beyond the Dolphine towards the sign of the Bare, where the righte noble and honorable Earle of Cumberland,[2] comeinge unto his Lordship, entered into speeches with his honor, and with Mr. Shaxton, a Proctor's deputye, as touching that action.'[3]

This Shaxton had stopped North's horse as he rode to his lodging, and had again pressed upon him the delivery of Parish in a violent and insolent manner. North answered that had he known where Parish was, he would not have yielded to a demand made in such unlawful sort, neither would he make any conditions with the rioters. Cumberland seems to have made himself very useful in helping to quell the disturbance. He afterwards wrote, at the Vice-Chancellor's request, the following account to Burghley of what passed after his meeting with North:

'My good lord Mr. Vycechancellor hathe

[1] The Falcon seems to have been the principal inn in the town. We read of Lord North having been entertained at dinner there by the Mayor and Corporation.

[2] George Clifford, third Earl of Cumberland, a noted naval commander and adventurer, was in much favour with Queen Elizabeth, whose glove, given by herself, he caused to be set with diamonds and always wore in his hat. He died October 30, 1605, and was buried March 30, 1606; an example of the customary delay in those days of the interment of the rich.

[3] The Report of the University.

earnestly entreted me to enform your lordship my knowledge what passed, in which lately was lyekely to have happened betwyxte my Lord Northe and the Scolleres of the Universety, the originall grounde I am ignorant of, nether cam I to the first beginnynge, but desierus to have the matter well quieted, I entreted all the Scolleres to assemble themselves together and here me speeke, whom I found very redy to satisfy me; then demandynge of them the cause of ther suche assembly, they answered it was only for the takynge agayne of Paris, one of my Lord North's men, whoe by force had disobeed an areste immediatly before made by the officers of the Eunyversety, the delyvery of which party they sayde they only required of my lord, protestynge to himself that they honored him, without thought of harme to his person, or any about him, that party excepted; whereupon my lord gave them such sufficient contente by his speeche, as they were well plesed to gooe hoome with me to ther houses, wher I lefte them, not mackynge any further sturre that I did here of. And thus lothe to troble your lordship with any further discourse, this being the effect of all that passed within my knowledge, I committ you to God. From Cambrydge, this 8 of October.

'Your lordship's to command,

'GEORGE CUMBERLAND.' [1]

[1] Cooper's *Annals of Cambridge*, vol. ii. p. 497.

Lord North made a formal complaint to the authorities of the conduct of the scholars and others, and certain of the ringleaders, including Nowell and Shaxton, were sent up to London to answer for their misdeeds before the Council. It is not known what befell them in the end. Parish's fate was to be recaptured, imprisoned, and afterwards required to give security for his good behaviour.

Occasionally some friction arose between North and the University authorities. In 1599, the Vice-Chancellor summoned, as was customary, 'all butchers, taverners, tiplers, inkepers, and all other victuallers,' within the town and precincts of Cambridge, to appear before him on Friday and Saturday in Shrove week, to enter bond for the observance during Lent of such orders as should be issued to them concerning the killing, dressing and eating of flesh. Some appeared, but many refused on the ground that the Mayor had already taken bond of them. Whereupon a deputy from the Vice-Chancellor, with some other heads of colleges, repaired to North as High Steward of the town, with a complaint. They found him at his inn, the Falcon, and opened their grievance. They were doomed to discomfiture, for he told them in answer, that with himself alone lay the right to take such bonds, and that this having been committed to him by the Lords of the Council, he refused to yield it

to any other authority until they themselves should revoke it.

'These speeches thus passed, they of the Universitie tooke their leave of the Lord Northe and so departed.'[1] On another occasion the heads of the University made objection to a licence granted by himself and other justices to one Robinson, for holding games at 'The Howes,' and it was, after some discussion, withdrawn. The authorities also remonstrated as to the countenance given to certain players who had performed at Chesterton in defiance of the Vice-Chancellor's prohibition. North was a great patron of players, who were discouraged by the University as tending 'to the great enticement and provocation of scholars to lay aside their studies and be dissolute and disorderly.'[2]

The unchanged policy of Spain towards England was a standing menace. This had been strongly forced upon Elizabeth by her Ministers, till in the winter of 1596, she was induced to turn 1596
her serious attention to the better arming and strengthening of the ports. She signified to Essex[3] her pleasure to call a Council of 'such persons as are experienced in martial courses, that by them some advice may be given as was in '88.' North was summoned to attend this

[1] Heywood and Wright's *Cambridge University Transactions*, vol. ii. p. 9.

[2] *Ibid.* vol. ii. p. 39.

[3] Earl Marshal of England.

Council, together with Lord Willoughby, Lord Burgh, Lord Norris, Sir William Knollys, Sir Francis Vere, and Sir Conyers Clifford, Burghley acting as Chairman. Sir Walter Raleigh and Sir George Carew were afterwards added to the number. Certain members of the Council were desired by Essex, severally to make reports as to the probable method of the enemy's attack and the measures proper to be taken for the defence of the coast. North's paper is too long to allow of more than brief extracts. He was of opinion that, supposing the rumours to be true, 'it is like the enemy will delay no time in coming, for the dishonour and loss he received at Calais doth kindle his malice, and so great fury that he burneth in desire to be revenged: the hope therefore will bring him rather now than in the spring, partly for that his preparations be great and ready, especially for that he thinketh to find us unprepared now; for tarrying till the next spring, we shall be in more readiness to withstand him, being thus forewarned by the bruit of his preparations.' North goes on to urge that though 'it be impossible to provide against all the landing places of England, yet there must be such fortifications made as the time will give leave, in the most needful places, and such port towns as are unwalled must be reinforced with men . . . the forces of the sea coast must upon every sudden, be ready to impeach his landing. . . .

The places of most danger to the realm and to do him good, are the Isle of Wight and Southampton . . . there should be some fortifications made at Southampton of good importance, so likewise at the Wight, over against Hurst Castle which is by the Needles. He must be fronted with a great Army near unto him, which may continually impeach him and attend his purposes, to amaze and win time of him . . . I wish to have no less than four hundred lasts of powder and great store of victual . . . Let Southampton be for the Wight and all Hampshire, some town in the west for Devon, Cornwall, and Portland ; for Norfolk and Suffolk, Lynn or Ipswich and London for Kent, Sussex, and Essex.' [1]

[1] *Lansdowne MSS.*

CHAPTER XIX

North was an old man now, and we meet with frequent evidence of failing health. In the early
1598 part of 1598, the Queen, hearing that her trusty old servant was taken stone deaf 'so as he could not here by no means any speech,' sent him this recipe. 'Bake a little loafe of Beane flowr, and being whot, rive it in halves, and to ech half pour in three or four sponefulls of bitter almonds; then clapp both ye halves to both your eares at going to bed, kepe them close and kepe your head warme.' We are told that the patient was completely cured by this truly sovereign remedy, which was, however, supplemented by the prescriptions of Dr. Smith, who the invalid appears to have thought somewhat over liberal with his drugs. Cecil had been paying a visit to his sick friend, who afterwards wrote to him from the Charterhouse:

'I thank you for this kind visitation. I am retired for no ease, nor to prevent other indisposition. I am violently attacked with dullness

of hearing, so that I cumber my friends to speak to me. I trust the warm Spring will quickly wear this away. Doctor Smith laboureth me with physic, and with two or three days more the commission and all that belongs to the voyage will have a speedy and free end.[1] At Charterhouse 5 Martis.' [2]

In the following spring, North was attacked by far more serious illness, and lay 'dangerously sicke in Court uncertain of recovery.' [3] But he rallied, and in the autumn was again employed in public affairs, being one of the four Lords of the Council summoned in haste on Michaelmas Eve to hear Essex's defence of his sudden and unauthorised return from Ireland on that morning, and of his insolent intrusion, on his arrival, into the Queen's chamber.

During his frequent attendance at Court, North must often have enjoyed the society of his nephew, and niece by marriage, the Earl and Countess of Worcester,[4] both of whom were attached to the Queen's Household. The Court seems to have been a hot-bed of jealousy, scandal, and intrigue, and its officials must have led a very

[1] This remark probably refers to the levy and transport of horses for service in Ireland, in arrangements for which North was much occupied about this time.

[2] *Calendar of Hatfield MSS.*, pt. 9. p. 90.

[3] Rowland White to Sir Robert Sidney, March 1, 1599. *Sidney State Papers*, vol. ii. p. 173.

[4] Edward, fourth Earl of Worcester, was the only son of Christian, daughter of Edward, first Lord North.

chequered existence. The following extract from a letter from the Earl of Worcester to the Earl of Shrewsbury, gives an amusing account of the state of feeling prevailing amongst the ladies, and though written rather later than the period with which we are dealing, it may well come in here as giving what is doubtless a very accurate picture of the general condition of affairs about this time. The spelling—unusually bad even for those days—has been modernised.

'. . . Now having done with matters of State, I must a little touch the feminine Commonwealth; that against your coming you be not like an ignorant country fellow. First, you must know we have ladies of divers degrees of favour, some for the private chamber, some for the drawing chamber, some for bed chamber, and some for neither certain; and of this number is only my Lady Arabella and my wife. My Lady of Bedford holdeth fast to the bed chamber, my Lady Hertford would fain, but her husband hath called her home. My Lady of Derby the younger, the Lady Suffolk, Ritchie, Nottingham, Susan Walsingham, and, of late, the Lady Southwell, for the drawing chamber; all the rest for the private chamber, when they are not shut out, for many times the doors are locked; but the plotting and malice amongst them is such, that I think envy hath tied an invisible snake about most of their necks, to sting one another to death.

For the presence there are now five maids, Cary, Myddlemore, Woodhouse, Gargrave, Roper, the sixth is determined but not come : God send them good fortune, for as yet they have no Mother.'[1]

On November 29, 1599, North was present at a meeting of the council in the star chamber. On this occasion the lord keeper announced, 'The Queen has observed inconveniences by gentlemen and Justices of the Peace flocking to towns, all therefore who are here, to repayre to their country, not only to mayntayne hospitalitie for the relief of the poore, but that those who are Justices and put in authoritie for the preservation of the peace, should chieflie in this dangerous tyme, see her subjects kept in due obedience and ponishe the offenders.' A proclamation was accordingly issued to that effect.[2] At the same council a discussion took place concerning the affairs of Ireland, and North took some part in it, but, says Rowland Whyte, 'either too softly to be heard, or briefly

[1] The 'Mother of the Maids of Honour' was appointed to act as their duenna. The office was abolished about the end of the eighteenth century.

[2] Such proclamations were not uncommon. James I continued the custom by issuing several of the same sort, in which he ordered the lords spiritual and temporal, deputy lieutenants and other gentlemen, to return to the country. These proclamations were almost invariably accompanied by an injunction to keep hospitality there. In one of them, beneficed clerks were included, and all those specified in it were to repair to their homes in forty days. The Mayors of London and other cities were to certify the Privy Council of the names of such persons as neglected to obey these proclamations.

concurring with those that went before.' For those who have journeyed in thought with the old man through life, from the brilliant days of his early manhood, and have learnt to admire—perhaps to love—his ardent generous nature, there is something pathetic in these words; they tell of the keen spirit waxing faint, of the fire which once leapt so high, flickering low; of an old friend who cannot be much longer with us. Yet for a time there was a rally, and he gathered up his energies to return to his post at Court and to take part with the rest in the Christmas festivities, when 'her Majesty graced the dancing and plays with her own presence, and played at primero with the Lord Treasurer,[1] Mr. Secretary,[2] and the Lord North. The Court was great and full of Lords and Ladies, and her Majestie came to Chapel.'[3] Doubtless the Queen was not sorry to see the old Treasurer in his place again; she had shown her favour towards him of late in various directions, and had paid him the compliment of naming one of her horses after him, 'Grey North.'[4]

[1] Lord Buckhurst, who succeeded Burghley as Lord High Treasurer of England.

[2] Cecil.

[3] Rowland White to Sir Robert Sidney, December 20, 1599. *Sidney State Papers.*

[4] *Calendar of Hatfield MSS.*, pt. 8, p. 418.

It was Elizabeth's frequent custom to name her horses after her courtiers and ladies. Grey North had for stable companions among others, My Lady Warwicke, My Lady Stafford, My Lady Gylforde, White Howard, Bay Compton, and Bay Egerton.

The old courtier remained to fulfil the duties of his office until after St. George's Day, and then set out for Bath in company with his friends the Lord Chamberlain and his wife, and Lady Hoby ; Lord Cobham followed them a little later.

Sir Dudley Carleton writes to his ' very assured friend,' Mr. John Chamberlain, ' The Lord North droops every day more and more, and is going down to the Bath. My Lady North is growen a great courtier, and shines like a blazing starr among the fairest of the ladies.' This last remark probably points to Sir John North's widow ; there is no sufficient evidence of his father having made a second marriage. Had he done so, it would surely have been recorded in his epitaph, as was his marriage with Winifred Dudley.

North had evidently much faith in the waters of Bath, for his visits were frequent. He returned there in August, when Sir William Knollys, 1600
Comptroller of the Household, and afterwards his successor in office, was sent for temporarily to fulfil its duties. He seems to have found the summons inconvenient, and to have arrived at Court in not the best of tempers. He complains, ' I am thereby restrayned from my countrye sporte and vysytation off my ffriends.' The course of waters at Bath seems to have brought some passing relief. On October 15, Chamberlain writes to his fellow gossip Carleton, ' They say the Lord North is once more shaking hands

with the world.' But this was to be a greeting of farewell; he was soon to pass from sight amid those brilliant scenes in which he had moved as a familiar figure for so many years. Gifted as he was by nature and fortune, and surrounded by all the allurements of a dissolute Court, he had nevertheless maintained throughout an honourable record, never losing sight of his high ideal, and, though often marked out for distinction by his Queen, never earning the dishonoured name of favourite.

The old man was never again to see his beautiful home at Kirtling; he retired to his house in Charterhouse Yard, and there 'passed quietly to his heavenly country.' So writes Camden, and adds, 'a man of a lively spirit, as brave as he was wise.'[1] This tribute may be fitly followed by that of Lloyd. 'There was none better to represent our state than my Lord North, who had been two years in Walsingham's house, four in Leicester's service, had seen six Courts, twenty battles, nine treaties, and four solemn jousts, whereof he was no mean part; a reserved man,[2] a valiant

[1] 'Vir vivido ingenio, animo consilioque par,' Camden's *Annals*, anno 1600.

[2] 'Reserved' must in this case be taken in its ancient sense, to mean a good man of business, or a good manager, since we find nothing in North's character to warrant the statement that he was a reserved man in the modern sense: he seems rather to have been by nature impulsive and outspoken. The following passage from Sir Fulke Greville's *Life of Sir Philip Sidney*, aptly illustrates the Elizabethan use of the word: 'Againe, in her

souldier, and a courtly person.'[1] It is a matter for no little regret that, so far as is known, no record exists of many of the brilliant services above enumerated, but we at least know enough to be certain of this, North would be the same man still, the brave, wise, kindly gentleman, no matter where duty or circumstance might call him.

A funeral service at St. Paul's, December 22, preceded the removal of his body from London, but it was not until the February following that he was buried by the heralds at Kirtling, with all the stately ceremonies customary at the time.[2] On his tomb was inscribed: 1600

'DURUM PATI.'

ROGERUS DOMINUS NORTH DE KIRTLINGE
THESAURARIUS HOSPITII REGII, ET E SACRIS
CONSILIIS SUB REGINA ELIZABETHA, UXOREM
DUXIT WINIFRIDAM FILIAM RICARDI DOMINI
RICH, DE LEES IN COM. ESSEX. SUMMI ANGLIÆ
CANCELLARII: EX QUA FILIOS GENUIT JOHANNEM ET
HENRICUM, MILITES, ET FILIAM UNICAM MARIAM
QUÆ DECESSIT INNUPTA. DIEM OBIIT
EXTREMUM ANNO ÆTATIS LXX. MO, ET ANNO DOMINI
MDCMO.

household affaires, she (the Queen) kept the like equall hands, ballancing the sloth or sumptuousnesse of her great Stewards and White Staves, with the providence and reservednesse of a Lord Treasurer.'

[1] Lloyd's *State Worthies*, vol. i. p. 451.

[2] This is another illustration of the long period which usually elapsed between the death and interment of persons of importance in those days, when the observance of an elaborate ceremonial must have made necessary a long preparation.

North's Will is dated October 20, 1600. After commending his soul to Almighty God, he directed that his body should be buried at Kirtling. He left the family estates, all his armour and 'the pied nagge' to 'my loving nephew Dudley Northe, myne heir apparent, eldest sonne of my eldest sonne.' We have here an example of the curious ancient use of the style of 'nephew' for grandson. His grandchildren are throughout described as nephews and nieces. He gave handsome bequests to them all, as well as to his only surviving son Sir Henry, and his brother Sir Thomas, to both of whom he had already been very generous; and, in a codicil, directed that 'in acknowledgement of my love and duty to her Majesty, from whom I have receaved advancement to honor and many and continuall favours, I will that my Executors present unto her Highness a Hundred poundes in golde, humbly beseeching her, my dear soveraigne, to vouchsafe the acceptance thereof, as of a Testimony of my Loyaltie, and to continue her favourable countenance to my house,' adding, 'I geve to my honourable assured ffrend Sir Robert Cecill, Knighte, princepall Secretarye to her Majestie, and Master of her Wardes, a fayre gilt cuppe and the som of Tenne poundes in money.' Many legacies are left to friends of less note, and the servants are liberally remembered. Four of these are to have 'eache of them a nagge.' Adam Webbe, one of the retainers so favoured,

is doubtless the Adam repeatedly named in the housekeeping book; who once had a gift 'to cristen his child.' He had lived at Kirtling twenty-four years at the least, and like Orlando's good old Adam, had rendered his master 'that constant service of the antique world,'[1] which had plainly made fast the tie of love between the two. North's household must have mourned its head, and he deserved it. When he entered day by day in his ledger, those commonplace details of pounds, shillings, and pence, he all unwittingly wrote himself down, kind master, good father, generous friend of the poor. We need no herald to proclaim his largesse, no chronicler to tell of the cloud that hung over Kirtling when its old lord passed away. There they laid him, the kindly, courtly gentleman, loved and honoured in his generation; loved and honoured yet, by some who, though they never held converse with the eager spirit on earth, feel that it still lives and waits.

[1] 'As you Like It.' Act II., Scene 3.

SIR THOMAS NORTH

CHAPTER XX

FEW materials are available for a biography of Sir Thomas North. Although, in common with other gentlemen of his time, he took his share of military service, his most familiar aspect is that of a scholar, spending the greater part of his life among his books; his only title to fame—no mean one—is to be found in his literary work, and it is there we must seek for some reflex of the man's mind and character.

Thomas was the second and youngest son of Edward first Lord North: he was born about the year 1535, probably rather later, and it is believed that he was educated at Peterhouse, Cambridge. He was designed for his father's profession of the law, and in 1557 was entered as a student at Lincoln's Inn. No record remains of his legal career, but it was evidently short; and it may be readily conceived that a youngster of his unpractical and imaginative temperament would not cheerfully bend his mind to the dry method of a

lawyer's work. He was already absorbed in literature, and in December of the same year, published in London, with a dedication to Queen Mary, his translation of Guevara's 'Libro Aureo,' a Spanish adaptation of the Meditations of Marcus Aurelius. It is believed that this translation, although professedly from the French, was in fact made in large measure from the Spanish original, from which he has very clearly caught direct inspiration. The book was entitled 'The Diall of Princes, compiled by the reverende father in God, Don Antony, Guevara, Byshop of Guadix, Preacher and Chronicler to Charles the fift, late of that name Emperour. Englysshed oute of the Frenche by Thomas North, seconde sonne of the Lord North. Right necessarie and pleasaunt to all gentylmen and others whiche are lovers of vertue.' In the second edition he adds, 'And now newly revised and corrected by hym, refourmed of faultes escaped in the first edition: with an amplification also of a fourth booke annexed to the same. Entituled the "Favored Courtier," never heretofore imprinted in our vulgar tongue. Right necessarie and pleasaunt to all noble and vertuous persons. Now newly imprinted by Richard Totill and Thomas Marshe, Anno 1568.'

North thus heads his dedication: 'To the most high vertuous Princesse Mary, by the grace of God Queene of Eng'and, Spayne, Fraunce,

both Scicilles, Jerusalem, Naples, and Ire'and, Defendour of the Faith, Archiduchesse of Austria, Duchesse of Burgundie, Mylaine and Brabant, Countesse of Haspourge, Flanders, and Tyroll, Long health and perpetual felicitie. 1553–1558 Regnavit.'

North could not have been more than twenty-two when he published this book. He refers in the dedication to his 'small knowledge and tender years,' and beseeches her Highness to accept his good will and travail, which he has published for the commodity of many, and which he offers her as a pledge of his bounden duty, and also as a perpetual memory of the fervent zeal he bears to his country. 'And in so doing your Grace shall not only encourage me, being young, in these my first fruits, but also others (peradventure) of more ripe years to attempt the like enterprise, by which the divine Majesty may be immortally glorified, your puissant name worthily magnified, your royal person duely obeyed, and all your Grace's natural and loving subjects greatly profited. At Lincolne's Inne the 20 of December 1557.'

North added an epistle to the reader, which, after some reference to 'our country,' he ends thus: 'In defence and preservation whereof, good reader, we ought not alone to employ our whole witts and able sences, but, necessity

enforcing us, to sacrifice ourselves also for benefit thereof.

'From my Lord North's house nere London the 10 day of May 1568.

'Thine that accepteth mee

'Th: North.'

Guevara had written a shorter version of the 'Libro Aureo,' and this had been published in English in 1534, under the title of 'The Golden Boke of Marcus Aurelius.' It was from the pen of John Bourchier, Lord Berners, the translator of Froissart, and had already passed through five editions before the 'Diall' appeared. North's enlarged version nevertheless enjoyed a wide popularity, passing through a third edition in 1582, and a fourth in 1619. The 'Diall of Princes' may be taken as a sample of Tudor prose at its best: in this as in his later works, North is almost wholly free from the exaggerated Euphuism defacing the style of Lyly and other writers of the day, a fault which some critics have sought to trace to the influence of Guevara alone.

Thomas North was twice married; first to Elizabeth, daughter of — Colville of London, and widow of Robert Rich; secondly to Judith, daughter of Henry Vesey of Isleham, Cambridgeshire, and widow of Robert Bridgewater, Doctor of Civil Law; this lady married as her third husband, John Courthope, second son of John Courthope, of Wyleigh, Sussex. The first Mrs.

North bore her husband two children : Edward,[1] who took to wife Elizabeth, daughter of Thomas Wren of Haddenham, Isle of Ely, and Elizabeth who married in June 1579 Thomas Stuteville of Brinkley, Cambridgeshire. Cooper[2] mentions a third child, Roger, but the boy's name is absent from every family record, and it is probable that, if he ever lived, he died in infancy. Cooper's statement that Edward and Elizabeth were the children of Thomas North's second wife, is proved erroneous by the fact that the first wife is among the legatees under the will of Edward Lord North, dated March 20, 1563, and that the children are there named as her own. Notwithstanding the provision made for Thomas North by this will, and the generous help of his brother, he was, at all events at one period of his life, a needy man ; he appears to have been one who had too much of the genius in him to be methodical or business-like in the management of his own affairs. He seems, however, to have held a good position in Cambridgeshire, as may

[1] It seems likely that this Edward grew up to be the Captain Edward North who, in 1601, commanded a company of between one and two hundred in Ireland during Tyrone's rebellion, and who before his embarkation was kept waiting for two months at Barnstaple, whistling for a wind and for the arms with which his men had been sent to him totally unprovided. He complained to Cecil that had these been furnished he could have made his company very perfect in that time. Nevertheless his care was to see them as well trained and ready as men without furniture might be.

[2] *Athenæ Cantabrigienses*, vol. ii.

be inferred from the fact that in 1568 he was presented with the freedom of the town of Cambridge.

In 1570 he brought out his second work, entitled ' The Morall Philosophie of Doni. Drawne out of the auncient writers. A work first compiled in the Italian tongue, and afterwards reduced into divers other languages ; and now lastly Englished out of Italian by Thomas North, brother to the Right Honourable Sir Roger North, Knight, Lorde North of Kyrtheling.

> The Wisdome of this World
> Is folly before God.'

This work consisted of a collection of the fables of Bidpai, and other Oriental fables, rendered with rare wit and vigour from the Italian of Antonio Francesco Doni.[1] At the commencement is an Italian sonnet by some admirer of North's who gives only the initials G.B. After many laudatory sentiments of his own, he ends by quoting the testimony of Doni himself, that if others have interpreted him well, North has surpassed him.

The book is excellent reading. We can have many a good laugh over the queer sayings and quaint conceits of the creatures North has made to live for us. There is the horse who used ' to feede in a goodly pasture where hee alone was

[1] Antonio Francesco Doni was born in Florence 1513.

Lorde and Maister within himselfe. At length by chaunce there came within his dioceise a mightie growne Hart, who tooke his herbage there as his right also, and did eate and feede beyond all reason or measure. Insomuch that this horse disdaining his beastly attempt, chased this Hart from the ground full many a time and oft.' Then what a delightful person is the 'Turkie cocke of a bigge voyce, of fewe wordes, but resolute'; and the 'prowde Moyle,' [1] the hero and villain of the story, who must needs go to Court, and who, when there, could not keep from meddling in the affairs of his majesty the lion. We are told how, after a successful mission to the bull, 'that great and mightie Beefe,' he returned to the king with a wondrous joy, 'His Moyleship bravely yerked out with both legges, and lively shook his eares and head. He brayed and flong as he had been madde.' But this 'worshipfull Moyle' took nothing in the end by all his crafty scheming, and it served him right, for as his 'mother asse' very sensibly remarked to him, 'What a goodyere have you to doe to meddle with his (the King's) matters?' The old lady inflicted upon him many wise and weighty admonitions, and in this was warmly supported by his brother, who always strove to exert an influence for good, and played the part of a very candid friend. If, said he, 'thou wilt not be called by the Kinge

[1] Mule

to deale in his matters, why dost thou (foole) put thy hande in the fire, and meddleth with that thou hast naught to doe? Thou that mightest have lived quietly at home and at ease; what the goodyere, aylest thou to clyme to the toppe of trees?' 'Brother Asse,' although so highly respectable, was never dull. He carried very little weight however: his Moyleship answered, 'Tut a figge! I am determined.' And the busybody still went his own way with characteristic obstinacy, and very soon fell from bad to worse.

CHAPTER XXI

In 1574 Thomas North—as we have already seen—accompanied his brother Roger on a mission to the Court of Henry the Third of France. Lord North, himself an accomplished linguist, must nevertheless have found advantage in numbering among the gentlemen of his suite one so versed in the French, Italian, and Spanish tongues, and otherwise 'learned and of good parts,' while to Thomas the trip must have been pleasant and may have been profitable; be that as it may, there is reason to think it was full fraught with rich results for others, for it seems pretty certain that during his stay he must have met with the Bishop of Auxerre. The Bishop, as the King's Grand Almoner and one of the Privy Council, was doubtless much about the Court, and one can well believe that the two scholars had much learned discourse upon the beauties of Plutarch, and the Bishop's translation; and that this gave rise to North's first conception of his own grand work.

It seems that, on his return from France, he

was altogether settled in Cambridgeshire. Two years later, his brother Roger made him a present of a lease of a house and 'household stuff.' The worries of the move once over, his beloved books and papers rescued from the perilous zeal of the womenfolk, and his household stuff all 'spicke and spanne newe,' as he would have expressed it, comfortably disposed around him, we may picture him busily employed upon the great work by which he will be best remembered, his translation of 'Plutarch's Lives' from the French of Amyot. The book was published under the title of 'The Lives of the noble Grecians and Romanes, compared together by that grave, learned Philosopher and Historiographer Plutarke of Chæronea: Translated out of Greeke into French by James Amyot, Abbot of Bellozane, Bishop of Auxerre, one of the King's privy counsel, and great Amner of Fraunce; and out of French into Englishe by Thomas North.'

Imprinted at London by Thomas
Vantrouiller and John Wight.
1579.

In the third edition North added to the title 'With the lives of Hannibal and Scipio African; translated out of Latine into French by Charles de l'Excluse, and out of French into English by Thomas North.'

These two lives had, however, already appeared

in the first issue. The work bears a dedication to Queen Elizabeth, dated January 16, 1579, and an epistle to the reader, January 24, 1579. North tells the Queen that she is 'meeter to be the chiefe storie than a student therein, and can better understand it in Greeke than any man can make it Englishe.'

The book became one of the most popular of its day. Though each copy sold for more than five pounds of our money, the work ran through eight editions within a century of its publication. To the fourth edition North added a supplement, with the following explanation on the title page: 'Hereunto are also added the lives of Epaminondas, of Philip of Macedon, of Dionysius the elder, tyrant of Sicilia, of Augustus Cæsar, of Plutarke and of Seneca, with the lives of nine other excellent Chieftaines of warre collected out of Emilius Probus by S. G. S. and Englished by the aforesaid Translator.'

Strype, in his 'Annals of the Reformation,' mentions North's 'Plutarch' as one of the books of the year, and gives quotations from it. Leicester wrote to Burghley soon after its publication, seeking to enlist his interest, and asking his favour 'for Lord North's brother in his book he has to pass. He is a very honest gentleman and hath many good things in him which are drowned only by poverty.' [1]

[1] *Calendar of Hatfield MSS.*, pt. 2, p. 339.

North's 'Plutarch' must, on its own merits, have claimed a lasting place in literature as a magnificent example of Tudor prose; but the fact that Shakespeare bore away from its pages some of their richest treasures, has invested it with an ever-abiding interest of another kind. It has been called the great poet's storehouse of learned history, and it is certain that but for its existence the Roman plays would never have been written, but it was far more than this; Shakespeare helped himself with both hands, and transplanted bodily some of its finest passages into his own plays. 'A Midsummer Night's Dream,' 'Julius Cæsar,' 'Coriolanus,' 'Antony and Cleopatra,' 'Pericles,' and 'Timon of Athens,' were more especially enriched by it. To enter at large upon a critical analysis of North's writings, and of the manner and extent of Shakespeare's indebtedness to him, would be to carry the reader far beyond the scope of the present work; it is a task already accomplished by abler pens;[1] but it may be said here, that in 'Coriolanus' whole speeches have been taken from North's prose: it is, however, in 'Antony and Cleopatra' that his diction has been most closely followed. The parallel between the passage commencing 'The Barge she sat in like a burnish'd throne'[2] and the corresponding

[1] Among others by Mr. Wyndham in his masterly introduction to the reprint of *North's Plutarch*, published by Mr. David Nutt.

[2] Act II., Scene 2.

one in the Plutarch is very remarkable. Collier is of opinion that Shakespeare used the edition of 1605, and Mr. Allan Park Paton has written a learned pamphlet with the object of proving that a copy of it now in the Greenock Library, was the poet's property and the very book from which he worked.

The interest attaching to Shakespeare's use of the Plutarch has gone far to obscure other aspects of the work. But it should be remembered that it was not alone a grand literary achievement : the translator designed with a serious purpose that it should teach and inspire. In his dedication to the Queen, he writes, 'Howe many examples shall your subjects read here, of severall persons and whole armyes, of noble and base, of younge and olde, that both by sea and lande, at home and abroad, have strayned their wits, not regarded their states, ventured their persons, cast away their lives . . . then well may the readers thinke ; if they have done this for heathen Kings, what should we doe for Christian Princes ? if they have done this for glorye, what should we doe for religion ? If they have done this without hope of heaven, what should we doe that looke for immortalitie ? ' It was indeed a rich treasure North had placed in the hands of his countrymen. When he drew aside the veil which had concealed from them the glories of past ages, and rekindled for England the ancient fires of Greece and Rome, he was

teaching her soldiers to be conquerors, and her governors how to rule.

It is impossible to go far into North's writings without coming face to face with the man: honest, brave, of a healthy morality and kindly disposition, he speaks to us from every page. He seems to have shared his brother's chivalrous nature. Mr. Wyndham dwells with much justice upon his reverent handling of all that concerns women. Though he does not, on occasion, refrain from 'stout words' of rebuke or disdain, his natural attitude towards them, no less than towards children, is one of respectful sympathy: keen and trenchant as are the weapons at his command, he sheaths his sword in their presence. His love of children is transparent; it breathes through many a passage: here is one too beautiful to be passed by. He is telling how Paulus Æmilius 'appointed to make warre upon King Perseus, all the people dyd honorably companie him home unto his house, where a little girl (a daughter of his) called Tertia, being yet an infant, came weeping unto her father. He, making muche of her, asked her why she wept?' The poore girl answered, colling him aboute the necke and kissing him:—"Alas, father, wot you what? Our Perseus is dead." She ment by it a little whelpe so called, which was her playe fellowe.' All North's heart was in those words; the picture is so real to him, surely he must have been thinking

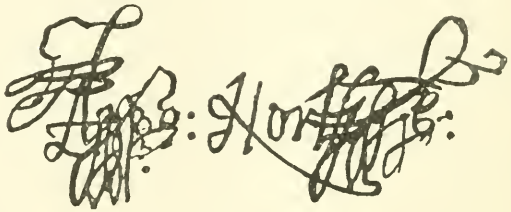
of a day when his own little Bess came to him with some such trouble ; he has brought that far-off little Grecian maid so close to us ; almost into our arms.

North doubtless felt more at ease in rendering the diction of Amyot than that of Plutarch, but whatever may have been his motive in translating from the French, it was not ignorance of Greek. There is no doubt that he referred from time to time to the original ; this is shown by his introduction of sundry passages left untouched by Amyot. But he was no slavish imitator of any of his predecessors. Whenever he saw occasion to expand a noble thought, or to add picturesqueness to some grand episode, he broke loose from the fetters of the translator and gave the rein to his own fine genius. The Bishop, however, was a good man to follow ; he was master of an excellent style, and much has been said, no doubt with justice, of the strength and vigour of his translation ; but if Amyot's Plutarch sprang to life as a Titan, it remained for North to clothe him with the robe of an Emperor.

The Plutarch closes the list of North's literary works. Among the additional MSS. in the British Museum [1] is found a paper of his, 'Exceptions against the suit of (the) surveyor of the gaugers of beer and ale.' It consists of objections to a petition of Sir Robert Stewart and others, who had

[1] 12497 I. P. fo. Dated Jan. 9, 1891.

applied for a patent for the gauging of vessels for beer and ale. North gives as his reasons, that it would cause discontent among the brewers, obliging them to have their vessels altered, and that he does not think the Queen would derive any profit from the patent. The only interest attaching to the document consists in its bearing, at the foot, his very peculiar and intricate signature:



He must have had a good deal of spare time on his hands. Signatures of the sort were, however, not uncommon in his day: many readers will recall that of Queen Elizabeth, and that of Edward Lord North is typical of the same style.

Thomas North was not so wedded to his books as to forget his duty as an Englishman. His great nephew [1] wrote of him as 'a man of courage.' He was ready enough to serve his country in time
1588 of need, and when in 1588 the Armada loomed upon her shores, he took command of three hundred men of Ely; his brother, as Lord Lieutenant, was then mustering all the forces of the County of Cambridge. About 1591 he was knighted,

[1] Dudley, fourth Lord North.

and must therefore have then possessed land to the value of forty pounds a year, a necessary qualification for a Knight Bachelor in those days. In 1592 we find him on the Commission of the Peace for the County of Cambridge; his name again appears on the roll of Justices for 1597 as 'Thomas North, *Miles*.'

The publication within recent years of the later volumes of Calendars of Hatfield MSS. has revealed the fact that Sir Thomas took command, in 1596, of a company of one hundred men in Ireland, during Tyrone's rebellion. He shared the robust and practical patriotism which, in his day, formed part of the equipment of every English gentleman, and made good his own words, that a man should not only employ his wits for the benefit of his country, but be ready to sacrifice himself also. Not long after his return, he received a grant of twenty pounds from the Corporation of Cambridge,[1] and in 1601, a pension of forty pounds a year from the Queen, 'in consideration of the good and faithful service done unto us.'

Here we part from Sir Thomas North, without record of his death or burial. His best epitaph has been written as 'The father of English prose.' It was he who first revealed to the people of England their rich inheritance in all the fulness of its splendour. Touch what he might, he made

[1] Equal to from £150 to £200 in our day.

all his own the lofty grace of diction that marks the Tudor tongue. In following his words, we feel ourselves, as it were, treading the paths of some grand old-fashioned garden, stately and fair; resting often to breathe all the fragrance of rosemary or lavender, yet never wearying to wander on through its pleasant alleys, full of quaint turns and sweet surprises.

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