

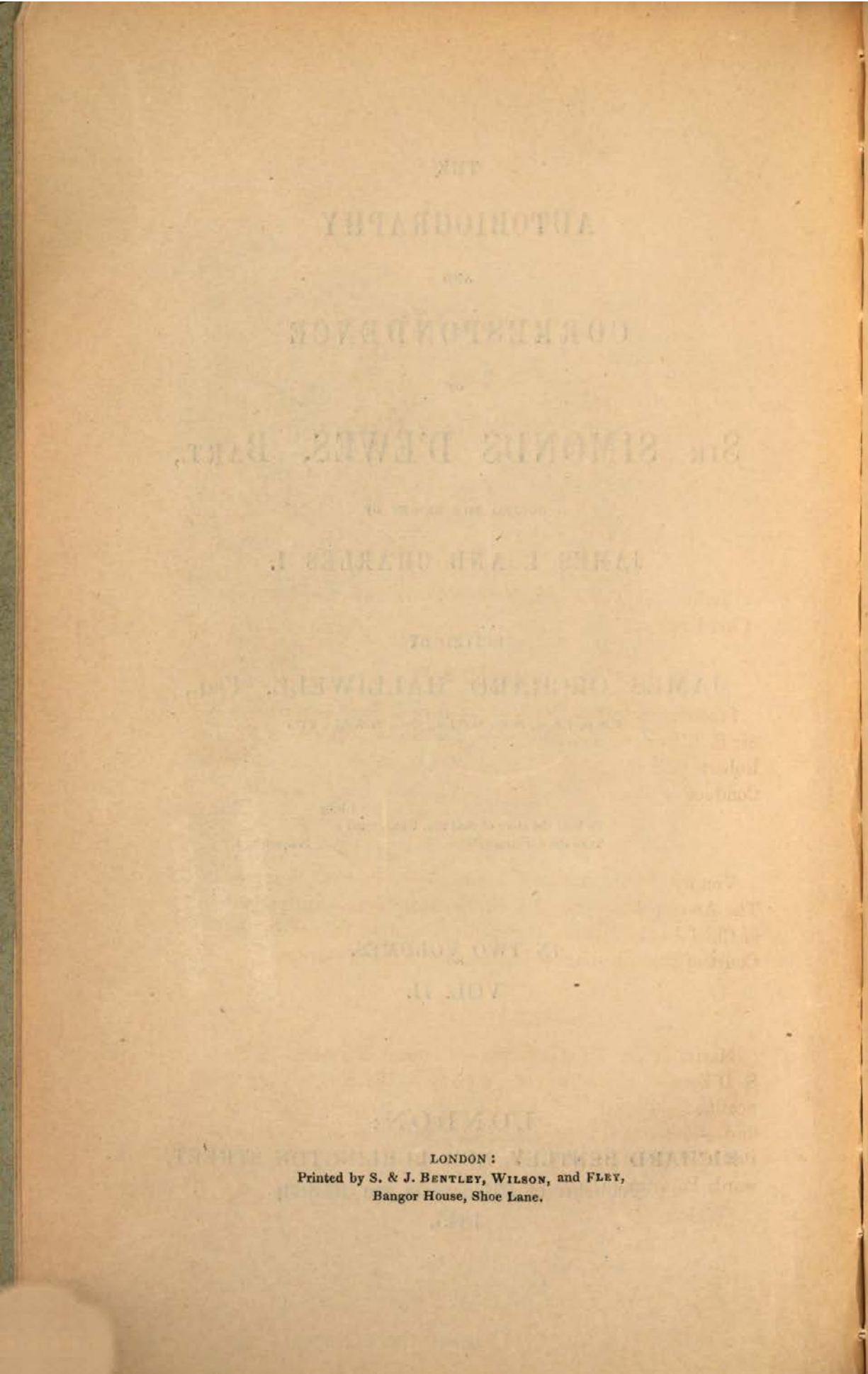
THE
AUTOBIOGRAPHY 72006
AND
CORRESPONDENCE
OF
SIR SIMONDS D'EWES, BART.,
DURING THE REIGNS OF
JAMES I. AND CHARLES I.

EDITED BY
JAMES ORCHARD HALLIWELL, Esq.,
F.R.S., F.S.A., HON. M.R.L.A., HON. M.R.S.L., ETC.

I long
To hear the story of your life, which must
Take the ear strangely.— *Tempest*, v. 1.

IN TWO VOLUMES.
VOL. II.

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J. Cook, sc.

F R E D E R I C K .

King of Bohemia

FROM A HAIR-PRINT BY CRISP. QUELZINUS.

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THE LIFE
OF
SIR SIMONDS D'EWES.

CHAPTER I.

Continental Wars.—Death of D'Ewes's Father.—Account of his
Family.

1630.

THE public frame of things and affairs in Christendom beyond the seas gave all God's children daily more and more cause of rejoicing and thankfulness. For the French King, Lewis the Thirteenth, still prosecuted the war in Italy and Savoy all the last summer against the Imperialists and Spaniards abroad, and abridged his mother's power at home, who had been too long Queen Regent, and furthered the designs and counsels of the enemies of France. This Italian war was still the cause of the greatest part of all the other happy occurrences of the year past. For the French King, understanding that Ferdinand the Second, the persecuting Emperor of Germany, intended speedily to invade his dominions, thought it the safest and cheapest way to cut him out some work at home, and to begin first. To this end he sent to that mirror of princes,

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Gustavus Adolphus, King of Sweden, (whom the Emperor had highly provoked by many hostilities and injuries,) to join his arms with him for the restitution of the German liberty. The Swedish King was at peace with Poland, and had his army lately employed against that nation, yet under pay whole and entire. Sir Thomas Roe, our English Ambassador, then with the Swedes, persuades him to undertake so pious and brave an enterprise; which he did, and joined in league with the French King; and, on Midsummer-day last past, he landed in Germany with an army of some fifteen thousand foot and horse, amongst which numbers were many great soldiers and commanders of the brave and warlike Scotch nation.

The King of Sweden, with the little army he brought, and some small helps that were afterwards joined to it, before the end of this December, took many strong places in the Duchy of Pomerland from the Imperialists, clearing the whole country of those wolves and robbers, slew and put to flight so many thousands of them, and wrought so many wonders, both in that kingdom and in the neighbouring Duchy of Mecklenburg, as filled the whole Christian world with admiration, and might afford me work for many pages, were not his full story extant in Latin, French, and English. The Swede's victories gave the Electors of Germany, in their Diet held at Ratisbon this summer, the courage and heart to deny the Emperor the election of Ferdinand, his son, to be the King of the Romans; to which also the ambition of Maximilian, Duke of Bavaria, did not a little conduce. For he having, by his treachery, ruined the Prince Elector

Palatine, his kinsman, and usurped his Septemviral dignity, began now to cast an aspiring eye upon the Imperial crown itself, and had, doubtless, some imaginary hopes at this present to get himself in time to have been chosen King of the Romans. The Diet of Ratisbon being dissolved, the Protestant Princes who were yet left in Germany had a meeting at Leipsic, where John George, Duke of Saxony, and one of the Electors seemed very forward to spend his estate and life in and for the cause of religion; though afterwards he played the Judas to ruin the Empire, as he had at first, in the year 1621, ruined the gospel and religion in Germany.

In this meeting the Protestant Princes only decreed to arm and defend their own countries and dominions from hostile invasions; by which unseasonable wisdom and policy of theirs, the King of Sweden's victories were retarded, and the Protestant party much weakened. But their holding off made the King's glory and renown shine the brighter; who, had the German Princes joined with him upon his landing, might, doubtless, have accomplished those victories this year which he did the next ensuing.

The United States, also, of the Low Countries had this summer a memorable victory over their enemies in the West Indies, where the Spaniards lost the town of Pernambuco in Brazil: and, in the year 1631 ensuing, Count John of Nassau, having brought down above 3000 soldiers in long-boats and other vessels to Stavenisse, a little island in Zealand, finding his said vessels to be run on shore, fled himself, leaving his men, boats, sloops, and all his other warlike provisions, to

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the mercy of the States army, as I shall show more at large at the end of December in the ensuing year.

On Saturday, the first day of January, I began to transcribe a manuscript Saxon Dictionary I had borrowed of my kind friend, Mr. John Bradshaw, one of the deputy-chamberlains in the Tally Office: I took care to pen it more methodically than I found it, and intended to enlarge it. I continued the work for some days after, not without some intervening lets and hindrances: afterwards, at other times, I proceeded with it, though not during this month, and had finished it, but that I understood of a Saxon Dictionary intended to be printed by one Mr. Lisle, whom I had not yet seen, in Cambridge, nor was acquainted with at all, but attained the knowledge of him there some two years after. He was excellently skilled in the old English Saxon tongue, and most able to finish that work; which, if he do not, I may then again, perhaps, by God's assistance, proceed with mine own begun resolution.

Wednesday, January the 12th, and the three ensuing days, I gathered many notes out of some abstracts I borrowed of the Patent Rolls, of which the records themselves remained in the Tower of London. Some part also of the preceding month I spent in directing him that had been my servant in the transcribing of somewhat that yet remained of the parliamentary journals of Queen Elizabeth's time. The remainder of January was for the most part bestowed on journeys, visits, and discourses. Besides my transcribing part of the Chronicles of Pipwell Abbey out of a copy of the Leiger book of the same Abbey, and my collecting

divers notes out of an old manuscript in parchment of the names and arms of all or most of the nobility and knights of Edward the Second's time in England, during the month of February. On the 9th day of the same month I began my collection of Domesday, although what I first gathered out of that rare record in the Tally Office I afterwards laid aside, and proceeded with a new work, which cost me much labour and pains.

On the 17th day of the same February I gave direction to my servant for the beginning of the parliamentary journals of Queen Mary's reign, all which were afterwards finished, excepting the journals of the Upper House of the first Parliament of Queen Mary's time, the original journal-book thereof being not to be found in the office of the clerk of the same House.

Tuesday, February the 22nd, my father fell sick of a fever, joined with a pleurisy, of which disease he lingered three weeks before he deceased, during which time I had many sad and heavy journeys to him. After his first and second letting blood, he found some ease; but, the pain returning again to his left side and the pleurisy appearing still to increase by his frequent spitting of blood, he was the third time persuaded by Dr. Giffard and Dr. Basherville, (who ever visited him twice each day he lay sick, and received each of them a twenty-shilling piece every time they came,) his two physicians, to open a vein again on Saturday, the 26th day of February, in the morning: after which, as before, he found a little ease for the present only; the same pain returning upon him so violently the Monday night ensuing, as he was enforced

to be let blood the fourth time the first day of March, being Tuesday, in the forenoon. I never saw worse nor more infected blood come from any man, so as, had not that which remained been tainted likewise, we might have hoped the loss of so much corrupted blood would have made a way to his speedy recovery. But now his case grew more desperate than before, in respect that his doctors durst not venture on this remedy any more, although he had found ease by it, supposing he had lost too much blood already for one of his age. To all these pains also, about the beginning of this month there was added a most sharp and irksome soreness of his mouth, (the fatal forerunner of death many times,) which was as terrible to him in the dressing and cutting, as it was burdensome to him in the daily enduring. And yet sometimes he was so eased and cheered, as myself of all others never dreamt of his death, and therefore, in respect of the coldness of the season, and of my presuming of his recovery, I often followed the initiated works of framing a Saxon Dictionary, with the Latin and modern English added to it, and in directing my servant in the transcribing the journals of Queen Mary's reign, during all the time of his sickness.

That which made me so confident of my father's recovery was his temperate diet and strong constitution formerly, when he had usually twice or thrice in the year a little fit of an ague, which sometimes also turned into a short fever, and ever almost cleared him for divers months after. This made me usually say, that I knew my father was a man of many years, and that all my aim and desire was, by the sale or leasing out of some part of my present estate, to discharge and pay

my debts, that I might live contentedly and comfortably on what I had, without expecting any more. To which end I had leased out so much of my Dorsetshire lands, the inheritance of my dear mother, the year past, as the fines received for it came to above 800*l.*, besides other profits made out of my farmship of the manor of Chardstocke, within the bounds whereof my said land of inheritance lay :—nay, being one time with my father during his sickness as he was going to bed, he told me it was time for him now to die, he had kept me so long from mine estate. “God forbid, Sir,” answered I, “you should so think, for I now live happily and quietly for my studies, and never look, all things considered, to live more contentedly.” He would often say to the Lady Denton, his wife, some two or three months before this sickness, that he saw nothing in the world why he should desire to live. I have much confidence also that he did seriously set himself during all that time to search and try his own heart, (which had always before been too much set upon the business and profits of this present life,) and to prepare his way to heaven by a lively faith and true repentance. I never saw any man express less fear of death during his sickness, bearing all his pains, dolours, and agonies, with admirable patience. Most ready he was to hear of anything that tended to his soul's good, and thankful to any that began discourses of that nature to him : yea, when he seemed to slumber, he would suddenly break out into serious and zealous prayers, of which I myself was an ear-witness.

On Sunday, February the 27th, I received the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper with my father in his

chamber, after which and some private discourse he had with the minister, I conceive he felt more inward comfort and resolution to die. Once when the surgeon let him bleed during this sickness, upon his closing the hole or orifice sooner than he expected, he asked him why he did so. "Because," answered the surgeon, "I am afraid to take too much blood from you." "Thou needest not," said he, "for what thou leavest will shortly be in the grave."

It is usual with men to have some little revivings and refreshings near upon their ends; but on Saturday, March the 12th, my father was so exceedingly amended, not only in the opinion of others, but in his own conceit also, as I returned from the Six Clerks' Office, in Chancery Lane, where he lay sick, to my house, at Islington, with an assurance that all danger was past, and therefore with a purpose for the future to follow my studies, and not to pass so often to London almost each day as I used to do for near upon three weeks foregoing, when my dear wife also, being big with child, did at several times accompany me to visit him. He had delivered his last will and testament put up in a little box to the Lady Denton, his wife, to deliver to me in case he should decease. Many religious and pious instructions he gave my younger sister Elizabeth, being then with him, and about twelve years old.

I was so confident of my father's recovery, as the next day after I had left him, being Sunday, though I came with my wife in the afternoon to hear a sermon in Great St. Bartholomew's Church, near Smithfield, yet after all ended, we returned straight back again to

Islington, and thought it a work altogether superfluous to visit my father, and the rather because I easily guessed his chamber would be filled with other visitants. Nay, the day next following, being Monday, March the 14th, on which he deceased, I so little dreamt of his being ill, and much less of his approaching end, as having deferred awhile a family fast I had intended by reason of his sickness, I that day entered upon it in respect of his supposed recovery. We had not been about the duties full three hours, when about eleven of the clock, came one of my father's men-servants unto me in all haste to bring me word, that if ever I desired to see him alive, I must speedily come away. He had been ill all the Sunday night, and began before day this morning to fail in his understanding and to falter in his speech; I instantly hastened away to him on foot without eating and drinking, and ran a good part of the way, but alas! before I got to him, his quick and bright black eye was settled in his head, and all sense and understanding past and gone.

His sickness had not been more dolorous and painful, than his long strugglings between life and death were violent and terrible. I believe he fetched above fifty deep-diving and great groans after I came, which would have moved the heart of a Turk or a Saracen to pity, had he heard them; they often drove me to zealous secret prayer for him, which I joined with my fasting, continuing my abstinence till supper-time; but much I should have desired, had it so pleased God, to have come time enough to have prayed with him. The sight and hearing of his most painful death and vehement groans (at every one of which it seemed his

heart-strings brake,) made me often since say, that I thought the blessed martyrs at their sufferings endured not greater pains; and that it might encourage Christians not to fear to suffer a violent death in God's cause, seeing the passage to Heaven is so difficult and terrible by a natural.

x I have often suffered by the false and virulent tongues of malicious backbiters, but never more unjustly than by their misrepresenting of my sincere and religious care of the well-doing of my father's soul during his sickness. For whereas I had many opportunities to have moved him in my own behalf, I never spoke to him one word to that end or purpose, nor procured any other to do it for me;—nay, whereas my little daughter, now near upon a year old, did much resemble him, and was nursed at home in my house, so as I could easily have brought her often unto him, I purposely forebore the bringing of her, lest it should give occasion to malignant tongues to report my only aim was to get from him, and thereby to procure a part of a portion for my child. My chief care was for his future happiness, and it is very true that by my means and procurement he sent for a divine, had a private conference with him, and afterwards, as before showed, received the Sacrament. This dutiful and christian act of mine, did some profane wretches calumniate, as if I had an intent to further his passing out of the world, because I took order for his inward comfort, which neither shortened his life, nor could be any hindrance or impediment to his recovery; being no more than every man is bound to look after, as well in health as in sickness. Besides most reasonable it

was, that so much cost being bestowed on the body, some regard should also be had to the soul. Awhile before his death he lay quietly, and departed out of this life about a quarter of an hour after five of the clock in the afternoon, the same Monday, March the 14th, with so little noise and stir, as it was not presently perceived, nor when perceived fully known; till a mirror or looking-glass was held before his nose and mouth; and came away unsoiled or unstained, which infallibly evinced there was no breath in him.

My father had no issue by Dame Elizabeth Denton, one of the daughters of Thomas Isham, Esq., of Langport, in the county of Northampton, his second wife, but by Cecilia, sole daughter and heir of Richard Simonds, Esq., of Coxden, in the county of Dorset, my most dear and religious mother, two sons and five daughters besides myself. Johan D'Ewes, his eldest daughter, was born at Wellshall, in the parish of Milding, in the county of Suffolk, on Saturday, the 1st day of February, about two of the clock in the morning, in the year of our Lord 1601, in the forty-third year of Queen Elizabeth, and was baptized in the neighbouring church of Brunt Illeigh on Wednesday, the 18th day of the same month next ensuing. She was married to Sir William Elliot, Knt., of Busbridge, in Godalming, in the county of Surrey, by whom he had much issue, of which I shall speak hereafter, as also of the issue of my other sisters, who are yet likely enough each of them, except the eldest, to have many children. My brother Elliot's coat-armour—to wit, blue, a fesse or, being borne also by the name of

Chasteleyn in former times, might challenge great antiquity to his family in respect of the richness and beauty of it. Nor is that other coat-armour borne, as it seems, before his father assumed those former arms by his ancestors being unworthy of the most eminent family. But his progenitors having been obscured in their condition about a hundred years since, and their ancient inheritance sold, I could recover little of his ascendant ancestors worthy of esteem, notwithstanding my often industrious researches and enquiries at several times when I came to visit him. The first I find was one Thomas Eliot, filacer in the King's Bench for the shires of Surrey and Sussex, and clerk of the peace for Surrey; he deceased the 20th day of January, 1462. He had issue by Alice his wife, (whose surname I never could find,) Walter Elyot, his son and heir; who had issue Thomas Elyot, his son and heir; who had issue John Elyot, his son and heir, who lived in Henry the Eighth's time. Who were the mother, grandmother, or great-grandmother of this John (saving the name only of the last to be Alice), I could never yet discover. His wife was Elizabeth the daughter of Robert Petoe of Godalming, in the said county of Surrey. The said John and Elizabeth had issue Lawrence Elyot, Gent., of Busbridge, in the same town of Godalming, who married Johan, the sole daughter and heir of John Inwood, of the same town; by whom he had issue Lawrence Elyot, Esq., of Busbridge aforesaid, who married Mary, the third daughter of William Barker, Esq., of Sunning, in the county of Berks, by whom he had issue Sir William Elyot aforesaid, who before his knighthood married to his first wife one of

the daughters of Sir Peter Gaston, Knt., of Wallanington, in the county of Sussex, by whom he had issue Judith, a daughter, still living. He married to his second wife Mary, third daughter of George Goring, Esq., of Danny, in the county aforesaid, by whom he had no issue. And lastly, being yet in the vigour of his years, and a discreet honest man, (hard to find in this corrupt age,) my father thought him a convenient and fitting match for his said eldest daughter, to which also his whole estate lying near together about a very commodious and handsome seat, and being in present possession, was a great inducement. The marriage was solemnized at St. Faith's Church under St. Paul's, in London, on Wednesday, the 7th day of February, in the forenoon, 1620.

I was the next child my mother had, being born in Dorsetshire, and the only issue my father had born out of the county of Suffolk. Grace D'Ewes, the second daughter of the said Paul and Cecilia, was born at Wellshall aforesaid, on Monday the 14th day of May, about six of the clock in the morning, in the year of our Lord 1604, and in the second year of the reign of King James over England; and was baptized in the parochial church of Milding, on Wednesday the 30th day of the same month. She bore her grandmother's name by her father's side, as her elder sister did her mother's mother's name. She was married in the parochial church of Stowlangtoft, in the county of Suffolk, unto Wiseman Bokenham, Esq., son and heir-apparent of Sir Henry Bokenham, Knt., of Great Thornham Hall, in the county aforesaid, on Thursday the 22nd day of September, in the year of our Lord 1625,

about ten of the clock in the forenoon. The family of Bokenham is very ancient, and was first seated in Norfolk, and from one of the towns of that appellation in same county did at first, doubtless, assume that surname. But most of the ancient lands and patrimonial possessions thereof being devolved to the Carels by the female inheritance of the elder house during the reign of Henry the Eighth, or of one of three children, and thereby the old writings and the original deeds not remaining in the said Sir Henry Bokenham's hands, but in their possession who had those lands, I often laboured and searched in vain to restore this family to its true extraction, till, in the year of our Lord 1637, I borrowed divers ancient autographs of Sir John Hare, Knt., of Stowhall, in the said county of Norfolk, touching the towns and manors of Sinterton, in the same county, which had been the ancient inheritance of the Bokenhams; out of which I drew a clear and rare descent for about the space of three hundred years, from Henry the Second to Edward the Fourth, from which time down to this present, it was very easy to supply and perfect it out of other materials.

This family also was very happy in their matching with divers female inheritresses of prime name and blood; which I will only mention without enlarging myself further. The first man I find of this surname in Norfolk was Hugh de Bukeham; whom I gather, from many pregnant circumstances, to have lived in Henry the Second's time, and to have had issue Sir Ralph de Bukeham, Knt., Lord of the Manor of Sinterton, in the county aforesaid; who married the daughter of Milo de Parker, called also Milo Parca-

rius. By whom he had issue Sir Hugh de Bokenham, Knt., who married Margaret, whose surname I find not ; and had issue by her, as I collect, Sir Hugh de Bokenham, Knt., on whose seals, and on his father's also, still hanging to their deeds, is a lion rampant, with a bend over it, charged with three round orbs. The colours appear in the uppermost south window of the chancel of Thelnetham Church, in Suffolk, to be argent, a lion rampant, gules, over it a bend blue, charged with three bezants. That second Sir Hugh had issue Hugh de Bokenham, Esq., who died about the forty-ninth year of Edward the Third, during whose reign he lived, as his father had done in the time of Edward the First, and his grandfather during the reign of Henry the Third. He married Juliana, the daughter of Peter de Thelnetham, and sister, and at length heir, of John de Thelnetham ; by whom he had issue Hugh de Bokenham, Esq. ; who married Johan, the daughter of Robert de Ashfield, Esq., of Stowlangtoft, in the county aforesaid ; by whom he had issue Hugh Bokenham, sometimes called in Henry the Sixth's time Hugh Bokenham, Esq., the Elder. His wife's name I cannot yet discover, nor her family. He had issue Hugh Bokenham, that died in the seventh year of Edward the Fourth, who married Emma, whom he left a widow ; but her surname I know not. These three last Hughs made such a confusion, and were so difficult to discover, as I had almost lost one of them amidst my search and scrutiny. This last Hugh had issue John Bokenham, Esq., who died about the fifteenth year of Edward the Fourth. He married Anne, daughter of John Hopton, Esq., of Yoxforde, in the

county of Suffolk, and had issue George Bokenham, his son and heir ; who married Margaret, the sole daughter and heir of Francis Heath, Esq., of Worlington, in the same county ; by whom he had issue two sons, Thomas Bokenham, his eldest son, whose son, John Bokenham, dying without issue, the ancient patrimony of his family devolved to Margaret, the sole sister and heir of the same John, married to Carel, who had issue by her, Edward Carel, and Elizabeth, their sole daughter, married to John Cotton, Esq., son and heir of Sir John Cotton, Knt., of Lanwade, in the county of Cambridge. The said George Bokenham and Margaret had issue a second son, named John Bokenham, who, by Elizabeth his wife, the sole daughter and heir of Edmund West, Gent., had issue Edmund Bokenham, his son and heir, who was sheriff of Suffolk in 1605, in the third year of King James ; and had issue by Barbara his wife, one of the daughters and coheirs of John Wiseman, Esq., of Great Thornham, in the said county of Suffolk, who brought unto him the same manor as her inheritance, Sir Henry Bokenham, Knt., his son and heir, who married Dorothy, the eldest daughter and coheir of Guilford Walsingham, Esq. ; by whom he had no issue, only one son John, and one daughter named Timothea, married to one Mr. Gardener, an Essex gentleman. His son, to perpetuate the surname of his paternal grandmother, was named Wiseman ; and was married to my second sister, Grace, as aforesaid, by whom he hath much issue living. I have purposely forborne the two foregoing descents of Elyot and Bokenham, to insert the younger sons and daughters, as a thing impertinent in this place.

The fourth child the Divine Providence vouchsafed to the said Paul D'Ewes and Cecilia, was a son born at Wellshall, in the parish of Milding, in the county of Suffolk, on Friday the third day of January, in the year of our Lord 1605, in the third year of the reign of King James, and was baptized in the parochial church of Milding, on Thursday the 16th day of the same month, and named Paul. He lived one year and five months, and about seven days; and died, as is most likely, of a sharp convulsion fit, (to which disease he had been before subject,) July the 10th, in the year 1607, in the fifth year of King James, and was buried the next day in the chancel of Milding Church aforesaid. That disease was not then so generally known as in these our sickly times; but when children were taken with it, they were either thought to have been bewitched, in respect of the distortion of the countenance and rotation of the eyes, or else to have choked, by reason of their dying away at the end of a fit. And thus was it conceived at the present, that my brother had died of suffocation by some almond comfits he was eating; not but that a little matter lying in the throat when a fit came might much hasten and precipitate his deceasing.

Mary D'Ewes, third daughter of the said Paul and Cecilia, was born at Welshall, in Milding aforesaid, on Monday, the 27th day of June, in the year 1608, and the sixth year of King James; and was baptized the next ensuing June the 29th. She is now the wife of Sir Thomas Bowes, Knt., of Much Bromley, in the county of Essex, to whom she was married in St. Faith's Church under St. Paul's, in London, on Mon-

day, the 4th day of December, in the forenoon, in the year of our Lord 1626, in the second year of King Charles. They have now issue three sons and two daughters alive, being all they ever had.

Cecilia, the fourth daughter of the said Paul and Cecilia, was born at Welshall aforesaid, on Monday the 7th day of May, in the year of our Lord 1610, in the eighth year of King James; and was baptized in the parochial church of Milding, on Wednesday, the 16th day of the same month. She, being about ten years and a half old, died in London, Friday, November the 17th, 1620, and was buried in the chancel of St. Stephen's Church in Walbrook, November the 19th, being Sunday.

Touching my brother Bowes's descent and family, which I had almost forgot, I am confident it is very ancient, and that Thomas Bowes, of York, his grandfather's grandfather, was a younger branch of an eminent northern family of that name; but I believe it is now become almost impossible to knit into, or clearly to deduce him from the prime stock of the same surname, it having been so long neglected. That Thomas Bowes had issue Sir Martin Bowes, Knt., Lord Mayor of London in 1545, who, by his first wife, the daughter of Fabian, had issue Thomas Bowes, his son and heir, who spent an estate his father had left him, worth at this day about ten thousand pounds of yearly revenue. He had issue, Martin Bowes, his eldest son, who deceased without issue; and Thomas Bowes, his second son, who, by Bridget his wife, the daughter, and at length the heir, of Ralph Starling, had issue Sir Thomas Bowes, Knt., aforesaid.

The before-mentioned Paul D'Ewes, Esq., and Cecilia his wife, after the birth of the fourth daughter, Cecilia, remained above five years without any children, till their removal to Stow Hall, in the county of Suffolk; where, on Monday, the 14th day of October, in the year of our Lord 1615, and the thirteenth year of King James, was born Richard D'Ewes, their third son. He was baptized in the parochial church of Stowlangtoft on Tuesday, the 29th of the same month; he yet remains unmarried.

Elizabeth D'Ewes, the fifth and youngest daughter of the said Paul and Cecilia, was born at Stow Hall aforesaid on Friday, the 23rd day of January, in the year of our Lord 1617, and the fifteenth year of King James, and was baptized in the same church on Thursday, the 4th day of February. She was married just six years and a day after her father's decease, to Sir William Poley, Knt., of Boxted, in the same county of Suffolk, on Tuesday in the forenoon, the 15th day of March, in Stowlangtoft Church aforesaid, 1636. His family was anciently seated at Codreth, in Hertfordshire, and surnamed De Polheya, from a town in that county of the same appellation, as I gather. Their primeve patrimony being long since sold and gone, I could never see good proof of any of his ancestors beyond Thomas Poley, Esq., who settled in Suffolk about the latter end of Richard the Second's reign, or the beginning of Henry the Fourth's, as I guess. He married in Suffolk two female inheritrices of fair estates and good families, by which he established two houses in the same county. His first wife was Alice, the daughter and heir of John Gislingham, by whom he had issue

Richard Poley, Esq., his son and heir; the lineal ancestor of Edmund Poley, Esq., now of Badley, in the same shire. The said Thomas Poley, after the decease of the said Alice, married to his second wife Anne, the sole daughter of Thomas Badwell, and at last sister and heir of John Badwell, her brother, who brought to him the manor of Boxted; which Thomas de Badwelle, her grandfather, had received in marriage with Beatrice his wife, one of the daughters and at length heir of Robert de Lyes, and Amia his wife, the sole daughter and heir of William Hervey, lord of the manor of Boxted aforesaid, in Edward the First's time; which William was a son and heir of a former William Hervey, son and heir of William Hervey, lord of the same manor in the times of Richard the First and King John. So as this manor hath now at this day continued in my brother Poley's blood, though in several surnames, for the space of four hundred and twenty years at the least. The said Thomas Poley, and Anne Badwell, his second wife, had issue Thomas Poley, who was heir to his mother's estate. He married Alice the daughter and co-heir of Geoffry Rokel, Esq., being a descendant of a most ancient Essex family, surnamed formerly De Rupella; and had issue by her John Poley, Esq., his son and heir, who had issue by Agnes his wife, the daughter of Sir Richard Whetely, Knt., Richard Poley, Esq. The said John Poley deceased in the third year of Henry the Seventh, and the said Richard his son died February the 19th, in the year of our Lord 1546, and was buried the same day in the chancel of Boxted Church. He married Anne, the eldest daughter of Sir William Clopton, Knt., who overlived him above

three years, and deceased in August, in the year of our Lord 1550, and was buried the 15th day of August the same year. The same Richard Poley and Anne Clopton had issue John Poley, Esq., who deceased, being extremely old, August the 6th, 1580. He married Margery, the sole daughter of John Blyant, Esq., of Intwood, in the county of Suffolk, and sister and heir of Richard Blyant, Esq., her brother; by whom he had issue William Poley, Esq., his son and heir, who deceased the 17th day of December, in the year of our Lord 1587. He married Alice, the daughter and heir of Edmund Shea, Esq., which Alice died about the 7th day of March, in the twenty-first year of Queen Elizabeth. The same William had issue by her Sir William Poley, Knt., his second son, and at length heir, who deceased in August, in 1629, and left issue Sir William Poley, Knt., his second son and at length heir, my brother-in-law, who hath had issue by my sister one daughter deceased, and one living.

CHAPTER II.

Proceedings on the Death of the elder D'Ewes.—Speech of Sir S. D'Ewes to his tenants at Lavenham.—Death of Sir Robert Cotton and the Causes that hastened it.—Unjust Conduct of Chief Justice Hide.—His Death and Character.

1631.

AWHILE after my father had breathed his last on Monday, March the 14th, and that it undoubtedly appeared he was dead, the Lady Denton, a little before his wife, and now his widow and relict, my brother and sister Elliot, who were come to town some few days before, and myself, retired into another chamber, in a house near the Six Clerks' Office, about six o'clock in the afternoon of the same day ; where we found my wife and my youngest sister Elizabeth, who had stayed there to accompany her. For my wife, to perform the last office of a deserving daughter-in-law, had followed me in her coach to Chancery Lane, to visit my father, though she were big with child ; but, finding him in her coming to be past recovery, and being much affrighted with his doleful and deep-fetched groans, (which she scarce recovered a fortnight after,) she was fain to depart into the above-mentioned chamber a long space before we retired thither. The Lady Denton, a little after our coming in, delivered me the box with my father's last will and testament in it, saying, she

had now performed his injunctions given unto her. Upon my opening the box, many evils, as out of that x which, as the poets feign, Pandora brought to Prometheus, ensued; for my brother Elliot, finding, upon perusal of the said last will and testament, which I suffered him to read openly before I had perused it myself, that there was nothing given to his wife and himself, and but little to his children, and therefore, it seems, failing in his own imaginary expectation, and not able to temper his mind, began to move unnecessary differences, who had, both before his marriage and ever since, to this day on which my father deceased, deserved all respect and faithful* love from him.

My patience and contentation might have taught him a more moderate resentment of his supposed being forgotten, for I failed of much which I might have justly expected, and upon surer grounds, which I forbear here to mention: besides, my father devised a great part of his mansion-house called Stow Hall, in the county of Suffolk, to the Lady Denton during her life, so as I was likely for many years to be debarred from living there with peace or freedom: and, doubtless, had we not both afterwards agreed upon a composition, by which I bought it of her at a reasonable rate, it would have proved an unavoidable occasion of many unkindnesses and differences between us.

My father, by his said last will and testament, had made Richard D'Ewes, my dear and only brother, complete fifteen years and five months old when he died,

* "But this and all other unkindnesses being wholly overpassed by me, we at last enjoyed again a most firm and endeared friendship."—*Marginal Note.*

his sole executor, and myself administrator, till he had attained the age of eighteen, which fell out on the 14th day of October, 1633, ensuing. He had given my sister Elizabeth D'Ewes, his youngest daughter, a portion of three thousand pounds, being more than he had given my brother Elliot's wife, or any other of my sisters at their marriage. This also nettled him, so as, within a few days after my father's decease, he got authority of the Prerogative Court, before I could prove the will, or take upon me the administration, and there made an inventory of what he could ; which afterwards made my integrity and uprightness more known and approved than otherwise it could have been, although it proceeded from my brother Elliot's idle and distempered choler, and might very well seem at first to have much blemished my good name in the opinion of such as knew me not. For whereas himself and his busy agents had, through haste, negligence, and ignorance, inventoried many particulars erroneously, told the ready money short, and omitted about 500*l.* of the true value in the total, of which, had I not made a conscience of my ways, I might have taken advantage ; I, in the new inventory I drew up, rectified all those errors, and added that large sum they had omitted. Nay, many months after my father's decease, my brother Elliot, not content to have put my brother Richard to this charge, commenced a suit in Chancery against me as administrator during his not attaining the age of eighteen years ; and there, by means of divers mean persons of little credit, who swore home, he recovered 400*l.* out of my said brother's estate.

The ill example of my brother Elliot also drew

my other two brothers-in-law, Sir Thomas Bowes, Knt., and Wiseman Bokenham, Esq., to sue at common law for increase also of their wives' portions; where they recovered between them, out of my brother Richard's estate, 1350*l.*, besides the great losses he had by the charges of the several suits. All which happened by reason my father gave my youngest sister Elizabeth, in his said last will and testament, more than he had given any other of his three daughters in marriage: and the two last that recovered proved by witness that he promised to make their wives' portions equal to the portion he should give to either of his other daughters. This promise being only proved to have been before marriage, their recovery was certain and speedy. And, to add to his losses, the other five of the Six Clerks who survived my father, by the unconscionable and cunning incitements of one Eveling, the chief amongst them, wrested 336*l.* 6*s.* 6*d.* out of my brother's estate, by my Lord Keeper's sentence in private, which God hath since justly punished in them, by their several losses and payments. For the gain of the Hilary Term before his death, it was most of it laid out by my Lady Denton, my father's widow, as she averred it, so as little of it came to my hands. I, in the meantime, who had most cause of a suit against my dear brother, yet desiring rather to advance than hinder his estate, never took any advantage against him; but, with loss to my estate, and hindrance of many weeks of my invaluable time, took care of his affairs till his accomplishment of the age of eighteen years; and chiefly laboured to have him virtuously and religiously educated, knowing that my happiness in him would be by that means redoubled.

My father had devised his body to be buried at Stowlangtoft chancel, as near his first wife as conveniently it might, by his said last will and testament, bearing date the 8th day of January, 1629, in the fifth year of King Charles. It was therefore rolled up in cerecloths, and encoffined; and, Thursday, March the 17th, sent away from the Six Clerks' Office in a coach. I followed it awhile after, and lay that night where the corpse rested, at Brooke Walden. The next night it was brought safe to Stow, where I lodged. That I might not too deeply fall in love with that sweet and convenient seat, nor be upon the sudden puffed up that now it was mine, a new trouble befel me here, Saturday, March the 19th, which afflicted me much more than the needless brabbles* my brother Elliot had raised with me at London.

For whereas my father had desired in his will, that Mr. Chamberlain (a religious neighbour, the minister who had preached my mother's funeral sermon,) might preach at his interring, Mr. Richard Danford our parson at Stow, who had in show, at least, been reconciled fully to my father some months before he deceased, and had often come to his house to meals, and at other times, absolutely refused to permit him to preach; for which unparalleled act, proceeding from his excessive pride, because he took himself to be neglected, all men that heard of it, both good and bad, condemned him of extreme ingratitude and inhumanity, that, having obtained the living by my father's free gift, should deny him so poor a courtesy, and not suffer his deceased corpse to be brought to the grave in quiet. Nay, when

* Squabbles.

a little while after I went to Doctor Francis White about it, the Bishop of Norwich, he told me he much wondered at it, for he never knew any minister deny that courtesy to mere strangers. I foresaw also, that his, the said Mr. Danford's pride and perverseness would breed so many vexations to me as would make me weary of living under his ministry, and was the occasion that within a few weeks after I removed for awhile to an house I had in Lavenham to reside there. Nay, the same afternoon, March the 19th aforesaid, towards the evening, having rested in my house but one night, to enjoy the next day in peace, being Sunday, I went to my brother and sister Bokenham, at Weston, to visit them. From thence I departed on Monday, March the 21st, and came the same night to Brooke Walden again, near Audley End; and the next came to my house at Islington, having in my passage thither visited the Lady Barnardiston, my wife's grandmother, my uncle and my aunt Brograve, her daughter, at Albury Lodge, in Hertfordshire. The rest of the month I spent almost wholly in taking out letters of administration and beginning to inventory my father's personal estate.

Monday, April the 4th, having formerly seen the picture of Alice Ravenscroft, the widow and relict of Adrian D'Ewes, my great-grandfather, I had it brought this forenoon to my father's only sister, formerly the wife of William Latham, Esq., at the time lying sick in Ironmonger Lane, who, as soon as she saw it, and raised in her bed, embraced it, and assured me it was the true picture of her grandmother; and further informed me of her stature (for she was about seven-

teen years old, when the said Alice died, and bore her name;) whereupon I had a limner ready,—a very able workman, who instantly carried the picture away to his house, and before six of the clock at night had drawn the face and upper parts of the body so exact, as I counted my copy as good as the original even in that respect, but in regard of the length and beauty, much better; for that was only a short half-picture, whereas my copy was down to the feet, and fairly embellished with a depicted empalement of her husband's coat-armour and her own on the right side, and with a large inscription touching her age, death, and family on the left. Her age I gathered by some writing on the original draught to have been four-score years in 1577, and I found by other searches that she died in the year of our Lord 1579. This picture was taken thus seasonably by Peter D'Ewes his care and procurement, one of the sons of the same Alice in the said year, 1577.

There were also his own picture by itself, and his wife's, in another several frame, with young Peter D'Ewes her son, standing by her; which two were large pictures, but not down to the foot. This young Peter married afterwards a widow, and dying, left these pictures in her possession. She was at this time living, and the wife of one Langford, and inhabited with him in Golding Lane, near Barbican, in London; and had, besides the depiction of the coat-armour and crest of my family on the picture of the said Peter D'Ewes, another depiction of it on a thin board, set into a little frame, so old as the very gold, being the field of arms, was worn off. This Langford

being a tenacious exacting man, having seen the affection I discovered to the pictures, asked so unreasonable and high a price for them, as having gotten a copy of that which I esteemed most, I thought to defer my buying of them all, till by his decease they might be had at a more reasonable rate. And though the same Langford be since deceased, yet is his widow married to one Guy, that lives in Garter Court, in Barbican aforesaid, from whom I could not yet draw any more reasonable demands. The said Alice's picture which I caused to be drawn I now have, and value it at as high a rate as I do the exact and full picture at length of my father, drawn and taken the summer before he died.

The sight of this picture led me to another discovery; for on Thursday, April the 7th, I went from Islington to London in the afternoon, and searched in the old register of St. Michael Bassishaw Church for the burial of the said Alice my great-grandmother, who was secondly married to one William Ramsey; and there found the day of her sepulture by the name of Alice Ramsey, the wife of William Ramsey, to have been July the 28th, in the year of our Lord 1579. My father had often informed me of the said Ramsey's mean condition, and how he spent the greatest part of the said Alice's estate before he died, and afterwards overlived her divers years; but he called him Richard Ramsey, and so mistook his christian name, which was William.

The rest of this month was chiefly spent in visits, discourses, and supervising my father's personal estate, till Monday, April the 18th, when my wife and myself

departed from Islington to Albury Lodge, in Hertfordshire, to her uncle Brograve's; where we were much comforted with the sight of Lady Barnardiston her grandmother, and her aunt Brograve. I departed thence the day after to keep a court at my wife's manor in Ashdon, called Newenham Hall, in the county of Essex.

Wednesday, April the 20th, my wife, with the most part of our family here, took leave also of her friends at Albury, and, meeting me at Newenham, we came safe with our company that night to Dalham Hall, to my kind friend, Sir Martin Stuteville, where we found the Lady Denton and my sister Elizabeth, who resided with her, in health; and whither they had retired within a few days after my father's decease, and remained there ever since. We departed from Dalham Hall the next day after dinner, and came that night to Stow Hall, the enjoyment of which sweet and fair seat gave us both content.

Friday, April the 22nd, in the afternoon, the Lady Denton and my sister Elizabeth came to us from Dalham, and my brother Bowes and my sister, as I remember, the day following. I had spoken to Doctor Copinger, the rector or parson of Lavenham, to preach my father's funeral sermon, because Mr. Danford had absolutely refused to admit Mr. Chamberlain to perform that office, whom my father had nominated in his last will and testament to that end and purpose, or in case he could not, then that some other godly minister should supply his place; of which number at that present I took Doctor Copinger to be one.

Monday, April the 25th, being St. Mark's day, in

the morning, my father's body (which had now encoffined about six weeks above ground) was with due solemnity carried from his late mansion-house, at Stow Hall to Stowlangtoft parish church, and there, after the said Doctor Copinger's sermon ended, interred in the chancel of the same church, close by my mother's grave at the upper end of the choir, near the south window next the east. I was once afraid in the morning, a little before we went to church, that we should have no sermon, nor interred the corpse in peace and quiet, so incredibly did Mr. Danford's pride and perverseness work upon him; yet in the issue, to my great comfort, all was passed over orderly and fairly. All his children that were living, except my sister Elliot, attended the hearse to church in mourning, and there bestowed with me many tears upon his funeral sermon.

Tuesday, April the 26th, I went early in the morning to Lavenham, being a fair market-town, and a goodly manor, (now devolved to me upon my father's decease,) in the county of Suffolk, some eleven miles from Stow Hall, where I was a partaker of a good sermon, there being at this time a constant lecture of neighbouring ministers upon each market-day weekly, which was each Tuesday, the season of harvest only excepted. The next morning I held there a court leet and court baron, by my steward; and before he gave the charge, made a short speech to the tenants, which being exceedingly approved by them all, I thought it not amiss to insert it here, being only a little altered in some particulars and enlarged in others, but otherwise remaining to a word as I delivered it.

“My masters and friends: I have not thought it un-

fit at this present to crave some part of your attention, as you shall enjoy from me a full measure of mine own intention. I confess, I know, and I doubt not, you are not ignorant, how many ties and relations the very laws and customs of this realm have between the lords and tenants of this nature, so as it may seem needless for me to mention it, or for you to hear it. But when withal I consider the corrupted nature of man, as it is of itself utterly disabled to do *bene*, so as it is backward by itself to perform *honestum*, I rest assured, that those few words I shall utter now, shall neither be unwelcome nor burdensome to you. And therefore, because method must be the director of my expression, and your observation, I shall somewhat briefly run through these particulars. First, I will show you the antiquity of these manors. Secondly, I will a little discuss the ancient honour of this Manor of Lavenham. Thirdly, I will give you a touch what respects you are likely to find from me; and, fourthly, what retaliation* I expect again from you.

“For the first, I know it was broached by that learned judge, Fitz Herbert, and seconded by that great antiquary, Mr. Lambert, that the tenure itself of villanage, sometimes called Bocland, which was the ancient tenure of copyholders, began with the Norman Conquest, and that therefore in Kent, (where it is falsely said that the Bastard William was entrapped and their laws not changed) this tenure remained unknown. But surely no man’s opinion can lead me beyond, and much less contrary to, that which I have seen; for besides that I find abundance of proof in that

* Return, not used in a bad sense.

precious monument of the common laws of England, intituled 'The Mirror of Justices,' to the contrary of which I have a transcript, the most august record of the Christian word, called by some 'Rotulus Wintoniæ,' by others, 'Liber Judicialis,' but most commonly 'Domesday,' remaining in the Treasury, of the King's Exchequer, is plain in this point. This autographical record is contained in two volumes in parchment, and were both of them written near upon six hundred years ago, being finished before the end of the twentieth year of the Conqueror's reign; and therein it appears plainly, that in Kent itself, as well as in other counties in England, in the time of Edward the Confessor, (who was the last monarch of the royal West Saxon line,) there were such manors or seignories as are at this day, consisting of demesnes and services: and containing under them *libertenentes*, *villanos* (which are the hodiernal copyholders), *cotarios*, and *servos*; which two latter were a degree below the *villani*, and now are almost wholly antiquated and out of use: and this, I suppose, will suffice to shew in general the antiquity as well of copyholders as of manors.

"And now, in the second place, I come in order to speak of this great and ancient manor of Lavenham, which as often as I name, so often I account it the flower and garland of my estate; for I dare boldly say, that the beginning or the age of this manor is scarce behind any of England,* which, though it be now conjoined, contained two distinct manors in the Saxons' time, as

* "Most of this which follows out of Domesday, touching the manor of Lavenham, I added since I pronounced the said speech."

—*Marginal Note.*

appears by the second tome of the said book of Domesday. The lesser manor was then held in Edward the Confessor's time by Alwy, an English Saxon, which Frodo, the brother of Baldwyn, Abbot of Bury St. Edmunds, obtained under William the First. The greater manor, called there as the Lesser Lavenham, was held in the English Saxons' time by Ulwyn, and given afterwards, as I gather by the same William, to Aubrey de Vere, lineal male ancestor of the Earls of Oxford, in whose posterity and surname it continued, till Edward Vere, Earl of Oxford, a masculine descendant from the said Aubrey, sold it away in Queen Elizabeth's days of blessed memory. When the Veres became owners and possessors of the lesser manor, I yet find not ; but, doubtless, after they were conjoined in one person, they in time became united together, as they continue at this day ; although there be still a distinction of names in the manors of Overhall and Netherhall, and though the injury of time has much decreased those privileges which belonged to this manor, yet were some of them confirmed and ratified by divers kings of England, at the instance of some of the successive Earls of Oxford.

“ I now come to the third particular which I told you I would express, what respects you are like to find from me, who still study nothing more than the honour, flourishing, and welfare of this town ; and for my particular dealing with particular men, you may guess what I intend, if I tell you what title I make choice of. For, though one title be sufficient, yet I have upon the matter two several ones to this manor. First, I had it assured upon my marriage, and so I am

in by purchase ; and, secondly, I attained the possession by my father's decease, and so I am in by descent. And because my first title accrued to me upon valuable consideration, therefore I make choice of the latter, so to bind myself to deal the better with you : that so, being the second of my family that hath enjoyed it, your hearts may be the more sincerely knit unto me, and I coming to the manor freely, may be able to deal the more favourably with you. Upon the first occasion of admission of any upland copyholders, you shall see the precedents which I intend to follow, except upon the decease of a very able tenant. And although my late dear father held up the former course continued by other lords, of taking two years' value, as well upon alienation as after a death, yet therein he dealt not justly and equally ; for he was a purchaser at a very dear rate : and besides, some of you know that the fines and casual profits were warranted to him, that they should amount unto 100*l.* yearly for certain years after his purchase, so as he was thereby necessitated to take the same rates, and follow the same proportions which had been formerly observed. It is not for want of judgment, I assure you, nor in respect of any abundance of mine, that I shall abate somewhat of my power and due, but that you may know and take notice, that I value the love of my tenants beyond my profit : but of this assure yourselves, I will no longer continue this than you make, upon your parts, what I expect from you. And therefore I am now come, in the fourth and last place, to touch upon that, because it might the better stick in your memories. In which I may first unfold to you that you have no civil tie upon

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me ; but there is a threefold obligation and bond which I have upon you. The first is sacramental, or, *per jus-jurandum* ; the second is servile, or, *per consuetudinem* ; and the third is reditual, or, *per solutionem* : and a threefold cord, I suppose, is not easily broken. The first tie, I say, from you to me, is *per jus-jurandum*, or by an oath ; and that I am sure you do conceive to be as the first, so the greatest bond that can be between man and man, for whosoever can play 'fast and loose' with an oath, will soon break all other bonds and ties whatsoever. The freeholders are bound by an oath of fealty, the copyholders by an oath of service, and you, my Masters of the Jury, by this oath you have taken at this present ; in which I, being a stranger amongst you, do put my trust and estate into your hands, to present whatsoever concerns my profit or your mutations, by death or surrender ; besides your other charge, which you shall presently hear from my steward. And this is the first tie from yourselves to me. The second I told you was servile, or, *per consuetudinem*, by which I understand the customs or services due unto me. And in this I may assure you, there is more contained than every man dreams of ; for, next the Sovereign, to whom, under God, we all owe obedience, the tenant owes his faith and assistance to his lord ; and the reason of it is, because those to whom your estates were first given, had them chiefly to this end and for this consideration : and as you derive your estates by mean conveyances, or copies of court rolls, from them, so must you hold and retain them in such state, and with and upon such conditions as they did. In which respect, also, now comes my

third and last tie to be spoken of, which I styled redit-ual, or, *per solutionem*—that is, your annual-rents, which are constant, and your reliefs and fines, which are casual. The yearly payment of the one, and the possibility of the accruing of the other, should put you in mind of my relation to you, and your correlation to me. And therefore, in a word, as you are bound to me in and by these three several ties—of an oath, of service, and of rent, so I expect three things from you:—true fidelity against the backbiter, due presentment against the delinquent, and just payment against the defrauder. I do not say the perverseness of one scabbed sheep, or the stench of a few rotten members, shall ever make me distaste the whole; but, as long as in general I shall find from you what I have here showed you, and what you all know to be due to me, so long I shall never fail to make up to you all the love and favour that lies in my power to shew you with discretion and judgment; and so I conclude with that saying of the poet,

Sic mihi contingat vivere, sicque mori.”

This manor of Lavenham at this day consisteth of two kinds of copyholders; those of the burgage, which pay a certain fine, being double their quit-rents, due yearly; and those of the upland, who are fineable at the will of the lord. Which division and difference grew at first by the negligence or dishonesty of some steward about a hundred years since; for it appears evidently by the ancient court rolls, that an uncertain fine, or a fine arbitrary, was paid upon every admittance. Dr. Copinger, the parson of the town, who had

preached my father's funeral sermon, was the first man who was admitted to a parcel of ground, being an upland copyhold piece ; and therefore, it being my first fine, I absolutely bestowed it upon him, without retaining one penny of it.

After dinner I returned to Stow Hall the same Wednesday, April the 27th ; and the same night, Sir Nathaniel Barnardiston and his lady came out to visit us, who stayed with us but till Friday, April the 29th, and then departed.

On Friday, the 6th day of May, between ten and eleven of the clock in the forenoon, died that great antiquary, Sir Robert Cotton, my kind acquaintance, being aged threescore years, three months, and some odd days. I have often before mentioned him, and borrowed many precious manuscripts of him, being chiefly led, out of a virtuous emulation of him at the first, to the study of records, and to the treasuring and storing up of ancient coins, and elder or later manuscripts and autographs, as well as original letters of state, as old deeds and writings. I enjoyed many hours of discourse with him, and found him to be admirably skilled in the polity and government of the State and Church of England ; nay, so full he was almost of all variety of knowledge in that kind, as his tongue being unable to utter his inward conceits and notions fast enough, it would often enforce him to a long stuttering when he endeavoured to speak exceeding fast. He was a most sound theoretical Protestant, and hath in my hearing most vehemently and learnedly opposed the Romish abominations, openly professing that he did not see how a Tridentine Papist could possibly be saved,—that

is, a Papist firmly holding all the late cursed and damnable decrees of the Council of Trent. This I the rather add, because too many did falsely report him to be a pontifician. I cannot deny that his practice and conversation was too contrary to that religion he approved in his judgment ; having been for divers years together a miserable pursuer of his lust, and even in his latter times, when his abilities decayed, he drank sack in which snakes were dissolved, being commonly called viper wine, to restore nature. Yet God, in his infinite goodness unto him, sent him a heavy affliction before his decease, which I am persuaded gave him a full sight of his former sins, and was the happy occasion of his hearty and true repentance.

There was one Richard James,* a short red-bearded, high-coloured fellow, a Master of Arts, who had some time resided in Oxford, and had afterwards travelled—an atheistical, profane scholar, but otherwise witty and moderately learned. He had so screwed himself into the good opinion of Sir Robert Cotton, as whereas at first he had only permitted him in the use of some of his books, at last, some two or three years before his decease, he bestowed the custody of his whole library on him. And he being a needy, sharking companion and very expensive, like old Ralph Starkie, when he lived, let out or lent out Sir Robert Cotton's most precious manuscripts for money, to any that would be his customers, which

* Fellow of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, born at Newport, in the Isle of Wight, and author of several sermons. He died at Cotton's house late in the year 1636.—See Nichols's *Bibl. Topog. Brit.* No. xv. p. 47.

Sir Robert was wont to lend freely to his noble and loving friends ; which I once made known to Sir Robert before the said James's face. Amongst other books he lent out, one Mr. Saint John of Lincoln's Inn, a young studious gentleman, borrowed of him for his money a dangerous pamphlet that was once written in hand, by which a course was laid down how the kings of England might oppress the liberties of their subjects, and for ever enslave them and their posterities. Mr. Saint John shews the book to the Earl of Bedford, or a copy of it, and so it passed from hand to hand in the year 1629, till at last it was lent to Sir Robert Cotton himself, who set a young fellow he then kept in the house to transcribe it, which infallibly proves that Sir Robert knew not himself that the written tract itself had originally come out of his library. This untrusty young fellow imitating, it seems, the said James, took one copy secretly for himself when he wrote another for Sir Robert ; and out of his own transcript sold away several copies, till at last one of them came to the Lord Wentworth's hand of the North,* now Lord De-

* At the period here spoken of, the great champion in the House of Commons for the liberties of the people. It is singular enough that shortly after he was beheaded, this very tract, having lain in his study from the year 1629, was turned against himself, he being charged as the author of it, in a treatise entitled, "Strafford's Plot discovered, and the Parliament vindicated in their justice executed upon him, by the late discovery of certain propositions delivered to his Majesty by the Earl of Strafford a little before his trial, with this inscription, *Propositions for the Bridling of Parliaments.*" (Nichols's Bibl. Topog. Brit. No. xv. p. 48.) A copy of this curious pamphlet, the one alluded to in the text, is given in Rushworth, No. i. App. p. 12.

puty of Ireland. He acquainted the Lords and others of the Privy Council with it. They sent for the said young fellow, and examining him where he had the written tract, he confessed Sir Robert Cotton delivered it to him. Whereupon in the beginning of November of the same year (1629), Sir Robert was examined, and so divers others one after the other, as it had been delivered from hand to hand, till at last, Mr. Saint John himself was impeached, and being conceived to be the author of the book, was committed close prisoner to the Tower, being in danger to have been questioned for his life about it. Upon his examination upon oath, he made a clear, full, and punctual declaration, that he had received the same manuscript pamphlet of that wretched mercenary fellow James, who by this means proved the wicked instrument of shortening the life of the said Sir Robert Cotton. For he was presently thereupon sued in the Star-chamber, his library locked up from his use, and two or more of the guard set to watch his house continually. When I went several times to visit and comfort him, in the year 1630, he would tell me they had broken his heart that had locked up his library from him. I easily guessed the reason, because his honour and esteem were much impaired by this fatal accident, and his house, that was formerly frequented by great and honourable personages, as well as by learned men of all sorts, remained now upon the matter desolate and empty. I understood from himself and others, that Doctor Neale and Doctor Laud, two prelates that had been stigmatized in the first session of Parliament in 1628, were his sore enemies. He was so outworn within a few months with anguish and

grief, as his face, which had been formerly ruddy and well-coloured, and such as the picture I have of him shews, was wholly changed into a grim blackish paleness, near to the resemblance and hue of a dead visage. When I afterwards read in the great and most elegant Latin History of Monsieur James de Thou of some learned men who deceased with grief after their libraries had been pillaged and spoiled by the violence of war, it made me call to my sad remembrance the loss the Commonwealth had in our judicious Cotton ; and it might well induce me often to pray that if by tyranny or injustice, my library should be wrested from me, I might account it but a creature comfort, and so submit to God's will in it with patience and humility. I heard it certainly affirmed, that the young fellow whom Sir Robert Cotton kept in his house, and had employed to transcribe the said written tractate, was his bastard ; which shews God's admirable justice, to cause the spurious issue of his fatal lust to prove the immediate instrument of his final ruin. I at one time advised him to look into himself, and seriously consider why God had sent this chastisement upon him ; which it is possible he did, for I heard from Mr. Richard Holdsworth, a great and learned divine that was with him in his last sickness, a little before he died, that he was exceeding penitent, and was much comforted in the faithful expectation of a better life.*

* It may be necessary, in order to elucidate this matter still further, to take notice that one of the articles in the Attorney-General's information against Sir Robert Cotton was, that the discourse or project was framed and contrived within five or six months past here in England ; but Sir David Foulis testified upon

He left Sir Thomas Cotton, his son and heir, wholly addicted to the tenacious increasing of his worldly wealth, and altogether unworthy to be master of so inestimable a library as his father. For he promised me on Monday, the 16th day of this month in the forenoon, when I went to visit him after his father's death, (of which he talked smilingly, without the least expression of sorrow or resentment,) that he would lend me some manuscripts I should need for the furthering of the public work I was about ; yet ever when I sent to him, but for one old book of Saxon Charters, into which were fastened and pasted divers originals or autographs, which he had particularly promised to communicate to me, he put me off with so many frivolous excuses or feigned subterfuges, as I forebore further troubling any messengers.

I departed from Stow Hall, Thursday, May the 12th, to Maldon in Essex, and the next day in the afternoon came to Islington, and having stayed at my house there awhile, went before night to London.

On Monday following, May the 30th, my aunt Brograve accompanied me to Stow Hall, whither we came safe the same night. I spent—or rather misspent—this whole month in journeys, discourses, visits, and framing up an inventory of my father's personal estate, or such-like employments, which wholly hindered me from my precious studies. Nor wanted I much vexation and sadness this month also ; for having essayed means of reconciliation with Mr. Danford, the parson

oath that it was contrived at Florence, seventeen years before, by Sir Robert Dudley, son of the famous Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester.

of Stowlangtoft, whose extreme pride and ingratitude scarce permitted my father's dead body to be interred in quiet, and finding little likelihood of it, I was fain, to prevent all trouble and molestation at my wife's near approaching time of lying-in, to remove from my commodious and pleasant seat of Stow Hall to Lavenham, on Tuesday, May the 31st. That which in some measure diminished the tediousness of it, was the great respect and kindness we found from Doctor Copinger, the minister, all the time we stayed, and generally from all the inhabitants of the town. Having settled my wife safe in Lavenham the day past, Wednesday, June the 1st, I returned back to Stow Hall in the forenoon, before dinner, and the next day carried my aunt Brograve to Lavenham to my wife; and having my house there soon after almost fully furnished, I settled moderately well to my studies, and proceeding in directing my servant in the transcribing of Queen Mary's parliamentary journals, forwarded them well. My wife also and my aunt took good satisfaction in their removal, especially there being two good sermons each Sunday, and an excellent one each Tuesday, in the forenoon; two of which we were like to have wanted at Stow. I had many hindrances amidst my studies, by discourses, visits, accounts, and journeys.

On Wednesday, June the 22nd, I made my fourth last will and testament, which yet stands in force.

On Friday, June the 24th, some quarter of an hour after four of the clock in the morning, was my dear wife safely delivered of her first son, which brought to us, by its abortive end, much more sor-

row than joy ; and the rather because we feared it perished by the cursed ignorance or neglect of such as were employed about my wife during her lying-in, for it was a goodly sweet child born : but my wife having some resolution to be a nurse, it was fatally advised by such as were about her, that the child should not suck any other till her breasts were fully drawn and made fit for it, during which time it was so weakened, as it afterwards proved the cause of its ruin.

On Tuesday, the 5th day of July, it was baptized in Lavenham Church, in the forenoon, by Doctor Copinger, after his sermon ended, and named Clopton, to perpetuate in him, if God had so pleased, his mother's name and family. I had therefore all the three witnesses of that surname ;—to wit, Walter Clopton, Esq. my wife's uncle, who then inhabited at Fordham, in Cambridgeshire ; Thomas Clopton, of Lyston Hall, in the county of Essex, gentleman, and Mistress Mary Clopton, (one of the daughters of Edward Waldegrave, formerly of Lawford Hall, in the same county, Esq.,) the widow of William Clopton, late of Castelins Hall, in Grotin, in the county of Suffolk, Esq. We had too much rejoicing both at the birth and christening, and therefore this said issue taught us more moderation for the time to come. Our sweet infant was a little ill, Thursday, July the 7th, but we had no suspicion or fear of his approaching end till Saturday, July the 9th, when he was surprised with a violent and little intermitting lask * or scouring ; with which he having been grievously afflicted and disquieted all the day, he had some intermission about four of the clock in the afternoon,

* Looseness.

and so lay quietly breathing out his last and innocent breath till near upon six of the clock the same evening, when he rendered up his blessed soul into the hands of his eternal Creator. I had attended him, fasting the greatest part of the day ; and when he had given up the ghost, my dearest and myself could not refrain from many tears, sighs, and mournings. We were the more cast down with this just loss, because but a little before our young and only daughter, Anne D'Ewes, fell sick on Thursday, June the 23rd, in the afternoon, so dangerously, that she twice sounded* away ; and much ado was there to fetch life in her again. We caused the deceased corpse of our dear infant to be interred the ensuing Sunday, July the 10th, in the afternoon, in the chancel of Lavenham Church, about the middle of it.

Our after-losses of three sons more made us renew the sad remembrance of the immature decease of this our first male. For mine own part, I began seriously to consider even God's goodness to me in sending me this loss to humble me thoroughly, being joined with other afflictions which betided me since my father's decease. I know all men are subject to pride, and to be lifted up in heart in the time of prosperity, nor is there any other sin which God more severely chastiseth in his children, or useth sharper remedies for purging it out of them. I was by nature marvellously prone to this corruption, but mine own wants and the dreadful desolations of God's Church abroad, for divers years last past, had been an excellent remedy against it. But now the glorious King of

* Swooned.

Sweden's victories having given us comfort abroad, (of which I would often say I was more sensible and joyful than of the birth of a son,) and my father's decease having brought me wealth and plenty (though I found at last that my expenses did exceed my revenue at this time), I had been in greater danger of the sin of pride and a haughty mind, had not my good God by this vast loss of my dearest child, and by other afflictions, much cast me down. For besides I was, at this time, driven from my residential seat and mansion-house by an ungrateful and poor scholar, Saturday, May the 21st last past, I was called before the commissioners for exacted fees (which had sat a long time in London by virtue of the King's Letters Patent), upon the false and treacherous information, or rather accusation, of a mean fellow they employed to warn men to appear before them; which might have occasioned me much trouble and great loss, had not Sir Edward Cecil, Viscount Wimbledon, one of the commissioners, my very good friend and my wife's kinsman, cleared my innocency. Two losses I had also in June preceding,—the first by fire, wherein I suffered not so much (though I had a farm-house burnt down to the ground) as I did in the second, by the decease of my loving and faithful friend, Sir Martin Stuteville, Knt., who died suddenly at Bury St. Edmunds, of an apoplexy, on Monday, June the 13th, about seven of the clock in the evening. Nay, in this instant July, Sir Nicholas Hyde, Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench (having, I believe, caused me to be summoned of the grand jury at our summer assizes, for the county of Suffolk, for the franchise thereof), upon my failing,

Wednesday, July the 13th, and because I had reprov'd the bailiff for warning me on the Lord's day, in the morning, like a true malicious atheist, fined me 20*l.* in the face of the whole country almost: and though he afterwards understood how I had lost my dear and only son, and that I was departed to London upon important business, so as I was enforced to leave my wife in a time which required my stay, yet nothing would move his barbarous and malicious heart to take off my said fine. He had long maliced * my father whilst he lived; yea, after he was promoted to so high a place undeservedly himself, and my father being deceased, he yet continued his revengeful mind to his ashes and memory. I have heard my father relate that his envy began originally from a jest he made upon him and Sir Lawrence Hyde, his elder brother, when the one was the uppermost and the other the lowest bencher in our Temple; for thereupon my father had said openly, which afterwards came to his ear, that the Middle Temple bench was Hide-bound. As much it was generally wondered at, when, by the Duke of Buckingham's means, in the year 1626, this man was made Lord Chief Justice, being before but plain Mr. Nicholas Hyde, and of mean esteem, having a small estate, and practising chiefly in his chamber; which made that learned judge of the King's Bench, Sir John Doderidge, say, when he heard that the said Hyde was made Chief Justice of that Court, that it was strange to see a man come and sit amongst them as chief in the Bench, whose face they had scarce ever seen at their bar: and some wit of that time, to show the

* Bore malice to.

meanness of Sir Nicholas Hyde, and to deliver the four preceding Chief Justices to be remembered by posterity because they were yet living, made this significant tetrastich, which I heard Dru Drury, Esq., repeat at Bury Lent assizes in Suffolk, in 1627, upon the bench, the same Hyde then sitting in his robes there, so loud as I feared he would have overheard him, in the reporting of which I may perhaps mistake a word or two.

“ Learned Coke, Court Montague,
The aged Lea, and honest Crew ;
Two preferred, two set aside,
And then starts up Sir Nicholas Hyde !”

These verses do need a little explanation to transmit their meaning to posterity. By “learned Coke” is intended Sir Edward Coke, Knt., that was put out of the place of Lord Chief Justice, about the year 1616. By “Court Montague” is deciphered Sir Henry Montague, Knt., who succeeded Sir Edward Coke in his place, and was afterwards made Lord Treasurer in December, in the year 1620 ; from which place he was within a while removed, and made Lord President of the Council. The third man, called “aged Lea,” was Sir James Lea, Knt., a Bencher of Lincoln’s Inn, who succeeded the said Sir Henry Montague in the King’s Bench, and was in fine made Lord Treasurer ; and the fourth man, called “honest Crew,” is Sir Randal Crew, Knt., still living this present year (1638), in the honour and esteem of all good men, who, having his writ of ease sent him in the year 1626, received it with much constancy and moderation, as knowing the integrity of

his own heart; and presently taking pen and ink, he endorsed the ensuing sentence on it: *Fiat voluntas Dei et Regis*. The fifth man is so sufficiently described, as I need to say no more of him, did I not desire to finish his story with his end, which delivered me from a most malicious and potent enemy. After whose death Sir Francis Harvey, one of the Justices of the Common Pleas, who rode our Suffolk circuit with him, took off the fine of 20*l.* the said Hyde had set upon me, without so much as being once spoken unto by me in that behalf. This Sir Nicholas Hyde, in his return home after this summer circuit ended, out of his penurious and base disposition to save charges, rode in an extreme hot day some fifty miles, and thereby so inflamed his blood, that he fell into a burning fever and thereof died. He had also at the Guildhall or Newgate Sessions in London, before this circuit, condemned a man to die unjustly and precipitated his execution, for which William Cecil, Earl of Salisbury, had complained to the King, and the said Hyde was not only like to have lost his place, but to have come into greater trouble for it, had he survived: and some therefore thought the fear of this had hastened his end. I yet made a further observation upon his end, when I consider he had most profanely countenanced a base bailiff in doing the servile works of his office on that day which Christians sanctify and hallow weekly for the Lord's Day; and how justly this punishment had fallen upon him for that atheistical sin, there being so many instances to be given of God's judgments executed upon the profaners of that day, any pious man may easily conclude.

This I am sure of, that having some conference afterwards about that malicious act of the said Hyde's with Sir George Croke, Knt., one of the Justices of the King's Bench, a religious judge, and very learned in the laws of the realm; and informing him how a bailiff, having warned me to be of a jury on a Sunday morning, and being reprov'd by me, did make a report of it to the said Hyde, and that he fined the party that reprov'd the same bailiff 20*l.*, he profess'd to me, that he thought the said fine was most undeserv'dly and unjustly set upon the said party, who rather merited commendations; and that if ever any bailiff should come before him who warn'd any man upon the Sunday, he would punish him by imprisonment. Never was any man's death more generally rejoic'd at* that had been Chief Justice of the King's Bench than was Sir Nicholas Hyde's, whose poverty made him very worldly-minded and griping; and being of a yellowish complexion like tallow, and of a mean aspect, altogether unbeseeming a place of that eminence; and rode in his circuits many times on horseback in a whitish blue cloak, more like unto a clothier or to a woolman than a Lord Chief Justice. Had he not been

* Whitlock gives a more generous character of this judge. He says, "He lived with great integrity and uprightness, and with great wisdom and temper, considering the ticklishness of the times. He would never undertake to advise the King, nor adventure to give him a resolute answer in any weighty business, when the question was of the law, but he would pray that he might confer with his brethren; and the King ever gave way to it. He died of a hot fever, but made incurable by reason that an impostume brake in his head in the time of his sickness. He was a spare lean man of body, and of an excellent temperate diet."

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my undeserved enemy, I could say more of him ; but I leave him to his grave, and to the doom of that just Judge that cannot be bribed.

The greatest part of this month was spent in journeys, visits, discourses, and the affairs of my estate, and very little of it in forwarding the journals of Queen Mary's parliaments. And as I had a most heavy loss this month, so I had also my share of voluntary humiliation : for I spent the first day of it, being Friday, in a secret fast alone ; and the 29th day of it, being Friday, for the greatest part, in private fast, with the most part of my family, of which my dear wife made one.

On Tuesday, the 9th day of August, after dinner, my wife and myself removed from Lavenham, with all our family, to Stow Hall, where our sweet and pleasant seat gave us the greater content because we had been so long from it. I spent the most part of this month reasonably well, in directing my servant to transcribe the journals of Queen Mary's reign, and in perusing divers old original deeds, touching my wife's paternal family of Clopton ; and touching the families of Chasteleyn, Peyton, and Belhous, from whose several coheirs she was descended, or from the sole inheritrices ; divers of which deeds, touching Clopton and Chasteleyn, which I borrowed of William Clopton, Esq., of Castelins in Groten, in the county of Suffolk, my wife's kinsman, I transcribed myself with much delight and satisfaction. For the deeds that concerned Peyton, I borrowed them of Sir Edward Peyton,* of

* He was Member of Parliament for the county of Cambridge

near furnished as I had left it) and there to continue some good space, letting and demising out the greatest part of my mansion-house at Stow Hall, with some grounds belonging to it, to the Lady Denton, my father's widow and relict, for two years ensuing, from Friday, September the 29th, being Michaelmas Day; by which means I accommodated her for the present, and gave her full opportunity, before the end of that term, to provide herself with another house.

CHAPTER III.

Victories of the King of Sweden.—Continental Wars.—The Anabaptists.—Royal Visit to Cambridge.—Early Deed of Chief Justice Basset.—Proceedings against Palmer in the Court of Star-Chamber.—Death of the King of Sweden.

1631.

WEDNESDAY, October the 5th, my wife, with most of her family, went before me to Kediton Hall, to Sir Nathaniel Barnardiston's, which she took in her passage to Islington, and lay there. The next morning I left Stow Hall also, and came on horseback to her before dinner : after which, we departed from Kediton, and came that night to Albury Lodge, in Hertfordshire. The next day, October the 7th, we took our leave of our good friends there, and came safe to Islington. Wednesday, October the 12th, I began my search in that august and rare record called Domesday,* in the Tally Office of the Exchequer, which I

* This valuable record, which contains the survey of this country made by command of William the Conqueror, is still preserved, and has been published by the Commissioners of Public Records. The Dean and Chapter of York have a register called Domesday, and so has the Bishop of Worcester. There is also an ancient roll in Chester Castle called Domesday Roll. See further notices of Domesday Book in Blount's Law Dictionary and Sir Henry Ellis's Introduction to it, published by the late Commission.

continued till I had extracted a large volume from it of all the shires, excepting Norfolk only, and part of Suffolk : of which I gathered a great part out of an exact transcript written out of the second tome of Domesday, in the character thereof ; in November ensuing, a great part of which month I spent each morning at the same Tally Office in Westminster, as I had often done in October foregoing, to view and search in the very autograph itself of Domesday aforesaid. Yet in both the said months, the attendance of the administration I had taken of my father's personal estate, and mine own unhappy suits, which, with mine estate, began to grow upon me, took up too much of my invaluable time ; and have ever since been not only a great part of the care and affliction of my life, but an annual considerable charge unto me. And yet I have ever been so far from suing any man unjustly or for trivial matters, as I do at this day suffer many petty wrongs by my peaceable disposition, and have lost great sums of money after the forbearance of my principal (which I ever lent freely without taking a penny for use) two or three—nay, four or five years together, because I did not commence suit in time, but hoped by fair means to have gotten in mine own. Nor was there the poorest man living, to whom I would have done wrong wittingly for a world, which I aver in the presence of Him that searcheth all hearts.

I passed over the month of December very studiously, notwithstanding a good part of it consisted of festival days. For I did not only collect much out of the transcript of Norfolk written out of Domesday before mentioned, which my kind friend, Mr. John

Bradshaw, lent me, being one of the Pro-Camerarii under whose custody the original was, but visited that also, December the 14th, and December the 29th, and took notes out of it. I transcribed divers of the old deeds of the Peytons I had borrowed of Sir Edward Peyton in August last past, finding my wife undoubtedly to be descended from a female inheritrice of a younger branch of that noble family, married into the surname of Chasteleyn, from whence it was devolved by Knyvet and Roydon to Clopton, as I have before shewed.

Monday, December the 26th, I had some thoughts of writing an apologetical justification of the incomparable and victorious Gustavus Adolphus King of Sweden his present warring in Germany, about which I laboured this evening in part, intending to begin with his descent and extraction, and so to justify his coming into the Empire with an army, and prosecuting the war there. I followed this work close the rest of this month, and at some times after; but being prevented by my other studies and occasions from finishing it before the never-enough-lamented loss of that brave Prince, I suffered it to remain by me an imperfect and an abortive spectacle, without ever endeavouring to polish it farther or finish it, although I were encouraged to proceed in it shortly after I had begun it, by Sir Edward Cecil, Viscount Wimbleton, a Privy Councillor.

My often before-continued method calls me now, at the end of December, to give a short view of the foreign affairs and occurrences of Christendom; in which, as the above-mentioned victorious King of Sweden bore

the greatest share, so he deserves the longest relation, were not his admirable story so exactly penned as it is, in our own tongue as well as in other languages. The sum of it is this. The entrance of the Swedes into Germany was June the 24th, 1630, with an army of 15,000 foot and horse ; which being as much diminished with losses and garrisoning of towns as it was increased with new levies, yet, with that handful of men did the King, before the end of December in the same year, clear all the Dukedom of Pomerland and Markland, even from the Prussian side, all between the rivers of Warta and the Oder, of the Imperial and Popish soldiers, except the town of Lundsbergen in the New Mark, upon the east of the said river Oder, near unto Poland and Silesia. In which time he took near upon eighty walled cities, towns, castles, and sconces, in the two Dukedoms of Pomerland and Mecklenburg, defeated some Imperial armies, and slew or took prisoners divers thousands of them. This began to startle the bloody Emperor Ferdinand the Second, so as he instantly sent, about the end of February, 1631, John de Tserclas, Count of Tilly, one of the oldest and ablest leaders and generals of the world, with an army of between twenty and thirty thousand horse and foot, most of them tried soldiers, against him, into the Duchy of Mecklenburg. Tilly, in all the attempts he made upon the King, (who, having an army of but 15,000 only, horse and foot, lay entrenched,) came off with loss and dishonour, and was finally, on Wednesday, September the 7th, (17th,) overthrown by him in a pitched battle, fought in a large plain near Leipsic, in the Duchy of Saxony, notwithstanding his

army consisted of some 44,000 able fighting-men, foot and horse,* being the very cream and prime of all the Popish forces in Germany. There were about 10,000 of Tilly's men slain in the fight and pursuit, many taken prisoners, and 6000 took the pay of the King of Sweden. The Duke of Saxony and the Elector of Brandenburg brought some 15,000 men to the Swedes, but they running away, most of them, before the battle was fully begun, the sole honour and glory of this victory next under God, to whom the religious King of Sweden gave the only glory, redounded to the Swedes and Scots, and other nations in the Evangelical army.

This victory raised the greatness of that incomparable Prince's name to the highest zenith, not only in Europe, but in Asia also. And so great a terror it struck into the Popish party, as, before the end of this December, the King was Master of Erfurt, Frankfort on the Main, Nuremburg, Mentz, Hanaw, and of many other cities, towns, and castles, within the Empire : so

* The King of Sweden wrote a letter to Charles, giving him an account of this battle. It is dated September the 17th, and in the course of it he says, " The battle being begun, the business was briskly managed on both sides for the space of four hours and upwards ; till at last, by the singular blessing of God, the enemy's army, by the indefatigable valour of our men, was put to flight and dispersed, we pursuing them to the very walls of the city. The enemy left us their cannon and baggage. The general retired into the bishopric of Halberstadt, having received a wound, they whom we pursued being left to our soldiery and mercy. Many of the enemy lay dead in the field where the battle was fought, and among them the Serjeant-Major General, and other commanders in the army."

as the bloody robbers, ravishers, and massacrers of Tilly's army were not only executed by him, but infinite comfort afforded to the distressed, and persecuted, and oppressed Protestants in Germany ; so as all men hoped he in the issue would assert fully both the true religion, and the ancient liberties of Germany : which, doubtless, he had done, had not the Divine Providence, for causes best known above, suffered him to perish at the battle of Lutzen, near Leipsic, also, November the 6th, (16th,) 1632, although his very death ended his life with victory over his enemies.

The French army also, in Savoy and Italy, under the conduct of the Cardinal de Richelieu and Marshal de Crequy, prevailed much over the Spaniards, Imperialists, and Savoyards, most of the year past, both in Savoy and Italy. And, for the United States of the Low Countries, never had they so great a victory over their enemies without any the least loss or hazard of their own men as they enjoyed September the 11th, this year. For, the Prince Barbanzon and Count John of Nassau having brought down 4000 soldiers and 800 mariners, the very flower and prime of the Spanish army, in fourscore ponts or long-bottomed boats and shallops,* before Stavenisse, a little island in Zealand, some of the shallops then running on ground, and the fleet of the United Provinces setting upon them, divers endeavoured to escape, who were slain or drowned. All the shallops and ponts were taken, with a hundred pieces of brass ordnance in them, amongst which were divers great ones, being cannons and demi-

* Small vessels having two masts.

cannons. They found there also three barrels of silver and a great quantity of warlike ammunition. The number of prisoners taken in this exploit was about 3000, which were brought into the army of the United States under the command of Henry Frederic Prince of Orange, at Hatteren, near Berghen-op-Zome, soon after the defeat. The Prince of Barbazon and Count John of Nassau hardly escaped in a single boat together, the rest of the commanders and officers under them were in a manner all of them taken prisoners, slain, or drowned. So as great and manifold were the mercies God shewed this year (1631) to his poor distressed Church and children beyond the seas.

Yet was not rejoicing unintermixed with much sorrow out of Germany itself, in regard of the most desolate and never-enough-lamented loss of the famous and strong city of Magdeburg, which was taken by John Count of Tilly, partly by assault and partly by the treachery of some of the citizens, May the 10th (20th) last foregoing, being Tuesday, in the morning, and the place so ravaged and plundered by the bloody Walloons, inhuman Crabats, and other merciless soldiers of the Imperial army, that within the space of some twelve hours, the whole city, excepting a hundred and thirty-nine houses and two churches, was all consumed by fire, and near upon two thousand four hundred men, and women, and children, slain, burnt, or smothered therein, and some drowned in the Elbe. The horror and desolation of this loss was so great and dreadful, as it was justly thought to parallel the destruction of Troy by the Greeks, or of Jerusalem by the Romans. The invaluable

able King of Sweden would have doubtless relieved it, had he not been hindered by the hovering neutrality or cowardly treachery of John George Duke and Elector of Saxony ; who would neither join any forces with the King, nor suffer him to pass over the Elbe at Wirtemberg, or the Dessau bridge, by which means he might have raised the siege. In which doing the said Duke discovered his notorious impiety and ingratitude to the Magdeburgers, who had elected Augustus, his younger son, about the beginning of January, in the year 1628, for their Archbishop ; and thereby so incensed the bloody Emperor Ferdinand the Second, who got the Pope to invest a younger son of his with the same Archbishopric, as he never ceased till he had procured their final ruin, although there were some intermissions of his hostilities.

The King of Sweden, notwithstanding this treacherous dealing of the Elector of Saxony, yet when Tilly had invaded his dominions with an army of about 45,000 able men, horse and foot, and had taken the strong town of Leipsic in Misnia, upon the Duke's earnest and humble sending to him to implore his assistance, came speedily to his aid ; and overthrew the mighty army of the Emperor and the Popish Leaguers, commanded by the same Tilly, as general, in a pitched field, which they themselves had most insolently and profanely stiled a few days before, "the Invincible Army:" as the Spaniards in the year 1588, had named their vast and terrible fleet, the Invincible Armada ; which yet the English afterwards conquered and dissipated for the greater part. When Tilly at this battle saw his army slaughtered and routed, he cried in

these or like words, "Oh! the blood of Magdeburg, that now calls for vengeance upon us!"*

After his bloody and inhuman conquest and desolation of that place, he committed two notorious errors. The first, that he did not instantly invest the Elector of Saxony's country, whereby he might easily have forced him either to have assisted his army with money, victuals, and men against the King of Sweden, or else have ruined him; which he fatally neglecting, by fetching a needless and long circuit about, through the Hercinian forest into the country of Düringen, (intending there to have surprised the rich and populous city of Erfurt,) gave the said Duke of Saxony, in the mean, full time and leisure to prepare and make ready his forces, and to call in the said King to his help and assistance. Tilly's second error did far exceed the former, when, after his said taking the city of Leipsic, in the country of Misnia, belonging to the Duke of Saxony, he hazarded the uncertain fortune of battle with the King, September the 7th, (17th,) in which he was overthrown. For had Tilly then intrenched himself, the conquest of him could not have been accomplished in many days, if at all; and then must the adverse army have assaulted his men upon great disadvantages, and in the meantime the Duke of Saxony's country have been

* After the battle, or rather "slaughter," of Magdeburg, Tilly is reported to have said, "Blood cannot be expiated but by blood; and the actions of murderers are very ominous to the soldiery sooner or later." He was, however, held in great esteem by his own followers, and at his death bequeathed sixty thousand rix dollars to the regiments under his command.

eaten up and impoverished by both armies. Besides, all the country behind him was at his own devotion, for the freedom of retreating, if need required, and General Altringer was then coming to his assistance with some 6000 men. So as he had no necessity to compel him to fight, but many solid reasons to dissuade him from it; had not the Divine hand in justice blinded his understanding, that so his wicked army, defiled and cursed with so many rapes, murders, and bloodsheds, might now at last receive some just punishment from the hands of Protestants, whose religion they had abolished and execrated with so much devilish malice and cruelty.

Amidst these many happy events abroad, all God's true children had continual cause of lamentation and fear, in respect of the daily growing and far-spreading of the false and blasphemous tenets of the Anabaptists, against God's grace and providence, against the godliest assurance and perseverance, and against the merits of Christ himself. These points at first were broached by the heretical Briton Pelagius, about the year of our Lord 410, and were revived some fourscore years since—in Italy, by Bernardin Ochino, and Lelius Socinus; in Germany, by Sebastian Castellio; in France by Michael Servetus; and in the Netherlands, by Erasmus Roterdam. It is true some of the first masters of these monsters taught many noisome and dangerous opinions for the re-baptizing children, plurality of wives, dethroning of kings and princes, and such like, for which they began to be proscribed out of, and executed in, all well-governed states. This made Castellio and Erasmus to leave out their dangerous prin-

ciples in their public works, which I assure myself they still retain in private, and would put in practice, had they once reduced any kingdom or republic wholly under their obedience. This made Queen Elizabeth and King James so careful in their times that it might not take too deep a root and spread too far in England, during their reigns. And though, since the death of James Arminius, a flashy divine of Leyden, in Holland, these heretical Anabaptists have called themselves by a new invented and false name of Arminians, yet are their wicked and scandalous lives, their cursed and graceless doctrines, no less to be abhorred, than when they owned their first, their ancient, and still true name of Anabaptists. And certainly if it were possible, they yet deserve a worse appellation, having broached many wicked tenets and practised the idolatrous adoration of the Altar, of the elements of the Sacrament, and other creature objects, which Sebastian Castellio, their great master, were he now alive, would abhor. It is my daily prayer to my good God to open the eyes and hearts of all Christian kings, princes, and governors, to see the blasphemous doctrines of these wilful heretics; and to foresee the infinite dangers that threaten their kingdoms and persons if once these new doctors and their disciples can get the sole power of the Church into their griping talons, by the extirpation and exilement of all pious and orthodox Protestants; for as long as all these continue intermixed with them, the truth shall never be exterminated, nor kings and princes be dethroned by them.

The beginning of January, I proceeded with the initiated defence or justification of the King of Sweden's

war in Germany, and well forwarded, though I never perfected it.

Wednesday, January the 11th, I had a family fast and humiliation, in which I spent almost the whole day. Towards the end of the same month, I proceeded with my collections out of Domesday, and went on in the viewing of the first tome or volume of it. Amidst my studies I lost many hours and some days, in this January, in visits, discourses, and the managing of several suits I had in Chancery, either in my own right or as administrator to my brother. Much, also, I gathered out of the first tome of Domesday, in the Tally Office at Westminster, this February, in the mornings. My servant was now transcribing divers ancient charters in the Saxon times out of a transcript I had of them. He only wrote such as were in Latin, and when he came to any that were penned in the old English or Saxon tongue, those I copied myself, and observed, as near as I could, the Saxon character, which had been omitted in that transcript. This work took me up some days of the same February, as did also my suits, discourses, and visits. The 29th and last day of the same month, I first viewed divers records in the Pell Office in the Exchequer, out of which I had afterwards many useful searches and collections. In the afternoon of the same day, I transcribed some particulars out of a copy of the Latin Chronicle of Pipwell Abbey, in the county of Northampton. Thursday, March the 1st, I searched in Domesday above-mentioned in the morning. The rest of the month that I stayed at home, besides the time misspent on my unhappy suits, discourses, and visits, I employed in searching at the aforesaid Pell

Office, (out of which I borrowed divers original deeds there kept, transcribed them and had the seals tricked and coloured to them, and then faithfully restored them again,) or in transcribing the Chronicles of Pipwell Abbey above-mentioned out of a copy of it, being a part of the Leiger-book of the same house, out of which I gathered some notes.

Monday, March the 5th, having been searching almost all the day in the Pell Office, I was suddenly sent for by my wife in the afternoon, who had been much affrighted with our little daughter Anne's twice sounding* away—which, it seems, were fits of convulsion. Before I got home in my coach she was pretty well, but had after this so long an ague, being not yet two years old, as we much feared we should have lost her, which would have been the greater trouble unto us, because she was at this time our only child ; but God in mercy restored her now, and yet continues her unto us.

Friday, March the 16th, I began a journey towards Cambridge, in the afternoon, and came thither the next day. Monday, March the 19th, after dinner, the King and Queen came from Newmarket to Trinity College. Whilst they were at an idle play there, that gave much offence to most of the hearers, I went into Trinity College library, and there viewed divers ancient manuscripts, which afforded me as much content as the sight of the extreme vanity of the Court did sorrow. The royal pair departed from Cambridge, Tuesday, March the 20th, in the afternoon ; and the day following, after dinner, I left the University (having enjoyed conference with some learned men there) and came

* Swooning.

safe back to Islington, Thursday, March the 22nd. There passed divers degrees at this time in Cambridge, by virtue of the King's recommendatory letters, of which divers new and unworthy Doctors of Divinity partaking, the whole body of the University took great offence; and, in the open Regent's house, told Doctor Buts, Master of Bennet College, then Vice-Chancellor, to his face, that they did *istam graduum mendinacionem improbare*, (for all those doctors had paid Mr. Sanderson, the Earl of Holland's secretary, large rates for their doctorships, which Earl was now Chancellor of that University,) and so would not give their votes and assents to pass and confirm that dignity to Doctor Martin, Master of Queen's College, in Cambridge, and to the other new doctors; yet Doctor Buts carried the business through with much disorder and violence, and pronounced them to have passed, and attained that degree. This heaped so much distaste upon him in the said University, (Mr. Sanderson also being about this time turned out of his place by the said Earl of Holland,) that the first day of April, being Easter-day, he hung himself in the morning, in his lodgings in Bennet College aforesaid. It was certain the King himself, whilst he was at Cambridge, at this time had given him a check or two, which so daunted him, being an ambitious man, and fearing his friends at Court would discountenance him upon it, as it drove him into this extreme desperation. As soon as I heard of it, I called to mind the ghostly look he had when I went to visit him at his college, Wednesday, March the 21st, being the same day I departed from Cambridge. He had lying on his conscience that crying sin of adultery,

which he secretly practised ; without which, doubtless, the devil could never have brought him to that sudden exigent upon the mere frown of a prince.

I spent Saturday, March the 10th, alone, in religious fasting and humiliation ; and Friday, March the 31st, for the greater part in the same Christian duties, with my dear wife.

My only brother, Richard D'Ewes, was now at school, at Bury St. Edmunds, in the county of Suffolk, with Mr. John Dickenson, an excellent and mild teacher (with whom I had myself gone to school in the years 1617 and 1618). He had by my means been put to him in the year 1628, was there residing, March the 14th, in the year 1631, when my father deceased, and had there continued to this time : so, as conceiving him now of fitting years to go to the University, having entered into his sixteenth year, I had already provided him a very religious tutor, called Mr. John Knowles, of Catherine Hall, in Cambridge, and a convenient chamber ; and therefore, having occasion in the beginning of April to go into Suffolk, I intended to remove him from Bury.

I came safe to Stow Hall, in the same county, the 4th day of April, being Wednesday ; and the next day went to Castelin's Hall, in Groton, in that shire also, where I selected out and borrowed some divers original deeds touching the families of Belhous and Chasteleyn ; and one letter of attorney of Sir John de Burgo's, with his seal of arms to it, being mascles, gules, and wavy ; commanding James de Camera, his bailiff, of Rochford, to make living and seisin of the land of Watelee and Agrove, with the appurtenances,

to John Hardel, which he had granted to him before by his deed. This deed I could never yet find, either at Groton Hall aforesaid, or amongst my wife's evidences at Luton's Hall, in the same county, commonly called Kentwell. But this very land, called at this day the manor of Wheatley, in the parish of Reyleigh, in the county of Essex, did Sir William Clopton, Knt., my wife's father, inherit by descent from female inheritrices, descended from William Fitzwarin and Alice, his wife, one of the daughters of the same John Hardel.

Having dispatched this and my other affairs in Suffolk, I departed early from Stow Hall (where the Lady Denton, my father's widow, now resided) towards Cambridge; and having stayed awhile by the way, my brother Richard followed me in my coach, and so we went together thither, Saturday, April the 7th; and having admitted him of Catherine Hall the Monday ensuing, we departed that afternoon from Cambridge to Puckeridge, and came the next day safe to Islington, where to my great comfort I found my wife well, and my only child fully recovered of her ague. After my return I spent Wednesday, April the 11th, and Thursday, April the 12th, chiefly about the viewing of divers original deeds and perfecting the descents of the families of Knyvet and Chasteleyn, which those deeds concerned; and Saturday, April the 14th, I transcribed some autographs touching Chasteleyn. The remainder of this month I spent chiefly each morning in collecting out of the first tome of Domesday Book, in the Tally office, at Westminster, but lost too much time in discourses, visits, and in managing divers unlucky suits I had now depending in Chancery.

On Thursday, April the 19th, my brother Richard D'Ewes went with me to the Middle Temple, and was there admitted of that Society, and into my chamber there also, wherein formerly Richard Simonds, my mother's father, had resided ; but my brother being not yet to reside there, but to go first to Cambridge, I sent him thither Thursday, May the 3rd, having provided all things necessary for him at London. It was my chief care to have him religiously and virtuously educated, and therefore, before his departure to Cambridge, I gave him especial cautions and instructions to beware of evil company, the very pests and poisoners of the younger sort that are sent thither. From Tuesday, May the 2nd, to Saturday, May the 19th, I especially followed my collections out of Domesday each morning, seldom intermitting it ; losing most of the afternoons in discourses, visits, and managing my Chancery suits, till Tuesday, the 15th day of the same month, when I bought of Mr. Harrison, son and heir of the elder Mr. Harrison, that lived a little before at Brissingham in the county of Norfolk, and was now deceased, divers ancient Roman coins, gold, silver, and copper. His father had been many years in gathering them, and therefore I wondered he had retained divers pieces amongst them that were certainly false and adulterate. After I had bought some hundreds of them, containing many of the Roman Emperors', from Pompey the Great to Honorius and Arcadius, I spent the remainder of this month for the most part, in overviewing and sorting them ; and afterwards perfecting my series by some I bought in other places, I caused them all which I made part of

that series, to be put into roundles of ivory, together with some silver British, Saxon, and English coins which I had gotten into my hands, and so placed them in drawers, in a box made on purpose for them, in which they now stand in my library. The deceased Mr. Harrison had transcribed into the printed collection of coins set forth by Adolphus Occo, that learned physician, whilst he lived at Augsburg, in Germany, many new reverses of divers coins he had, and some inscriptions also which Occo had never seen. This made me borrow that book of his son, and to transcribe all those written additions out of it into a printed Occo I bought, the two last days of May; for I employed almost every forenoon of that month in transcribing several collections out of the first tome of Domesday, in the Tally Office in the Exchequer, which collections now began to arise to a pretty volume in folio, together with some notes I had transcribed touching Norfolk, out of an exact copy of that shire, written out of the second tome of that record. The other afternoons of that month I spent chiefly in sorting my coins formerly bought, or acquiring of new. Although it were vacation time, yet did I follow my annotations out of Domesday many mornings this ensuing July, as I had done in the foregoing month. In the afternoons I busied myself for the most part in sorting my coins, buying, Wednesday, July the 11th, divers very good Roman coins, gold, silver, and copper, of one Mrs. Routh, a goldsmith's widow.

Having formerly seen very ancient records of the Communia Rolls in Sir Peter Osborne's office, being the Lord Treasurer's Remembrancer, in the Exchequer, of

the times of King John and Henry the Third, I began first on Monday, July the 23rd, in the afternoon, to take notes of the first roll I found of King John's, being written in the very hand and character of Domesday itself. I followed the same collections most of the afternoons of this July; and, for many months afterwards, proceeded in those collections till I had finished all those rolls I found, both of Henry the Third and King John's time, being a rare and an exact work which I highly value.

Tuesday, July the 3rd, I spent in secret humiliation and fasting, with my dearest and most of my family.

Wednesday, August the 1st, I followed my searches out of the rolls of King John; and the two ensuing days, each forenoon, proceeded with my collections out of Domesday, as I did in the morning also of Saturday, August the 4th. In my return home from the Tally Office at Westminster, I called on Mr. William Neve, York Herald, at the Office of Arms, on St. Peter's Hill, who lent me an original deed of Richard Basset, that was Chief Justice of England under Henry the First, the son of Ralph Basset, the Norman Chief Justice also, before his said son, under the same King. I was taken with admiration and content at the sight and perusal of it, taking it to be the most ancient deed in Christendom to which a seal of arms hangeth. I counted myself extremely obliged to him, afterwards, when he bestowed it on me; and the rather because Dame Anne D'Ewes, my dear wife, was lineally descended from a female inheritrice of the same Richard, as I have showed at large in December, 1626. This deed contains a lease of the manor of Hecham, from William (Basset) Abbot

of Holme, in the county of Norfolk, to the same Richard Basset, for his life ; and it is the said Richard's counterpart. The greatness of the letter or character, the witnesses' names, and the antique writing of the word CYROGRAPHVM, of which part remains, viz., the upper half of the letters at the bottom of this deed, do all persuade me, though it be not dated, that it was passed in Henry the First's time, the same Richard being then Chief Justice of England. The seal hangs at the upper end, or beginning of the deed, in a strong label of thick white leather ; the manner of it being so exotic and rare, as I never yet saw any other seal so affixed, but ever placed at the bottom of the deed. The seal itself is orbiculate and round, and of a great bigness and circumference,—the colour of it a bright auburn. The circumscription of it at first was, doubtless, SIGILLVM RICARDI BASSET, though the letters following, CARDI BAS, were only remaining when I received the same deed from Mr. Neve. In the two and twentieth line thereof, there was a little vacancy, or space, left before the word *Regis*, where one of the witnesses is thus named,—*Benjamin serviente Regis* ; it was, doubtless, vacated of purpose for a great H, to have been inserted in a red or a miniated letter for Henry the First. And I am the rather persuaded that this seal was used by the said Richard Basset after he was chief Justice of England, and as long as he continued in that place ; because I have seen another deed of his with an ordinary round seal with a horseman upon it, which Richard Basset, his grandchild, son and heir of Geoffry Ridel, afterwards used. Upon the above-mentioned

great orbiculate seal is seen a man armed in a coat of mail, the beaver of his head-piece open, holding on his left arm a great torquated shield, covering his body, with a cross on it, and five orbs or globes on the cross, which, for the rarity of, I have caused to be drawn in the margin, just as it is in the seal. I have a strong conjecture, from the coat-armour borne after by his posterity, being three pallets, gules, all within a bordure azure, bezanted, that the colour of their coat-armour was or, a cross azure, bezanted. In the right hand of the said armed man was a sword, with which he had riven open the upper jaw of a griffin, and cut it almost through; which griffin is very lively portrayed on the seal, (though some part of it be broken since off,) holding a naked child in his mouth, which by that means, it seems, was delivered from being devoured by that monster. So as I confidently conclude this seal to be partly historical and true, and partly symbolical and imaginary. I take the portraiture, and figure representing the armed man, to be really intended for the said Richard Basset himself, and that on the shield to be his coat-armour; but his slaying the monster or griffin, and so delivering the naked child, I take to be only a hieroglyphical allusion to his place of office; whereby himself, and all others seated in the sacred seats of judicature, might be instructed that it was and is their duty to deliver the weak and innocent from the cruel jaws and talons of powerful and tyrannous oppressors. This armorial seal being above five hundred years old, and the oldest, by at least seventy years, that I ever saw, may well compare with, if not excel, in respect of the antiquity

thereof, the seals of arms of Montmorency itself, which are accounted by some the first gentlemen of France and of Christendom itself.

I spent almost the whole afternoon of the said 4th of August in viewing and considering this rare deed and seal, because Mr. Neve assured me the whole seal and circumscription were entire and perfect when it first came to his hands ; and as I feared it might, by some new misfortune, be broken again in whole or in part, I caused the said seal to be three several times tricked out by a most skilful hand, and had two of those copies or draughts very exactly depicted or coloured, according to the autograph, with the very label of it, and the breadth and length of the same deed, which I caused also to be transcribed in two several copies of the identical character ; all which still remain by me, with the rare original deed itself, which I account the most precious monument in my library, although a great piece of the seal were since unfortunately broken off, to my great grief and sorrow, on Wednesday, the 31st of August, in the year 1636 ; in which piece were not only the wings and the top of the tail of the griffin, but these six great or capital letters ensuing—RDI BAS, which did constitute and show a great part of the name and surname of the same Richard Basset. And my vexation and trouble would have been much the greater, had I not preserved the true form and colour of the same seal in those exact draughts I had caused to be identically delineated and coloured from it.

Towards the evening of the 4th day of August my daughter Anne, being at this time little above two

years and three months old, and my only child, escaped a miraculous great danger ; for she was in the arms of a young wench that tended her, and a mastiff, being then in my hall at Islington with them, leaped furiously twice on the wench, rent her clothes, and pierced her skin slightly, and very narrowly missed the child ; and had questionless spoiled them, if some company present had not instantly prevented it.

Monday, August the 6th, my wife and myself went to my brother Elliot's, in Surrey, to visit him and my sister ; from whence we returned safe home, Thursday, August the 16th. Here I gathered notes daily almost, losing very little time, out of the records or Communia Rolls of King John ; and having finished two of them, began the rolls of Henry the Third, Tuesday, August the 14th, all which being now in my custody, I kept and returned safe and fair as my life.

The remainder of the same month I spent chiefly in continuing my collections out of Domesday, in the Tally Office, in the morning, and out of the records of Henry the Third, in the afternoon, being part of the before-mentioned Communia Rolls ; bestowing the greatest share, also, of the ensuing September in the same studies. And that time which I bestowed otherwise was, most of it, studiously employed in copying out Saxon charters out of transcripts, (my servant writing such as were in Latin,) and comparing them after I had written them ; or in gathering several notes or collections out of a large manuscript, abstracted out of the Plea Rolls of Edward the First, which I borrowed out of the Tally Office, and such like learned employments, searching

sometimes amongst the records in the Pell Office in the Exchequer ; where, on Monday, the 3rd of September, in the morning, I found in one of the bundles of the Plea Rolls of Henry the Third, that Theobald de Belhous was the son of Richard de Belhous, which I never saw proved anywhere else. I have showed before infallibly, in December 1826, that Dame Anne D'Ewes, my wife, inherits the blood and arms of this family. My searching the first tome of the Domesday Book in the mornings, and my noting out of the Communia Rolls aforesaid, of Henry the Third, or the abstracts of the Plea Rolls of Edward the First, were the chief employments also of the month of October. The 11th day of the same month, being Thursday, my dear and only brother, Richard D'Ewes, came from Cambridge to me, I having now a purpose to remove him to the Middle Temple and to place him there in commons, and to have him leave the University, fearing lest his young years and good disposition might, in continuance of time, be too much vitiated there by evil company.

I began November with the same studies, and dreamt of no interruption, when, on Wednesday, the 7th of November, in the morning, being at my ordinary search and collections out of Domesday Book, I understood of a terrible censure passed that morning in the Star Chamber against one Mr. Palmer, for staying in London the last long vacation, contrary to the King's proclamation, and he was fined a thousand pounds ; yet he alleged that he was a bachelor, and that his house had been burnt down and was not yet rebuilt, so as he could retire to it. This procla-

mation had been set out some months before,* commanding all men, except such as attended the Court and the like, to retire to their houses in the country, that resided either near London in the places adjacent, or in London itself. Most men wondered at Mr. Noy, the Attorney-General, being accounted a great lawyer, that so strictly took away men's liberties at one blow, constraining them to reside at their own houses, and not permitting them freedom to live where they pleased within the King's dominions. I was myself a little startled upon the first coming out of the proclamation; but having first spoken with the Lord Coventry, Lord Keeper of the Great Seal of England, at Islington, when I visited him, and afterwards with Sir William Jones, Knt., one of the King's Justices of the Bench, commonly called the King's Bench, about my condition and residence at the said town of Islington, and they both agreeing that I was not within the letter of the proclamation nor the intention of it neither, I rested satisfied and thought myself secure, laying in all my provisions for housekeeping for the year ensuing, and never imagined myself to be in danger, till this unexpected censure of Mr. Palmer passed in the Star Chamber; so as, having advised with my friends, I resolved for a remove, being much troubled, not only with my separation from records, but with my wife's being great with child, fearing a winter-journey would

* The proclamation was dated June 20th, and is entitled by Rushworth, vol. ii. p. 187, "A Proclamation commanding the gentry to keep their residence in their mansions in the country, and forbidding them to make their habitations in London, and places adjoining."

be dangerous for her. That I might perfect somewhat before my departure, I followed my studies close the rest of this November, collecting much out of the first tome of Domesday Book each morning almost during the residue of this month. In the afternoons also, for the most part, I gathered notes out of the Com-munia Rolls of Henry the Third, or out of an old Leiger-book of St. Augustine's in Canterbury.

Saturday, November the 14th in the morning, I obtained ten rare British coins in silver, that had, with divers others, been taken up in the Coven or Common Garden in London, as the earth was digged deep to make a cellar : which I have still by me, with many rare Roman, Saxon, and English coins, from William the First downwards, in one box together in my library.

Saturday, November the 24th, my dear wife left Islington finally, and departed before me to Albury Lodge in Hertfordshire, where she was to stay awhile, till I could dispose of my things at Islington, that so following her thither, we might both together go into Suffolk. I had many hindrances in the beginning of December in disposing of my several occasions at Islington for my removal thence, and about other businesses ; yet did I bestow many mornings upon my searches in Domesday, and I finished my collections out of the first tome thereof on Wednesday, December the 12th, in the forenoon. I had taken short notes of all the shires there so far only as concerned families, history, and some other observations, excepting Cambridgeshire, of which county I had taken all the particular quantities and contents of the acres of each town and village, with all other passages which

concerned the geographical description of the same, intending, if God permit, to publish it. I had also, during my search, finished a like large collection out of the second tome, of the county of Essex; and had at first purposed to have made as large and as ample a gleanings of the two other shires—to wit, Norfolk and Suffolk—in the same tome. But my kind friend Mr. John Bradshaw, one of the Deputy Chamberlains, being to transcribe out those two shires verbatim in the very character for Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel and Surrey, promised to lend me those transcripts after he had compared, and thereupon I forebore to enter upon the particular searches of those shires. And according to his promise, I had formerly had the whole transcript of Norfolk from him, of which I took not so full and large notes as I had done of Cambridgeshire and Essex, because I understood my kind and aged friend, Sir Henry Spelman, Knt., had already written a survey of that shire. But for Suffolk, being the shire in which I resided, by reason of this my sudden and unexpected removal from Islington, I never had, I believe, a full fifth part of the transcript from him, and so have not to this day finished my large collection of it; but in Midsummer Term in the year 1637, I began to have perfected it, and proceeded a little in it out of the second tome of Domesday itself; when finding the work to require more weeks to finish it than I could conveniently stay days, I fell upon a shorter work, and went through that county to the end, gathering all particulars out of it, which conduced to the History of Great Britain, to the inserting of all surnames of several families, and to the clearing of the signification of some

exotic words. Having therefore dispatched several businesses, in the morning of Thursday, December the 13th, I departed from Islington myself that afternoon, and came to my wife the same evening to Albury Lodge, where I was much refreshed with the sight and short enjoyment of my wife's grandmother, Lady Barnardiston, my aunt Brograve, and her husband. For we both departed with our little daughter and the most of our family the next day, December the 14th, and lodging that night at Babram in Cambridgeshire, came safe, December the 15th, in the afternoon, to Bury St. Edmunds, in the county of Suffolk. My own house at Stowlangtoft was let out to the Lady Denton, my father's widow, for the most useful rooms in it, till the ensuing feast of St. Michael the Archangel; and therefore when I first purposed, in November last preceding, to remove from Islington, and considered of several places whither to retire for a time, I pitched upon Bury aforesaid, as the most fit and convenient, it being about five miles distant from Stow Hall, mine own mansion-house; and had therefore sent thither before and hired part of an house in St. Mary's parish, in the town near the church, which dwelling we now found pretty well fitted to receive us at our coming thither. Most happy we were, during our continuance here, in the weekly sermons and almost frequent converse of Mr. Edward Calamy, that was the preacher of that parish; and this indeed was one of the chief motives that drew us thither to partake of his painful* and pious preaching.

Having lost some time after my arrival at Bury in disposing and settling some of my books and papers

* Painstaking.

in a little study I made there towards the latter end of December, I continued my begun annotations out of the before-mentioned register or leiger-book of the Abbey of St. Augustin's in Canterbury, which very book* Sir Robert Cotton, whilst he lived, had received from me in exchange for the Ecclesiastical History of Jocelin the Monk of Canterbury, in Latin; being a rare ancient manuscript in parchment, in folio, which I still have in my library.

On Thursday, December the 27th, in the afternoon, I wrote out divers particulars from a transcript of Suffolk, exactly copied out of Domesday Book, as I did the day following in the afternoon, and December the 29th, in the morning.

As happy and blessed might the public occurrences of Christendom have been this year as the last, had not the matchless and victorious King of Sweden been slain on Tuesday, November the 6th, in the battle of Lutzen, fought between him and Albertus Wallenstein, Duke of Friesland and Saga, being the general of the army of the bloody Emperor Ferdinand the Second; and had it not been for the valour of Bernard Duke of Saxe Weimar, and the prudence of Dodo Baron of Kniphonsen, the Swedes had certainly been utterly defeated and overthrown; for the King was slain † about eleven of the clock in the fore-

* This manuscript is still preserved in Cotton's library in the British Museum.

† "The armies being come within cannon shot, the great ordnance began to play terribly on both sides, till they joined battle and came to a close fight, wherein the King of Sweden was slain;— or rather in a party of horse with which he went, before the fight,

G 2

noon, and yet they maintained the fight with incredible resolution till the darkness of the night made an end of that bloody and obstinately-fought battle. The King, at the beginning of the battle, had some 15,000 men, but Wallenstein's army, considering those that the Earl of Pappenheim brought in before the fight ended, was about 30,000. It will be needless now to make relation of his great conquests in the Duchy of Bavaria this year, and elsewhere within the empire, seeing those and all the former victories have in a manner since his death been unravelled, and almost annihilated, and desolate Germany plunged into so many miseries and calamities, as the sword, the famine, and the pestilence have seemed to strive who should devour most. It cannot be denied, to speak as a mere politician and atheist, but that it had, in all human probability, been better for Germany that the King of Sweden had never entered into the empire with his arms, for doubtless by this time things would have been there settled, the grounds been tilled, and Popery fully established. But to speak as a Christian, and much more as a pious Protestant, all ages have to bless God that the King's arms were God's just scourge for the space of about two years and three months, to avenge him on the bloody and lustful soldiers of the Emperor's army, to abate their pride, and to save England, France, the Low Countries and all from ruin. And at this present

to discover the posture of the enemy before the mist broke up, and was surprised by the cuirassiers, and the King and his party cut off; yet the victory was obtained over Wallenstein and his whole army."—*Rushworth*, vol. ii. p. 182.

year (1638), the Swedes have still a potent army in Germany, and are the chief means under heaven, that the new Emperor, Ferdinand the Third, cannot yet utterly oppress the Gospel in the empire, as his bloody father, Ferdinand the Second, intended. More also might have been effected by them, if John George Duke and Elector of Saxony in Germany, had not treacherously, in the year 1635, broken his league and oath with them, and joined his arms with the popish forces against them; as he did in the year 1620, by the like treachery, ruin the Protestant cause and party.

It is possible the King of Sweden himself began to be puffed up too much with his own victories—at least, most men looked too much upon the arm of flesh in him, as he confessed himself to one Mr. Forbas, a reverend ancient Scotch minister, a little before his death; and that therefore he feared that God would either take him out of the world, or give his enemies some notorious victory over him: and so it fatally fell out. He had used Frederic Prince Elector Palatine and crowned King of Bohemia, with much courtesy and respect, upon his repair to him the 10th day of February last past, being Friday, and honoured him always after till the very day he was slain. The news of his death being brought to the said King of Bohemia, as he was coming to him from Frankfort on the Maine, and being newly recovered out of a dangerous sickness, if not the plague itself, it so struck him to the heart, that he instantly returned and shortly after died. He had long borne losses and calamities—yea, the very scorn of his enemies, with an

admirable patience ; and hoping himself now to be upon the brim and edge of restitution and repatriation, the fatal and sudden being deprived of that hope, broke his great and princely heart. Never did one person's death in Christendom bring so much sorrow to all true Protestant hearts—not our godly Edward's, the sixth of that name, nor our late heroic and inestimable Prince Henry—as did the King of Sweden's at this present, although the affairs of Germany stood yet in as good condition as whilst the King lived. The United States of the Low Countries took the strong city of Maestricht this summer from the Spaniards ; and the Protestants in France enjoyed peace and liberty of conscience under their King.

CHAPTER IV.

Merits of De Thou's Works.—Personal Narrative of Sir S. D'Ewes.
—The Affairs of Germany.—The King's Visit to Scotland.—
Character of Laud.—D'Ewes quarrels with Danford.—Account
of Prynne whilst a Prisoner in the Tower.—Battle of Nord-
lingen.—Leaning of the English Clergy towards Papistical
Doctrines.

1633.

THOUGH I had many cares and hindrances in my studies in the ensuing January, and some little journeys, yet did I spend divers days upon transcribing part of the survey of Suffolk from an exact copy of it written out of Domesday, or in gathering notes out of the Communia Rolls of the tenth year of King John, or those of Henry the Third. My servants also were now transcribing certain abstracts out of the Red Book of the Exchequer, and out of the Plea Rolls and fines of Richard the First, remaining in the Treasury there also, which had been lent me from several hands : so as we were all hard at work to enrich and increase my precious library.

Tuesday, January the 22nd, I went to Burnham, in Norfolk, from Bury, to Sir John Tracy, Knt., who had married my wife's mother-in-law, who delivered unto me the same day, at night, a book in parchment, in folio, in divers ancient depicted coat-armours, and of

many new drawn, some forty or fifty years before, of the several matches of the Cloptons and their kindred. This book had been Sir William Clopton's, my wife's father, and was much esteemed by him, which made me very desirous to become master of it; in which, though I soon discovered divers errors in the latter's depictions, yet I saw much good use might be made of it.

Thursday, January the 24th, I returned from Burnham, and came to Stow Hall, in Suffolk, where the Lady Denton, my father's widow, yet resided. My wife met me there the same night; and the next day, after dinner, we returned again to Bury. The greatest part of February was spent by me laboriously in collecting notes out of a Plea Roll of the Pell Office in the Exchequer, excepting Thursday the 28th, and the last day of the said February, which my wife and myself consecrated to private humiliation and fasting.

Saturday, March the 2nd, I finished my annotations out of the said Plea Rolls. One of my servants had copied out a short Latin chronicle, touching the annals of Wales, beginning in the year 680, and ending in the year of our Lord 1286, out of a transcript of it. I compared them, Wednesday, March the 6th, in the afternoon, and the day following, and amended divers errors which had slipped the former transcriber.

Sunday, March the 10th, about seven of the clock in the morning, my wife was safely delivered of two sons before her due time, in the eighth month, so as we enjoyed them but a few hours, to our great grief and sorrow. Our only daughter Anne had fallen

sick of the measles, on Monday, February the 25th foregoing, of which disease, though she began to recover within two days after, yet my wife was so affrighted with fear of having the same sickness, in respect of her being with child, as she especially conceived that to have hastened the fatal abortion. I feared also that she had received some hurt by travelling in her coach in Bury streets. The discovery of some certain symptoms of death near approaching in the youngest, was the cause I had him baptized the same morning before divine service began, between seven and eight of the clock, in my wife's chamber. He was called Geerardt, after mine own grandfather's name. He deceased the same afternoon, between twelve and one of the clock, and was carried in my coach to Lavenham, and there buried in the chancel on Tuesday, March the 12th, in his eldest brother's grave.

On the 11th day of March, being Monday, was my eldest twin baptized also in my wife's chamber, and called Adrian, being my father's grandfather's name. The witnesses were, Sir Nathaniel Barnardiston, Knt., my wife's cousin-german by her mother's side, Wiseman Bokenham, Esq., my brother-in-law, and my youngest sister, Elizabeth D'Ewes. I was enforced, a little after the baptizing, to depart to London about the accounts and administration of my father's personal estate: my brother, Richard D'Ewes, who had been with us the late festival time at Bury, was now at London expecting me; for whose safety and business I had undertaken that trust, and this present unseasonable journey, and some others. I came safe thither the next day, well hoping of the continuance of

the life of my little Adrian ; but God, in his infinite wisdom and goodness, had otherwise decreed ; and that tender infant rendered up his soul into His hands, March the 13th, Wednesday, much about the time and hour his brother Geerardt D'Ewes had deceased on the Friday foregoing ; and was interred, March the 14th, Thursday, in Lavenham chancel, also in the same grave with Clopton D'Ewes, his elder, and Geerardt D'Ewes, his younger brother. So as, when I returned from London on Friday, March the 15th, very wet and weary, I found my dear wife all in tears and lamentations. And though I were struck with a sad apprehension of mine own extreme losses, having buried now three sons, yet I comforted her what I might, and concealed part of my grief and disconsolation from her.

To mitigate and moderate this sorrow, I fell close to my sweet and satisfying studies, Wednesday, March the 20th, comparing some particulars my servant had copied out of an abstract of part of the Plea Rolls of Edward the First, in the King's Bench, which rolls remain in the Treasury of the Exchequer : and Friday, March the 22nd, in the afternoon, I began a rare Itinerant Roll of the time of Richard the First, which I found in the Pell Office, and transcribed entirely many particulars out of it ; and followed it so close the remainder of this month, that I finished it on Friday, the 29th day of the same.

The greatest part of April was employed upon the accounts and affairs of my estate, which I had suffered to run on too long undisposed and unordered. The second day of the same month, being Tuesday, I added some particulars to my last will and testa-

ment made in 1631, on Wednesday, June the 22nd, still continuing in force ; yet, this very month, I began a work which after drew me into further and greater searches. I borrowed an old register of wills out of the Commissary and Archdeacon's Office of Sudbury, in the county of Suffolk. From the sight of these I was drawn to the search of those more rare and richly furnished registers in the Officials' Court of Norwich, which yielded me invaluable collections, besides the entire transcripts of divers whole wills and testaments touching the counties of Norfolk, Suffolk, and some others, as I shall have occasion to make mention at large hereafter.

I entertained a variety of studies in the month of May, collecting divers particulars out of a very ancient leiger-book of the Abbey of Bury, called *Nigrum Registrum*, and spent a part of the next month in comparing some things my servant had transcribed out of it. I gathered notes also this May, out of Ordericus Vitalis's Ecclesiastical History, and some of the registers of wills of the Archdeacon's Court in Bury. Many hours also were bestowed on journeys, discourses, and matters of less moment.

Monday, June the 24th, I removed finally from Bury St. Edmunds with my family to Stow Hall, where I sojourned divers months ensuing with the Lady Denton, till her removal thence in November following. After my arrival at Stow Hall, I spent the remainder of June in sorting my books and papers in my study ; and Friday, the 31st day of May I spent in religious humiliation and fasting with most of my family at Bury. Before my said removal also to Stow

Hall this instant June, I compared divers particulars transcribed out of the above-mentioned ancient manuscript leiger-book which I had borrowed of Sir Edmund Bacon, I gathered some notes also out of a Communia Roll, and collected other notes out of some of the registers of wills in Bury Court.

Tuesday, July the 9th, I dined at Cambridge, and went the same night to Barkeway, and the next day to London, whither the business of the administration of my father's estate called me. During my stay there at this time, amongst other books, I bought the whole Latin History, in folio, of James Augustus de Thou, a Frenchman, which I caused to be bound up in five volumes. I am of opinion it is the rarest human work the Christian world now enjoys, being replenished with invaluable truth, and penned in a most elegant and lofty style. I have read it all over with admiration and delight, and do lament that some part of it is yet suppressed, as too full of truth and plainness for this corrupt age to endure ; and I did therefore lately write to his son at Paris for the publishing of it, as also to have a picture of the same Thuanus copied out, which latter request I obtained, though the same picture be not* yet come to my hands.

This letter was dated from Stow Hall, my mansion-house, in Suffolk, December the 16th (26th), 1637 ; and whereas in it I also requested, if the remainder of Monsieur de Thou's works, either of the history of his own life, or touching his public history, might not be

* " I received the same picture very safely in the year 1639."
—*Marginal Note.*

published, yet that I might have a private copy transcribed of it. I could not obtain that neither, although I no way believed the answer given, that all he had written was published in the last edition which I had ; but I rather suspected they feared that I would have made it public, and so durst not yield to my desire therein.

Friday, July the 12th, in the afternoon, I departed from London, and came the next day safe to Stow Hall. Some days after my return, I compared over divers particulars of the centages of Henry the Second, and Richard the First's time, and other notes which my servant had copied out of the abstract of them, written out of the Red Book in the Exchequer in the custody of the King's remembrancer. Thursday, July the 25th, I went from Stow Hall to Much Bromley Hall in Essex, to visit my brother and sister Bowes. The next day I went from thence to Great Stanway Church, where the families of Belhous first, and of Knyvet afterwards, (whose arms and blood my wife inherited,) were some time seated in that parish. I found no arms in the windows, but two very ancient grave-stones in the chancel, (which I guessed to have been laid on some Belhous or his wife,) with the escutcheons of brass, and the circumscriptions and portraitures rent off, so as nothing could be known for certain. From thence I rode to Rayleigh, a fair town in Rochford hundred, in which the same family of Belhous had inherited fair possessions by the intermarriage of Sir John de Belhous, Knt., in Edward the First's time, with Isolda Fitz-Warin, the youngest daughter and coheir of William Fitz-Warin and Alice his wife,

the daughter of John Hardel. I took divers good notes out of the parochial church of that town, but could not find anything that concerned any of those families; although the same Isolda, in her testament, bearing date at Rayleigh on the morning of the feast of St. Thomas the Apostle, being Sunday, in the year 1353, (of which I have the original under her seal,) doth devise her body to be buried in the new aisle of the same church, before the altar of the Virgin Mary. The testament is in Latin; and I make little question but that the said Isolda was there interred, although there now remain no sign or footsteps of it. I returned that night to Maldon, and the next day to my brother Bowes.

On Monday, July the 29th, I went to Reydon Hall in Ramsay, to see what I could there find touching the family of Reydon, but received small satisfaction; and going from thence to Ramsay Church, I found nothing at all. Tuesday, the 30th of July, I went with my brother Bowes to visit John Lucas, Esq., at Colchester, where I saw and borrowed of him a great manuscript book of St. John's Colchester, founded by Eudo Fitz-Hubert, in Henry the First's time, out of which I gathered afterwards many useful particulars.

On Thursday, August the 1st, I returned home to Stow Hall from my brother Bowes. I spent the residue of this month at home very studiously for the greater part, collecting out of the Communia Rolls of Henry the Third, or out of an abstract of the Plea Rolls of Edward the First; only on Tuesday, August the 20th, I went into Norfolk, to Ashwell Thorpe, where Thomas Knyvet, Esq., my wife's kinsman, dwelt;

where I found many rare deeds of Basset, of Weldon, in Northamptonshire, with brave seals hanging to most of them, two of which I borrowed at this time, and many more afterwards, and out of them and divers records I had gathered together, drew the exact descent of Basset, before set down in December, 1626, abstractedly; which I intend, God willing, to frame into a large and historical deduction. I continued my annotations out of the Communia Rolls in September, and compared several particulars that had been transcribed out of the abstract of the Plea Rolls of Edward the First. I perused also a manuscript chartulary of Bury Abbey, which I had borrowed of Sir Edmund Bacon, my wife's kinsman, called *Album Registrum*, and gathered many useful notes out of it. Yet did many occasions besides my studies take up too much time this month, as accounts, discourses, visits, and such like.

The next month, October, brought me much care, and in the issue eased me of much trouble: for, the 14th day of the same month, my only brother Richard was complete eighteen years old, and the administration I had taken of my father's personal estate was then to end, and I was to pay him in all the moneys remaining in my hands, which was part of that estate. I departed, therefore, from Stow Hall towards London, Thursday, October the 3rd, in a hired coach, carrying up a great sum of money in it. Other moneys I returned in other ways, and in all underwent great hazards, all which would have redounded to my loss if anything had miscarried; but through God's mercy I came myself safe to London, on Friday, October the

4th, and all the moneys I returned came in due time to my hands. I had lent divers sums freely, which I now expected in my need, but divers failed me, so that I fell short between 400*l.* and 500*l.* of the sum I was to pay my brother, which if I had not made even, I had forfeited 120,000*l.*, in bonds and counter-bonds. This awhile so perplexed me, that it interrupted my rest for a night or two. My credit would have suffered to have borrowed many thousands in London, had I needed it; but my scruple that I thought it not lawful to give or take use,* made the difficulty that I could not borrow in the ordinary way. Amidst my perplexity, I found the Scripture proverb true, that "God will provide or be seen in the mountain:" for, October the 11th, Wiseman Bokenham, Esq., my brother-in-law, being to receive 600*l.* in London, to save the hazard of the carriage into Suffolk, furnished me with it, to pay him in the country, which I afterwards did, though some of it were also paid by his appointment at London for his use.

After this seasonable accommodation, I had no other rub in this business, but began my account with my dear brother, on Monday, October the 14th, and finished all by Friday, October the 18th, so as that day in the forenoon I had a general release from my brother, and the next day, my great bond out of the Prerogative Court, blessing God that had freed me out of this great trouble, in which I never expected at first to gain a penny unjustly from my brother, and might by possibility have forfeited 120,000*l.* in bonds; or at least had I deceased before my account was made up,

* Usury.

it might have proved a snare and an incumbrance upon my estate for many years after ; so as I told my brother, he could not be more joyful to receive his estate, than I was to be rid of the care and trouble of it.

Though I were enforced to spend too much time in making and giving up my accounts during a great part of this Michaelmas Term, yet did I not wholly lose it ; for, on Thursday, the 10th, and Friday, the 11th of October, in the morning, I searched at Westminster in the Lord Treasurer's Remembrancer's Office, in the Communia Roll of the first year of King John, and in divers of the same rolls of the time of Henry the Third, and a little before.

On Wednesday, October the 9th, I took two records, the one touching the family of Belhous, and the other touching the family of Basset, out of the Plea Rolls of Edward the First, in the Tally Office ; but of this latter, being the probate of the full age of Richard Basset and the son of Ralph Basset, and very long, I had not a whole, but only a partial copy of it. On Wednesday, October the 23rd, I transcribed some part of a copy of a record of a later Basset, and was fain afterwards to put it to another to transcribe for me, because Sir Henry Spelman, an aged and learned antiquary, came to visit me at my lodging near the Inner Temple Gate, in Fleet Street, where I had lain since my coming to town, who dining with me, we spent a great part of the day in solid and fruitful discourse.

Thursday, October the 24th, I borrowed a book in which were written divers abstracts of the records of King John's time and others, out of the Tower of Lon-

don, which my servant afterwards transcribed and enlarged out of other collections I had of some of the same records. That afternoon I departed out of London and the next night came to my brother Bowes, to Much Bromley Hall; from whence I departed, Saturday, October the 26th, and arrived the same night safe at Stow Hall, where I was much comforted with the sight and welcome of my dear wife. On Wednesday, October the 30th, I began to collect some particulars in the afternoon out of the Communia Roll of the 9th year of Henry the Third.

About the beginning of November, the Lady Denton, my father's relict and widow, (who had most lovingly lent me a great sum of money freely upon my late payments to my brother) removed from Stow Hall with the Lady Stuteville, her sister, and their whole families, to Ixworth Abbey, some mile and a half distant, there to reside; in whose vicinity and neighbourhood we were many years after happy. This was the first time since my father's decease, that we enjoyed our sweet and pleasant seat freely and wholly to ourselves: and that we might not take too much comfort in it, nor grow too far in love with it, Mr. Danford, the parson or rector of Stowlangtoft Church, who scarce suffered my father's deceased corpse to be interred in peace, and had wasted much money with me in several suits since his death, practised daily new and malicious devices to vex us, so as we feared we should at last be driven, for very peace and quiet's sake, to forsake our mansion-house and dwelling; which certainly we had at last done, if himself, wearied with his own monstrous ingratitude to me,

and with daily differences which disquieted himself, had not offered peace and respectful observance unto us. I believe he feared also the curses of the poor in town and country he should draw upon himself by driving me away, by whose hospitality and outward works of mercy many were refreshed. Loath I am in this and other places to mention his malicious practices, (having now, through God's blessing, for a few years past had peace with him,) but that the necessity of setting down a full and true relation of the good and evil events and passages of mine own life enforceth me to it.

I spent a great part of this November in collecting notes out of some Communia Rolls of Henry the Third's time. On Thursday, the 21st day of the same month, my wife joined with me in religious humiliation and fasting, in which we continued with little intermission from morning to night.

My collections out of others of the same Communia Rolls took up many days in December, yet were that not the sole object of my studies, for I employed several days in perusing an ancient register of Bury Abbey, called Registrum Pyncebek, out of which I gathered many useful notes. This, as divers other manuscript cartularies or leiger-books, were very lovingly lent me by Sir Edmund Bacon, my ally and neighbour, whom I went to visit (as I had done sometimes before) Monday, December the 23rd, being now the High Sheriff of Suffolk: neither lost I much time in my going to him in the morning, or returning from him in the afternoon, but read many leaves to my great content in the Latin history of William Newborough, surnamed also Petit,

touching the affairs of England; and this was my usual course when I travelled in my coach alone: and many times also I read English books to others that travelled with me.

The affairs in Germany went on prosperously all this year, notwithstanding the loss of the matchless King of Sweden; Ratisbon itself being taken by the Duke Bernard of Saxe Weimar, to the great astonishment of the Emperor Ferdinand the Second; and all the popish party of the empire. But there wanted a chief head to hold all the Protestant forces together, which being at this time commanded by several generals, began already to emulate one another, and was a chief and main cause the year following of so fatal and vast an overthrow as could never since be recovered.

King Charles went in person this summer into Scotland, and was there crowned; and obtained, in a parliament, some alteration of their Church government, to make it more conformable to that in England, which occasioned many sad and fatal effects in the issue. A heavy loss also had our English Church by the decease of Dr. George Abbot, Archbishop of Canterbury. Dr. William Laud, Bishop of London, a little, low, red-faced man, of mean parentage, succeeded him. I shall need to say no more of him here, because his own speech,* made in the Star-Chamber, Wednesday, June

* This speech was printed shortly afterwards, 4to. Lond. 1637, and it is inserted in the Harleian Miscellany. It is very severe against the Puritans, and in the course of it the Archbishop says, "In the meantime, they which are the only or the chief innovators of the Christian world, having nothing to say, accuse us of innova-

the 14th, 1637, at the censure of some godly men, being since printed, shews sufficiently his allowance and practice of the adoring or bowing to and towards the altar with other tenets, which made me even tremble when I read it.

The greatest part of January, from the first day of it, to the 21st day of the same month, I bestowed in collecting many particulars out of the Communia Rolls. The remainder of January I spent chiefly in perusing some ancient manuscript Abbey books of Bury St. Edmunds, or of the ancient written register of Colchester Abbey. The month of February was almost wholly employed in sorting out a number of original deeds I had bought and gathered together in a large press I had caused to be made on purpose for them, with several drawers. This press, replenished with many rare originals, now standeth in my library, which is yearly increased and enriched by divers new additions, so as I already value it at a very high rate.

Some days also of the same February I spent in journeying or in collecting several notes out of the ancient MS. register of Colchester Abbey above-mentioned, which I borrowed of John Lucas, Esq. Friday, February the 28th, I began the Communia Roll of the twenty-fifth year of Henry the Third, and con-

tion ; they themselves and their complices in the meantime being the greatest innovators that the Christian world hath almost ever known. I deny not but others have spread more dangerous errors in the Church of Christ ; but no men in any age of it have been more guilty of innovation than they, while themselves cry out against it”

tinued my annotations out of it in March ensuing, and finished, Tuesday, the 18th day of the same month, in the afternoon : and began the Communia Roll of the twenty-seventh year of the same king, out of which I collected, with little intermission, the rest of this March. The roll of the twenty-sixth year of Henry the Third, and divers former years of that King, had been lost before I searched them in the Lord Treasurer's Remembrancer's Office. Some days I lost this month in journeys and visits.

Tuesday, April the 2nd, I devoted to religious humiliation and fasting, with divers of my family ; yet my wife, being with child, took some small sustenance—so as it was in her a religious abstinence.

As for mine own frequent fasting alone, which from the year 1627 to the middle of the year 1638, I observed almost monthly, I purposely, for the most part, omit the mention of it. In the said year 1638, I began to reduce my ordinary fastings to one every quarter. A great part of the same month I spent in collecting out of the Communia Rolls of the twenty-eighth and twenty-ninth years of Henry the Third, and might have bestowed more time on my precious studies, had I not been interrupted by Mr. Danford's wicked malice, being our unhappy minister at Stowlangtoft, where I resided. For, though he had forborne to catechise in the afternoons, upon Sundays, ever since my coming from Bury in the month of June last past, contrary to his duty, and the canons of our Church, merely out of his spleen to me, and had sometimes leavened his forenoon sermons with some malicious sprinklings,—yet did he never break out into an open invective, and

a profanation of the church and pulpit, with downright railing, till Sunday, April the 13th, in the morning; of which wicked discourse, unworthy the name of a sermon, I then took notes, and have them still by me. I was hereupon advised by some hot spirits to have him into the High Commission Court, and to question him there. But I having small hopes of finding remedy that way, and knowing revenge to be costly, and forgiveness cheap, awhile after rode to Ludham, to Dr. Corbet,* Bishop of Norwich, and remonstrated to him, Tuesday the 22nd day of the same month, Mr. Danford's exorbitant courses; who, at the present, seemed very sensible of my wrongs, and promised me redress; but, like an arch-hypocrite, failed me wholly in the issue. What means Mr. Danford made to him, or what money he gave him or his, I know not; but this experience I learned—never to have recourse to his wicked injustice again, but had resolved to have left my sweet and pleasant dwelling, if peace had not soon after ensued between myself and my said incumbent on the 5th day of the following November. And, seeing the Bishop to whom I sought for justice had dealt so treacherously and falsely with me, it made me the rather incline to pass by all the wrongs and injuries which the said Mr. Danford had offered me.

I ended my collections out of the Communia Rolls of the twenty-ninth year of Henry the Third, on May the 2nd, and then began the next Roll, of the thirtieth year of the same King; out of which I col-

* A prelate highly distinguished for his wit and learning. A collection of his poems was printed in 1647, some of which possess considerable merit.

lected also, the same afternoon, and the next morning, Thursday, May the 8th, I departed from Stow Hall towards London, and lay at Maldon, in Essex, that night, and the next day, came safe thither.

As soon almost as I alighted, I heard a particular news which much ensaddened my heart touching William Prynne, Esq., that had been an utter-barrister of Lincoln's Inn, and a graduate in the University of Oxford, who had lost one ear already in the pillory, or a part of it, and was to lose a part of the other to-morrow. He was a most learned, religious gentleman, had written many acute, solid, and elaborate treatises, not only against the blasphemous Anabaptists, in the defence of God's grace and providence, but against the vices of the clergy, and the abuses of the times. He had been censured in the Star-Chamber a few months before, for some passages in a book he wrote against stage-plays, called *Histrion-Mastix*, as if he had in them let slip some words tending to the Queen's dishonour, because he spoke of the unlawfulness of men's wearing women's apparel, and women men's.* Notwithstanding which, most men were affrighted to see that

* It must be remembered, that the custom of females appearing on the stage was not introduced into this country till after the Restoration. All the parts were performed by men and boys. The following lines occur in the prologue to a play, printed in 1660 :—

“ I come, unknown to any of the rest,
To tell you news,—I saw the lady drest ;
The woman plays to-day, mistake me not,
No man in gown, or page in petticoat ;
A woman to my knowledge, yet I can't,
If I should die, make affidavit on 't.”

neither his academical nor barrister's gown could free him from the infamous loss of his ears; yet all good men generally conceived it would have been remitted, and many reported it was, till the sad and fatal execution of it the Midsummer Term. I went to visit him a while after in the Fleet, and to comfort him; and found in him the rare effects of an upright heart and a good conscience, by his serenity of spirit and cheerful patience.

The end of my journey to London at this time was to have a conveyance drawn between myself and my wife, being now full of age, on the one part, and Walter Clopton, her uncle, on the other part, to settle the estate of Sir William Clopton, Knt., her deceased father, between them. This we fully agreed on according to former articles between us for substance, and gave order to counsel to draw the conveyance during my short stay in town, which was afterwards executed and a fine acknowledged by a *dedimus potestatem* at Stow Hall, my mansion-house in Suffolk, between us two on the one part, and my uncle Clopton and his wife on the other, the 3rd day of June ensuing. Whilst I stayed in London at this time, May the 12th, and May the 14th, I perused divers Communia Rolls of Henry the Third, and collected notes out of some of the same Rolls, at Westminster, in the Lord Treasurer's Remembrancer's Office.

Friday, May the 16th, I left London, and came safe home the next day, where I was much comforted with the hearty welcomes of my dear wife. The remainder of May, I spent pretty studiously in collecting notes out of the Communia Rolls of Henry the Third, or out

of an ancient manuscript cartulary of the Abbey of Ramsey in Huntingdonshire, lent me by Sir Henry Spelman, an aged and learned gentleman, or else out of a large written register in folio, being in paper, of last wills and testaments, belonging to the Register Office in Bury, and called *Liber Baldwine*.

Tuesday, May the 27th, in the afternoon, I was at Thelnetham Church, in Suffolk, where I found some particulars very observable touching that ancient family, which doubtless assumed its surname from this town; and in the lowest south window of the chancel, consisting of two stories, in the first story next the east, stands on two fawns sable, being the Thelnetham arms; and in the other story next the east, is placed argent a lion rampant; for in Edward the Third's time, Hugh de Bokenham, Esq., son and heir of Sir Hugh de Bokenham, Knt., married Julian de Thelnetham, and sister and heir of John de Thelnetham; in memory of which match, those coat-armours were doubtless set up. From this match is Wiseman Bokenham, Esq., my brother-in-law, descended, and is, in right of the same, after his father's decease, to inherit the manor of Thelnetham, with the patronage of the same church.

The greatest part of June was employed in collecting divers particulars out of some Communia Rolls of Henry the Third, or out of the ancient manuscript cartulary of Ramsey Abbey. The 14th day of the same month, I gathered notes out of an old Abbey book of Bury St. Edmunds, being written in parchment, called *Registrum Werketone*. I continued my collections out of the same Communia Rolls many days

in July, although I lost much time in journeys, discourses, and visits.

Mr. Danford's malicious practices continuing, although he catechized some Sundays in the afternoons, I was resolved to have my dear wife brought to bed at Ixworth Abbey, where the Lady Denton now inhabited, that so I might not be vexed with his cross and mischievous oppositions,—she being most willing and ready to accommodate us. Friday, July the 18th, in the forenoon, I went thither with her in her coach, although she had felt some symptoms of her ensuing labour before she came to the Lady Denton's. We had scarce alighted, when she grew so extremely unwell that, as we could scarce send for the midwife in time to Bury St. Edmunds, being some five miles distant from Ixworth Abbey. Between two and three of the clock in the afternoon of the same day, she was safely delivered of her fourth son, who was baptized in Ixworth parochial church, on the 1st day of August, and named Clopton. For though we had lost the eldest of the same appellation, yet my dear esteem of my wife and her family made me once more bestow her surname on this son, who was at this time, his three elder brothers being dead, our heir-apparent. The witnesses were Sir Thomas Bowes, Knt., my brother-in-law, my dear and only brother Richard D'Ewes, and my sister Bokenham. We had present affliction with him upon his birth, by the failing of two nurses, one after the other, within a fortnight after my wife had been delivered; so as being in a great strait, and

fearing we might lose him as we had done our first, we were fain to pitch upon a poor woman who had been much misused and almost starved by a wicked husband, being herself also naturally of a proud, fretting, and wayward disposition ; which together in the issue conduced to the final ruin and destruction of our most sweet and tender infant, who fell into fits of convulsions, under which, having at several times suffered extremely, it died at last of them, being near two years old, on Monday, the 9th day of May, in the year 1636 ; leaving myself and my dear wife the saddest and most disconsolate parents that ever lost so tender and sweet an infant.

Though I lost some days in visits, journeys, and discourses in August, yet I spent the greatest part of it studiously ; transcribing notes out of the *Communia Rolls* of Henry the Third, from a register of wills in Bury Court, called *Liber Harnie* ; or out of a manuscript leiger-book of Bury Abbey, called *Registrum Pyncebek*, which I borrowed of my neighbour Sir Edmund Bacon.*

The 28th of the same month, my wife and myself went from Lavenham to dinner to Melford Hall to Thomas Viscount Rock Savage ; and in our return home, between Lavenham and Stow Hall, the coach being overturned, I fell next the ground. My brother Richard rode a little before, and getting back in an instant, stopped the horses, or else it is possible my wife, my youngest sister Elizabeth D'Ewes, being with us in the coach, and myself, might have been in great danger.

* Of Redgrave, county Suffolk, the second baronet.

On Monday, September the 1st, I began a Communia Roll of Henry the Third, consisting of divers fragments of several years, and finished it the 9th day of the same month, being Tuesday, in the morning. That afternoon also I began to gather notes out of a Plea Roll of Michaelmas Term, in the fifty-sixth year of the reign of Henry the Third, which I found in the Pell Office; and ended my collections out of it, October the 6th, having spent divers days in September upon it; although I lost too many that month and in the same October also, in journeys, visits, and accounts, and unfortunate law-suits, being of all others the most hateful expense I could be put unto, either of my money or time.

On October the 7th, I began to gather notes out of the Plea Roll of Michaelmas Term, of the fifty-seventh year of Henry the Third, which I had found in the Pell Office, and continued my annotations on it with little intermission, to the 15th day of the same month; after which day, journeys, discourses, and sorting books and papers in my library, took almost the whole remainder of this October, excepting only some hours I bestowed in searching for the descents of Say and Liston, two ancient Essex families, whose blood and coat-armours I conceived undoubtedly to be inherited by my cousin Thomas Clopton, now of Liston Hall, in the same county, Gent. The 18th day of the same month, my dearest joined with me in religious fasting and humiliation.

Friday, November the 7th, I finished my collections out of the Plea Roll of the fifty-seventh year

of Henry the Third, having followed it reasonably close the former part of the same month. On November the 8th, I began to transcribe notes out of the Plea Roll of Easter Term, in the 56th year of Henry the Third, which course I continued the greater part of this November, unless I were interrupted by my necessary affairs: only Thursday, November the 13th, I was busied about the descents of Chasteleyn, Belhous, and Knyvet; and Saturday, November the 22nd, I gathered notes out of a manuscript register of last wills and testaments in Bury Court, called *Liber Boner*; and Monday, December the 1st, I finished my collections out of two other written registers of the same court.

The remainder of the month I spent, for the greater part, very studiously in transcribing and abstracting general particulars out of the Communia Rolls of Henry the Third, in the Treasurer's Remembrancer's Office of the Exchequer; so as now having peace and quiet with the parson of my church, and a son living, I enjoyed more happiness in private than I had done many years before; but alas! although those comforts and my pleasing studies ministered much content unto me, yet the vast desolations of God's Church abroad, and the general hatred of truth and piety at home, filled my soul with frequent sorrow and amazement. For, as touching the present state of desolate Germany, all the victories the glorious King of Sweden had acquired in two years and some odd months whilst he lived, and all the good successes his armies had gleaned up since his decease, were all dashed at one blow, and as it were unravelled by

the fatal and never-enough-to-be-lamented defeat of the Protestant army near Nordlingen, an imperial city upon the confines of the Duchy of Wirtemberg, by Ferdinand of Austria, King of Hungary, on the 27th day of August last past. Duke Barnard of Saxe Weimar, and the gallant Gustavus Horn, a Swede, generals of the Protestant army, were too secure and confident, jealous and envious of each other's honours; and contrary to all military discipline and reason, assaulted the enemy in their trenches,* which exceeded them at least one part in his numbers. Duke Barnard scarcely escaped, Horn was taken, and the whole Protestant army in a manner defeated. Had this loss happened in the end of the summer, in October, it had been fatal; but the enemy having all September to pursue victory, took in almost the entire Duchy of Wirtemberg by the end of it; and the greatest part of Germany, so that the Protestant cause, soon after submitted to the Emperor, and made their imaginary peace with him; all which particulars being at large extant in print, I forbear any further to mention them.

At home, many wicked, anabaptistical or popishly

* D'Ewes has given an erroneous date to this engagement. It should be September the 6th. The Swedes attacked the adverse party in their trenches very early in the morning with such fury, that they succeeded in obtaining some standards, three pieces of cannon, and one fort; but the two regiments that were engaged in the latter work were destroyed by the springing of a mine of gun-powder. This loss, however, did not deter the Swedes from continuing the contest, in which, exposed in every direction to the heavy fire of the enemy, they were at length completely routed.

affected divines and scholars in both Universities and elsewhere, maintained in the schools and pulpits justification by works, free-will, Christ's bodily presence in the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, and a world of other corrupt and noisome tenets, which made my soul to fetch many deep sighs, and my tongue to pray daily that God would preserve his Gospel and truth amongst us. One Doctor Beale (being made master of St. John's College in Cambridge) caused such a general adoration to and towards the altar and sacraments to be practised, that many godly fellows and scholars of the house left their places to avoid the abomination; so as to them this necessary exilement was a real persecution. Mr. Fox, in his Martyrology, reports, that in the beginning of Queen Mary's reign, that was the first college in Cambridge from which divers fellows and other students departed, so to avoid the storm they saw ready to fall upon their heads. That former example caused my heart to ache at the later event which happened during this summer preceding. Yet I could not but wonder withal at God's providence, that this year, especially in the spring-time, put into the hearts of so many godly persons, as well women as men, to hazard themselves, their children, and estates, to go into New England in America, at least three thousand miles from this kingdom by sea, there to plant, in respect of the doctrinal part, one of the most absolutely holy, orthodox, and well-governed churches in Christendom, or in that other world: so as what learned Beza writes of Calvin's being put out of Geneva by certain wicked men (whither he was afterwards recalled again with honour by the whole

city,) that the devil was therein deceived, because instead of the Church at Geneva, which was much weakened by his departure, he raised up a new French Church and congregation at Strasbourg in Germany. That I may say of those prelates and others now in England, who, endeavouring, ever since the year 1630, to increase the multitude and burden of the ceremonies and intermixtures in the Church, that so they might oppress the consciences or ruin the estates of many godly Christians, falsely by them nick-named Puritans, although free from all schismatical and idle opinions; they have, on the contrary, been the only causes and instruments of sending many thousands into America itself, where yet God hath blessed them, not only with outward safety and plenty, but with the power and purity also of God's ordinances, free from all burthensome ceremonies and superstitious intermixtures. For mine own part, I have ever maintained obedience to the magistrate in all lawful things, and that the conscience ought not to be enforced; nay, I can honour and esteem a virtuous or learned Papist, who, being educated in that religion, supposeth it to be the truth. But for men to call themselves Protestants, as Bishop Laud, Bishop Wren, and their wicked adherents, to swallow up the preferments of our Church, to inveigh against Popery in word only, and in the main to project and plot the ruin of the truth and Gospel, to maintain and publish the most gross and feculent errors of the Romish synagogue, to cause God's Day to be profaned, his public service to be poisoned by idolatry and superstition, his faithful and painful ministers to be censured, suspended, de-

prived, and exiled, and to threaten a speedy ruin to the power of godliness,—this my soul abhors as the highest step of wickedness and of prevarication against God and his honour. I cannot but account the Pope, the Cardinals, and Jesuits themselves saints, in comparison of these men. For as a few traitors within a besieged city are of a greater danger for the ruin of it than a whole army without, so doubtless what Theodore Beza saith of the Pseudo-Lutherans of Germany is true of these men, that they do no less impudently and furiously weaken and undermine the Gospel of truth, than if they were hired by the Pope himself at great rates. Besides, the gross heresies and horrible abominations of the Romish synagogue are so many and notorious, as I dare boldly aver, that it is impossible for any true Protestant, that knows but the truth in some indifferent measure, and leads his life in some proportion like a pious Christian, ever willingly and by way of choice and election to turn Papist, either in whole or in part. But I see by daily experience, when divines, scholars, and others, are given up to a profane, vicious, and atheistical life, they so far detest and hate such as be godly, as by a just judgment of God they are at length given up to the hatred of the truth itself also, and readily take in their defence and creed any Popish, Pelagian, or Anabaptistical tenets.

CHAPTER V.

State of the New England Colonies.—History of Protestant Emigration.—Dangerous Doctrines broached at Cambridge.—Affairs of Germany.—Raising of Ship-money.—Power of Parliaments.—The Prince Elector Palatine at Newmarket and Cambridge.—Innovations in the Church Service.—Conclusion.

1634.

BUT leaving these men, who call themselves Protestants, to Him that shall judge all secrets, I shall here take an occasion to speak a little of New England and the plantation of our countrymen there. It is the eastern coast of the north part of America, upon the south-west, adjoining to Virginia, and part of that continent, large and capable of innumerable people. It is in the same height with the north of Spain, and south part of France, and the temperature not much unlike, as pleasant and fertile as either, if managed by industrious hands. It was at first discovered by our nation, by the mere providence of God; for a ship, in the year 1620, being bound with some English for Virginia, and being cut short for want of wind, by the hardness of the winter, were forced for shelter to put in there, without any thought or imagination of settling a plantation there. They or some of them at their return discovered so much of the country, as some western merchants, and afterwards some Londoners, sent over some small colonies

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to settle and inhabit there. Yet these chiefly then aimed at trade and gain, till about the year 1630, in the spring, when John Winthrop, Esq., a Suffolk man, and many other godly and well disposed Christians, with the main of their estates, and many of them with their entire families, to avoid the burthens and snares which were here laid upon their consciences, departed thither; where they, having in the first place taken care for the honour and service of God, and next for their own safety and subsistence, have, beyond the hopes of their friends, and to the astonishment of their enemies, raised such forts, built so many towns, brought into culture so much ground, and so dispersed and enriched themselves, as all men may see, whom malice blindeth not nor impiety transverseth, that the very finger of God hath hitherto gone with them and guided them.

I cannot deny but that I think they go a little too far on the right hand, and might some of them, be too scrupulous when they lived here and that there are crept in amongst them some that hold strange and dangerous opinions. But this I am confident, they do most of them, in the main, aim sincerely at God's glory, and to reduce the public service of God to that power and purity which it enjoyed in the primitive times. Vices and sins are so severely punished amongst them, and the godly so countenanced and advanced, as in that respect it seems to be a true type of heaven itself; whereas, in other parts of the world where the Protestant religion is in show professed, the most honest and pious men are for the most part maligned, scoffed at, and disgraced.

Great is the honour, also, the King hath acquired by this extent of his name and empire into America itself. And yet such is the devilish and unparalleled malice of some against them, as they would neither suffer them to live quietly here, nor yet to enjoy a voluntary exilement abroad ; but, exceeding the malice of the Papists themselves, discover plainly that nothing but the blood and destruction of these innocent men and women can satisfy them. For from the year 1630, to this present year, 1638, when in the spring-time divers thousands have each year prepared themselves for their passage into New England, sold their estates, shipped their goods, and were even ready to put to sea, such secret ways and means have been used, as they have been stayed for a time, and often been in danger of being prevented of their journey, to their utter undoing ; but God that protecteth his, has still by one means or other disappointed the malicious and merciless plots and designs of their enemies, and opened them a seasonable liberty of departure, and a safe passage thither. Nay, great benefactors are their enemies to them, in urging their ecclesiastical censures against tender consciences more than ever ; for by this, they have driven many thousands over to them who else had not now been there ; as also in making the passage so difficult, because by that means none, almost, will hazard the putting of their estates and fortunes to be in possibility of being undone if they should be stopped, but such only as go for conscience-sake : so as their numbers there do now amount to some fifty thousand, and most of them truly pious ; and every parish supplied with such able painful preaching mi-

nisters, as no place under heaven enjoys the like. Very careful are they, also, to preserve amongst themselves the unity of doctrine, having banished divers Familists * and other schismatics out of their Church ; of which some finding no harbour there, returned back into England. Their enemies, also, here have at several times given out reports that a bishop and a governor should be sent amongst them to force upon them the yoke of our ceremonies and intermixtures, so to deter others from going. And, indeed, at this time the same report was more likely to be fulfilled than ever, before or since : for one Sir Ferdinando Gorges was nominated for governor, and there was a consultation had to send him thither with a thousand soldiers ; a ship was now in building and near finished to transport him by sea, and much fear there was amongst the godly lest that infant Commonwealth and Church should have been ruined by him ; when God, that had carried so many weak and crazy ships thither, so provided it, that this strong new-built ship in the very launching fell all in pieces, no man knew how, this spring ensuing, and so preserved his dear children there at this present from that fatal danger, nor hath since suffered them as yet to come under the like fear.

Happy it were their enemies would remember wise Gamaliel's counsel at last, and no longer fight against God himself ! Or what would become of thirty or forty thousand of those pious Christians now in New

* The disciples of Henry Nicholas, the founder of the sect called the *Family of Love*.

England, whose tender consciences stumbled at the old ceremonies which were practised amongst us before, if they should now see the fatal burthens which were added to them since this year—1634?—their ecclesiastical prisons could not have held a third part of them. Never certainly was there any new plantation at so remote a distance, so far advanced in so few years, by private men, against so continual and strong opposition ; and my constant prayer and hope is, that God will perpetuate a glorious Church there to the world's end, which his own right hand hath so wonderfully planted, and that he will lead them into all truth, and not suffer them to err or dissent in the least particulars.

Is it not a wonder, then, that there should live any men in a Protestant Church that should hate their own compatriots and countrymen worse than the Papists do the strictest Protestants amongst them, or the very Jews and Mahometan Moors beyond the seas—so as they are loath they should purchase their safety at so dear a rate as to travel three thousand miles by sea to obtain it? What examples of the most barbarous and bloody persecutors of former or later ages can equal them? To omit examples of the elder ages, when orthodox Christians held that the greatest punishment to be laid upon heretics was but exilement or banishment, I will add a few instances of the foregoing age. Philip the Second of Spain, son and heir of the Emperor Charles the Fifth, who inherited his father's hatred of God's true Church and children, did yet, in the year 1575, set out a public declaration touching all the inhabitants of the Nether-

lands, that it should be lawful for any that would not embrace the Romish religion to depart from thence whithersoever they would, or to sell their estates, or else to retain them and to receive the profits of them. And not many years after, he gave liberty also to all the Mahometan Moors in Spain, amounting to many thousands, to depart freely thence into any province of Africa. Charles the Ninth also, the French King, did by his agents, earnestly solicit Louis de Clermont, Prince of Conde, and Gaspar de Coligni, Earl of Chastillon, Admiral of that kingdom, being the chief commanders and directors of the Protestant affairs there, to depart the kingdom with the rest of the religion; and to encourage them to begin a plantation in the island of Florida in America, he not only gave leave to the first expedition, which was undertaken by John Ribald, in the year 1562, but also, at the same Admiral's entreaty, did contribute very largely to the second voyage, which was entered upon not long after the first by Renate Laudonere, and divers other Protestants. But it pleased God that this fair occasion, not only of enlarging the French empire, but also of planting a blessed Church amongst those heathen people, was in the very bloom and infancy thereof prevented and brought to nothing by the precipitation of Laudonere himself, and by those factious Romanists about the King who occasioned new civil wars and tumults in the realm.

After the horrible and inhuman massacre of Paris, executed during the reign of the same Charles, in the year 1572, (which was partly resolved upon, because the Protestants would not, upon any terms, remove out

of France, and so desert and leave their dear and native country,) Charles, Duke of Lorraine, intending to take that occasion to extirpate the true religion out of his own dominions, which he might have done by their slaughters, yet gave them liberty to depart whithersoever they would in safety, and full time to sell and dispose of their goods and estates. Nay, Queen Mary of England, whose bloody persecutions shall make her reign infamous to the world's end,—yet in her first years expressed so much mercy, as having publicly declared she meant to restore the Romish religion, she further permitted to all her subjects that would not profess the same, free liberty to depart out of the same kingdom, by which the lives of divers of the clergy, and some hundreds of the laity, were preserved. Ferdinand, the younger son of Philip the First, King of Spain, being King of the Romans, when his subjects of Austria petitioned in January, 1557, that they might enjoy the free exercise of the Protestant religion, he denied them in that particular, but gave them free liberty to dispose of their estates, and to settle themselves in any other parts of Germany; which they absolutely refused. And the French King, in our days, after his subjects of the reformed religion had been necessitated to take up arms against him for their defence several times, hath yet granted them free liberty of conscience for some years now last past. I cannot therefore but wonder, seeing the Papists themselves deal thus mildly with those of our religion, whom they account heretics, how any prelate or others amongst us, who pretend any the least love to the truth and Gospel, should so seriously hate their fellow Protes-

tants, who only differ in matter of ceremony and circumstance from the established government of the Church of England, as not to suffer them to depart quietly and peaceably out of the kingdom ; although it be agreed on all hands, that those ceremonies are any time alterable, and may be abolished by the supreme magistrate.

I spent the greatest part of January in transcribing or abstracting several particulars out of some of the Communia Rolls of Henry the Third's time, which I found in the Lord Treasurer's Remembrancer's Office in the Exchequer ; as I did also the whole month well near of February ensuing. On the 7th day of February I devoted myself, with my wife and the most of my family, to the observation and performance of a religious fast and humiliation ; in which, as in all other my family fasts, I performed all pious duties, excepting some part of those chapters and other godly books I usually read at such times ; which, for the most part I was assisted in, to ease myself, by one of my servants, who did so much only as I assigned and directed him. My collections out of the before-mentioned Communia Rolls took up almost the whole month of March, and the greatest part of April ; yet in the same month I spent some hours in collecting notes out of an old manuscript cartulary of Bury Abbey, called *Registrum Werketone*, or in comparing a transcript my servant wrote out of an abstract of all, or the most part of, the Escheat Rolls out of the Tower of London, which concerned the county of Essex. The 3rd day of the same month, being Friday, in the morning, my dearest son, Clopton D'Ewes, being my

only male now living, and of a most venust* and cheerful, sweet countenance, had a convulsion fit ; which dreadful disease at times assaulted him afterwards, till at last it bereaved us of our inestimable treasure on Monday, the 9th day of May, 1636 : yet we little imagined at this time that the issue of it would be so fatal. I kept this first fit from the knowledge of my wife till it had another ; and then, pitching unfortunately on Dr. Desputine, an Italian physician living at Bury St. Edmunds, within some five miles of my house, and following too far his unskilful and unfortunate advice, it brought him at last into the rickets also, past all hope of recovery : though I cannot deny but that I think his end was hastened also by Lukin, an Essex physician.

Having passed over the beginning of May in journeying, and comparing the copy transcribed out of an abstract of the Escheat Rolls of the same remaining in the Tower of London, (which rose to a fair volume in folio), I spent the rest of the month chiefly in collecting notes out of some of the above-mentioned Communia Rolls of Henry the Third, as I did the ensuing month of June, for the most part : spending also some hours in transcribing some particulars out of an ancient Abbey book of Bury St. Edmunds, called *Registrum Werketone*, written most of it in a hand of Edward the Third's time. Many days in July I bestowed on my annotations out of the same Communia Rolls, and divers hours in gathering notes out of an abstract of the manuscript cartulary of the Abbey of Holme, in Norfolk.

* Beautiful.

I departed early on Monday, the 6th day of July, to Cambridge, to the Commencement, where the next day one Nevel, a young impudent scholar, being a fellow of Pembroke Hall, and answering the Bachelor of Divinity's act in the morning, maintained openly justification by works, and that the very outward act of baptism took away sin. His brazen-faced asserting of these Popish points, especially the denying of justification by faith, was abhorred by myself and all the orthodox hearers in the Commencement House ; and Dr. Ward, the Lady Margaret's Professor, and Master of Sidney College, sitting moderator the same day, openly rebuked the same Nevel for broaching those gross heresies, contrary not only to the canonical Scripture, to the articles and homilies of our Church, but to the tenets and writings also of all our Protestant divines, as well Lutheran as Calvinistic. I supped at night in Sidney College, with the same Dr. Ward, where we both lamented the times that this wicked Nevel durst so impudently and openly maintain the vilest and most feculent points of all Popery.

Monday, July the 27th, in the morning, I perused a written book of last wills and testaments, called *Registrum Newtonæ*, which I borrowed out of the office at Bury, and finished my collections out of it before dinner. The greatest part of August I bestowed in transcribing or abstracting several particulars out of the Communia Rolls of Henry the Third, which I found in the Lord Treasurer's Remembrancer's Office in the Exchequer. Some hours I spent, the same month, in collecting notes out of several manuscript registers of last wills and testaments remaining in the Register's

Office at Bury St. Edmunds, which he lent me home to my house, as he had done divers others before. Saturday, August the 8th, I abstracted some particulars out of an abbreviated transcript of the anciently written cartulary of the Priory of Wymondham, in the county of Norfolk.

The first twelve days in September I employed chiefly in the continuation of my collections of the above-mentioned Communia Rolls. On Monday, the 14th day of the same month, I began a Plea Roll of Michaelmas Term, of the forty-fourth and forty-fifth years of Henry the Third, being the only Plea Roll of that King's reign which I found in the Lord Treasurer's Remembrancer's Office in the Exchequer; out of which I gathered many useful annotations the remaining days of September, for the most part.

The 29th day of that month also, being Tuesday, in the afternoon, I began to abstract divers particulars out of a Plea Roll in Easter Term, of the fourteenth year of Henry the Third, which I found in the Pell Office: which collections I continued the day following, and divers days of the ensuing October, though I lost too much time in discourses, visits, and journeys.

On Tuesday, the 6th day of the same month, being at Kediton Hall with my wife, (whither we came yesternight,) I perused divers of Sir Nathaniel Barnardiston's old writings in the morning, and in the afternoon went to Talworth Wrattling Church, where I took notes of several arms in the church windows concerning Clopton and others, with some memorials in writing also in the same windows. I finished my collections out of the before-mentioned Plea Roll of the fourteenth

year of Henry the Third, on Saturday, November the 7th, and the same day began an Itinerant Roll of the county of Essex, being the nineteenth year of the same King, which I had found also in the Pell Office in the Exchequer, out of which I gathered many excellent notes the greatest part of the same month.

I spent Saturday, November the 14th, in religious exercises with my wife and the greatest number of my family. She was now big with child, and near her time, and much affrighted, November the 24th, being Tuesday, about eight of the clock at night, when I was sitting with her by the fire in our little parlour at Stow Hall, because she suddenly felt that humour which usually followed the birth of her former children; so as she certainly feared it would be fatal to herself or her child. That humour intermitting its course awhile after, she slept well some part of the night, and was not delivered of her second daughter till between eight and nine of the clock the next day, in the evening. The child was so ill, (although my wife were very safe and well,) as fearing it would have speedily died, we sent for Mr. Danford, the minister of the town, who baptized it about nine of the clock, in my wife's chamber, some half an hour after the birth. I caused it, in memory of my dear mother, to be named Cecilia, and she still remaineth, this present 1638, in life and health, a great comfort to us.

The same day in the afternoon, before it was born, I gathered notes out of a written register of last wills and testaments, called *Registrum Brydone*, which I borrowed out of the Register's Office in Bury St. Edmunds, and finished it the day following, being Thurs-

day, November the 26th. Sir William Poley, Knt., of Boxtede Hall, in the county of Suffolk, being at this time a suitor to my youngest sister, Elizabeth D'Ewes, (whom he afterwards married, Tuesday, March the 15th, next ensuing,) I rode home with him to his said house, Monday, November the 30th, in the afternoon; and that very night perused some of his ancient original deeds, which concerned his own paternal family, or such other families whose blood and coat-armours he inherited. The next morning I searched out divers other deeds; and borrowed so many of them as I thought worthy of my future and more serious perusal, which I carried home to Stow Hall with me that afternoon, being Tuesday, December the 1st; and spent well near a week following in extracting the descent of Poley and other families out of them, whose female inheritresses Poley had matched.

Monday, December the 7th, I gathered notes in the forenoon out of two manuscript registers of Bury St. Edmunds' registry, containing several last wills and testaments, and bestowed the greatest part of this month in abstracting or transcribing several particulars out of the Communia Rolls of Henry the Third. Besides these greater studies of records, and other exotic monuments, which took up whole days and weeks each month, I had other studies which I exceedingly profited by at vacant and nugatory times, when I walked often, and most especially when I retired to the draught itself, at which very place, within the space of some two years and a half, I read over the whole historical work, in Latin, of incomparable Monsieur de Thou, which I had caused

to be bound up in five fair volumes in folio, (a good part of it being read this year, 1635,) and therefore it may hence be guessed by a certain proportion what I read over at that place (where my book lay ready for the most part) in ten years' space ; and so also of a longer or shorter time.

This year brought forth many sad and dismal effects in the public, both at home and abroad. In the Upper Germany, the Emperor's destroying army, since their victory at Nordlingen last year against the Protestants, went on conquering and spoiling all this year past, without any the least considerable check or opposition : so as all the countries and cities in the circles of Franconia and Swabia were enforced to recede from the league which they had made with the crown of Sweden. Nay, John George Duke of Saxony, that had so often before betrayed the evangelical cause, did himself, before any necessity constrained him to falsify his oath and faith given to the victorious King of Sweden whilst he lived, on the 20th (30th) day of May last past conclude a peace with the Emperor at the city of Prague in Bohemia, and afterwards most wickedly join his forces to the Popish armies for the utter destruction of the Swedes, who had so long protected him and his country from ravaging and ruin. The Marquis of Brandenburg, his fellow Elector, and the Duke of Lunenburg, soon after followed his execrable example ; which had they not done, they might certainly, by the assistance of the Swedes, have obtained a far better and more honourable peace : whereas, the articles drawn and concluded on at Prague as aforesaid, were most of them improbated* and detested by

* Disapproved.

the Elector of Saxony's own subjects. In the Lower Saxony also, the States of the United Provinces, having an assistance of about twenty thousand French under the conduct of Marshal Chastillon, a great and skilful commander, thought to have conquered the Duchy of Brabant the summer foregoing. But their too much confidence on the arm of flesh, and the terrible rapes and cruelties committed by the French at their taking the town of Tilmont, or Trenen, in that Duchy, soon gave a check and stop to all their victories; for some four hundred soldiers surprised by a sleight the impregnable fort called Shenks-sconce, near the Velew, for the use of the Spanish Cardinal Infanta: so as Henry Frederick, Prince of Orange, general of the States army, was forced to leave his initiated siege of Louvain to hasten to the defence of his own city, which he did not recover for many months after. The only good foreign news upon the matter that this year yielded, was the conclusion of a new truce between the crowns of Poland and Sweden in September last past, for the space of twenty-six years to come. This was the only hope I had left under heaven that the Swedes might yet prove the means and instruments to restore again the Gospel in Germany.

At home the liberty of the subjects of England received the most deadly and fatal blow it had been sensible of in five hundred years last past; for writs were issued the summer foregoing to all the sheriffs of England, to levy great sums of money in all the counties of the same kingdom and Wales, under pretext and colour to provide ships for the defence of the

kingdom, although we were now in peace with all the world, and the royal fleet was never stronger or in better case.* The sum now to be levied came to some 320,000*l.*, and if this could be done lawfully, then by the same right the King upon the like pretence might gather the same sum ten, twelve, or a hundred times redoubled, and so to infinite proportions to any one shire, when and as often as he pleased; and so no man was, in conclusion, worth anything.

I conceived the King himself might be informed this taxation and levy was lawful; but it was afterwards cleared by Sir George Crooke, Knt., one of the justices of the King's Bench, in his argument in the Exchequer Chamber, Saturday, April the 15th, in the morning, (it being then Easter Term, in the year of our Lord, 1638,) that this taxation was absolutely against law, and an utter oppression of the subjects' liberty, who had such a property in their goods as could not be taken from them by any taxes or levies, but such only as were

* This unpopular tax was demanded in all parts of the kingdom, under the alleged danger of the country from a league concluded between France and the United Provinces; but as this proceeding was in direct violation of what Charles had formerly pledged his word in his speech before the two Houses, it was resisted by several persons, and some even commenced proceedings against the collectors for being concerned in an illegal imposition. But Charles, having procured the opinion of the judges in his favour, persisted in this and other methods of obtaining a revenue, nearly as unwelcome to the people; in order, however, that some tangible pretence for levying the ship-money might not be wanting, he prohibited all foreigners from fishing on the British coast without his special permission. On this point arose the celebrated controversy between Selden and Grotius on the freedom of the ocean.

enacted and set down by Act of Parliament. I omit the vouching here of all the authorities, both in record and in our printed law-books, which were cited at the several arguings of this case, to prove the same taxes to be against law and against the liberty of the subject, to which I could have added divers others of mine own reading out of records, because this would fill a volume of itself. The very writ now sent to each sheriff was a mere new invention, as Sir Richard Hutton, Knt., the ancientest judge of the Court of Common Pleas, showed afterwards in his argument in the same Exchequer Chamber, and so void and against law *ab initio*. Now these two judges were great lawyers and most religious honest men, and so their judgments did outbalance six of their puisnes in all men's opinions. Besides, they were very aged, and so spoke as having one foot in the grave, without fear or affection; nay, they both professed that the case was so clear and undoubted, that they both must have sinned against their consciences, and have temerated* the oath they had taken when they were made judges, if they should have argued otherwise; by which they made themselves to be revered in this age, and will for ever in their very memories be dear to posterity. Sir John Denham, the ancientest Baron of the Exchequer, gave the same judgment for the liberty of the subject. And, indeed all our liberties were now at one dash utterly ruined if the King might at his pleasure lay what unlimited taxes he pleased on his subjects, and then imprison them when they refused to pay; for though to take men's estates away might in the issue bring on po-

* Violated. Lat. *temero*.

verty and death, yet that is not so certain a way nor so speedy to shorten our lives as imprisonment is, where, by restraint of exercise and unwholesome air, many men must as necessarily perish as by the sword. Besides, what shall freemen differ from the ancient bondsmen and villains of England, if their estates be subject to arbitrary taxes, tallages, and impositions ?

We see it hath often fallen out in France and Germany, that men have forsaken their houses and their tillage, and left them to the next occupier, rather than they would pay those levies and contributions that were laid upon them. It is the honour of a king to have his subjects rich,—nay, therein and in their affections consists his own safety and his kingdom's strength, and that which depauperates them in their estates, lessens them also in their affections.

In all my life I never saw so many sad faces in England as this new taxation, called Ship-money, occasioned ; nay, the grief and astonishment of most men's hearts broke out into sad and doleful complaints, not only under the burthen they felt at the instant, but with ominous presage of the issue ; for many refused absolutely to pay, and most that did pay it, yielded out of mere fear and horror of greater danger : whence the before-mentioned Mr. Judge Hutton said plainly in his argument, that "it was not the King's prerogative to take his subjects' goods from them with their heartburnings."

For mine own part, I so far desired the peace and quiet of the kingdom, as I could have wished this tax had been annexed to the Crown (to levy annually without alteration) by Act of Par-

liament; but thus to pluck away the subjects' goods and estates from them contrary to their ancient and hereditary liberties, by force and power, what can the issue of it be but fatal? Some were so over-wise as to think the King the happier because he should now never need any Parliament; but, alas! in that they were grossly deceived, unless they will say it is a happiness for a Prince to want the love of his subjects, to have truth concealed from him, and to have the distempers of Church and Commonwealth to grow unto incurable diseases. I cannot say, but when the nobility of England were in former times able to give checkmate to their sovereigns, some Parliaments indeed proved dangerous to the Crown and Sceptre; but since the Gospel filled our English horizon with its light, the Parliaments have not only proved our princes' most faithful counsellors, but their very sanctuaries and fortresses;—nay, the very expectation of them hath heretofore restrained many men, both in Church and Commonwealth, from malignant practices and dangerous undertakings. Heresy, bribery, and oppression, and a world of other notorious crimes, will be ready to walk impudently at noon-day, when the good and godly are without hope, and the evil and wicked without fear of a Parliament. For Kings are but men; and it is their miseries for the most part, either not to be informed of the miseries and calamities of their subjects at all, or if they be, to have the matter smothered up by some great ones, or to have some private emolument by it; which made our victorious William the First, commonly styled Conqueror, to be very desirous at the be-

ginning of his reign to learn the native Saxon tongue, that so he might be able to hear the complaints of his new subjects, he fearing his Normans would be too ready to oppress them.

We see the Mahometan princes amongst the Turks and Persians have absolute power, not only over the goods, but over the liberty and lives of their subjects also; but are they any jot the happier for this wicked and tyrannical government they usurp and practise? Certainly not; for by this means the very grounds and edifices of their dominions are neglected and uncultured; not a bashaw scarce in Turkey, or a Persian lord under the Sophi, dwelling in a fair and handsome house;—nay, their abject and servile estate under the Turk amongst the very Grecians, where the arts and sciences seemed anciently to inhabit, makes them to degenerate so extremely, that there is scarce a man to be found in all Greece either learned or nobly disposed: and yet, actually, their estates are now no more taken from them there than here amongst us, but because the Sovereign hath the power, either to take their estates from them, or to lay upon those estates what impressions and tributes he pleaseth, which is all one upon the matter; therefore they take little joy in what they possess, regard not the improving of their lands nor the state and strength of their houses, but give themselves up for the most part to vice, idleness, and luxury, as the Turks do.

Nay, the hereditary transmission of an inflamed condition hath been accounted so odious and intolerable to the heathens themselves, as many of the

Indians in the western parts of the world, who lived under the yoke of the Spaniard, did purposely forbear accompanying with their wives, that so they might not beget slaves. So as doubtless the King of England, in respect of his own particular good, and the preserving of the flourishing estate and safety of this realm, should do a work worthy of himself, and most acceptable to God Almighty, by abolishing for ever by his public edict this unlawful, arbitrary, and unlimited taxation. For though some of his predecessors have, in times of war or invasion by the public enemy, levied moneys without the public assent of their subjects, yet in those cases of necessity they might also have fired their houses over their heads, and burnt up their corn upon the ground ; nor can one of those illegal actions be done at any other time, as upon an imaginary pretended necessity, and when no enemies appear, and the like : for in times of war, laws must keep silence, amidst drums, trumpets, and weapons.

There are only three cases in which, by the ancient law of England, the Kings of that realm may require aid of their subjects without the public consent of the kingdom :—1st. In case the Sovereign be taken prisoner, to redeem him. 2nd. For the knighting of his eldest son. 3rd. For the marriage of his eldest daughter, once only. But yet these aids are not like this ship-money, without bounds or limits, to be levied of all men, and in what proportion the King shall please ; for they can only be levied of knights' fees, and such as hold their lands by that tenure ; and the utmost that can be required is but forty shillings upon each knight's fee.

It is true, besides these three aids, which could only be exacted of the freemen of this kingdom, there were also tallages which the King might levy upon all his tenants in ancient demesne, as other lords of manors might tallagise on their villains and customary tenants. But the other three aids only exist at this day, the royal tallages being for ever abolished by Act of Parliament in 1628. And our Sovereign also, besides his royal assent given to that Act, did, on the last day of that session of Parliament, being Thursday, June the 26th, in the same year, promise, on the word of a King, that his subjects should never again have cause to complain of the like taxes, aids, tallages, and loans; which very speech, by the singular providence of God, contrary to all former precedent and custom, was printed after that Act of Parliament, and so remains to this day published with it.

It is and shall be my daily prayer, that God may open our Sovereign's heart graciously and mercifully to commiserate his poor subjects, and to abolish this lamentable and fatal taxation, commonly called Ship-money, that so his memory may be dear to posterity, and his royal descendants after him may reign happily to many generations.

Besides this great and dreadful wound inflicted by this levy of Ship-money upon the subject's liberty in general this present year, 1635, the county of Essex had in particular a most heavy and fatal blow; for the whole shire, upon the matter, excepting the hundred of Tendring, which the inhabitants had enjoyed quietly for about the space of four

hundred years, free from forest laws, was found to lie within the forest of Havering, otherwise called the Forest of Essex. It was found to be so by a jury of verderers, rangers, and other forest officers; and that verdict afterwards adjudged to be good in law, by Finch, Joanes, Treaver, and some other judges, of which number the before-mentioned Crooke and Hutton were none. The Crown and Sceptre are free from this sad fate of that county; were that judgment right or wrong, upon the consciences of the jury and the judges it must rest to be determined at the last dreadful day. God of his infinite mercy preserve the true religion amongst us without the intermixtures of heresy, superstition, and idolatry, whatsoever become of our estates and fortunes!

As I ended December, so I began January, with abstracting or transcribing several collections out of the Communia Rolls of Henry the Third, which I found in the Lord Treasurer's Remembrancer's Office; which study I continued, with little intermission, the whole of the month.

On Tuesday, February the 2nd, I went to Newmarket, where the King now lay, to see Charles Boissarie, Prince Elector Palatine, his nephew, who was there now with him, and had come out of the Low Countries into England some months past, from Princess Elizabeth, his mother, our King's only sister. It was a wet and windy day; and when I came to Newmarket I understood the Prince was not very well, but kept his bedchamber, and could not be seen. I therefore began to repent me of my tedious journey, and was making haste home again, when Walter Clopton, Esq.,

my wife's uncle, being then there, and acquainting one Mr. Stone, who at this time attended the Prince Elector's Highness, how far I had come that blustering day to see him, and what my condition was, he sent me word speedily I should not fail of my desire. So that I had better success by this occasion than if the Prince had been well ; for then I had only seen him, whereas now I was brought to him, kissed his hand, and received an expression from him, that he took himself to be obliged to me that had come so far to see him. Being desirous to hasten homewards, I stayed a very little time in the Prince's bedchamber, who was at this time some seventeen or eighteen years of age, and did in his favour* much resemble our King. The said Mr. Stone accompanying me down, we fell in discourse about the greatness of the Prince Palatine's family, of his sad and exiled condition, and of the means and hopes that were left of his restitution. I rendered him so full and satisfactory a resolution in each particular, as he was very earnest with me to come the next day, and discourse of the same particulars with the Prince Elector himself. I readily assented, and the same night, after my return home, looked out divers ancient Roman coins, as well silver as copper, to bestow upon the Prince.

The next morning, Wednesday, February the Third, I went to Newmarket in my coach, carrying my wife, my brother Richard D'Ewes, and my youngest sister Elizabeth D'Ewes, with me thither ; where having dined in the afternoon, we were all admitted into the Prince Elector's bedchamber, who saluted my wife and

* Countenance.

my sister, and gave my brother his hand to kiss. He was marvellously pleased with the ancient Roman coins I gave him, and then, leaving the Earl of Essex with divers other noblemen at the fire, he retired with me to a window, where I gave him such solid and faithful advice for the recovery of his lost country and dominions as he highly approved, and might, I believe, ere this have been resettled in them, had it laid in his own power to have put my advice in execution. God of his infinite goodness grant his Highness and his royal mother patience and supportation in all their great and manifold calamities!

We afterwards took leave of his Highness, and went that night to Fordham, some four miles from Newmarket, to Walter Clopton, Esq., my wife's uncle, then residing there with his family, and lodged at his house. The next morning, as I had appointed with the above Mr. Stone, (to whom I had given some Roman coins also of less value,) I came, with my brother Richard D'Ewes, pretty early to Newmarket; and, though I found not him in the Prince Elector's lodgings, yet his other attendants had taken so full notice of me, as I was immediately, upon my coming, admitted into his bedchamber, where I found him almost ready, and had some general discourse with his Highness. He was preparing for his departure for Cambridge; and I, intending to have been there some time before him, departed from Newmarket with the said Mr. Stone, and two others that had some relation to his Highness, about ten of the clock in the morning, towards the University. But by an unfortunate mistake of the way, my coach came

thither some half an hour after the Prince Elector was alighted at Trinity College. His Highness having seen St. John's College, King's College Chapel, (and having been welcomed with a Latin oration in each of those two places,) went into the Regent House about three of the clock in the afternoon, where he was made a Master of Arts, which degree also I took with him, as did many of the nobility and others. There was afterwards a Latin comedy acted at Trinity College, the hearing and sight of which I purposely avoided, because of women's apparel worn in it by boys and youths. At night, whilst the Prince Elector was at supper, I stood behind his chair the greatest part of the time, and had often discourse with him. After he had supped, and was risen, I took my leave of him, and saw him not for many months after.

Many great men in the English Court began upon this occasion to take notice of me, because the Prince Elector had expressed such extraordinary favour and respect towards me, which I think he the rather vouchsafed me because he understood my original to be out of the Lower Germany, and that my ancient inheritance was possessed by the bloody Spaniard. But I accounted all these aulical favours to be but sandy foundations, which could minister no solid content or satisfaction to a mind accustomed to the raptures and delights of study and knowledge.

Therefore, Friday, February the 5th, in the morning, I departed pretty early from Cambridge, and came before dinner to my uncle Clopton's, to Fordham, whence, with my wife and the residue of our good company, I returned the same afternoon to Stow Hall, and spent

the remainder of the same month chiefly in abstracting or transcribing several particulars out of the often before-mentioned Communia Rolls of Henry the Third ; which studies also took up the greatest part of the ensuing month, though some hours were bestowed upon comparing of some abstracts of the Escheat Rolls of Henry the Eighth remaining in the chapel of the rolls touching the county of Essex, which my servant had copied out.

Saturday, March the 5th, I devoted to a family humiliation and religious fasting with my wife and most of our people.

Tuesday, March the 15th, Sir William Poley, Knt., of Boxtede, in the county of Suffolk, married my youngest sister, Elizabeth D'Ewes, in Stowlangtoft Church, between eleven and twelve of the clock in the morning : who both of them sojourned with me above a twelvemonth after their marriage.

Dr. Corbet, Bishop of Norwich, having deceased some months since, Matthew Wren, Doctor of Divinity, succeeded him ; whose commissioners in this his first general visitation sat at Bury St. Edmunds, on Tuesday, March the 29th, and there continued till Thursday night, the last day of the same month. They examined the churchwardens upon many new and strange articles never before used in the visitations of former bishops since the reformation of the religion, in the beginning of Queen Elizabeth's reign. This ensadded the souls of all men that had any true piety ; and these new impositions, many of them, were conceived to be so dangerous and unlawful, as divers godly, learned, and orthodox men either left their

livings voluntarily, or were suspended and deprived in the two counties of Norfolk and Suffolk, because they would not yield unto them. And whereas, to avoid idolatry, superstition, and offence, at the beginning of the reformation of the Church in this realm, the altars were removed and taken away in most churches of England, and communion-tables* placed instead of them; now the communion-tables were removed out of the middle of the chancels, and ordered to be set up close to the east wall of the same chancels, where the ground was to be raised and the table to be railed in; so as the charge of it in this diocese to the extreme oppression of the poor inhabitants (whose souls already groaned under the burthen of the Ship-money tax) amounted unto between thirty and forty thousand pounds, at an indifferent and reasonable estimate and computation. The communion-tables being thus placed altar-wise, the minister was enjoined, both before the sermon and after his sermon, to go up thither and to read some part of divine service, which all the parishioners, I believe, could not hear in any church, and not one part in five

* This account of the dissensions in the Church may be curiously contrasted with the proceedings of our own times in a similar way; and it is perhaps somewhat remarkable that in one instance the same place has been the scene of revived discussions on the propriety of forms. Mr. Chancey, minister of Ware, having opposed the construction of a rail about the communion-table in the church of that parish "as an innovation and snare to men's consciences," was summoned before the High Commissioner, and compelled to make a public recantation, after having been suitably admonished by the Archbishop. See a further account in Rushworth, vol. ii. p. 316.

in any of the greater churches. This made all men wonder why these men, that so much cried up the Common Prayer above preaching, would so far vilify it as to have the minister run from the people, and to read it at so far a distance as they could not possibly hear, which is unquestionably unlawful; as Bishop Wren himself acknowledged unto me when I visited him at Ipswich, as I have there set down at large, with much more of my discourse with him.

I bestowed the greatest part of April till the eleventh day of it, being Monday, in gathering notes out of the Communia Rolls of the 52nd year of Henry the Third, which I finished that forenoon; and in the afternoon proceeded with my collections out of an Itinerant Roll of Pleas and Assizes in the county of Essex, out of which I had taken many notes divers months before. I continued my gleanings out of the same Roll till I had finished it, on Thursday, May 12th, intermitting those gleanings very little during the preceding days of the same month: although I had one of the most sad and dismal occasions to intermit them that ever befel me, by reason of the loss of my most dear, tender, and only son, Clopton D'Ewes, being one year and nine months old. I have before shewed, in July, 1634, when he was born, that by our pitching upon a proud, fretting, ill-conditioned woman for a nurse, it was doubtless the chief cause of his falling into fits of convulsions—for the remedying of which an issue had been opened in his neck, and divers other means had been used; but those means having been too violently and unskilfully applied by Dr. Despotine, an Italian physician in Bury, so wasted the young and weak

body of the sweet child, as it drove him into another disease, called the rickets, by which his lower parts consumed and wasted away, and his life was no less endangered than by his epileptic fits: so as he rested unquietly each night almost, for two or three months before he deceased, which made all persons of judgment that saw him give him up for a dead child, although I and my dear wife still fed ourselves with hope that he might recover. Forty and four convulsion fits he had undergone from the 3rd of April, in the year 1635, to the 4th of March then next ensuing, being near upon a year's space, although they came thicker at some times than at others. But the 8th day of this instant May, being Sunday, he had one convulsion fit, a little before two of the clock in the afternoon, of which I fearing no great danger went to Hunston Church, being near me. A little after my return, between five and six of the clock the same day, he had two other fits, in an instant almost one after the other, which he never had before, but that always there had been some intervient* distance of half an hour or more between them. Before six of the clock the ensuing morning, at times he was assaulted with twelve fits more, amongst which some were so long and terrible, as his very heart-strings seemed to break within him. I was near him all the time, bestowing my heavy tears, deep sighs, and humble prayers, upon him. From the said hour of six till about two in the afternoon he lay drawing on for the most part quietly, about which hour the same Monday he rendered up his blessed and innocent soul into the hands of his

* Intervening.

heavenly Father, and left me the most sad and disconsolate father that could possibly be—so as I had no other comfort for the present but in my good God, on whom I looked as the author of this chastisement, and therefore fled by prayers for supportation and consolation ; and though I wanted my dear wife to mourn with me (who had departed from Stow Hall on Thursday, May the 5th, and was now at London, little dreaming of the loss which had befallen her), yet even that want ministered some comfort unto me, being glad she was absent from those terrors and dolours I had been sensible of, which would even have oppressed her tender heart.

On Tuesday morning, May the 10th, between eight and nine of the clock, was my deceased infant's corpse buried in Stowlangtoft chancel, close to the west end of my father's gravestone. I had spent Saturday, May the 7th, in my ordinary course of religious fasting and humiliation, and therein especially and purposely interceded with God for the life of my poor and affectionate infant (who loved me most ardently) ; and now that I had lost him, I began to consider that this great affliction was sent upon me still to humble me more and more, and to wean me from the love of the profits and preferments of this life. I had also some more sad presaging thoughts that God would not vouchsafe me any male offspring to leave behind me, to inherit my name and perpetuate my family : nay, I began to consider that a higher Providence might ere long call me to suffer for his name and Gospel, or might prepare a way for my passage into America. I desired in all to submit to God's will, and

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often implored this mercy of him—that I might never suffer as an evil-doer, and that he would never lay more upon me in suffering for a good cause than I should be able to bear.

Saturday, May the 14th, I rode early in the morning from Stow Hall to Much Bromley, in the county of Essex, to my brother and sister Bowes, whither I came about ten of the clock the same forenoon, and found my loving sister there, especially sympathizing with me in my tears and condolences, which the same day in the evening met with a more hearty mourner also; for about six of the clock that afternoon, my wife, accompanied with my brother and sister Poley, was returned so far homewards from London. I looked out of the south window of the dining-room upon her, as she entered into the inner court, and saw her look so cheerfully and confidently, as I much pitied her in respect of her near approaching lamentation. She yet knew nothing of her inestimable loss, nor of my being there; which made her, as soon as she came into the dining-room and saw me, instantly to fall a-shaking, and, scarce being able to speak in respect of the abundance of tears that issued from her, intermixed with many sobs, preventing my sad relation, by interrupting me with, "Is the boy dead?" I had not yet spent my store of sorrow so far, but that I could have joined afresh in lamenting with my dearest; but being desirous to minister comfort to her, I suppressed the outward expressions of mine own grief as much as possibly I could, and used the best arguments I had to mould and frame her to patience and moderation. We both found the sorrow for the loss of this child, on whom

we had bestowed so much care and affection, and whose delicate favour and bright grey eye was so deeply imprinted in our hearts, far to surpass our grief for the decease of his three elder brothers, who, dying almost as soon as they were born, were not so endeared to us as this was : and as I ended the third book of my life with the relation of the death of my father, so I will shut up this with the decease of my sweet and only son.

WILL OF SIR SIMONDS D'EWES.

A Translation of my last Will and Testament into English, out of the original penned in the Latin tongue.

IN the name of the Holy and Undivided Trinity : Seeing it hath pleased God, the Father of Mercies, that I should not only live to see Paul D'Ewes, Esquire, and Cecilia his wife, the sole daughter and heir of Richard Simonds, Esquire, of Coxden, whilst he lived, in the county of Dorset, my dear parents, interred ; but also the course of nature being intervverted, I should overlive Paul D'Ewes, my second brother, lamented from his cradle, and Clopton D'Ewes, Adrian D'Ewes, Gerrardt D'Ewes, and Clopton D'Ewes, the second of that name, my four innocent sons (whom I begat on my entirely beloved wife Anne, the only daughter and heir of Sir William Clopton, Knight, of Luton's Hall, commonly called Kentwell, in the county of Suffolk, deceased) taken out of this world in their infancy : I, Simonds D'Ewes, Knight, of Stow Hall, in the county of Suffolk aforesaid, a miserable sinner, am admonished by so many domestic casualties and losses, seriously to consider of mine own death, and to dispose of my outward estate, which the Divine Providence hath with a

plentiful hand bestowed on me, by this my last Will and Testament. In the first place, I render all possible thanks to God Almighty that he vouchsafed me the blessedness to live in the Church, to enjoy the light of the Gospel, and to be a partaker of the Sacraments, nor did withdraw from me his divine assistance, but did so far endue me with a lively faith, a certain hope of eternal life, and an inward hatred of all sin whatsoever, that I did not only most firmly believe in God the Father and in Jesus Christ his beloved Son, begotten by him from eternity, whom he sent into the world, conceived by the Holy Ghost in the womb of the most blessed Virgin Mary, but am also most assuredly persuaded of the truth of all other fundamental points of the Christian Religion, warranted by the authority of the Holy Scriptures; and do firmly believe that I was elected from all eternity, that I am redeemed, cleansed, and justified by the precious blood of our Saviour; that I am in some measure sanctified by the Holy Ghost; and that I shall at least live eternally with the blessed company of glorified saints in Heaven. In the faith I profess myself to live, and do by my daily sighs and prayers beg of God, with all earnestness, that I may continue in the same faith constantly and without doubting to my last gasp. And I do further supplicate and implore His infinite compassion, that when my last hour shall approach, as a time expected and looked for by me, my soul may be carried by his angels into Abraham's bosom, there to enjoy eternal happiness with the residue of his saints and elect children. I desire my body, in the assured expectation of its resurrection, may be

decently buried in the day-time without all vain and superstitious pomp, a godly minister preaching my funeral sermon. Where my body shall be interred I have not yet resolved, but desire my faithful wife, if I shall not appoint a place before my decease, to cause the same to be entombed in the same place where she doth intend to be buried herself; and that she cause a marble stone to be laid upon the place, with the epitaph engraven on a piece of brass and fastened to the stone, which I shall add at the end of this my last will and testament. I bequeath to Adrian D'Ewes, my young son yet crying in the cradle, or to any other of my sons hereafter to be born, who shall prove my heir, (if God shall vouchsafe unto me a masculine heir by whom my surname and male line may be continued in the ages to come,) my precious library, in which I have stored up for divers years past with great care, cost, and industry, divers originals and autographs, ancient coins of gold, silver, and brass, manuscripts, or written books, and such as are imprinted; and it is my inviolable injunction or behest, that he keep it entire, and not sell, divide, or dissipate it. Neither would I have it locked up from furthering the public good, the advancing of which I have always endeavoured; but that all lovers of learning, of known virtue and integrity, might have access to it at seasonable times, so that they did give sufficient security to restore safely any original or autograph, any manuscript, or any material to be borrowed out of the same library, without blotting or erasing, or defraying it.* But if God hath decreed now at last to add

* Tearing.

an end to my family in the male line, as it was lately exposed to great contempt in the depressed condition of Adrian D'Ewes, my great-grandfather, and of Geerardt D'Ewes, my grandfather, his most holy and just will be done! And then my will is, that my said library, or paper treasury, shall be entirely possessed by my eldest daughter; upon this condition—that she herself, if she be unmarried, or he who shall then be her husband, before they have possession given them of my said library, shall enter into a bond of a thousand pounds penalty to my most dear wife, if she be then living, or to my other daughters or their husbands in case my wife be then deceased, that neither he nor she shall or will sell away or dissipate all or any part of my said library, nor willingly suffer the same to be sold away or dissipated. Which if he or she shall do, then my will and intent is, that my said library shall remain entirely to my next daughter upon like security, and so from daughter to daughter, till it shall come to my brother Richard, if all my daughters shall either refuse to put in caution, or shall break the condition. Yet I ordain as before, that not only all lovers of learning of an upright or honest life, well known, may have access to it at seasonable times, but that also all original deeds or autographs, all copies, and all other collections which concern mine own family, or my wife's, or any other families from whom we are descended, may freely be lent to my other daughters or their husbands, upon security given for the safe restitution of them, that they may transcribe from those materials what they please. For though I have, amongst my more serious and more profitable

studies, stored up many particulars of that kind, yet I shall call God himself to witness, that I abhorred all fucacy,* and lying inventions, and that I only sought after the very truth, as well in these things as in all other my elucubrations, whilst I searched amongst the King's records or public offices. I bequeath three silver goblets of an ancient fashion, gilt, which Thomas Simonds, my great-grandfather by the mother's side, gave unto Richard Simonds, Esquire, his second son, afterwards of Coxden, in the county of Dorset, the father of Cecilia, my truly religious mother, and all the pictures which remain at Stow Hall, my mansion-house, unto the said Adrian D'Ewes, my young son, now living, lately born, or to any other son my dearly beloved wife shall hereafter be delivered of, who shall prove my heir. But if the Divine Providence shall take out of this world all my issue male, without issue, and that I shall leave the greater part of my estate to be divided amongst my daughters; then I give those three gilt silver goblets to Richard D'Ewes, my only brother, if he be then living, and all the said pictures to my eldest daughter. I bequeath to my faithful wife all my silver plate or vessels, her own jewels, pearls, wearing-apparel, as also my coach, and four coach-horses. As a further increase likewise of her first jointure, I bequeath to her the farm-rent of fourscore and nine pounds, issuing out of Lavenham Hall, and the lands let with it to one John Scott, and eleven pounds yearly, to be paid her out of the chief rents of Lavenham. Whatsoever of my estate shall remain over and above my wife's

* Colouring.

jointure, which with the addition amounts to about seven hundred pounds per annum, and above my heir's entire third part of the whole, if I have one son or more, I will that the same, as also my wife's jointure after her decease, do remain in the hands of my executors, to whose faith and trust I commit it; that they may thence receive all manner of profits, whence my younger sons with my daughters may be brought up virtuously and according to their birthright, and that there may be paid to each of them two thousand pounds of lawful money of England,—to wit, to each son after he shall have accomplished the age of eighteen years, and to each daughter after she shall have accomplished the age of fifteen years. Which being fulfilled, I will that all my estate shall devolve to my heir if he be then of full age; and that my executors, having made a perfect account before him of all receipts and payments, shall pay in unto him or deliver whatsoever moneys or other goods shall remain in their hands. I also entreat and desire my beloved wife, that she would purchase of the King or his officers the wardship of our children, whether I shall leave a male or a female heir at the time of my decease under age, which that it may be compassed without borrowing upon usury, let money be raised by the sale of my household-stuff and goods, not elsewhere particularly disposed of in this testament, by the advice of my executors,—or else let some farms be let out for some terms of years, for a fine paid down and a small rent reserved; so that she buy the said wardship to the only use and benefit of our heirs successively, one after another, and that she take

especial care to provide for their security before she enter into treaty for her second marriage. Neither would I have the moneys to be received out of my lands or otherways, to be put out to use, or for any reservation of the principal with a certain increase ; but that out of these receipts, some rent, or some uncertain profits may yearly be bought if they can be had. Uncertain profits I call them, where the principal is lost and the payments depend upon an uncertain contingency ; as if an hundred and fifty pounds be given to one, and in lieu of it, twenty pounds be reserved to be paid yearly to one of my daughters during her life ; — or if a hundred pounds be paid down, and in lieu of it being lost, there be reserved twenty and four pounds and ten shillings, to be paid yearly for five years next following, if three or two at the least of my daughters, or any of them, do so long live ; — or lastly, that a hundred pounds be paid without any yearly payment reserved, yet with this agreement, that two hundred pounds be repaid at the end of seven years, if three or two of my daughters, or either of them, be then alive. Of all which a like proportion and equity may be observed in a greater or lesser sum ; and in limiting the payment for the lives of my daughters, or of some other third person, I give also absolute power and authority to my faithful wife, as long as she continues a widow, and after her death or marriage, to my executors, to sell, if they shall see or conceive it absolutely necessary, two full third parts of my whole estate, not hereafter limited or tied to my brother ; and I do enjoin them, as they will answer to God himself, that after my legacies paid, they do ex-

pend or lay out the moneys so to be received sincerely and faithfully for the use and benefit of my heir or heirs. Yet as soon as my heir shall attain to the age of twenty-one years, their power of selling two parts of the estate shall cease and be void. But if it shall please God, infinite in goodness and greatness, to take from me my dear son, Adrian D'Ewes, at this time living, (whom the Divine Hand mercifully bestowed upon me when I was almost out of all hope of ever having a son), and shall likewise take out of this world to himself all my other masculine issue which with his good pleasure shall hereafter be born unto me, and shall leave me no children to survive me but daughters, then I bequeath and give my manor of Stowlangtoft, with the advowson of the church of the same town, and all other appurtenances, and all my other lands lying in the same town of Stowlangtoft, and all my chief rents and seigniory, with all the superiorities and the advowson of the church of my manor of Lavenham, as also the fairs and markets pertaining to the same manor in the county of Suffolk aforesaid, to my only brother, Richard D'Ewes, for the term of his life, the remainder to his first-begotten son, and to the heirs male of his body lawfully begotten, and so from son to son, so long as any issue male shall survive, the remainder to mine own right heirs. Yet upon condition that my said brother do pay or cause to be paid to my daughters, equally to be divided between them, four thousand pounds of good and lawful money of England, in manner and form following—that is to say, the first year after he hath attained to the right or possession of the said manors, with appurtenances,

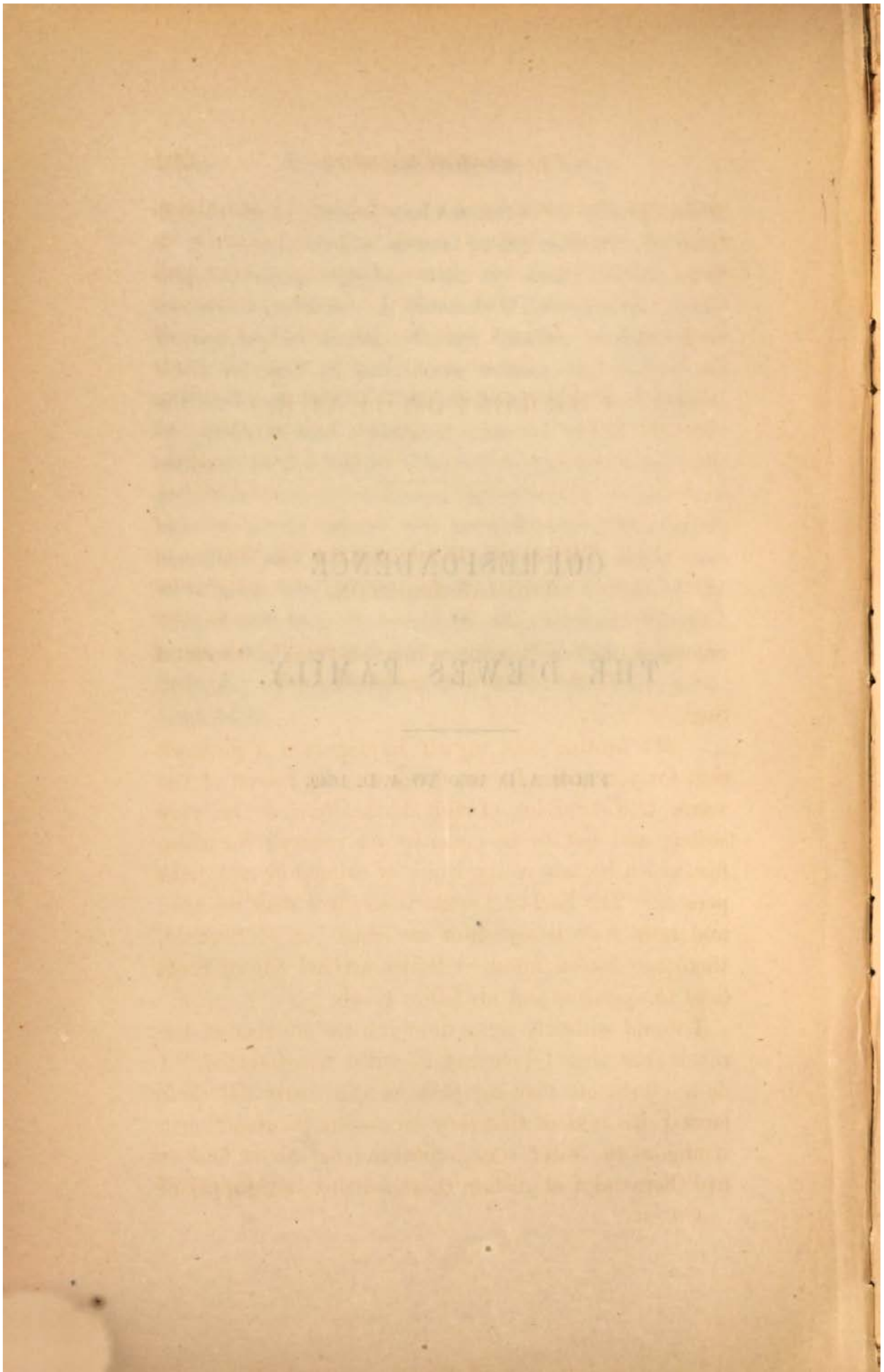
one thousand pounds, the second year one thousand pounds, the third year one thousand pounds, and the fourth year one thousand pounds, in the Middle Temple Hall of London ; and if my said brother or his heirs male shall fail in all or any of the said payments, the said legacy and donation shall be void and frustrate, and the same manors, with the advowsons of the churches, and all other their appurtenances, shall remain entirely to my daughters and to their heirs. I bequeath to the poor of Lavenham twenty pounds, of Stowlangtoft twenty pounds, of Milding five pounds, of Melford ten pounds, in the same county of Suffolk ; and to the poor of Chardestock, in the county of Dorset, where I was born, at Coxden, the mansion-house of my grandfather by the mother's side, upon the 18th day of December in the year of our Lord 1602, ten pounds, to be paid within two months after my decease ; as also eleven pounds to Lodowich Thewes, dwelling in London, the son of Isaac Thewes, the son of Lodowich Thewes, son of Jacob Thewes of Bergherhoudt, whilst he lived, being a village in the duchy of Brabant, my kinsman, as I learned some few years since from Isaac Thewes aforesaid, his father, being originally descended from the same Sicambrian or Geldrian stock or lineage, which I myself am. My fourth sister, Cecilia, being taken out of this vale of misery as soon as she had newly passed the years of her infancy, I have still four sisters remaining alive :— Joan, the wife of Sir William Eliot, Knight ; Grace, married to Wiseman Bohenhams, Esquire, son and heir of Sir Henry Bohenhams, Knight, deceased ; Mary, the wife of Sir Thomas Bowes ; and Elizabeth, the wife of

Sir William Poley, both Knights;—to each of which my sisters that be living at the time of my decease I give a diamond ring, of ten pounds value, to be delivered within half a year after my decease. I ordain the residue of all my moveable goods and household stuff (excepting tables, forms, high bedsteads, and trundle bedsteads, of mere wooden work, and all my iron vessels, brass and pewter, which I bequeath to my heir) to be sold by my executors with all speed possible—that with the money raised by the sale of them, the wardship of my heir or heirs, as I have before intimated, might be bought. I reserve also absolute power to myself to declare by a codicil apart, if my life continue, concerning other things by me to be bequeathed, and legacies to be disposed of to them who now are, or hereafter shall be my servants, what I shall further ordain: yet so as it shall not amount in the least measure to a revocation of this my last will and testament, both of which I will to be firm, stable, and permanent,—of which I appoint my executors Sir Thomas Bowes, Knight, my brother-in-law, Arthur Barnardiston, Esquire, my wife's cousin-german by her mother's side, and Richard Edwards, Esquire, of Arlsey in the county of Bedford, my intimate friends, of whose piety and integrity I am fully assured. I bequeath to each of them, at the end of every three years, ten pounds, that they take care of the estate I shall leave, and for the bringing up of my children, if my dearly-beloved wife shall decease before they come to years of discretion; and that at the end of every three years they do altogether, or two of them, before my said wife and brother, give up an account of all

receipts and expenses, and commit it to writing. And I only give mourning apparel to my said wife, brother, and executors, together with my dear children and household servants. I, Simonds D'Ewes, Knight, being in my perfect health, though humbly meditating of death as near at hand, have written and signed this with my own hand ;—heartily beseeching God, infinite in goodness and greatness, that he would for ever continue to the British Church the pure undefiled religion, free from superstitions, heresies, and idolatry ;—that he would season my posterity with true faith, humility, and repentance ;—and that he would preserve them free and unspotted from the society of the wicked, and from the contagion of gross sins. Finished at Stow Hall, in the said county of Suffolk, upon the 19th day of September, old style, in the year of our Lord 1639.

CORRESPONDENCE
OF
THE D'EWES FAMILY.

FROM A. D. 1600 TO A. D. 1649.



CORRESPONDENCE.

SIR THOMAS WALDEGRAVE TO
THOMAS CLOPTON.

Scarcity of Hawks.—Rebellion in Ireland.—Forces of the Earl of
Tyrone.—Proceedings against the Rebels.

SIR,

My brother and myself have gotten a goshawk sent for you of Sir Robert Gardiner. By reason of the warrs and troubles of this lande, hawkes be very scarce, and not to be come by for money; for those few which be, are in the hands of counselors and great persons. The Earl of Tyrone is stronger than we are; and now very lately since we came out of Sheffield, there are fifteen hundred Scotts arrived out of Scotland to ayde him and his fellow rebels.

I would willingly write unto you the number of the rebels, but that I love not to write uncertainties. I do not hear our man say that he can justly tell their forces: this is most that they are:—one thousand horse strong, as the wiser sort conjecture, not above four or five thousand foot, before they had this last supply of

Scotts out of Scotland : so that now they are generally numbered six or seven thousand men. And yet they never appeared to us all the last journey (I mean not within our view) above fifteen hundred or two thousand at the most, and that we had the chasing of them for four or five good miles ; but for want of guides we could never get between them and their fortresses, so that we did not take above seven footmen and one horseman ; and one O'Haunlin, an Irish Knight (her Majestie's Standard Bearer) was shot in the ancle, who was our only guide to that place ; which misfortune did save a number of their lives. We are now going again into the field. Thus, after my commendations to you and both my good sisters, and to all your little ones, I take my leave.

Your loving brother-in-law,

THOMAS WALDEGRAVE.

From Dublin, this first day of August.

WILLIAM BOSWELL TO SIR WILLIAM
WALDEGRAVE.

Vindicating Mr. Clopton and himself from a report that the former was married or contracted to one of Dr. Duport's daughters.

RIGHT WORSHIPFULL,

My dutie most humble promised, &c. As I suppose, in tender and fatherly care of your grandchild's well-doinge, you may suspect and feare many unluckie

accidents, so I presume in equitie and wisdome, you will not lend credit unto flyinge reports, before manifest knowledge and certaintie of truthe; that upon triall, misdooers may be accordingly censured, or misreporters (with deserved rewarde of vile busie bodies) reape disgrace (as they are gracelesse) and utter displeasure (as they are utterly displeasinge to honest mindes). Necessitie of publike busines causeth with sorrowe my absence from Kentwell; wherupon I am bould to intreate your worshipfull to be satisfied by my letters present, which I write as dippinge my penne in my hearte, deliveringe (I protest upon my salvation) unto you y^e naked truthe of my inwarde thoughts and knowledge concerninge that matter and reporte of your grandchilde Mr. W. Clopton's marriage and contract unto one of Doctor Duport's daughters.

That I should privily consent unto any such underhand dishonest dealinge, I utterlie denie, and in deniall thereof for ever defye it; withall I protest unto your worshipfull, that neither that or any such marriage or love matter was ever moved unto mee, or once mencioned in my presence, or any tyme bred in my thoughts. Nay, though all my friends livinge should persuade mee unto such a thinge, I would not yield unto it, against your Worship whom so derely I reverence; neither would I permitt any man to seduce Mr. Clopton so to his overthrowe, whose welfare I preferre before myne owne. From whom such a report should rise I know not. About a quarter of a yeare since, Mr. Clopton was, amongst other fellowes and gentlemen of our colledge, drawne by paper lotts

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to be Valentine* to one of Dr. Duport's daughters : which being tould unto Mr. Clopton, he came presently and asked mee what he should doe ; I resolved him as the other company did ; which afterward giving gloves unto their Valentine, wee also bought a paire costing 2s. 6*d.*, and bestowed them uppon her, which (God is my witness) was done without any such intent, as the report falsely carrieth. Neyther did the gentleman or myself ever speake twice unto those daughters in our lives.

I hope your Worship will not mistrust my watchfull eye over him : at all occasions, I will be and am readie to guide him. I dare avouch his diligence and care of his studies equall to your desire ; his carriage and demeanour civill and quiet, right befitting a gentleman ; and (that which myselfe much rejoyce in) his minde and affection as pliable unto myselfe his tutor, as any young gentleman's in Cambridge. If I should support or spie any such matter by him as your letter importeth, I neyther would nor must conceale that from you, discharging therbye, my dutie, and charge taken uppon mee for him.

Thus entreating your Worship to beare with my hastie and rude answeare, which (in astonishment of so badd and most false reporte) I wrote suddenly, but

* The custom of drawing lots on St. Valentine's Eve is alluded to by several of our early dramatists. According to Bourne and Brand, "the names of a select number of one sex are, by an equal number of the other, put in some vessel ; and after that, every one draws a name, which for the present is called their Valentine, and is looked upon as a good omen of their being man and wife afterwards." See Brand's Popular Antiquities, vol. i. p. 31.

from a true and honest soule wholly : intreating also
your favour and pardon for my absence.

Your Worshipfull's dutifull to commande,

GUILM. BOSWELL.

Send ffrom Jesus Coll. in Cambridge, May 18, 1608.

D'EWES ON EPISCOPAL DUTIES.*

SIR,

THE Saxons had a proverbe, " The King wills,
the Bishopp preacheth ;" which shoves that in those
very daies of Popery, before the one thousand years
were expired, after which the Devill was to be loosed,
bishoppes did as ordinarily preach as the King did
ride, which shall condemne those Bishoppes of our
daies that pretend themselves to be protestants. And
it is strange to consider, that in the eleventh age
or centurie, wherein the Devill was lett loose, the
Archbishoppes and Bishoppes of England were first made
temporall Barons by William the Conquerour, who
robbed his Crowne to enslave them, as hee thought, to
his power, giving the lands out of his owne royall
demaines to bring a curse on them and their succes-
sors, so as many Popish Bishoppes had then soe much
grace and religion as to know temporall baronies to
bee incompatible with their ministeriall callings, as

* This letter is apparently imperfect, and seems to be intended
for publication, or, perhaps, for part of a speech in the House of
Commons.

Mr. Selden shoves at large in his Titles of honour. Nor did ever any Bishop dare to assume the stile of Right Honourable to himself, till within these few yeares, much lesse to place Right Honourable before Right Reverend, as tis done in Bishopp Andrewes Sermons and elsewhere ; and to place the word Lord before the title Archbishopp.

Nor could that ensnaring ceremonie of bowing at the name of Jesus bee in use in the old church of England, for the English Saxons never used it in their gospells, but alwaies used in stead of it, the word Saviour.

MR. BEESTON TO SYMONDS D'EWES,

The Low Country Wars.—Taking of the Town and Castle of Cleve.

KINDEST MR. SYMONDS,

SOE much I owe to you and your family as hath even bankruptly obliged me to you ; though I be not able to pay, you are able to bear with me, and upon those termes I will be paying what I am able as long as I live, and at all times confess and acknowledge the debt, and that is all you can have of a poor man.

Upon the coming of our English Lords to the Hague, his Excellency the Prince of Orange summoned his army together, and drew it into the field, consisting of about nineteen thousand fighting men, a very brave and flourishing army ; amongst which are all our English

lords, and twenty-four of their new companies,—six of each regiment; the rest are disposed of to their severall garrisons. His Excellency took not his way directly towards Breda, for the relieving of it,—as being able for awhile to hold the Marquisate play enough of itselfe, he having formerly put one hundred and twenty-four of the bravest companies of all the land into it, who will sell their lives at as high a rate as the enemy is able to give for them,—but marched into Cleveland, and upon Thursday, Sept. 1², came before the town of Cleve, which the Spaniard had taken in some two or three months since, and begun to fortify. Upon the summons, the town would not yield, but at the very first peice of cannon shot against it, they came upon the walls and rendred themselves, and immediately delivered up the keys; but the castle was obstinate, (the Spaniards seeing that the town yielded, all retired thither,) and would not submit; soe batteries were planted, and our cannon played all the day upon it, and in the closing of the evening the captain was slain; whereupon they came to parley, and rendered all to save their lives, which was granted. His Excellency would willingly leave the town absolutely neutral, (a course usuall in these low country wars, but it must be by mutuall consent of both sides,) and hath sent about it to the enemy, which if it be not accorded unto, he will demolish the castle,—which, in my mind, were a great pity, it being a very goodly thing, and the ancient seat of the Dukes of Cleve. This morning, amongst others, myself went into the castle to see what spoil the cannon had made; where, amongst many remarkable things, I hold it not

amiss to acquaint you with one: upon a chimney piece in the great chamber, there stands two coats of arms, and indifferently, under them both, two dogs with a bone betwixt them, and each of them hath an end of it in his mouth; it is cut in stone, and seems not to have been lately set there. Judge you whether that picture be not prophetique to the two houses of Brandenburg and Nieuberge. This I relate to you, as mindfull of your pedigree. Put this amongst your annalls.

From this place we are not like to go yet, because, though the town be farr from being strong, or so to be made, in regard of the hills about it that command it, yet it is of consequence to the States that the Spaniards do not enjoy it, by reason of a little beake* of water that runs from under it into the Rhine, and keeps it from being dry and fordable; and this the enemy had turned another way, which one time or other might have helped him over the river, which if they once suffer, all is in danger. So that it is said when we go from hence, a fort shall be made to command these suspicious approaches of the enemy, and keep the river free. That done, it is thought his Exc^y (for he keeps all his designs in his own breast,) will march higher into the country and take in some other places that the Spanyard holds; and at the end of the year, when the Marquis hath well wearied and worn out his men before Breda, it is probable he will look upon him, and rouse him from thence, as he did from Berghem, which I both pray for and hope to see; and then we are again for Lon-

* A rivulet. A North-country word.

don, if it please God. In the meantime I beseech you to present my love and service to your worthy father, my much honoured friend, and his noble lady, together with the same affectionate service to Sir William Elyott and his wife, to Mrs. Grace, Mrs. Mary, Mrs. Betty, and little Captain Dick, who ought rather to be in these parts than I.

Thus wishing you all health and happiness, and quiet nights and good lodging, which for the present I want, I rest yours ever, both to love and serve you,

W. BEESTON.

Adieu!

From his Excellencies Campe under Cleve,
Sept. $\frac{3}{13}$ 1624.

W. BEESTON TO SIR SYMONDS D'EWES.

The Low Country Wars.—Cowardice of the Dutch.

WORTHY MR. D'EWES,

I HAVE at this present only time to let you know I have received your letter, and to give you thanks for it. My last came to you from Cleve, where, if we had continued, I might happily have done you that service about the pedigree of Van Loë and Van Halst that you desire; but from thence we hastened to the relief of Breda, and lay intrenched for three weeks, close by the enemy; and the Prince of Orange having then a design upon the castle of Antwerpe, which he was soe near to accomplish, as the losing of so fair an opportunity shall ever in my thoughts write after

Dutch, — *coward*. In that regard, his Excellency did rather amuse the enemy than molest him : small skirmishes and single encounters passed dailie, and nothing else worth writing. That design not taking, he gives speedy orders to dislodge, and so divided the goodliest army that hath been seen a long time, consisting then of two hundred and fifty brave companies of foot, forty-five troops of horse, and one hundred and thirty pieces of cannon, together with abundance of nobles and gallants of several nations : so much canon hath noe Prince of Christendom had in the field these hundred years. The enemy lay so strongly entrenched, that there was no going upon that side ; being divided, the one half went upward with Count Harry, and with him my Lord of Oxford and my Lord Willoughby ; the other he brought downwards under his own command, and with him my Lord of Southampton and my Lord Essex ; and here at Rosendael we are to try to see if we can cut off the enemyes convoyes from Antwerpe and Leige, as Count Harry is to attempt the like on the other side from the Basse and the countries there about, and soe starve the Marquis, if it may be, that his own necessities may inforce him to rise, which, if we cannot doe, we shall hardly relieve the town, but it will be lost. Yet to this day he hath made noe shot against the town, which grieves the gallants that are in it, to loose it and not strike a stroake for it. It is so blocked up that they cannot stir ; and the Marquis hath soe entrenched and blocked up himselfe too, that he cannot be fought withal but upon terrible disadvantage, which the Prince of Orange likes not by any means. The town is victualled for

some six or eight months, (would their provisions last, they should never need to fear his lying there,) and a hope is that eyther we shall procure him some fasting dayes, or that C. Mansfelt by diversion upon flanders, will draw him from where he is.

This is the summe of our present affayres, scribbled in haste, because the messenger stays. I pray you commend my humble service to Mr. D'Ewes and my Lady Denton, to Sir William Elyott and his lady, to Mistress Grace, Mrs. May, and little Mrs. Betty. Remember my love to Mr. Scott and Mr. Johnson, and forget me not to my brother Simonds and his good wife when you see them. Craving your pardon for this haste, I kindly salute you and rest,

Ever your's to live and serve you,

W. BEESTON.

Commend my services very kindly to Mr. Gybes and Mr. Houldsworth.

From his Ex^{cies} Campe at Rosendarl,
Nov. 1, Sty^o. N^o. 1624.

WILLIAM BOSWELL TO PAUL D'EWES.

Progress of the Queen, and the Appointment of her Attendants.

OUR Queen is this night expected at Bologne, whereof her health serving, there is no question; so that to-morrow or the next day, his Majestie's hope

is to receive her at Dover ;* her portion-money is already paying here.

The Legate remains solitary and melancholy at Paris, with as much neglect as ever any did in his quality.

The Bishop of Montpellier comes Governor of her Majesty's chapel, and le Pere Beralle, (a Frenchman old, and founder, as I think — I am sure Principall, of Ordinis Oratory,) is her confessor.

Dr. Smith (the Doctor of the Sorbon) is Bishop of Calcedon, and generall of our English Papists made by the Pope. Dr. Coleton, the old adversary of the Jesuits, Dean under him.

This is all I can add (my haste is such,) besides my prayers unto God, to direct all their hearts unto peace, obedience, and truth.

Your assured loving friend,

WILLIAM BOSWELL.

You may see by this enclosed where Mr. Stiles was lately.

Westm^r Coll. 3 Jan. 1625.

* She did not, however, arrive there till the 12th of June.

SIR SYMONDS D'EWES TO SIR MARTIN
STUTEVILLE.

An Account of the Coronation of King Charles I.

SIR,

WHAT your free act had verified, your loving and welcome letter hath fullie confirmed ; by which I assure myselfe further engaged than by your most kind acknowledgment anye way discharged :—besides, your particular most unexpected gift leaves me indebted as yett in specie for it. I was at this time desirous to let you partake of the actions and passions of this late great Thursday, being the 2^d day of this instant Februarie, upon which our Imperiall Sovereigne, invested in his marble chaire, ascended to his Royall throne : having the happines to bee a spectator, take this shorte view of it.

About eight of the clocke His Majestie was expected to have landed at Sir Robert Cotton's stairs, my Lord Marshall having himselfe given order for carpets to bee laied.

Sir Robert stood readie ther to receave him with a booke of Athelstane's, being the fouer Evangelists in Lattine, that King's Saxon Epistle prefixed, upon which, for divers hundred yeares together, the Kings of England had solemnlie taken ther coronation oath.

But the royall barge bawked those steppes soe fitlie accommodated, and being put forward, was run on ground at the Parliament Stairs, by which both his

Majestie and the Lordes were faine to use the neighbour boates for ther landing.

Sir Robert told mee, and I believe it, that this act might have brought a custome of setling ther, and soe was gladd it missed ; but I conceived the Duke had prevented that act of grace to bee done him by reason of that peice I shewed you, which begann :—"Soe long as those attended our master now with God," &c., framed by him ; you may remember how I tolde you that I doubted him the author by reason of the style and gravitie in it.

Yet I thinke a little after the booke was delivered, His Majestie and the Peeres being receaved, ther first came into Westminster Hall, a high stage and throne being ther erected for that end. I saw the Duke, Lord Constable for this day, taking the right hand of him going upp the stairs, and putting foorth his left to beare upp the King, hee putting it foorth, by which his right hand helped upp the Duke, and with a smiling countenance tolde him,* "I have as much needes to assist you as you to assist mee." I dare say he meant itt plainlie, yet searching braines might pick much from it. Upon a table placed on the left hande of the estate, weere the regalia laid, which the Duke, upon his bringing to the King, here delivered them to severall noblemen : the first sworne to Marquesse Hambledon, the seconde to the Earle of Kent, the crowne to the Earle of Pembroke, the ball with the crosse to the Earle of Sussex, the long scepter to the Earle of Essex, St. Edward's rodd

* This sentence is given rather differently by D'Ewes in his own Life.

to the Earle of Hartforde, and onlie the Lorde Mayor carried the short scepter.

These weere things adplacitu, and noe claims allowed for this time. Then proceeded his Majestie bare, (for after the deliverie of his crowne, having laied offe his hat, hee continued soe till crowned,) on foote, under a canopie, to the churche : first went the Knights of the Bath, then the King's Serjeants, then Masters of Requests, then Judges, then Peeres, then carriers of the Regalia, and lastlie, his Majestie.

I was thinking to see his passage, and soe to goe home, having in the morning, without color of secresse, endeavoured to gett into the church : in my passage, spying a doore guarded by one, and thronged at by few, I went, and with little trouble found an easie entrance,—the good genius of that guardman guiding his gentler thoughts.

Being in, I instantlie settled myselfe at the stage on which stooode the royall seate. My expectation was soon answered with his Majestie's approach ; whoe, presenting himselfe bare-headed to the people, (all the doores being then opened for ther entrance,) the Archbishopp on his right hand, and Earle Marshall on his left, the Bishopp said in my articulate hearing to this purpose :—" My masters and freinds, I am here come to present unto you your King : King Charles, to whome the crowne of his anncestors and predecessors is now devolved by lineall right, and hee himselfe come hither to bee settled in that throne, which God and his birth have appointed for him : and therefore I desire you, by your generall acclamations, to testifie your content and willingness therunto."

Upon which, whether some expected hee should have spoken moore, others hearing not well what he saied, hinderd those by questioning which might have heard, or that the newnes and greatnes of the action busied men's thoughts, or the presence of soe deare a King drew admiring silence, so that those which weere nearest doubted what to doe, but not one worde followed till my Lorde of Arundel tolde them, They should crie out, "God save King Charles!"

Upon which, as ashamed of ther first oversight, a little shouting followed. At the other sides, where he presented himselfe, ther was not the like failing. Then going from this erected stage downe into St. Edward's cheppel, Dr. Senhouse, Bishopp of Carlile, preached, of which expect thee imprinting* and my silence; before which the organs and quire answered to two Bishoppes, whoe upon ther knees sang the letanie. Then followed his Majestie's coronation, where because the putting on of his crimson shirte, the anointing of his naked shoulders, armes, hands, and head, weere *arcana*, a traverse was drawen, and I dare say boldlie few moore single persons then ther weere thousands within the church saw it: yet might wee guesse when the anointed glories and quoife, and robes, and crowne weere brought, then those weere to bee put on. The Archbishopp performed the unction, which I doubted hee should not, by reason of suspicion of irregularitie upon the unfortunate killing of a man some

* Dr. Senhouse's sermon was published in 1627, in a work called, "Foure Sermons preached at the Court upon several occasions."

few yeares since : * then receaved his Majestie the communion ; and after, crowned, in his purple robes, ascending the stage and throne, tooke homage of all the Peres—they putting ther handes into his, and being kissed by him, did him both homage and fealtie. Then returned hee into an inner chappell, and ther putt on blacke velvett robes, lined with ermine, and soe crowned went backe to Westminster hall in the same manner hee had come thither, wheere everie Lorde delivered backe againe his regalia. The crowne hee wore was narrower and higher than that my Lorde of Pembroke carried, yet both incomparablie rich. After the King's crowning, all the Earles and Viscounts putt on ther coronets and capps, the Bishoppes their capps ; the Barons continued bare. Before this, the Lorde Keeper gave His Majestie's free pardon to all that would take it out, which was followed by an exceeding acclamation.

The Lorde Conway tooke place of all barons, being a baron and principall secretarie : else hee goeth below them. The Queene was neither crowned nor at the church, yet saw their going. Other newes there is much, which my little time suffring mee not to write,
I rest,

Your ever devoted freind,

SYMONDS D'EWES.

I desire my bounden respects may not be forgotten to my Ladye and the rest at Dalham, nor to Mr. Morelie and his Ladie, and Sir Roger Thornton, when you see them, to whome you may please to communi-

* D'Ewes has more particularly mentioned this unfortunate accident in his Autobiography.

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cate this. I pray, Sir, send this enclosed to Sir William Spring, when you send to Burie.

Middle Temple, Febr. 4, 1626.

SIR SYMONDS DEWES TO SIR MARTIN
STUTEVILLE.

The Cases of the Earl of Oxford and Lord Arundel.

NOBLEST SIR,

WEERE my houres as free as my heart is bound to love and observe you alwayes, your exceeding affection (by which everie of my hastie missives are well accepted) and your unfeined respect, by which I enjoy your loving answeres, would invite unto mee a more long and frequent course of writing, though in that too, perhapps, I should wrong your more necessarie employments; but I assure myself you will conclude my loving respect to yourselfe, good Ladie, and yours, to bee as sincerelie wrapped upp in a few wordes as dilated abroad in copious letters.

Had I thought my last lines should have been soe much respected by you, or at all seen by others' view, I would not have suffered my hastie pen to have lett fall those weaknesses in it which I much doubt slipped from it.

My absence in Suffolke this vacation (and how manie moore hereafter I know not) is onlie therefore displeasing to mee, because I shall want the happie

converse of such worthie freinds as yourselfe ; yett I am gladd when Erasmus tels mee that letters are *absentium amicorum colloquia*.

Ordinarie newes I omitt, such I call Parliamentarie, of the Lower House, and forraine : such everie man will tell you. Two things I am a little acquainted with : thus take 1. — The Earle of Oxford's case hath beene three severall dayes debated in the Upper House of Parliament, yet the olde matters have onlie been renewed. The writer of that act of Parliament of the 16th of Richard 2nd having written heires madles for heires masles, as I saw it in the recorde ; upon which my Lorde Willoughbie's counsell, though to little purpose, made a great deale of pudder,* for all the acts of Parliament from Edw. 3 time till Ri. 2 are enroled in french. The Lords inclined much to Robert de Vere—the name sounded better than Bertue—and I hope hee will have it. For the Great Chamberlaine-shipp of England, the King pretends (but the Duke intends to have it) a title to it. I wish now the noble gentleman weere soe happilie married as to have somewhat to support his honour, which else will prove but *magni nominis umbra*.—2. Which is the busines I know you desire to bee ascertained of:—my Lorde of Arundel's case is not soe badd as the world takes it. You know hee is a most indulgent man to his wife's children, and hath in his sonn's hearing often said hee referred his sonn's match to himselfe. Hee often visiting the Dutchesse of Richmond, shee would bee sure to have her kinswoman, the Ladie Elizabeth Stuart, borne Julie 17, 1610, there ; and soe often caused them

* Bother, perplexity.

to meete, and soe cunninglie would leave them together, as, to use Bardaie's wordes, *prius amarent quam aliquid de amando statuissent*. True it is, young Campbel, the Earle of Argile's sonne, (being 4th Earle of Scotland,) had leave of the King to marrie her if hee could gett her; but neither her mother, Dutchesse, nor herselfe, ever gave him any welcome. I thinke that some propositions had been formerlie made about this match; King James desired it, and the Duke; but Arundel then excused it, alledging his detts and this Ladie's little portion. Hee is at large in the Tower; they are confined, and one bedd holdes them at Lambeth; but the Upper House, conceiving this stemme to have fallen by the Duke's meanes, question alreadie his commitment,* and beginn to desire his enlargement. My page bids mee rest.

Your most obliged freind,

SYMONDS.

I owe my Ladie manye thanks for her many tokens of severall—.

Let mee entreate you, sir, when Sir William Spring shall returne you the Oxford bible, that you would send it to Mr. Meade, and desire him from mee to lend it to Mr. Beeston, of St. John's, or to John Scott, of Cambridge, whoe hath sent to mee to desire it of mee.

1626, Mar.

* The Earl of Arundel was at length released, but not till after a series of petitions and remonstrances from the House of Lords had been presented to Charles. They will be found at length in Rushworth, vol. i.

SIR SYMONDS D'EWES TO SIR MARTIN
STUTEVILLE.Dinner at the Dutch Ambassador's.—Conversation on
Continental Affairs.

NOBLE SIR,

WHEN I seriouslie consider your owne and your Ladie's unwearied goodnes towards mee, ther being in myselfe not the least impulsive cause of it, I cannot more rejoice in this, than bee troubled that it lies not in my power to tender you soe manie and soe due expressions of thankfullnes as I desire; nor were your owne and Sir George Le Hant's letters lesse then the welcome messengers of a full satisfaction, in which your great respect and love towards mee shine foorth in the least occasion I cann offer you. Nor is your prudent caveat other than necessarie upon this emergent occasion, for I would I could say not onlie that I have gained some kindred but noe friends, for I may rather say enemies. But my resolution, I thanke God, was long since laied.

I staid in London but a se'night, and in that time was entreated twice to dinner by my entire acquaintance, the Dutch Embassadour, where I mett likewise with the Lorde Coatz, now lodging in the same house, an eloquent speaker and a great antiquarie, from whom I was assured how much comforte hee, with his companion, found from his Majestie and the Counsell, whoe deale soe freelie, soe openlie, and soe

tenderlie with them, as easilie foretels how true a neareness and dearenes ther is likelie to bee betweene us.

It is desired on all sides wee may bee a sane people, seeing, as one of the counsell observed, the languages of either nation have the same radicall wordes, and may induce the persuasion of one originall. All they feare is the warre may bee turned on or divided towards a wrong object, the French, soe they conceive it; Spaine onlie being the adequate object of ther preparations.

It was my desire to have seen Suffolke this summer; but I now, I fear, shall not, wee being unprovided for such a journie; onlie for happie Dalham, God willing, I will not faile myselfe to see it as soon as convenientlie I may. In the meane bee pleased, sir, still to accept the entire affection of

Your faithfull freind,

SIMONDS D'EWES.

March, 1626.

SIR SYMONDS D'EWES TO SIR MARTIN
STUTEVILLE.

Charges against the Duke of Buckingham.—Committal of Sir John Elliot and Sir Dudley Diggs to the Tower.

SIR,

THE occasion cann never bee unwelcome to mee in which I may doe you the least service. At this time I thought to advise with you concerning your

sonn's admission ; but thus much may bee done in his absence as well as if hee weere heere, and had been done ere this, but that I desire to know whether you will have him speciallie or generallie admitted, and whether you would have a chamber for him, of which ther bee now, by reason of some new buildings, manye vacant and good choice. The speciall admittance is a little the dearer, yet doth it leave a man free ; and the generall, for him that intends to bee a perpetuall student, is as good ; else if hee forfeits the readings, hee will soon make upp the admittance in payment of those penalties, upon the least direction from you. I shall expedite either way to your content, and shall bee gladd if I may proove able to make upp anye small parte of the great dett I owe yourselfe, and ever honoured Ladye, to anye of yours by anye office of love and service.

Good sir, pardon my brevitie ; you cann beare mee witnes I rather fastidiate my freinds with length, then frustrate ther expectacion with shortnes, for the most parte. Now my occasions, though not great, yet are manie ; in which I speake unfeinedlie. I desire your sonne may spend those houres well which I have spent amisse. I hope you cannot sitt drie in this deluge of portentous newes. I will request pardon if I say onlie, I had rather see the Duke's reformation then ruine, yet rather his then the weale publicke.

Your most obliged freind,

SYMONDS D'EWES.

Midd. Templ. 1626, May 2.

I pray, Sir, bee pleased to remember my father's

and my Ladie's kindest respect, and my owne service to your good Ladie, being all sent heerein closed to yourselfe.

SIR,

I MUST now offend in that length which I had before excused: yet that you may see I was both mindfull of your selfe and busines, I have made bolde to send you this letter as it was first written, adding this postscript. Your sonne is now speciallie admitted, in which hee hath lost noe ground by staying, for I have antedated his entrance to the 26 of April, and had gone further back, but that other admittances doe immediatelie precede.

As much of the fine was omitted as usuallie is to anye, except a bencher's sonne; in which mine owne acquaintance with the Treasourour was seconded with his knowledge of your father and yourselfe, being Mr. Nicholas Hyde. As for the Reader's feast, you need not feare it; it layes hold upon none but elder brothers. At his comming into commons hee must enter into a bonde, in which I intend to bee one suretie, and either of your nephewes will serve for another. Of chambers ther now are, and are alwayes like to bee, good choice: yet, as long as Mr. Holland keepes his, I conceive it would bee a reciprocall good turne for them to lend it rather than to let it stand emptie. How soone his comming upp shall bee, your own consideration joined with his inclination, may determine, seeing a year, more or lesse, is not much materiall.

My Lorde Digbie hath moderatelie well satisfied the hour, the Duke still sitting ther, although accused of

the same treason as Bristoll was ; both houses stomacke it. And for imployment, or matters of state, it was the Learned Okinius, Lorde Embassadour of the States, saying to mee, *Nihil omnino negotiorum vel publicæ administrationis remittit*. From him I likewise learned *Hispanos annonæ penuria laborare*, soe ther fleet is not feared this yeare. Finallie, from France, his owne words, as I remember, were, *Doctissime custodiæ Regis frater cum Marchione Ocono ex Italico stemmate oriundo principisque super visore committitur*. The cause is unknown ; for Parliament newes, though I feare you have it, I have sent you Bristol's articles against the Duke ; those of the Lower House, shortlie to bee transmitted, containe some fifteen sheetes of paper. I pray pardon the indecent length and scribbling of him that ever remaines the same the precedent page left him, &c.

May 11.

I would entreate you to send these articles to Sir W^m Spring, with his letter ; whoe, after perusal, (if you thinke hee hath them not alreadie,) may re-terne them.

If your man's stay continue much longer, I feare my letter will loose that title and become a curranto : London, like Africa, *semper aliquid novi parens*. The Duke's crimes are now transmitted by right men : on Monday, the 8 of this May, spake Sir Dudlie Diggs, in the afternoone, comparing the Duke to a comet exhaled out of base and putrid matter ;* then followed him,

* See Sir Dudley's whole speech on this occasion in Rushworth, vol. i. p. 308. The simile was not made in exactly the coarse manner expressed by D'Ewes.

Mr. Glanvill, Mr. Herbert, Mr. Selden : these four spent upp the day, the Duke sitting ther, outfacing his accusers, outbraving his accusations, to the high indignation of the Commons, whoe, incensed therbie, are resolute for his commitment.

The Wednesday morning following spake Mr. Wandsford, Mr. Pims, Mr. Sherland ; and Sir John Elliot made the conclusion, recapitulating all and shutting upp with a "*Pereat qui alios perire vult.*"

In all his charges, which weere some twelve, or in most of them, precedents and records weere cited, that others, for the like, for lesser offences, had been banished, degraded, or hanged, drawn, and quartered, &c. The Duke was absent.

I cannot hold ; this great Thursday makes mee add this private newes which I desire you to keepe to yourselfe as your owne, by separating this halfe sheete and burning itt, or concealing it; though ther be nothing in it unlawfull or unfitt to bee saied.

The King was this morning in the Upper House, and ther complained of Sir John Elliot for comparing the Duke to Seguinus, in which hee saied implicitelie hee must intend him for Siberius : shortly after, about eleven of the clocke, hee sent both him and Sir Dudley Diggs to the Tower.* The same morning, being with Sir Robert Cotton, hee told mee that hee had of late been often sent for to the King and Duke, and that

* See Rushworth, vol. i. p. 360. Elliot, while a prisoner in the Tower, composed a work "upon the Monarchy of Man," which is still preserved in the Harleian MSS. in the British Museum ; but this was probably written during his last imprisonment.

the King's affection towards him was verie admirable, noe whitt lessened.

His opinion is, that the King hath not been informed of what is laied against the Duke, but that his greatnes keeps it from him. Certainlie hee will never yeild to the Duke's fall, being a yong man, resolute, magnanimous, and tenderlie and firmelie affectionate where hee takes.

I shall end my Letter in troubling you, which I entreate you to pardon, assuring you that if I had not had extraordinarie occasions I would not have presumed soe much. I would only entreate you to let a copy of these articles bee written by anye of your servants, and at your next best opportunitie, or from Burie to bee sent to Dr. Gibson.

SIR SYMONDS D'EWES TO SIR MARTIN
STUTEVILLE.

Prudence of the Duke of Buckingham.—Condition of the
King of Denmark.

NOBLE SIR,

PERHAPS you will wonder, and not unjustlie, at my long silence: I will make no forraine nor colourable pretences. The barrenness of our times, and the expectation of better newes, have made mee deferr my due respect untill the present. The projects, at least, for monie have been manie, yet brought to a true

touchstone, they hold not : noe man hath lost more of himself then Sir Edwin Sanders.

The Duke is carefull to act nothing but by the advise of the Counsell. The King of Denmarke's distresses and troubles are lesse than rumoured.

All, God bee praised, at the office are well : the same I shall desire to heare from Dalham, and desire it may ever bee continued to yourselfe, your Ladie, and whole familie, with comfort heere, with happines hereafter.

Your most affectionate freind,

SYMONDS D'EWES.

Mid. Templ. 1626, July 6.

SIR SYMONDS D'EWES TO SIR MARTIN
STUTEVILLE.

Imbrecourt sent to France.—Proceedings of the King of Denmark.

SIR,

If I give you not either soe long an account or soe just an acquittance of my service and your business as I ought, my perplexed occasions this reading time must excuse. I may say truly in our lawyers' latine *Motubus ibat, amat*,—my head hath beene soe full of mootes as I scarce have had time in the better part of a weeke to visite my father or my Ladie, whose love keepes soe just measure as, God soe disposing it, shee now beares a part with him in his sicknes : but, I thanke God, shee is prettilie recovered ; and hee a patiente man under the physitian's hands.

Next weeke you shall have a large account of your letter; for newes, the French remooved, the sweet Queene immoderatelic perplexed, makes mee as sadd for the latter as joyfull for the first. Imbrecourt is gone to France, to satisfie that State, and noble gentlemen are preferred to the Queene's service. Rutland, her Chamberlaine, Lorde Percie, Master of Horse, Sir George Goring, Vice Chamberlaine, &c. To content the French 15,000*l.* is given amongst them. At Court, Pembroke is L. Steward, Montgomerie L. Chamberlaine, whose sonne hath married the Duke's daughter, or is to marrie.

Dining latelie with the Dutch Embassadour, hee assured mee the K. of Denmarke's good proceedinges, and of a navie to goe out about the 12th of this August, with neare forty of our shippes, and sixteen of theirs, of my Dutch chase, or of my Persian banquet, which I was invited to by that monarch's Embassadour. Happie is a peereles sonne,—it will challenge the discourse at a winter fire!

I have scarce time to let you know that I desire to bee esteemed by your Ladie and selfe,

Your most assured freind,

SYM. D'EWES.

July, 1626.

SIR SYMONDS D'EWES TO LADY
BARNARDISTON.

Concerning a Treaty of Marriage with Anne Clopton.

MOST HONOURED MADAME.

IF my hartie lines weere able to expresse how just a deareness you have deserved from mee, or how happie a nearenes I hope and desire to enjoy from yourselfe, I should plainlie confess that your tender regard of my creditt, and most pious furtherance of my sincere suite, draw from mee such a respectful reverence as is commonlie due to those to whome natur teacheth what wee owe ourselves. I have presumed by your Ladyshipp's furtherance to present her (to whome I owe myselfe) with a few polisht lines and a poore remembrance; and though I am like to proove her bondsman, as well after my desire obtained, as during my suite continued, yet soe much am I comforted with the sweetness of her disposition and goodnes of her nature, as I am unfeinedlie sorrie I can doe noe more; and yet doe faithfullie protest it is more then I will againe doe to obtaine anie other if I faile of her.

My father's comforte was much at my returne; his owne hande and readie rental will witnes it: and for those other circumstances your Ladyshipp doubted of, I finde him most willing to assent to anything in which his judgement might not receive a blemish; and my comforte is, I hope, I shall fullie satisfie

your Ladyshipp at my next sudden returne to Kediton. Concerning my father's desire of your Ladyshipp's and Mr. Barnardiston's companie heere, I have writt more fullie to him, hoping to heare of your Ladyshipp's health from his pen, though I presume not to hope for it from your owne, and soe resteth,

Your Ladyshipp's trulie devoted,

SIMONDS D'EWES.

Stowhall, Aug. 31, 1626.

LADY BARNARDISTON TO PAUL D'EWES.

On the Same Subject.

SIR,

I having by your sonne received your kind lines unto mee, cannot but by him returne you the like acceptance of them with many thankes, for your loving invitations of us.

And as for the explanations of your premier offers, which, upon my intreaty, you weere pleased by word of mouth to send mee, my further request unto you is, that, for prevention of any questions betwixt us, these latter explanations, together with your other Proffers, may be (according to the usuall manner in the like cases) expressed by way of articles of Agreement betwixt us with bothe our hands to them, that so they may speake for either of us; for I am most unwilling to have the leaste difference arise betwixt us, whereby any prejudice might happen to the younge persons, if it shall please God to knitt theyr affections:

for the confidence which I have, both from my Nephew's relations, and my owen small acquaintance of the good beginnings of grace in your sonn, doe much more incoridge* mee to match my grandechilde with him, than all the estate which you shall leave him ; and as I hope shee shall finde a religious loving husbände of him, (if God shall please for to unite them,) so my desyer to you is (for some reasons whereof he can informe you) that he might undergoe that ordinary stepp of honor (if God shall bring them together,) that so shee might avoide the contempte of some ill willers to these proceedings, and he gaine further respecte amonkst her kindred by these little additions ; wherein, although I doubt not of your foremer intentions, yet I thought it a parte of my care and love, out of these private motives, to make knowne this my desyer to you.

And thus, with the remembrance of my kinde respecte and love to your selfe and your Ladye, beseeching God to give such a blessing to the progresse of this waiety busines as may be for his glory, and all our comforts,

I rest your loving friend,

ANN BARNARDISTON.

Clare, this 9th of September [1626.]

* Encourage.

D'EWES TO SIR MARTIN STUTEVILLE.

Dinner at the Dutch Ambassador's—Continental Affairs.

NOBLE SIR,

THOUGH I had a wett iournie from your howse, yet that afternoone I came earlie home, and the next day was as earlie at London; from whence I pray receave the unfeined and thankfull acknowledgement of my penn to yourselfe and worthie Ladie, for all your heartie entertainments and your manie most free passed favours. Just upon my comming to towne, I found both my Ladie and my father in good health, where we had a mutuall and joifull meeting. That day alsoe I conceive was called in a booke solde for sixpence, at everie shopp before, written I fear by some bold Scott, to the King of Bohemia's sonne, in w^h weere manie daring notions, especiallie touching this state and the Duke. I never saw it, neither may it seem worth the relation; yet that pamphlet hath not onlie sett on worke the high commission, but busied the Councell table. On Tuesday last, I dined wth my L. Embass. for the States, where as hee satisfied mee, soe I pray doe the neighbours of my ancient patrimonie that right to satisfie others. I objected to him, me audisse Belgas contra Regem Angliæ conjurasse Regis Gallorum navium auxilio securo. His full and milde answeere unto me was, Regi Anglorum sint omnia foris prospera pacata domi,

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&c., and then discoursed at large how nearelie ther safetie depended on ours, that shipping was part of the exported commodities, w^{ch} they built at home, and solde to the French King at a deare rate ; and did yearelie and indifferentlie sell them to all nations of the Christian worlde, the Spaniard onlie excepted. Hee added (and I saw his howse then making readie for his entertainment) that the Lord Coatz, unus ex ordinibus generalibus, was comming over upon some new important occasione, but what hee knew not, nor yet in what manner, for hee had onlie receaved letters from himselfe that hee was comming. I guesse hee comes as an extraordinarie Embassadour, and for a more neare amitie. Visiting likewise not long after my deare acquaintance Sir Robert Cotton, wee had much discourse of the loane,* and it is now feared that tenants will not take lande unles a collaterall covenant bee given to free them from invulgar taxes ; that markets will for awhile lie dead, the exporting of the driving monie, of everie place happening thus upon a sudden. Wee all pray the peace of the Kingdome and puritie of religion, and suppression of idolatrie may continue. Of those that have refused and are committed, I write nothing, onlie I heare Sir Lewes Watson, † and S^r John Isham, have paied in the

* One of Charles's arbitrary methods of raising money—a general loan. Commissioners were sent into the various counties, with instructions to demand a certain sum from every individual according to his means.

† Of Rockingham Castle, in Northamptonshire, of which county he was sheriff. He took an active part on the King's side during the Civil Wars, and was created Lord Rockingham in 1645.

cuntrie, yet at first refused. My haste suffers mee
onlie to request for my selfe to bee ever esteemed,

Your most affectionate friend,

SIMONDS D'EWES.

Mid. Templ. Febr. 2, 1627.

To the right worth my ever honoured friend,
S^r Martin Stuteville, Knight, at Dal-
ham, these I pray deliver.

Suffolke.

SIR SIMONDS D'EWES TO SIR MARTIN
STUTEVILLE.

Removal of the Queen to Greenwich.—Profanation of the Sabbath
by the Court.—Proceedings against Sir John Elliot.

NOBLE SIR,

I AM gladd to take this or any other opportunitie
to decipher the true respect and manye obligations
I owe to yourselfe and worthy Ladie; and therefore,
without further expression of what I assure myselfe
you confidentlie believe, I proceed.

The Queene was the last weeke in great state con-
veyed to Greenwich by water, where she intends to lay
downe her royall burthen. The Court now remaining
much there, it drawes on the presence of the greater
and lesser attendants, soe that, on Sunday night last,
the two Earles of Salisburie and Northampton, and the
Lorde Compton, comming from thence in a paire of
oares, weere overturned in shooting the bridge, and

saved almost by miracle. God will not have men too bold nether with his day nor portion.

The horrible profanation of Sunday was se'nnight you have heard, where the afternoone being spent at Court in giving the Russian Embassadors audience from dinner till three. About an houre after, the Garter Knights, attended with ther followers, went in ther gretest pains towards my Lorde Mayor's. Thousands, in getting seates and places, exchanged both service and sermon; and the streetes weere noe lesse filled with the meaner sort, nor windowes stuffed with the better sort, then on a Lorde Mayor's day. Having come thither, healths, and quaffing, and playes, spent the residue of the time till almost the next morning.*

Mr. Hall, of the Middle Temple, my brother of the barre, being called when I was, hath now by importunitie obtained a Habeas Corpus for Mr. Stroud, and another counsellour for Mr. Long. Mr. Attornie was soe bold as to say in open Court, they should repent this demanding of it.

The Friday following, last weeke, Mr. Attornie acquainted the Lords with a bill or Information hee had to prefer into that Court of the Starre Chamber against Sir John Elyott, and in times against the rest, and soe moved for the libertie of the Tower for them to advise with their counsell, which since they have; and I intend shortlie to visitt Mr. Selden.

The marchants stand unanimouslie out, some twentie of the better sort, which had last weeke promised to

* The first statute passed in the reign of Charles I. prohibited the performance of interludes and plays on the Sabbath—a very common practice in the preceding reign.

draw on the rest if they could, and finding all persuasions ineffectual, doe now draw backe themselves and desire to bee excused. Ther are some likelihoods of accommodation betweene the Duke of Rohan and the French King, who is otherwise likelie now, upon his returne from Italie, to assault him with great violence.

Wee weere both yesterday, being Monday, to see the Dutch Embassadour and his Ladie, where wee heard onlie of their Prince of Or—beleaguring the Bursse, and hope of carrying it, by treason of some factions in it, it being the verie key of Brabant. The armie of the Emperour is doubted will come downe to succour betweene whome and the Danish King, 'tis saied a peace, or at least a truce, is concluded. And thus with our &c. to yourselve, &c.

In great haste,
I rest yours ever assured,

SIMONDS D'EWES.

May 5, 1628.

SIR WILLIAM SPRING TO SIR SIMONDS
D'EWES.

Murder of Dr. Lamb.—Manwaring's Censure.—Insolent Conduct of Wilson, a Scotchman, to the Duke of Buckingham.—Political Matters.

NOBLE SIR,

I AM very glad to hear of your health, and hopeful of your happy meeting in Suffolk. At this time I

present you with these hasty lines, more to take away from my selfe the imputacion of neglect of those many due thanks I owe you, than otherwise able to give you or my selfe any satisfaction in the matter of them. This morning calls importunately upon mee, and I could not bee prepared in expectation of having an answer to your last called for; because, though you directed my returne by the same bearer you sent, yett your letter being left at your chamber, I never knew who nor when I should expect, and soe in haste take these few things:—You heare of y^e butchery of Lamb,* and the insolent outrage and voice of y^e people wishing his master there: y^t Mannering had his censure on Saturday last, wheereof I doubt not you have heard ye particulars: of the Scottish man one Willson, who pull'd off y^e Duke's hat and bad him learn more manners then to bee covered before his king att Bowles in ye Spring Garden: y^t y^e remonstrance was presented to y^e King at Whitehall on Tuesday, who had patience to heare it all reade by y^e speaker,† and to itt annexed and reade a catalogue of losses of ships from all parts and ports of this kingdome: that to the remonstrance, since I last wrote to you, was added y^e two Bishoppes of Durham and Bath by name, as suspected for Arminians; and alsoe an humble intimation of advise to his Majestie how considerable it was to him in point of safety and honor to suffer y^e Duke soe neere his person, informing him y^t the

* This happened on June the 18th. He was suspected of being addicted to the practices of witchcraft.

† The remonstrance is printed at length by Rushworth, vol. i. p. 631.

abilities of y^e most sufficient man in y^t world could not discharge those places of trust which hee held sufficiently. Y^e King answered little, but y^t hee expected not a *Rem* of matters of state and religion, which hee knew better than wee, and which he saw wee knew less than hee thought wee had done, and y^t hee would consider of it as it should deserve.

Y^e Duke endured all the *Rem*, and kneeled downe to crave leave to speak, but his Majestie prohibited it: wee are now folding upp, but y^e day I know not. Much more there is if my time were more; but Sir Nathaniel Barnardiston calls mee away, and y^e time calls us both, soe y^t I must only now present you with his kinde love and remembrance, and from myselfe an assurance to be always,

Your assured loving kinsman and frend,

W^m. SPRINGE.

Both our services wee tender to your Lady, and y^e reverend worthy Lady Barnardiston.

Sir Nathaniel would have written to you if hee had knowne of this meanes, and had had time.

[1628.]

ROBERT GELL TO SIR MARTIN STUTEVILLE.

Letter of News.—The Catholics Abroad.—Rochelle.—Disposition of Offices.—Movements of the Court.

PARTICULAR Letters make good the curranto's report. As, first of the Capuchin fryer's imprecation. Preaching at Meningen, an Imperiall Lutheran citty in Suevia, before a great auditory, and the Imperiall commissioners who came thither to plant Popery; and y^e fryer desiring if Popery were not y^e true religion, y^t he might never come into heaven, but y^t an hundred thousand devils might presently away into hell! Hereupon y^e people flocked out of the Church; y^e fryer became dumbe, and was led to his bedd sick with some tokens of the plague upon him, and soone after dyed.

The Emperor hath in y^t province exceeding many thousands of horse to bring that countrie under and to plant popery. The Meningen and a great territory about it was the inheritance sometime of the gentleman who with his thirty-two sons at man's estate and thirty-three servants once came to y^e Imperiall Diett, and all dying issueless and being y^e last of their male family, the lands fell by escheat into y^e Empire; after which the citty purchased its liberty and became a free Imperiall city.

The Mantuan warrs in Italy seem not to goe well for y^e Duke Nevers, who loseth one place after another to y^e Spanyard and Savoyard by reason y^e French succours advance not forward, but lie

still as it seemes lingering in France. The Imperialists besieging the good strong Hans town of Stralsundt in Pomerania on the Baltique sea, they have hitherto bravely quitted them selves and forced y^e Imperialists with great loss to a retrait. In the Low countries neither side is yet in the field; but y^t the States make a faire new channell of more then a dozen English miles long, for y^e better securing of Bergen-up-Zome with y^e small Iland and town of Sertoul from the enemies surprising.

Rochell is still in greatest distress; ten women kind going out of y^e town between it and y^e camp to gather some shell-fish and herbs to slake their hunger were deflowered by so many out of the King's camp and after let goe; which y^e young men of the town taking ill, ten of them attyring themselves like maidens, but with pockett daggs in their pocketts and short swords under their petticoats, with their baskets went a gathering of shell-fish, unto whom came so many souldiers out of the army, who began to dally with them, but were so received that all to save their lives yielded unto y^e young men, and went into the town, where, beeing most severely and barbarously punished, they were sent back to glory in the camp of their exploit, for which they were never again fitted.

It's true that the Earle of Manchester is Lord Privy Seale: the Earle of Marlborough to his great content of purse and mind, is Lord President of y^e Councill; y^e Lord Weston, Lord Treasurer;* y^e Earle

* He was raised to this office on July the 15th. See Rushworth, vol. i. p. 646.

of Suffolke, Lord Deputy of the Cinque Ports ; Sir Henry Hagate his leiftenant of Dover Castle.

Last Lord's day, were four new Privy Counsellors sworn, viz.: y^e Lord Willoughby Earle of Lindsey, Lord Danvers Earle of Danby, Lord Willmott, and y^e Lord Barrett, baron of Newbeck in Scotland ; who in the place of y^e Lord Weston, is also Chancellor of y^e Exchequer.

His Majestie is at Portsmouth : on Monday thitherward at Hanworth Mannor, neere Staines, was godfather to Sir Robert Cottington's son. On Tuesday afternoon, y^e Duke and Earle of Holland came in oares through bridge to y^e Tower wharf, to see some great shott shipped y^t were taken from off y^e White-tower, for y^e intended voyage, (which I pray may better prosper then our former,) and were there up and down busied without cloakes, in their hose and doublets, and went back in their oars, but could not againe shoot y^e bridge as they attempted to have done.

There are divers new honours, English and Irish, conferred : English, — the Lord Phillip Stanhope of Nottinghamshire is Earle of Chesterfield, y^e Lord Tuf-ton in Kent is Earle of Thanet, y^e Lord Montjoy Earle of St. Albans, Viscountess Maidstone Countess of Winchelsey. Sir Thomas Wentworth of Yorkshire is made a Baron. It is said y^e young Lord Dormer is to be an Earle ; and y^e Lady Cockin of London to be a Countess, and to descend to her son. It is said likewise, y^t Sir Humphrey May, Sir Francis Cottington, Sir John Elpesey late of Dover Castle, &c. are to be barons. There are four Irish Viscounts made. Sir John Saville of Yorkshire, Controller,

Baron of Castle-barre, and Viscount Savill : John Scudamore of Herefordshire, Viscount Sligo ; Sir Robert Cholmely of Cheshire, Lord Cholmely and Viscount Kelles ; Sir Thomas Smith of Westenhanger in Kent is a Viscount there, y^e title I know not.

There is also speech as if there shall be some more change of great officers, as the Earl of Montgomery, Lord Chamberlain, to be Master of the King's Horse ; the Earle of Bristoll to be Lord Chamberlain ; Viscount Conway, Principall Secretary, to be Lord Deputy of Ireland ; and y^e Lord Carlton of Imbercourt, to be principall Secretary.

The Queen's officers are y^e Earl of Holland, Lord Steward of y^e Household ; y^e E. of Dorset, her Lord Chamberlaine, y^e Lord Percy having given up his place ; y^e Lord Goring is Master of her Horse ; Viscount Savage her Chancellor ; and Sir Robert Killegrew, her vice chamberlaine. D^r Curle is, or to be, Bishop of Rochester.

On Monday next y^e Queen rides towards Wellingborough Water, and (as is said) is to meet y^e King at Windsor at y^e end of August ; for now y^e speech is, his Majestie deferres his journey into Scotland till next spring.

I saw a letter on Wednesday night, written that morning at Canterbury, by Dr. Warner, Prebend there, that at two of the clock y^t morning, a horseman came from the Reculvers galloping thither with newes that the enemy was landed, which caused all there both of the church and citty, to rise and stand in armes on their guard till six of the clock, when tydings came they were but fishermen.

Buried this week . . .	159	Decrease . . .	35
Plague	0		
Feavers	15		
Flocks	13		
Flux	15		
Small pox	44		
Baptized	155		

London, 25 July, 1628.

The recovery of those thirteen English and Scottish shippes taken by the French, is confirmed of all hands.

The Lord Barrett, Chancellor of y^e Exchequer, hath for his place, some say, assured y^e Earle of Anglesey 1200*l.* land a-year, after his own and his wife's decease.

The speech goes, the Duke will put off his Mastership of the Horse to my Lord Chamberlaine, and y^e Lord Carlton, (who is now adorned with y^e title of Viscount Dorcester, and is to marry y^e Lady Villiers, y^e Duke's sister,) shall be L^d Chamberlaine.

Some say also the Duke will have the Admiralty governed by Commissioners; and so, seemingly or really, he will divest himselfe of all his great offices, which is an argument y^t the second Session of Parliament will hold in October next.

Here are created *de novo* five Earls: viz. y^e Lord Purpoint, Earle of Hull; the Lord Tufton, Earle of Thanet; and y^e Lord Mountjoy, Earle of Newport in the Isle of Wight; the Lord Stanhope, of Nottinghamshire, Earle of Shelford; and y^e Lord Dormer, Earl of Carnarvon.

There are also four barons made: viz. Sir Tho. Savill and Sir Thomas Wentworth, of Yorkshire, Sir John Butler of Hartfordshire, and Sir Fr. Leigh, his son-in-law.

They say that Sir John Hipsley, and Mr. Walter Montague, shall also be Lorded.

The King went his journey to Portsmouth on Monday last, and is not to come from y^t quarter till he see y^e fleet under sayle. The Queen, on Monday, goes for Wellingborough.

The King's Journey into Scotland, upon a Petition from the L^{ds} of the Councell there backed with divers reasons, and earnestly solicited by the Scottish Lords here, is for this yeare quite put off.

The Savoy Ambassador is comming to see Cambridge. One Vossius,* who was turned out of the Divinity Chair, at Leyden, into y^e profession of History, by reason he was an Arminian, hath now spirituall dignity conferred upon him here in England.

On Monday, the State's Ambassador sent from hence a despatch to their men-of-warre, riding before Dunkirk, commanding they shall not meddle with eight English ships, which are to come out of that port, and to be restored to their owners here in England, being the same y^t were taken two months agoe as they returned home laden with Eastland commodities. Which, if it prove true, may be a prognostick of a peace with Spaine; as likewise of daily sending of barks laden with corn from Dover and Margat to Dunkirk: and my L^d of Carlile's sumptuous entertainment when he was at Brussels.

It is sayd y^t, not long since, a French Baron was by the Duke of Elbœuf, taken at Calais, for having plotted with the Duke of Buckingham to have set open one of

* A very eminent scholar of the time. He received an honorary degree from one of our English Universities.

the gates of y^t town for y^e English to enter at ; and that the Duke's Letters were found about him.

This weeke dyed Sir Richard Smith, who left behind him 4500*l.* a-year land, and 60,000*l.* in money, plate, and goods. He hath given a little dwarf daughter of his 25,000*l.* and 300*l.* a-year land. We say here also y^t my Lord *Banning* hath bought New Hall of y^e Duke for 30,000*l.* and y^t he shall have an Earldome.

Young Mr. Ashburnham, y^e Duke's kinsman, is to marry Sir Richard Lumbley's (now L^d Lumbley,) daughter and heire, with an exceeding great portion.

Into y^e town of Rochell, they say, God hath sent a skull * of fish for their relief, as he did miraculously when Henry y^e IIIrd besieged it.

The one handed bed-chamber man, and theretofore a great favourite of y^e Duke, is gone down to Portsmouth to bee tryed there by a Martiall Court for beeing accused, so soone as y^e shippes were come before Rochell, to have, out of his boat, persuaded y^e captaines and masters of every ship not to attempt y^e entrance into y^e passage.

On Tuesday last, y^e Duke being at the Tower, did, to y^e wonderment of y^e people, cause four great pieces of ordinance to be let down from the top of the great square tower.

London, 25 July, 1628.

* A shoal of fishes.

ROBERT GELL TO SIR MARTYN STUTEVILLE.

Continental Affairs.

THE freshest newes I have mett withall (which I pray God they be true) are, y^t Rochell hath latelie been relieved with four moneths victualls, being conveyed in by y^e quarter by a Captaine of the religion y^t served y^e King, who alsoe passed along therwith into the towne. Now they say it concernes Papists as well as Protestants y^t this towne fall not into y^e King's power: for it would make him soe strong in those parts, y^t he would be able to effect upon those Soth-erne provinces (what his father attempted, but could never execute) the Gabelle or impositions upon salt, of which Poitou, Anjou, Gascoigne, and Guien, &c. have alwayes been free. Besides, it would make him too absolute as well over his greater as his less nobility. And y^t y^e Duke d'Espernon (a neighbour to Rochell as neer as Angiers) would never brook, but would now cross the King as well as he hath formerly done, when in despite of his beard he ransomed the Queen-mother, and restored her to her former greatness in Court.

The King of Sweden (y^e report goes) hath given the Poles a second overthrow this yeare, wherein he hath cutt off eighty of their waggons, and hath burnt all the shipping that belongs to Dantzick, even to the towne walls. Soe no thing can come at them from sea, but through his permission; whereby that towne must needs ere long fall upon his mercy.

The Kings of Denmark and Sweden having put fifteen companies of old souldiers into Stralesoundt, one of the Hanse townes, situate upon y^e Baltique sea, which was besieged by an army of the Emperor's under Count Wallenstein, the sayd Count held a practice with two of y^e towne to set one part of y^e towne on fire, while he assaulted another. His complices revealed their plott to y^e magistrate. He caused at y^e time appointed a number of pitch barrells to be fired at y^e place, when Wallenstein made his assault, but found y^e towne too well provided, so he was constrained to leave five thousand men dead in y^e place, and to abandon y^e seige.

Also it is said that they of Luckstadt and Crimpen, the King of Denmark's townes, near Hamburg, have made Tillie's forces y^t beseiged them to quitt their quarter, and y^t the Emperor's forces for want of pay, doe resort as fast to y^e King of Denmark, as ever y^e King of Denmark's did y^e Emperour. Soe as now it seemes y^e *Laurea Austriaca* begins to wither.

Doctor Preston,* Master of Emmanuel Colledge with us, is dead on Sunday last. A new Master was this day chosen, one Mr. Sancroft, once of y^e same colledge fellow.

Your worshipp is heartily desired to pardon y^e scribe who was driven to this rudeness by y^e importunate speedy departure of y^e bearer.

I heare besydes that the Duke is one day going for Rochell, and y^e next stayd. It is sayd y^t my Lord Cheif

* A voluminous writer on theological subjects. Sixteen of his printed works are in the Bodleian Library, where is also preserved a brief Latin diary of part of his life in manuscript.

Baron reported it that it was consulted whether they ought to relieve Rochell or noe, in policy, and that a negative was like to be concluded.

Bp. Laud was yesterdy se'nnight enstalled by his proxie, Dr. Worrall, Bp. of London.

Your Worshippes unknown yet emboldened to doe thus much by Dr. Warner,

ROBT. GELL.

Christ's Colledg, Aug. 2. [London, 2 Aug. 1628.]

ROBERT GELL TO SIR MARTYN STUTEVILLE.

Movements of the Duke of Buckingham.—Rumoured Changes in the Government.

RIGHT WORTHY,

I HAVE received your letters signifying your favourable acceptance of my last week's intelligence. Presently upon y^e receipt of yours, I received what followeth.

The Duke, however he professeth a journey in y^e King's or States' service to some forein part, yet hath it soe often since y^e King's departure into Hampshire been adjourned, as wee shall never believe he will goe till he be gone indeed. To which purpose, after two or three former calles, his Majestie, in a little choler, sent Sir Charles Morgan hither to hasten him away; because nothing is or will be ready or in order till

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he appeare amongst them, as well in purse as in person. Monsieur Soubize having perused* y^e fleet, returned to y^e King, and told him there was nothing ready, and that y^e mariners and souldiers would not yeeld† to goe y^e voyage till they were paid their arrears.

On Tuesday his Grace was present at y^e acting of King Henry VIII. at y^e Globe, a play‡ bespoken of purpose by himself; whereat he stayd till y^e Duke of Buckingham was beheaded, and then departed. Some say, he should rather have seen y^e fall of Cardinall Woolsey, who was a more lively type of himself, having governed this kingdome eighteen yeares, as he hath done fourteen.

On Wednesday his Grace was also a spectator of y^e Rape of Lucrece,§ at y^e Cockpitt. On Tuesday, dining at my Lord Treasurer's, he was very earnest for money; and told him the mariners would not soe much as put their hand to a rope till they had money.

Now the voice goes, (as I heard his clarke of his kitchen this day affirme, who beares him companie in his voyage,) that his Excellency departs towards the King in Hampshire on Monday, which I will beleeve when I see it done. Meantime the King's hounds, which he had thither along with him, are all dying

* Examined.

† Consent.

‡ This is a curious notice of Shakspeare's play of Henry VIII., tending to show its popularity at this time, or Buckingham would scarcely have bespoken it, neither would its argument have been so popularly known as intimated by Gell's observations.

§ The Rape of Lucrece was a play by Heywood.

of a murraine (as I was told to-day upon y^e exchange) or rott, that suddenly spread itself among them.

Before the Queen departed from hence, his Grace carried her from Whitehall to Chelsey in a pair of oares, himself sitting on y^e cushion, and her Majestie and ladies on y^e benches on each syde.

Some discourse still of more changing office; as namely, that y^e Earle of Denbigh shall be Master of y^e Horse, and Lord Fielding his son, Master of y^e Wardrop in his stead. That y^e Countess of Denbigh hath resigned y^e Queen's privy purse to her Majestie's nourse, and with her husband is growne fifty thousand pounds in debt.

Here hath been any time these ten dayes much discourse of y^e relief of Rochell by land; and that y^e King's chief provant master should have betrayed his victualls to y^e towne, and convayed himself thither in company. Others still make report of a miraculous skull of a fish; and a third sort give out that the French King's works upon y^e sea are dissipated by a late tempest.

There is newly arrived at Southampton a monsieur out of France, sent with a message to y^e King; under which pretext he may handsomely play the spy.

The enquirer sent over by my Lord of Carlile hath been missing these four or five dayes; whereupon it is thought, that having dived into some of our secrets he hath given us y^e slipp.

Here are newly arrived ten shippes richly laden out of y^e Straights. Certaine men of warr of Holland have lately taken y^e Admirall of Ostend, a shipp of twenty-four brass pieces and two hundred men, and

gave chace to another, which it is thought they could not miss.

A certaine English man of warr hath brought three Hamburgers, which are come very richly laden out of Spaine.

Mr. told me to-day, that Sir Kenelm Digby brings prizes into y^e harbour of y^e West county, sells them, and goes out for more.

In most men's opinion, three weekes hence will be y^e first setting out of y^e fleet, if then it may be ready.

Many are persuaded that the second session of Parliament will hold October next.

Besides what is enclosed of y^e King of Sweden in y^e currant enclosed, he hath in Prussia an army of thirty thousand foot and eight thousand horse. In Leifland another of eight thousand foot and three thousand horse, and that in all he payes one hundred thousand souldiers at this time. That he hath by succouring Stralesoundt, declared himself against y^e Emperor, and doubts not but one day he may penetrate with his troops to y^e center of Germany. The Hollanders forme his copper mines, and pay him dollars enough to pay his souldiers.

His letter ordinance hath in y^e concave a trunck of copper of half an inch thick.

Lond. August 8.

Mr. Sancroft on Wednesday accepted of Dr. Preston's Mastership. On Monday wee received letters from y^e Duke in answer to our universityes some two moneths since.

I have not heard from Mr. Mead since he went, and therefore I cannot enforme you when he intends to returne, otherwise than what I heare from others, viz. about a weeke hence.

I heare of two barnes fired by lightning, and burned downe, near Wetherfeild ; as also a confirmation of y^e miraculous lightning in Shithington, in Bedfordshire, and y^e consequents thereof,* which you have ere this heard of.

I have enclosed y^e curranto mentioned, and y^e Proclamation newly come out, as also y^e Duke's letters to us. I beseech your worshipp pardon my hasty writing, and excuse it by y^e bearer's departure. With my service remembred to your worshipp, and promise of supplying, though unworthily, Mr. Mead's roome till he returne,

I shall always rest,

Your Worshipp's to be commanded,

ROBT. GELL.

Christ's Coll. August 9, 1628.

* In the Bodleian Library is a curious contemporary ballad, entitled "Strange and wonderful news from Bedfordshire, being a true relation of the wonderful judgment of God shown at Shithington, &c."

LADY STUTEVILLE TO LADY DENTON.

On her intended Marriage.

GOOD SISTER,

I DID both heare of and see your kinde letter, which it pleased you to vouchsafe to write to your unthankfull nephew, but I would be loth his friends should judge of him by outward ceremony, for then he will falle much : they must only take his well meaning in good part. We have had much good company this Christmas ; yet the halle is a great deale better filled then the parlour, among all which we still wanted your company, which would have been most acceptable. The riddle which I wrote to you of is yet (as it seemeth) not unfolded unto you, but we will helpe you therein as well as we can. First, the Gentleman is of Mr. Stuteville's acquaintance, one of very good fame and esteeme in the country where he dwelleth, which is not above a dozen miles from Dalham ; next, his estate in lande is accounted fifteen hundred pounds a yeare, his office of Six Clarke's one thousande pounce the yeare, and further to induce you, he hath a delicate house, farre exceeding Dalham. Thus much for truth ; his disposition I cannot so thoroughly informe you of, yet we never hearde but well. He lieth for the moste parte halfe of the yeare in the cittie, and halfe in the country. What you would have more inquired of we will most willingly, in hope of so good a neighbour.

Thus, with Mr. Stuteville's and my own most kinde remembrance to yourselfe and my cousin Pagit, with his good wife, I doe for this comit you to God, and rest,

Your ever loving Sister,

SUSAN STUTEVILL.

I pray eate the boxe of marmelet for my sake, and if you want more I will send you some, alwayes provided you give her thankes in my behalfe.

Dalham, 28 January, 1628-9.

SIR S. D'EWES TO PAUL D'EWES.

The Plague in Islington.—Dinner at Lord Coventry's.—Frisolous Conversation of Lord North.

HAVING the convenience of this messenger to send by, I was desirous not to omitt the tender of my dutifull lines, and the rather least rumour should enforme you of some greater danger in Islington then indeed there is. For though it bee verie true that one house is infected, and there hath one died out of it at the farther end of the towne of the sicknes, yet wee heare not of anye since sicke in that house. My Ladie Coventrie was pleased, the next morning after, verie lovinglie to send to us to know whether wee intended to leave the towne upon it; and the last Saturday night shee and my Lorde weere pleased to invite us the next day to

dinner, to hott venison, and to excuse the shortnes of their warning by the same messenger, in respect that the bucke came in but one halfe houre before his coming. Wee went the next morning before their service begann, and heard from Mr. Macchines a verie learned sermon. About the middle whereof came in my Lorde North and his Ladie unexpected, whoe did soe fill upp all the dinner-time with the needles and vaine discourse of a dogg they had which died a little before, as it shewed them to bee ill-catechized in the principles of religion.

I must acknowledge I am in one respect greived at my present suite, which must stopp mee in the due and gratefull requitall of soe much love and respect. The terme is conceaved will hold without all question at London, and wee hope of a moderate bill this weeke.

I heare my Ladie Pointz' young daughter is dead ;* the greatness of which losse I can the better calculate by the comfort wee both enjoy by ours : and trulie for the nursing of it in the house, if my time would serve, I could enlarge myselfe to a long discourse in the unanswerable approbation and collaudacion thereof ; but my letters being frequent, and my last long, I must, with the tender of our faithfull duties and respects to yourselfe and my Ladie, onlie crave your blessing, and subscribe myselfe

Your humble Sonne,

SIMONDS D'EWES.

Islington, Aug. 17, 1630.

* She died on August the 8th.

SIR S. D'EWES TO HIS LADY.

A refractory Priest at Stowe.—Domestic Matters.

MY DEAREST,

KNOWING your desire still to bee to heare either of my coming or the cause of my stay, I was desirous to lett you know by a convenient messenger I had, that I hope, with God's blessing, to bee with you on Whitsun Monday at night ; for my purpose is, to goe from hence to Alburie on Saturday next, and there to spend the Lorde's day, and to comfort my wearied spirits by partaking the Lorde's Supper ; which I doubt our jollie priest at Stow* will, according to his impious custome, without respect either to authoritie or religion, make us strangers unto as long as we are in the countrie. Trulie I am sorrie to defile my paper, or make sadd the dearest soale with the remembrance of his perverse vanitie : but how cann you but greive for that which you weeklie see ?

I have heere consulted with divers good freinds, and I have resolved, God assisting us, to remoove with all speed to my house at Lavenham, if Mr. Bright's cannot bee had upon reasonable termes ; and I hope, before my returne, that side of my house shall bee tiled, when else it will bee verie tedious and noisome† unto us.

* Mr. Danford, who is so frequently mentioned in the other part of this work.

† Annoying.

I therefore give George notice to gett tiles readie, and if Thrift come, lett him goe about the Bridghouse first, rather then putt himselfe into anye other worke : and for the carpenter, lett him speedilie make a frame to the arbor in the end of the upper walke in the garden.

I prethee, deare heart, let not my resolucion make thee sad ; but know assuredlie, when I have once tolde you the manie reasons for it, I know both yourselfe and my Ladie Denton will highlie approove it : and therefore I would entreate you to be earnest with her not to faile you, but that wee may bee comforts each to other there as well as at home. For if there were no plaug in the case wheere you are, yet I must of necessitie, by reason of my taking of Wellshall, be there one moneth or moore. Your deare Aunt will come along with mee, and I thinke my cousen Bigrave.

Soe rests,

Your faithfullie affectioned husband,

SIMONDS D'EWES.

The messenger must have sixpence for bringing this letter to Stowhall from Burie.

London, May 25, 1631.

To the Right worshipfull my very noble freind the Ladie Dewes, at Stowhall, these I pray.

WLLIAM CLOPTON TO MASTER VAVASOR.

A Complimentary Letter.

SUCHE and so greate was the entertaynment which, with especiall good will, I receyved at your hands, as I cannot, havinge the opportunitie of this convenient messenger, but salute you with these fewe lynes, wherein by howe muche fortune hathe yelded me insufficiencie, (you, accordinge to your desarte,) by so muche I am desirous to supplye suche defecte at leaste with dutifull good will, and therefore—

In paper coyne and worke of ynke so dere
Make my pay for paste.

There was a lawe amongst the Persians, that who-soever was founde ingratefull for good turnes receyved, shulde be stoned to dethe ; I, therefore, have thoughte rather by writinge, to signifie my dutifull regarde to-wardes you (although I may worthily be condemned of presumption,) than by kepinge silence be challanged of ingratitude. For I am perswadede the old proverb is true, "owte of sighte owte of minde." I am bolde to claym a promise, which at the last instant of my departure you made unto me, which was as opportunity served, to remember me to my olde aunt ; who will perchance, through your good meanes and

persuasion, place me in the bead-roll* of suche of her freindes who may thinck themselves beholden unto her for her liberalitie. I am the rather induced to write unto you in this sorte, for that I hope (your credit with her being greate) you shall, one tyme or other, knowe her good powers, wherein you shall perceve her tractable to minister a restoretyve to a younger brother; and if any thinge passed (besides hope), I must impute it to your goodness, and acknowledge you for the aucthor of the same.

Newes of any moment this countrey yelds not worthy the importinge unto you.

Thus, beinge desirous to be advertised of your good health by some fewe lynes under your owne hande, if you shall vouchsafe to take so muche paynes, wishinge unto you your harte's desire, with the remembrance of my hartly commendacions to your selfe, my cosen Margaret, and especially to your sonn, Mr. Diggs, I committ you to the tuition of Him who can best kepe you.

Y^r. assured poore freind and allye,

WILL^m. CLOPTON.

Kentwell, my Cosen Clopton, his house in
Suff. this instant [1633].

* List. The word was originally applied to a roll of persons or benefactors to be daily prayed for.

WILLIAM CLOPTON TO SIR SIMONDS D'EWES.

WORTHY SIR,

I CANNOT but returne you manye loving thanks, as well for the entire love and affection you have towards me, your poor freind and allye, as also for your kind and freindly letters which I received, dated the 8th of this instant May: to which letters I fully resolved, according to your request and expectation, to have returned you an answer the last weeke; but beinge suddenlie and without expectacion forced to goe from London to Rumford upon extraordinary business, for a worthy freinde of mine, I came not home soon enough to perform that office to you.

As for the estate of Sir Drue Drury,* I am thereof altogether so ignorant,—neither was I at any time made privy or anye ways acquainted therewith; and how to discover the same I cannot tell; nor was there any that I hear: thus, with my best respects remembered to yourself,

I rest, &c.

WILLIAM CLOPTON.

May 22nd, 1633.

* The second baronet of that name, the first having been created in 1627. The title is now extinct.

SIR THOMAS BARRINGTON* TO SIR SIMONDS
D'EWES.

On Family History.

NOBLE SIR,

It is expedient that I first cleare my way, before I offer my respects ; I begin, therefore, with an apologie for my not waiting upon you at Islington, when I last met you in Westminster. Truly I was engaged before to another, but did not of a sodaine remember it : you may accuse my memory, but I beseech you excuse me. Now to give you an account of my execution of your commands ; I can say no more for the present, but that I am mindfull of your desyre and my promise, but have not yet had any time to performe, but will carefullie doe it, God willing. So that in the terme you shall see what I can find concerning both Baard and Belhouse, among my papers, when I hope you will also more clearely informe me concerning that coat of my family which you found. But for that you guess of my house haveing y^e priviledges of y^e Forest from Marciè, after y^e time of Henry the First, either I mistake your meaning, or else by your favor I thinke you forget that we have a Patent from Henry the First, wherein y^e forest is granted to my auncestor as largely as his auncestors did enjoy it before the forfeiture thereof, which must needs infer

* The second baronet, who died in 1654. This title expired in 1833.

that before y^e Conquest it was enjoyed by us. I did shew you y^e cobby of a Petition also that infers as much: the Petⁿ was made to Henry the Eighth. But I trespass too far upon your province, I am a servant to your better knowledge, and a true honourer of your learning, and ever will be (God willing) your kinsman and servant, to honour you most affectionately,

THO. BARRINGTON.

My wife returnes her respects to you.

Hatfield, Broadoak, Aug. 27, 1633.

RICHARD D'EWES TO SIR SIMONDS D'EWES.

The Continental Wars.

BROTHER,

THIS morning I met with Mr. Stone, who is now in London, sent over upon some occasions by her Majesty. Hee specified unto me how much the Queen was pleased in reading your Letter, it being a great comfort unto her in her affliction (she told him) to have such true friends. He told me further how grateful a second hearing from you would be to her. He tarrieth here near a month, so you may have leisure to despatch what you please. His wife, who is in town, goes over within a fortnight: for your expedition you may choose either.

The news is only that of Halst, which is thus:— April the 26, at two of the clock in the night, the Prince of Orange, with most of the officers of the field, parted from the Hague, and the following Wednesday was appointed for the assault on Halst; but the design evented not to their expectation. The enemy had intelligence a week before, by letters sent from Brussels, of the Prince coming, and was prepared to receive him, and the Cardinal was himself there in person the same day, and put in six fresh companies, which he took out of Antwerp, lastly joyning those unto three companies which lay there before. The Prince's forces which were to be employed in the enterprise were to be thus divided:— Two thousand firelocks were to be brought to the place, led on by the Governor of Lille and Mine Herr Knewfe: they were to lay a bridge over the moat (broad enough for three to march abreast), and they to fall on first; then Sir Harry Herbert was commanded to fall on with eleven English companies; next Heauterieux, a French Colonel, with eleven of the French, and in the rear Sir Fra. Sandilands, with seven Scotch companies.

There *portents* were sent forth two days before, to have all in readiness to march to an hour's warning. The bridge was of a new invention, and to be two hundred feet in length, if need required, for they could make it longer or shorter as it was required, or as they pleased. The Dutch fearful of attempting to scale the walls, at last were beaten off— some killed, and many wounded; the rest, as their custom is, betooke themselves to their heels, and in the con-

clusion, the attempt succeeding not, the Prince retired.

I spoke with Mr. Creame : he says the land being but 72% per annum, my Lord Savage thinks the fine very unreasonable. I urged to him what I had (as I said) heard you speak, that if by his means the fine were paid without more trouble, you would not be unmindful to thank him. He refers all unto my Lord Savage's coming to town, and when I next speak with him, I shall give you a more absolute answer how my Lord intends to proceed. I shall in all things else more at large satisfy you by the carrier. My truest affection presented to yourself, my brother Poley, &c.

Your ever loving brother,

RICHARD D'EWES.

May 6, 1636, Strand.

ROBERT STONE TO SIR S. D'EWES.

On the Affairs of the Queen of Bohemia.

S^r,

I THINK my selfe much bound unto you for your last large and noble letter, and that you were pleased to take in such good parte the poor offices I was able to doe to yourselfe and your brother. I confesse that I account myself very happie to have a share in your acquaintance, both for your owne inward worthiness, and for the great affection w^{ch} you bare to her Ma^{tie} whome I serve, and to the cause of her princelie chil-

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dren,* whereby you declare that ye are not carryed with the stream of this world, w^{ch} commonly runneth after fortune and prosperitie. I perceiveth that in your private retirednes, ye see more into the public passages of the times then we that live amongst them, for I have lerned many things by your discourse w^{ch} before I knew not; and therefore I thought good to acquaint her Ma^{tie} with your letter, who took much pleasure wth the readinge thereof, as being written of divers matters whereof she hath perfecte understandinge. I can assure you, that as she thanketh you much for your affection, so she valueth your judgment; and whensoever ye shall be pleased to bestow such letters upon me, your labour shall not be lost, because you will doe a pleasure unto her Ma^{tie}, who passeth over the time of her affliction wth such profitable intertainments of her minde. You have lett me know the years of her adversitie, w^{ch} have been longe and many; yet I dare assure you, that what power soever they may have over her bodye, they have had none over the magnanimity of her minde, which is still the same, undaunted and unshaken, as the hope by which she lived was rooted in heaven, and not in earth. Surely it would be a great comfort to her to see with her owne eyes the restitution of her royall children, w^{ch} you speake of, and so manye praie for; but because it is a worke that hath so few helpers and so manye opposers, I know not what men can doe, unlesse God make it his owne worke. All things are easy to him,

* D'Ewes elsewhere mentions an autograph letter of one of them, given to him by the Queen herself, as a document he highly prized.

and to us too, if hee bee wth us ; but wee must first make him on our side. We conceive good hopes here at the present turninge of the tide in England. The King, we heare, is resolved to grant the Prince Elector assistance, and to require the benevolence of his well affected subjects in his behalfe. If God be pleased to strengthen him in his innocence and prosper his designes, hee may perchance gall his enemies, and finde the Palatinate at sea. Wee that stay behinde will praye for him ; and I shall be most glad often to receive your commands, and to understand from you how I may approve my selfe

Your most humble and affectionate servant,

ROBERT STONE.

I am to intreate you to preserve and finish your labours of so many years upon so plausible a subject, being well assured that if ye would communicate them to the world, they would be to you instead of children to preserve your memorie. I delivered your letter to Jokemey safe.

To my honoured friend, S^r Simonde D'Ewes,
Knight, at his house called Stow Hall,
this present. 1636.

WILLIAM BOSWELL TO SIR SIMONDS D'EWES.

On D'Ewes's Ancestry.—The Anglo-Saxon and Dutch Languages.

SIR,

YOUR worthy brother having done mee the favour to bring me letters from you, at his coming into these parts, is pleased to treble the same in chargeing himself with my present answer ; wherein, for so much as concerns your name and family, about D'Eusbourgh, I can yet only tell you, that one of the States Generall (of an ancient and noble family in Gelderland) hath promised me the best collections he can make or procure, according to an extract of the genealogie and directions you gave me ; and I will not doubt but the long time he hath taken will produce something to the purpose.

The medall (of two urns floating upon waves, &c.,) which you desire, I have seen, both silver and brasse ; but in private men's hands, who would not part with the same, because they were originalls of the first stampe, which was in Zealand ; yet, out of my owne particular curiosity, I have caused both it and all of such extraordinarie nature as have been made in Holland, since then, sent from Spayne, being forty-seven, to be cast complete in silver, of a handsome volume, about our shilling's diameter, but thicker, and somewhat about two shillings a-piece.

And I am in dayly poursuite of more (if more be to be found) either of this, or the other united provinces :

all which I shall not be unwilling to relinquish unto so studiose and noble a friend, if you shall have a mind unto them.

I have often thought, how much t'è knowledge of this present Low Dutch language would advantage your intelligence of our old Saxon (if your study inclineth still that way); but you are best able to think what will be most proper for you.

I should long ere this have sent you a transcript of the Saxon vocabularie you had once of me; but that it is collected only out of the Four Evangelists, and one or two other small things, printed in that tongue; and farr short of a dictionarie which our honorable friend Sir Thomas Cotton, made by Jocelinis, (secretarie sometime to Mathewe Parker, Archb^p of Canterbury, and compiler of Antiquitates Ecclesiæ Britannicæ,) and of another dictionarie, which I did think Mr. Lisle (of the Isle of Ely), whom I think you know to be extraordinarily skilfull in that language, would have printed long since of his owne gathering. Wherewith, and my humble respects presented to yourselfe and ever honoured Lady, I take my leave, and remayne alwayes

Your most affectionate freind,

and humble servant,

WILLIAM BOSWELL.

Haghe, this 18th of December, 1636.

G. R. WECKERLINE TO SIR SIMONDS D'EWES.

Family Genealogy.—The Continental Wars and Successes of
the French.

SIR,

THE obligations you lay upon me I doe acknowledge to be the greater, the lesse expected they come upon me. Amongst them is the last note you have been pleased to send unto me, for which I doe give you my humble thanks, as for a thing that doth give me no small pleasure to finde that some greater ones than I am have been here before me of my name and family, as I doe wholly beleive; especially if their arms should be found not unlike to ours, which is a beehive.

But howsoever, I doe understand that the generations of these Wakerlys are decayed, and have faded in a daughter, who was married (being the sole heir of her name and house) unto a knight called Conyers, though there remains somewhere a town or village of the same name; some saying that such a like-named town lies in Yorkshire, and others assuring it to be in Northamptonshire:* all which matters not much, as it would not be a very difficult matter to find it out; and if it were found out, I have nothing to say or to do with it. Craving your pardon for this idle

* There is a village of this name in Northamptonshire.

digression, I should be very glad to have some good news to impart unto you for yours.

The French have done very well to recover their two Islands of St. Margaret's and St. Honorate's, near Marseilles; which after the Spaniards had taken them and kept (having fortified and provided them) these two years, they were not taken without the shedding of much blood on both sides.

The Spaniards have left them in the hands of the French with many peices of brass ordnance, and other store of provisions they brought thither for the keeping them. But on the other side, the Grisons and Palattine are again, as they were before their warr, neutral, free both from the French and the Spaniards.

The Duke of Rohan is now to be somewhere else employed by his King; Duke Bernhard of Saxe Weimar is now with his army (which is near twenty thousand strong) not far from the *Franche-Comté*. But it is generally believed there, that he is to go to Germany, of which we shall shortly have certain news. The Spaniards, as we are now informed, are very busy building and fortifying a new haven not farr from hence, at Gravelines, which they threaten shall be a second Dunkirk, able both to bridle the French and the Hollanders. I pray to God that it be not intended rather against England! The good Landgrave of Hesse is bravely proceeding, and has defeated three regiments of Imperialists: but he calls upon us for some subsidies and help, offering his person and army unto the Palatine's cause; but we feare our Palatines are not so forward as their gallant Prince. The Swedes, under Bannier, are now very free in the Duke

of Saxony's countries of Misnia and Saxon, out of which the Imperial army has been driven by the want of all necessaries into Lusatia, there to refresh themselves, because the Swedes had prevented* them, and gathered and collected, before their arrival, all provisions of victuals, in their countries.

His Majesty here has given leave for recruits to be levied; namely, to Colonel Fleetwood, to transport twelve hundred Englishmen; Colonel Monroe, eight hundred Scottes; Colonel Cunningham and Colonel Steward, each four hundred Scotts and four hundred Irish.

This is all I have at this time to impart to you, in haste, and thus I shall allways pray for God's blessings upon his poore afflicted church, and also upon yourself and noble family, resting ever

Your truly devoted freind and servant,

G. R. WECKERLINE.

Whitehall, 24 of May, 1637.

SIR SIMONDS D'EWES TO RICHARD D'EWES.

Death of Sir William Spring.—Notice of Du Chesne, the French Antiquary.

DEARE BROTHER,

You much enhappie mee by often writing to mee, and verie gladd I shall bee to receive the two pictures

* Preceded; gone before them.

of those two excellent men. My sister Poley and my brother weere with us when your letter, dated Febr. 16, came to my hand; soe as I gave them notice of your affectionate expressions. Seeing your box is safe at Mr. Wotton's, it is well. It seemes hee is scrupulous to deliver it to my brother Poley without a further and moore particular warrant from you. When the things in your trunk are aired, (which, upon your direction, I shall remember to have done,) I will carefullie open and shutt the same, and nothing shall bee stirred but your cloathes, unless such thinges as must of necessitie bee remooved to take them out. Sir William Spring died on Friday last,* at Sir Thomas Gawdie's house, his young grandchild being christened William the day before, by his bedside. Hee was buried at Pakenham last Sunday night. Mrs. Spring yet lies in of her yong sonne at Sir Thomas Gaudie's.

The Prince and others are created Knights of the Bath the first day of May next ensuing. There is one learned genleman and a great antiquarie, called Monsier du Chesne,† latelie living at Paris; I pray enquire if hee still abide there, and give him a visit, and shew him this enclosed note, and know if the Chronicle bee printed that is mencioned in it, which hee did promise to publish long since when hee printed Ordericus Vitalis, and other Norman writers.

I pray write to my brother Bowes to pay the monie to mee. I have not yet received your Lavenham rent.

* This supplies a date wanting in Burke, p. 501. Sir William was knighted by King James I., and married the daughter of Sir William Smith, of Mounthall, co. Essex.

† An eminent antiquary, whose works are still in good esteem.

I suppose you have not received my last letter with the questions I desired you to answeare. Had not I returned this letter in haste, it had brought another in the bellie of it to you from my wife, which you may expect in my next letters to you.

I pray lett mee know alsoe the charges of the pictures, which I will returne to Mr. Wotton.

Wee all tender, &c. &c. to you.

If Monsier du Chesnay have printed the Chronicle, pray buy it for mee, either in quires or readie bound upp.

Your faithfull brother,

SYMONDS D'EWES.

Stowhall, $\frac{6}{16} \frac{1637}{1638}$.

EARL OF BATH TO SIR SIMONDS D'EWES.

Antiquarian Studies. — State of Affairs in Scotland.

WORTHY SIR,

I RECEIVED from you lately two letters, for which I return you many thanks, as an addition to your many kind respects. I cannot but much applaude, as I have ever done, your commendable endeavours and industry in the search of antiquities, wherein, and in all things else, I shall ever faithfully serve you.

I must also returne you many thanks for affoording your company sometimes to my wife, which she doth very thankfully acknowledge. I must doe noe lesse for your advertisements of the present state of things, especially touching Scotland, for which I am very

sorry that they are growne to that extremity.* I will forbear to enlarge myself, because I hope to see you in London within a few dayes after this. In the meantime, with my best wishes,

I will remain,

Your very affectionate freind and servant,

H. E. BATHON.

Tavistock, April, 1639.

SIR S. D'EWES TO SOME CLERGYMAN.

On the Gunpowder-plot.

KIND S^R,

IN regard the papists doe commonlie report beyond the seas, and some here in England, that the Gunpowder Plott was onlie invented to make them odious, and that by the Puritans; and, 2^{lie}, though they be not soe impudent as in this age to print soe much, yet I doubt in the next they will; for I have myselfe a booke printed some five yeares since, called The Protestant Plea for English Papists, in w^{ch} the author desires all men to bee assured that the conspirators were noe Catholikes, but a companie of dissolute fellows, and of an alliance together.

Therefore, least this great deliverance bee in time forgotten, or by them traduced, I have heard judicious divines of opinion that some kind of narration of the

* Alluding to the preparations then making by Charles against them.

thing itselfe were fit to bee communicated to the people on this day, in w^{ch} three things I will shortlie inform you of, lesse knowen and vulgar, and yet most fitt to be pressed : w^{ch} you had had sooner, if I had knowen you had preached, or at least if you shall not use them now, w^{ch} I leave to your owne libertie, you may heereafter.

1. It was not onlie an act of some dissolute Papist, but an act of Poperie.

2. The deliverance was even miraculous in four respects.

3. The issue, had it taken effect, is inconceivable in the horroure and bloud shedd.

1. It was the act of Poperie, because, 1. Undertaken because King James would not give them a toleration, as Peircie most falselie alledged hee had promised him in Scotland. 2^{lie}. It was revealed in confession to Garnet, the provincially Jesuite, and he allowed it and ministred the Sacrament, and a most wicked oath for the secresie. 3^{die}, Garnet's conscience being at first touched wth the horroure of it, (and this is a rare notion,) because many of the popish nobilitie must also perish, whome they durst not acquaint wth it ; therefore the case was sent first to Rome, and secondlie into Spaine, where the body of each clergie resolved, that if by a mine of powder in a vault the whole body of the hereticks in England might be blowen upp, some of the Papists themselves, though innocente, should rather perish than the guilty escape. 4^{lie}. All, I dare say, scarce any excepted, of our English Papists knew of a great deliverance neare, (though not of the plott it selfe,) and that, by the destruction of the King and

state; and for that purpose a praier was then enjoined and sett foorth for the prospering of it, w^{ch} was used at most of the private masses in England: w^{ch} verie praier is set foorth in print at large in a booke of this treason, printed a little after it was discovered.*

2. The discoverie miraculous, 1. In regarde of the paucity of conspirators, not above twelve or fourteen, who all swoore not to discover it as their strict oath everie wheere printed sheweth. 2. In respect of the place, it was not an open rebellion, but a secrett worke of darkeness; their worke was under the earth, free from the view of man. 3. That the Parliament had been twice deferred without any great cause, onlie God directed it. 4. That it was even at that instant discovered, when else it had been past discoverie, Faux being taken by the Lord Knevit, just as he was going in at the cellar doore to lay his kindled match,† and soe to leave the issue and looke, nor come noe moore at the place—the Parliament being to begin the next morning. 5. That a letter sent to the Lord Monteaule rather esteemed by him a matter of jest than earnestness, and full of vain obscuritie, should give the King the first hint of suspicion.

3. The issue horrible, for they, 1. had plotted to lay it on the Puritans, and would themselves have been readie in armour to have taken the just revenge, soe

* This prayer merely alludes in general terms to the extirpation of heretics.

† It is not, perhaps, generally known, that the lantern used by Guy Vaux on this occasion is still preserved at Oxford, having been presented to that University not very long afterwards, and its history sufficiently credible.

that noe man would have knowen against whome to have bent his sword. 2. A Fleete of Spaniards lay at Dover readie to lande to assist them. 3. They had laid sure for the seizing of Prince Charles, then Duke of Yorke, verie yong, and the Ladie Elizabeth, being all that could remain of the roiall seed, w^{ch} would have made them sure either to make them of their religion, or murder them.

SIR ROBERT CRANE* TO SIR SIMONDS D'EWES.

On Family Charters.

SIR,

THERE is nothing giveth mee more content than to be able to pleasure any man, especially men of worthe, whoe use their desires to soe faire an end; and there is not any thing in that kinde but you shall make use of, for the coppieing which, with a notte in whose hands they are, will be as effectuell as the deeds themselves. Besides, some of them make much for the antiquity of my owne family, which every man would willingly keepe, in respect some may be lost, and withall maketh me able to plea-

* Sir Robert Crane, of Chilton, co. Suffolk, was created a baronet in 1626, but dying without male issue, the title expired with him in 1643. He was High Sheriff of the county in 1632, and was several times returned to Parliament as one of the Knights of the Shire. See Burke's Extinct and Dormant Baronetcies, p. 140.

sure others. Some of my daughters may happily marry one affected your waye, in which severall respects be pleased to be contented with the coppies and tricking the seales; and if there bee more that may pleasure you in that kinde commande them.

I have returned you Sir John Han's letter, and those deeds you sent me, being things of which I make noe use, only desire to stand in your opinion worthy of your love.

My service to your noble lady.

I rest your humble servant,

ROBERT CRANE.

Chilton, 15th of Aprill, 1640.

HENRY ELSINGE* TO SIR SIMONDS D'EWES.

The Journals of Parliament.

HONOURED SIR,

I CAME to town on Friday last, and mett here with a letter from you, wherein you desire me to lend you my uncle Bowyer's collection of the Parliament of Henry the Eighth, and Edward the Sixth. I professe I never yet saw anye such booke, yet I verily beleave my unclè made several collections of those times, or of the next ensuing; but it is likely to bee lent to some one that had not the nobleness to restore it againe. If I had it you should command

* He was Clerk to the Parliament.

it. For the other booke you desire, it is now lent forth, but when your troublesome office will give you leave to come to London, you shall then command it. I should bee much obliged unto you, if you would be pleased to send mee that booke I last sent you; indeed, I have present use of it. Thus, with mine and my wife's affectionate respects and service to yourselfe and your noble lady, I rest

Your affect. and loving cousin,

HENRY ELSINGE.

London, Aug. 21, 1640.

LADY D'EWES TO HER HUSBAND.

Debate on Ship Money.

MY DEARE LOVE,

I HAVE received your letters from London bearing date the xxvii. day of this instant August. I am gladd to heare by them that there is some likelihood of your returne home, and heartilie pray you may see some good issue of the shipp-monie. But wee must learn in all to submitt to God's good will, and to rest upon Him for patience and comferte. Anne is heere with us at Boxtede in good health, and soe I latelie heard weere our two yongest, Sissilia and Isolda, at Stow hall.

I intend not to goe to Bromley with my sister Bowes, although shee hath much importuned mee. I shall much rejoyce to see you safe returned, and shall bee

gladd to hasten home with you to our sweete habita-
cion : desiring ever to approve myselfe,

Your affectionate and faithfull wife,

ANNE D'EWES.

Boxtede Hall, Aug: xxxi, 1640.

LADY D'EWES TO RICHARD D'EWES.

BROTHER,

Your kinde lines invite mee, though an ill scribe,
to assure you that my affection is as heartie towards
you as the best eloquence can expresse : and as your
travailes will be a parte of my feare, soe will the
want of your much desired and pleasant societie bee a
part of my grieffe. All I cann therefore in the mean-
time contribute unto you are my unfeined prayers
for your safe returne. My journie shortely to London
is almost purposelie to see you before you goe, yet I
entreate you not to stay an houre with any incon-
venience longer then your owne time.

So I rest

Your loving sister,

ANNE D'EWES.

[Sept. 2nd, 1640.]

HANNAH BROGRAVE TO SIR SIMONDS D'EWES.

Petitions to the King for the Redress of Grievances.

DEAR SIR,

I AM very glad to hear of your health and the good despatch of many of the great and troublesome businesses you have had this last year. I hope you will pass as well through those that yet remain, and be free from all danger.

I should have been very glad to see you on your return from London, if it would not have inconvenienced you. I pray take it not ill that I did not wait upon my niece and yourself when I was at Clare, but the time was short that I was to stay, and I had but my two old horses with a great new coach, which you must grant would have been unfit to perform so great a journey. But if God gives me leave, when I attend my mother next summer, I will not fail to go and see you.

Our county last week joined in a petition to the King for to redress our grievances, and Sir William Litton and Mr. Capell, the last Knights of our shire, are to present it. We hear other counties* are doing the same, but I know not what you in Suffolk have

* A variety of petitions were presented to Charles at this time, of which the most remarkable was one from the City of London; and these, perhaps, with other reasons, accelerated the calling of a Parliament, which took place in the following November.

done. The Lord will dispose all to his glory and his Church's good, and if ever, now it is a time to pray. My husband and myself present our best respects and services to my niece and yourselfe, with our loves to my cousin Anne and the rest of my cousins.

Your most assured loving Aunt,
HANNA BROGRAVE.

Albanie Lodge, Sept. 24, 1640.

D'EWES TO THE EARL OF WORCESTER.

On the best Plan to be pursued for the King to regain the Affections of his People.—The Barony of Marmion.—Encloses Advice to some Borough to return him to Parliament.

MY EVER NOBLE LORD,

I ASSURE myselfe that your honourable endeavours wanted not to produce those blessed effects which wee all hope and pray may bring much happiness to the Church, the King, and kingdome. I beseech your Lor^{pp} to consider of my former L^{rs}, w^{ch} I hope, being written a fortnight since, are now come to your hande. Certainly if his Ma^{tie} did by proclamation abolish this new oath the Prelates have set forth, and therein also freely remitt all arrears of ship-money now due, and discharge the present and past Sheriffs

R 2

from all further collection,* (which will noe way prejudice any right his Ma^{tie} supposeth hee hath to it,) it would not only bring much honor and glory to his sacred person, but also. infinitely gaine upon the hearts of his loyall subjects, and extreemly further and expedite the business of the ensuing Parliament. I desire your Lor^{pp} alsoe to take into consideration my former proposition of your sonne, my Lorde Harbert's assuming the title of that great and ancient Baronie of Marmion. There cann bee nothing more honourable for you both and your posterities; for now he is punish Lord Harbert (the Earle of Worster's sonne inheriting that antient Baronie w^{ch} was your Noble Ancestors'), and then he will be one of the ancientest Barons of the kingdome. The Earle of Lincolne's sonne was thus called by writt in Queene Elizabeth's time, and my Lord Maltravers called by writt as Lord Mowbray at the last abortive meeting. You need not make it a request to the King, for it is your right; all the favour is, that his Ma^{tie} shall please to call him, as Lord Marmion, to the Upper Howse. If your Lord^{pp} follow my advice, soe advantageous to your noble line, you may be pleased speedily to give me notice, that I may turne over my record collections to see the true antiquity of that brave and ancient Baronie of Marmion.

I know there will bee greate use of moderate spirits this Parliament, of w^{ch} number I hope your Lord^{pp} takes me to be one, though flattery and dissimu-

* All these concessions were afterwards made by Charles, and there are few readers of the events of the next few years who will not regret that the counsels of D'Ewes were not adopted at an earlier period.

lation are beneath mee : for this reason, and out of my desire to doe publike service, I have presumed to send this enclosed to your Lord^{pp}, and to desire your favour in it, if you think fitt, or to condemne it to the fire. I may safely aver upon mine owne oath there is not a word but truth in it, yett I submitt it to Mr. Houlesworth to add or diminish to it : hee knowes I am not ingrate ; and I beseech your Lor^{pp} by him to send me a speedy answeere of your resolution to both my propositions. Believe, noble Lord, I am adequately and really

Your Lor^{pps} most humble servant,

SIMONDS D'EWES.

Stowh. Oct. 1, 1640.

[Enclosure alluded to.]

I HAVE formerly written to you for the choice of some of my friends, which I tooke as a curtesie from you ; but now I commend a person to your election for one of your Burgesses, for which I assure my selfe to receive thanks from you. The gentleman is Sir Simonds D'Ewes, Knight, now the present Sheriffe* of the county of Suffolk, born in your western parts, where he hath a faire inheritance, who though hee bee not altogether unknown to mee, yet I doe averre to you upon mine honour, that my chief end in recom-

* He was elected Sheriff in 1639. The borough alluded to in this paper is probably Sudbury, as D'Ewes was returned to the Long Parliament which met in the following month as member for that place.

mending him to you is for the publick good, assuring myself that hee will bee able to doe considerable service both for the Church and Kingdome in the ensuing Parliament. I desire you to enquire further of him, either in London or in the countie where hee is now Sheriffe, and if you find not the report of all honest men to answeere what I have written, I shall give you free liberty to refuse him. By further enquiry you will also learne that, weere hee not incapable of a place in his owne county, because hee is to returne all the indentures of elections to which he is to bee a party, and soe cannot returne himselfe, it was the general vote and resolution of the county to have elected him for one of their Knights; nor doe I think there is any burrough towne in that shire in w^{ch} alsoe hee might not have obtained a place had hee been capable of it. If what I have written satisfie you not, I desire you to make a speedy enquirie, and accordingly to returne me your answeere as soon as conveniently you may.

SIR S. D'EWES TO SIR EDWARD LITTLETON.

Difficulties in the County Business.

MY NOBLE LORD,

THOUGH I have strong hopes of the continuance of your good opinion towards mee, without anie continuall claime made thereto by my humble lines, yet, as in former doubts and scruples which have emer-

gently risen in the execution of my troublesome shrievaltie this fatall yeare, I have found free access and learned resolutions ; so I am compelled now (as the proverbe is), frontem perfricare, and againe to crave your Lords^{pps} direction to those queeries enclosed, which I leave to your own wisdome or judgment to answeare singlie, or to present them as a dinner case on Thursday next to your learned brethren, or onlie to advise of them with Mr. Justice Croke, your circuit associate. I beseech your Lord^{pps} assistance to these doubts by Thursday night next, or Friday morning earlie, when I have given order for the inclosed paper that it may be called for, which I am confident to receive backe enriched with satisfactorie resolutions, and weere it enclosed in a l^{re} of two lines from your Lord^{pp}, it would as much crown my desires as enrich my content. Your Lord^{pp}, I doubt not, remembers what trouble I had the last election about a local difference, and now I am like to bee put upon too much expense of my pretious time about a local difference. There is great preparation of subsidiarie forces and voices. My old acquaintance and allies are antagonists, which, if I had not a principle of justice within mee, would even ballance my examination of the votes with equity and impartiality. I understand one Cage is bailif of Ipswich, and intends also to procure himselfe to be elected one of their burgesses. I have heard the man hath reasonable abilities for a country gown man ; but sure he is not the only wise man in Ipswich. His stirring, in my opinion, against law hath occasioned two of my quarrels. I follow my publike works close as your Lor^{pp} entreated mee

(which I obey as a just command), when I last attended you at Bury, who desire to approve myself

Your Lor^{pp}s humble servant,

SIMONDS D'EWES.

To the Right Hon^{ble} Sir Edward Littleton,
Knight, Lord Cheife Justice of the
Court of Common Pleas,* and one of
his Ma^{ties} most Hon^{ble} Privie Council, at
Serjeants' Inne these in Fleete Streete.

Stowh. Oct. 10, 1640.

SIR EDWARD LITTLETON TO SIR S. D'EWES.

Reserves his Reply to the Queries made by D'Ewes.

SIR,

I HAVE read over your relation touching the election, and doe assure you that I knowe not of any relation at all touching the late election, either to the King or anie other; and you may be confident that I shall give no misrepresentation of the actions of any man living, much lesse of yours, nor doe them ill offices in any kind. It hath not been my manner to prejudice men, but to do them all the good I can; soe my discourse touching the former election at Westminster, it was in relation to what was done *de*

* He had only been installed in this office a short time, and very soon afterwards succeeded Lord Fordwich as Lord Keeper, being raised to the peerage at the same time. He died at Oxford in 1645, having served Charles with unshaken fidelity.

facto, for I abstaine from delivering opinion in such things, as I hold it fit for me to doe. I shall reserve your queries untill you and I meet, which may be most safely when you have received your writ of discharge, which will be very speedily. What you may doe in the interim I presume not to advise, it being proper for a more honourable bodie. I remaine

Your affectionate friend

to doe you service,

EDWARD LITTLETON.

To my much honourd friend, Sir Symon
D'Ewes, Knight, High Sheriff of the
Countie of Suffolke, present these.

Oct. 29, 1640. London.

SIR S. D'EWES TO LADY D'EWES.

Proceedings in the House of Commons.—The Earl of Bath.

MY DEAREST,

THOUGH there be a great busines I must speake unto in the House of Commons tomorrow, if God permitt, and have but this night to draw some heads to that purpose, yet I will not, God willing, faile you. I spake thrice this morning in the House, and at my second speech vouched a record, which not onlie gave great satisfaction to the House, but ended a waightie and perplexed dispute it was then controverting. Upon this I was presentlie named in the

House to bee one of the Select Committee, of which there are but seven, as I take it, in all, to search records about former attainders* which wee may applie to the Deputie of Ireland's case. Wee have now also settled the manner and way of paiment of the 100,000*l.* granted for the paiment of the English and Scottish armies in the northern parts. One of the Burgesses of Newcastle stood upp and said, that those parts rather feared mischeife by the King's armie than by the others.

Wee are to receive the communion on Sunday next at Westminster, and there is an order made this morning in the House, that the communion-table shall bee brought into the chancell, and not stand otherwise, nor anie other innovation bee used at or during the administration of the Sacrament. I mett the Earle of Bath this afternoone in Westminster Hall, who renewed his old familiaritie ; but I am not able to sett a time when I may see his Ladie. I after went to visit Sir John Seton, his Lady, and my Lorde Ambassadour of the States, who all asked cordiallie for you. I pray keepe a chearefull spirit, and walke close with God, to whose protection I now and alwaies commend you and our three daughters, being all that are now left us.

Your faithfull husband,

SIMONDS D'EWES.

Nov. 19, 1640.

* This was, of course, in preparation for that of the Earl of Strafford.

SIR S. D'EWES TO LADY D'EWES.

Further Account of the Proceedings in Parliament.—Imprisonment
of the Earl of Strafford.

MY DEARE LOVE,

IF my time would have permitted mee, I had written at large to you concerning every day's passage where I last left. But that little I can write to you I must borrow from sleepe; and wee have had soe many great affaires handled in the House of Commons since I wrote last to you, as would require a reasonable volume to sett them downe at large.

On Thursday last, the thirde day of this instant December, Sir Francis Windebanke, one of his Majestie's Secretaries, fled, and was accompanied by Mr. Read, his owne Secretarie, and one Mr. Obert a Frenchman. Wee sent for him that morning, but message was returned us that hee was ill in his bedd. Hee got that night to Quinborow in Kent, and is now past into France, and hath returned over thither great sommes of monie by exchange.

Mr. Prinne, Mr. Barton, and Doctor Bastwicke, are come to towne. I am one of the Committee to whom Mr. Prinne and Mr. Barton's petitions are referred. It happened by a mere casualtie that our first sitting upon this business was in the Starre-Chamber, wheerein I noted God's wonderfull Providence, that wee should sitt in that Court where their bloudie sentences had

passed against them, to judge those sentences; and that I should sitt a judge there, wheere I was lately in possibilitie to have been splitt and ruined: I there had both Mr. Barton and Mr. Prinne by the hande, and discoursed with them. I sate againe upon Mr. Prinne's busines this Wednesday afternoone, and I have heere inclosed sent you a copie of his petition, and intend to send you the other petitions that concerne their cause or Doctor Bastwick's, desiring you, after you have perused them, and suffered our freinds that will to copie them, you lay them upp safe for mee. On last Monday morning, December the seventh, wee utterlie damned the Shipp-monie,* and those Sheriffs that have been too busie in levying it are likely to bee questioned.

Yesterday morning wee considered the Lord Finch's, now Lorde-Keeper, violent promoting of that busines, and the Judges' offences in their august judgment, in that particular, as well as in other cases.

The Earle of Strafford, commonlie called Lord Leiftenant, is now imprisoned moore closelie than before, and a guard sett upon him in his outward Chamber in the Tower, and the doore of his bedd-chamber locked upon him each night on the outside,—God in this justlie punishing his crueltie used in Ireland against the Lord John Norreys.

I have a most intimate and deare familiaritie with

* Lord Falkland greatly distinguished himself on this occasion by the energy with which he spoke against the tax of ship-money. The House voted, that it was levied contrary to the laws of the kingdom, the privileges of the subject, and the petition of rights; and also that the King's orders on the subject were illegal.

the Archbishop of Armagh, whome I have promised to take lodgings by him in the Covent Garden, when God shall vouchsafe us the happines to bring us againe together, which I dailie pray for.

Thus farre I wrote late yesternight. This Thursday wee had the fatallest day that ever I saw in the House, for the hundred thousand pounds granted formerlie, (of whiche one halfe is sent into the Northerne parts, is now revoked,) and two subsidies granted in lieu of it, which will perhaps amount unto one hundred and threescore thousand pounds. Myselfe and divers others spoke effectuallie against it, but the great number of voices carried it, and soe it hath now past. I have yet received noe letters this weeke, which would putt mee into some doubts and feares, but that I yet hope it hath onlie happened by the carrier's negligence. I assure myselfe your midwife is with you. My dailie prayers are you may have a safe and happie houre. My services to Ixworth.

Your faithfull loving husband,

SIMONDS D'EWES.

London, Dec. 10, 1640.

SIR S. D'EWES TO LADY D'EWES.

Important Petition from the City of London.—Proceedings in the House of Commons.

MY DEAREST,

I AM compelled to write my letters to you by parcels and pieces when I can gett time ; sometimes I am gladd to write but two lines rather than omitt soe little. I received not your last welcome lines till late on Saturday night preceding ; which trulie bredd in mee a great deale of trouble least all had not been well, but my causeles feare bred mee the greater joy when I had read what you wrote.

On Friday morning last wee entred upon the waightiest matter that ever was yet handled in the House ; for there came a petition to us from the Cittie of London, accompanied with fifteene thousand handes, desiring, amongst other particulars, that the verie government by Archbishopps and Lord Bishopps in the Church, with all their ceremonies and courts, might bee abolished.

Myselpe and divers others spake shortelie to it, and wee have appointed Thursday next to debate further of it. On Saturday some petitions against the Archbishop,* the Bishop of Bath and Wells, the Lorde

* One was presented against Laud by a person of the name of Wilson, a minister whom he had suspended. This may be the same individual whose insolence to the Archbishop has been previously alluded to.

Keeper, and Mr. Justice Barclay, tooke up our time a great part of the morning.

This Monday morning wee had the Canons again argued, and weere just upon voting the illegalitie of them, and the wicked oath in them, when two of the House desired to speake for them tomorrow, to which wee have yielded.

I have heere inclosed sent you Mr. Prinne's petition with that of his servant, and the petition alsoe of one Calvin Bruen, grievouslie vexed (as weere others alsoe) but for assisting Mr. Prinne in his affliction, which cruell proceedings did much moove us in the House when they weere read; especiallie the wicked submission the saied Mr. Bruen was enforced to make, which followes after his petition.

You may lend them to whome you please, with such other petitions and speeches as I shall send to you, but I pray bee sure you may receive them againe to lay upp for me, for they are the onlie copies I reserve for mine owne use. Sir Roger North was soe farre from complaining of my proceedings at Ipswich, as hee hath made great meanes to mee not to question his outrages, and particularlie come to mee to appease mee, excusing some things, denying with deepe execrations others, and promising all neighbourhood and friendship for the time. Hee interceded for our neighbour Gardener Webb that I would pardon him; but I have a purpose yet to cause him to come to triall. Wee had latelie in the House for lesse wordes then hee gave mee, a Deputie Leiftenant in a countie sent to the Tower, and made submission upon his knees at the barre.

Thus, with my dearest affection to yourselfe, and
my humble services to Ixworth ; I rest,

Your faithfull husband,

SIMONDS D'EWES.

Middle Temple, Dec. 14, 1640.

SIR S. D'EWES TO LADY D'EWES.

Dangerous Bill brought into the House by William Strode.

MY DEARE LOVE,

I HAD thought to have written at large unto you
this weeke, but multitude of busines hinders mee. I
heere enclosed send you a copie of an Act of Parlia-
ment, which was first brought into the House by one
Mr. William Stroud,* a yong man. It hath now, after
some debate, and divers alterations and amendments
added to it, past the House.

There was not a man of the House that did appeare
against it with soe much freedome of speech as I did.

I have added the effect of what I spake (almost
upon the sudden) to have had the bill withdrawen, soe
farre as I could call it to memorie.

* He was afterwards impeached of High Treason, which, per-
haps, was the means of raising him to greater importance than
his own talents would have secured had he been left to expend his
violence more freely and undisturbed. He died in 1645, but his
ashes were not suffered to rest in peace, having been exhumed by
command of Charles II.

The King is extreamelie troubled at this bill, as Sir Henry Mildmay, the master of the Jewell-house, tolde mee. Nay, I was enformed this day from Mr. Henrie Piercie, brother to the Earle of Northumberland, that hee heard the King say, that hee would never passe this bill whilst he had life. This fatall bill alone may, if God prevent not, ruine and blast all our happie proceedings. This bill enactes, that if the King doe not by his writt summon a Parliament once in three yeares, that then wee shall elect and meete together of ourselves, which will produce in itselke alone innumerable mischeifes. The Scotts' demand of five hundred thousand pounds, was disputed in generall this morning, and to-morrow wee are to debate it againe. Wee had some varietie of opinions, but most agreed that some satisfaction and restitution should bee made them. Wee have now sent upp the subsidie bill : and Monday next is appointed to debate the matter touching the Prelates' temporall Baronies, with their other irregularities and obliquities in practice and government.

I have sent you alsoe here enclosed the London petition, both which, with all the other speeches and petitions I have sent you, I would entreate you to bring upp with you, when you come upp. My humble service to Ixworth, and my dearest affections to yourselfe. I rest y^r faithfull husband,

SIMONDS D'EWES.

My Lorde Littleton is Lorde Keeper of the Great Seale of England, and it is said that the Earle of Bed-

forde is to bee Lorde Treasurour, but that is not yet certaine.

Midd. Temple.

HANNAH BROGRAVE TO SIR SIMONDS D'EWES.

On Domestic Affairs.

SIR,

CRAVING pardon for my long neglect, I now return you many thanks for sending to enquire after my health, as also for your loving letter then received, with your good counsell, which I desire I may practice towards all creatures, and have the strength of my affections only placed on my Creator. I gave my husband the paper enclosed as you desired, but what will be done I know not.

My mother wills me to tell you, as soon as she can speak with my brother she will, and will use the best means she can to fulfill your desire, but for the present she knows not whether he be at Clare or not, but thinks rather that he is still at Cason Lodge.

As for your Lady's birth,* there be some in Clare still whom I think were there, such as Mrs. Coult, the minister's wife, remaining widow still in the town, can tell you. But if my memory fails me not, as I think it does not, she was born on Shrove-Monday, in the

* This alludes to the period of Lady D'Ewes's birth, and exhibits the care which D'Ewes took to collect every minute particular concerning his family connexions.

night, much about midnight. I remember that her mother rose from the table at supper when she began to be ill.

I am very glad to hear my niece is looking forward to another little one, which, if God please, I wish may be a son, as lusty as mine yet remains to be, I praise God for it.

I long to see my niece and you, and nothing but the cold weather and dirty ways hinders me ; but as soon as the weather changes, and the ways are drier, if God please to give me leave, I will see you.

Thus desiring to have my best respects and services presented to my Lady and yourself, with my love to my cousin Anne, I take my leave, resting your faithfull loving Aunt,

HANNA BROGRAVE.

My mother desires to have her love remembered to my lady and yourself ; my husband his service, and Mr. Pepell desires the same.

[1640.]

HANNAH BROGRAVE TO SIR SIMONDS D'EWES.

Birth of D'Ewes's Child.—Family Papers at Albury Hall.

SIR,

I HAVING now an opportunity offered me, whereby I may convey a letter to you by Mr. Hildersham, our neighbour, I cannot but make known to you how

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glad I was to hear of my sweet neice's safe delivery, and likelihood of a speedy recovery to her former health and strength: and also of your purpose to come and see us this summer, which I pray you to alter not as you before did, but let us see you here with my neice. I spoke to my husband about the writings you desired to see at Alburie Hall, and he makes no question that you shall have your desire therein. Thus hoping to see you and my lady here very shortly, I take my leave with my best respects presented to you both, and with my love to my cousin Anne, whom I desire may come with you,

Your assured loving Aunt,

HANNA BROGRAVE.

My mother desires to have her love, and my husband his service presented to you both.

[Jan. 1641.]

HANNAH BROGRAVE TO SIR SIMONDS D'EWES.

Portrait of her Sister Clopton.—Family Arrangements.

DEAR SIR,

MY mother and myself return you many thanks for your most loving and kind letters sent to her and myself the last week: we rejoyce to hear of the health of you and yours, and shall pray for the continuance of it to you all.

My mother says, concerning my sister Clopton's pic-

ture, she thinks it was like her, and she was about two or three years old when it was done, but who did it, or whether the artist is yet alive, she knows not. It was done at Cambridge when my father and mother were there; and if my niece desires the picture she shall command it when she pleases.

Last Friday my uncle Bygrave was at Mistress Freind's, and then our daughters were both very well, and I have given him your letter to carry to Mr. Freind. I do intend, as you have given me leave, to send for my cousin Anne D'Ewes, when we send for my daughter. We think it most convenient to send double horses for them, and Mr. Commins shall carry my cousin; I know he'll be very carefull of her. This, I thought fit to let you know, that if you dislike that my cousin should ride, I might know it. I think they will like it very well,—indeed, I am sure my daughter does, better than any coach; we having but two horses to send with the coach, the days being short, and the ways foul, they will not do it. Thus with my mother's love and my best respects and services presented to my niece and yourself, I take my leave, remaining

Your most assured loving kinswoman,

HANNA BROGRAVE.

1641.

SIR S. D'EWES TO LADY D'EWES.

Refusal of the City of London respecting a Loan.—On the Right of the Bishops to sit in the House of Lords.

MY DEARE LOVE,

IT hath pleased God a little to checke the course of our happie proceedings in Parliament ; for wheereas there was threescore thousand pounds readie provided, by the cittie of London, to bee sent to the armies in the North on Saturday morning last, the three-and-twentieth day of this Januarie, one Alderman Pennington, a member of our House, made report to us that the said cittie would not now lend a pennie, because one Goodman, a Jesuite, that had been condemned of treason, was latelie reprieved, besides other reasons which hee alledged ; but that was the cheife. Then wee had a petition delivered by the desire of neare a thousand godlie ministers of England, for reformation of matters in the Church.

In the afternoone both Houses attending the King at Whitehall, or most of them, there hee spake to us, and tolde us hee wished us to reforme all abuses in Church and commonwealth, but hee would have the Bishops remaine as they did in Queene Elizabeth's time ;* this, doubtles, the House of Commons will

* Charles told the Parliament that he made a wide distinction between reforming and altering the Government ; and therefore, although he was earnestly desirous to redress all reasonable grievances, he could not consent to the exclusion of the Bishops, nor to the proposed bill for Triennial Parliaments.

never yield unto ; and soe we are upon a rocke against which wee must of necessitie splitt, if God alter not the King's resolution.

This Monday morning wee have appointed to dispute the Bishopp's titles and calling. I am hastening to the House. My service to Ixworth. Pray, pray.

Y^r faithfull husband,

SIMONDS D'EWES.

Midd. Templ. Jan. XXV. M.DC.XLI.

SIR S. D'EWES TO LADY D'EWES.

Bill of Attainder against the Earl of Strafford.—Methods of Raising Money practised by the Parliament.

MY DEAREST,

I ASSURE myselve that my brother Eliot will retorne soe compleatlie fraughted and furnished with newes, as you will spare mee from writing till next weeke anie large relation. Yet thus much, perhaps, my drawing from the fountaine, this day, will supplie somewhat of those particulars hee is not fullie informed of ; which gives us dailie hope that God will yet have mercie upon this sinfull nation, and remove all our calamities. For, whereas, the Lordes of the Upper House would have had our members speak to matter of law in the Earle of Strafford's busines, in Westminster hall, as formerlie, they comming as a House, and not as a Committee, now they have

yeilded to us to come as a Committee: which, to satisfie my brother's curiositie, I have heere sent to you verbatim as it was read out of a paper by Mr. Justice Foster, being one of the Judges sent downe to us: viz.—

That their Lords^{pp}s will bee readie at a conference, by a Committee of both Houses, to meete this House on Thursday next, at nine of the clocke, in Westminster Hall, and there to heare you according to your owne offer when you brought upp the Bill of Attainder against the Earle of Strafforde.*

Wee have debated this morning, alsoe, a speedie way of levying monie and of borrowing. There will bee, upon the 16th day of the next, due to the Scotts, by ingagement from us to the King's armie and garrisons, and to the furnishing out of the navie, above 700,000*l.*, which makes us all amazed whence it shall bee paied.

This afternoone wee read a bill twice, by which the B^{pp}s and others of the Convocation House are to pay 100,000*l.* for their good canons they last made with the oath. And we have discovered that the custom dues have cousened the King within these thirteen years of above 700,000*l.*, soe as wee doubt not but to have a large share out of them, and the clergie, towards our paiment.

My cousen William Spring's wife is brought to bedd of another daughter. I like my lodging extreamlie well, both in respect of the neareness, as of the pietie and goodnes of the woman in whose house I lodge. I

* It had passed the House of Commons on April the 21st, after an animated discussion.

want nothing but your deare companie, and then I would wish my lodgings something larger. My love, service, &c., to all.

Y^r faithfull husband,

SIMONDS D'EWES.

Goate's Alley, a little beyond the White
Lyon Taverne, neare the Pallace-
yarde.

Apr. 27, 1641.

SIR S. D'EWES TO LADY D'EWES.

Debate on Deans and Chapters.—The Scots.—Execution of the
Earl of Strafford.

MY DEAREST,

I MIGHT spare enlarging myselfe this weeke, because I hope this bearer will give you a full relation of all the newes, having, as I perceive, taken some privy notes of it in a paper, which I hope hee hath enlarged out of my Journal of the two last dayes—passages which I lent him this morning to free myselfe of his discourse, because I was serious in setting downe some materialls, as hee saw, to speake touching Deans and Chapters, to which I thought I should have spoken to-day, but by very good fortune it is putt off till Friday, when I hope I shall bee better provided.

This morning, and on Monday morning last, it pleased God to assist mee very much in having given the Law both mornings to the House for their pro-

ceeding, and in that I hope, having been an instrument in furthering the peace between us and the Scotts. The whole discourse is too long to relate, but I shall tell it to you when God shall please to send us our next meeting, if I doe not forget it.

The matter was lett slipp both daies, by Mr. Pyncom, Mr. Hamden, and the other old signall men of the House on Monday. The Question was just upon the putting for laying aside and reporting the Scottish propositions touching Religion, and this day the Question was past in the first part of it, as my brother knowes, and the greater part of the House had urged ; but I prevented it in both, and it is now past, and leave contrary to what was desired by the ill-side of the order of the House.

The late great and horrible conspiracy* for which divers are fledd into France, will bee shortelie fully discovered to us in the House, as it is already known to a secret Committee of seven. Thorough God's blessing wee have some assurance that it is crusht and prevented, and I hope there will much good come of it, for unlesse that had fallen out, wee had not soe easilie have obtained the Earle of Strafford's execution ; who did discover greater resolucion and wisdome at his death, to bee able to master feare, as hee did.

Accepte of this good newes in another hande. You know my heart is yours : and I am confident my brother will bee gladd to reade it in what hande soever

* This alludes to the design of some officers to render the army subservient to the King's interest, which created great ferment in the kingdom at the time. The plot was betrayed by Goring, the Governor of Portsmouth.

it bee written, to whome, with my two deare sisters, I tender my affectionate respecte, as alsoe to my cousen William, and all the rest.

Your faithfull husband,

SIMONDS D'EWES.

Westminster, May 19, 1641.

SIR S. D'EWES TO LADY D'EWES.

Conference with the King at Whitehall.—Eagerness of the Populace for the Execution of Strafford.

MY DEAREST.

You have great cause to blesse God for his infinite mercie that this poore kingdom had not been brought to utter desolation within a month.

On Wednesday last, Apr. 28th, in the afternoon, wee attended the King at Whitehall, where the summe of his speech being that hee would not disowne the non-popish Irish army till the two armies heere weere disbanded, it gave us much discontent. But on Thursday last, Mr. Saint John,* the King's Solicitor, speaking to matter of law in the Earle of Strafford's case, did soe evidentlie demonstrate him to bee guiltie of high treason, as I made noe doubt but that the King, Lordes, and all, had been fullie satisfied. Friday,

* A natural son of the House of Bolingbrook. He is characterised as dark, cloudy, and reserved; proud and revengeful; an enemy to the Church from principle, and a foe to the Court from resentment, having been imprisoned on suspicion of seditious practices. Smollett, vol. vii. p. 195.

the last of April, we went on in our ordinarie business. On Saturday morning wee understood that the King was come to the Upper House and expected us. Some feared a dissolution ; but Mr. Maxwell came in with his white sticke, and looking cheerfullie, saied, Feare not ; noe harme, I warrant you. But trulie wee heard there what astonisht us all ; for in summe the King told us, that the Earle of Strafford was not guiltie of treason in his conscience, but of misdemeanors onlie, and soe would not have him suffer death, but onlie bee removed from his places.

Upon our returne to the House, wee refused to proceede in anie business, but sate silent, yet some spake shortelie of our calamitie. When I dreamt of nothing but horror and desolation within one fortnight, the consideration of yourselfe and my innocent children drew teares from mee. At last, manye having often cried, Rise, Rise, betweene eleven and twelve wee rose. Sunday was passed over with much affliction and sadness. On Monday morning, the third day of this instant May, some seven thousand citizens came downe to Westminster ; manie of them captaines of the cittie and men of eminent ranke. They staid each Lorde almost as hee came by, and desired they might have speedie execution upon the Earle of Strafford, or they weere all undone, their wives and children. Wee shut upp our doores, and though some went in and out, yet kept private what wee weere about, and staid from eight in the morning till eight at night, and soe concluded of a protestation for the defence of the true religion, the King's person, the Priviledges of Parliament and our Liberties. The Speaker

read the Protestation first, and then everie man in the House, even Mr. Treasurer of the King's household himselfe spoke to this effect, holding the said Protestation in his hande.

“ Mr. Speaker, I, Simonds D'Ewes, doe willinglie make the same protestation that you have made before mee according to what is contained in this paper, with all my heart.”

The Lords went in the afternoone to the King, and remonstrated to him the sudden extreame danger that threatened himselfe, his Queene, and children; and soe obtained his good will to proceede with the Bill of Attainder, and that the Earle of Strafforde* should bee beheaded. This day wee sent upp our Protestation to the Lords, who all tooke it, except the Popish Lordes; and have caused it with the preamble to bee engrossed in parchment, and have sett their hands to it. The citizens came againe in great numbers, but upon promise from the Lordes that speedie execution of Justice should bee done upon the Earle of Strafford, they departed aboute three of the clocke. Thus, my dearest, having sitten upp almost an houre longer then I use to doe to write this letter to you, with my true affections to all,

I rest your faithful husband,

SIMONDS D'EWES.

[May, 1641.]

* Strafford himself nobly addressed a letter to Charles, entreating him to lay aside all compassion for him in his desire to conciliate his subjects.

SIR S. D'EWES TO LADY D'EWES.

MY DEAREST,

I HAVE been verie carefull to answeare all your letters: last weeke I had written to you before your letter came to mee, which letter of mine I hope Mr. Buckley delivered you: and that made mee, having little to write, and less time then I had matter, to drawe my next lines till next weeke. I hope our sweete Isolda is recovered; and trulie if you finde her well, it weere but for you to hasten home without staying in this towne, wheerein is soe much danger and sicknes.

If Thomas come upp at anie time two daies before or more, hee may buy two horses or hire foure, and I thinke your coach will bee finisht by the end of next weeke. You may lie in Southwarke or at my cousen Simonds: thus in great haste, having written alsoe to my brother and sister, with my dearest affections to yourselfe, and my blessing to my little ones,

I rest your faithful husband,

SIMONDS D'EWES.

Kinde love to your bedfellow.

Westm. May xxvi. MDC.XLI.

SIR WILLIAM ELYOTT TO SIR SIMONDS
D'EWES.

Congratulations on his being created a Baronet.—On Delinquent
Clergymen.

SIR,

I COULD not in civilitye but quickly have returned my thankfullnes for the demonstrations of your love in your weekly journall, which I prize above threasure; but my forbearance hath wholly proceeded from my consideration of your better thoughts, otherwise employed then in reading of compliments. In the first place I congratulate the addition to your title—and the rather as a reward of merritt; and I beleeve it is all the recompence that sweete and virtuous ladye is like to receive from you for a sommer's absence, for I heare you meane to tyde it out.

I am in the next place to putt you in mind of our old grievance proceeding from the proud and insolent demeanour of our wretched vicar, with some of the rest of his associates, who, seeing nothing as yet to concerne them from the Upper House, doe slighte all passages against them in the House of Commons. And the vicar's only associate and Councillor is Doctor Layfeild, whom the Archbishop beneficed neere me a little before his going into the Towre. A couple of as Popish and profane priests as are in the kingdome, I thinke; and both of them delinquents in Parliament. Our vicar, Mr. Andrews, continueth his praying for his Lord and Master, the B^p of Elye, notwith-

standing he hath been admonished and acquainted with the charge against him in Parliament. But his answer was, that he cared not for that, he would pray for him till the Upper House and the King hath declared it; and continueth his commemoration for the dead, and hath lately putt one from the Communion because his conscience would not suffer him to kneele. For afternoon sermons we can have none, and weekly it is performed at the best by a curate as bad as himself, for the vicar himself is not able to preach above once in a quarter, and having been offered places of exchange, waives them, hoping as they say better times. I pray you to consult at your leasure, with some of your ancient teachers, what course they may advise us, whereby we may be better instructed, which under him we cannot, he is so great an enemy to preaching and goodness. And the charge against his Lord and Master, the B^p Wren, doth almost concerne him in every point. Take care of your health, and some tyme in the hott weather, my wife desyres you to exchange the ayre, if not for her sake, yet for your own. Our best wishes shall in the meantime and ever heartily attend you, which you may be well assured of from your affectionate brother and servant,

WILLIAM ELYOTT.

Busbridge, 21st July, 1641.

JOHN STUTEVILLE TO SIR SIMONDS D'EWES.

Condolements on the Death of Lady D'Ewes.

SIR,

I KNOW very well that you have beene a man of sorrowes, and have often tasted of the cup of affliction and miserie, but this last draught of which you have latelie drunke in soe deepe a measure, hath beene tempered with such bitter dreggs, that fearing least your immoderate greifes might bee very prejudiciall to your health, I had rather bee unmannerly in intruding upon your sorrowes, than omit the part and duty of a true friend (which is best seene in these extremities), in endeavouring to give you some ease and comfort.

How great your losse is, I must confesse, I cannot well tell, because I never had the like ; but that it is the greatest that ever you had, I can easily imagine, because it came nearest to you, being parte of yourselfe. That this losse is to bee mourned and greived for, there is noe doubt ; nature itselfe teacheth it ; and all your freinds heere in Suffolk (of which I myselfe justly have not the least) doe beare a part in it. But that there should bee immoderate and excessive grieffe, nature itselfe denyeth, who seeketh the conservation of its kind, which that destroyes, and if not that, yet I am sure divinity forbids it.

Wee should not sorrow as those that are without hope : It is true, you have lost a most loving and

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vertuous wife, and wee a most sincerely affectionate freind. But what of that? Shee is in a better place, and hath Christ for her husband, and the Angels and Saints her freinds and companions.

You have lost a young and tender childe: shee is become the child of God, and a coheire of His kingdome. Besides (God bee thanked) you have some more children still remaining in good health, which are a lively representation of their deare mother's favour, and I hope will bee so of her virtues. Let not these showers of afflictions discourage you, as if God had cast you out of his favour. You know very well, God chasteneth them whom hee loveth, and those that have not their portions of affliction in this life are bastards and not sonnes. These things I am sure you know better than I can instruct you; but the nature of teares is to blind the eyes, and I am afraid it doth yours, that you doe not consider of them, but too much deject yourselfe. My mother had writ to you, but shee is troubled with an ill head, and therefore shee willed mee to signifie to you, that for that worthy lady that is gone, shee and all hers shall bee ready to doe their best for you and yours.

Thus, with our respective services presented, I commit you to Him who is able to comfort you in your miseries, and ever remaine,

Yours, Sir, in all I am able,

JOHN STUTEVILLE.

Ixworth Abby, Aug. 2, 1641.

*

D'EWES ON THE DEATH OF HIS WIFE.

JAMES,

I DOE now write to you concerning some matters of privacie, to which I expecte a full answeare this weeke, though you receive not these letters till Monday next, for which reason you must rather sitt up all Monday night than faile ; unless some particulars require a longer time, or you cannot send the things I write for, add satisfaction to my scruples after inquirie.

First, I demand how you and all the rest I left behind could want soe much discretion and conscience as not to send after mee when you found my Dearest Joy to grow worse and worse. I was soe extreamlie jaded, as had a messenger come after mee five houres after I departed, (I staying alsoe two houres by the way to baite,) hee might have reached as farre as I went.

I dare say, had you but sent or spoaken to Mr Danford, hee would either have followed mee himselfe, or have sent a man and an horse after mee ; but it pleased God perhapps, for the greater triall and humiliation of my pious wife his deare childe, to blinde your eyes as hee did mine, that soe shee should bee deprived of my helpe and assistance, which wee both soe much desired, and yet that in the issue before shee left the worlde hee would supplie her with comforte without other

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helpes, which my selfe and other eminent servants of God heere doe certainlie conclude shee had.

2^{ndly}, I expect from you in a whole sheete of paper or two, for which I give you a weeke's time to penn it, a full discourse of all the passages of her sickness from the first to the last, excepting the three dayes I was there : but especiallie of that which happened those two dreadfull dayes after my departure, of which the last was to her a day of rest and glorie. In this relation write what you know yourselfe, and what you cann learn of others, touching what shee saied when shee first fatallie returned to Stow, and what afterwards, on the Saturday morning or Sunday morning, when shee first understood it was the smallpox ; whether shee did at the first knowledge of it, certainlie apprehend her owne death.

3^{dly}, Though I appeale to God, the searcher of all hearts, and to mine owne conscience, that during my being with her, I was certainlie perswaded shee would recover, and therefore lost soe much pretious time in deluding her glorious soule with hope of life, and to remoove far from her the apprehension of her neare approaching death ; yet, alas! I feare when I was gone, shee might complaine of mee that I had soe perswaded her, and that I had not spent moore time with her to prepare her for heaven ; but I hope the Lorde did soe farre persuade her and all you that were with her, that I had dealt sincerelie with her, and that, if I weere deceived in the knowledge of the disease and her danger, it happened as well by the misapprehension of others as by mine ignorance.

Ah, James, this misapprehension of mine hath cost

mee many a sigh and teare, although I was as innocent in it as my poore infant at nurse.

4^{thly}, That which most of all afflicts mee, proceeding from the same bitter roote of my misapprehension and error, (though I see evidentlie God's ever-ruling hande in this as well as in all the rest,) was my departure from Stow, when I saw the blisters to runn, and herselfe told mee shee begunn to swell in, and that I thought her danger was past, and I by my stay, (of which there was, as I verilie conceived, not further necessitie,) might take infection myselfe.

God knowes I returned to London with a cheerfull heart, tolde my freinds the gladd tidings of her recoverie, and had noe other trouble but of the losse of her naturall beautie.

But, oh! had I apprehended the least thought of her further trouble, or much moore, of her approaching end, I had staid though with the hazard of my life. Oh, why did not herselfe or some of you care to send for mee backe!

I hope you all did performe that Christian office, as to assure her, that the onlie cause of my departure was the certaine apprehension of her being past danger: and I hope her undoubted persuasion of my deare and zealous affection to her did not permitt her to conceive otherwise of mee. Alas! I feare shee might unawares complaine of mee, who was as innocent in my departure as I am desolate for her losse.

My letter sent to her by my servant will shew, which returne.

5^{thly}, Why did you not looke out comforte in M^r.

Byfield's Marrow,* or some other places of scripture for her: oh! when shee complained to you that shee wanted the assurance of God's love, could you bee so ignorant or so besotted as not to tell her, that desire of assurance, and complaint of the want of assurance, was assurance itselfe? Could you not tell her, that there was noe doubt of God's love to her, whoe had soe long and faithfullie loved him and his children? For God loves us first, and his love is unchangeable.

I hope God enabled you in some measure to satisfie her holy soule, soe assaulted with the apprehensions of death and doubts, as that before her death, shee expressed some moore comfort, than when you wrote unto mee on Sunday morning: Oh! you would even ravish my soule with joy to informe mee of it; not that I think it can in any way conduce to strengthen my assurance that shee is a glorious Saint in heaven; but that it might encourage us that are remaining to follow her godlie example: for truly it might harden the wicked in ther wickedness, when they shall see such an holy child of God as shee was, who walked soe strictlie before God for soe many yeares together, to leave this life without one smiling countenance of God vouchsafed to her.

Yet thus much I blesse God I was an eye witness of; that shee tolde mee shee did not soe much feare death as that, in dying of this hott and violent disease, shee might by word and impatience dishonour God.

Her soule and minde weere both heavenward: shee

* A book by Nicholas Byfield, called "The Marrow of the Oracles of God," 8vo. Lond. 1620.

never had the least apprehension but her soule should bee happie. Shee acknowledged all her holy life to bee farre shorte of what it might have been, and rested not upon it, but only rested upon Christ's merits for justification and salvation.

6^{thly}, Did shee not leave some desires or requests behind her for mee to performe, either concerning her children or anie of her freinds ?

7^{thly}, Did you not all apprehend shee would die an houre or two, or moore, before shee departed ? and did not you then encourage her to passe to heaven with comforte ; and had shee not some little time to buckle upp herselfe against death, to meete it with some willingness at the least ?

8^{thly}, It doth infinitelie trouble my soule, that I thinke shee was meerelie castaway as the meanest servant the Lady Denton kept could have been, by her suffering her to depart from Ixworth. My reasons are these : First, my blessed wife tolde mee, That shee was all over of a sweate when shee came away ; and yet, said shee, my Lady Denton never offered mee to stay. I have since my comming upp, in the second place, advised with some skilfull in that disease ; and they all conclude that removall, being in a sweat, without all question lost her her life ; for it is most probable that, being the thirde day of her being ill, the pox would that night have come out in that sweate, which being checked and retarded by her removall, did never come out naturallie afterwards.

Write mee at large in what ease my deare Joy was when shee came to Stow that fatall Thursday night : and whether shee had kept her chamber all that day

before her departure from Ixworth, or had been abroad that day before shee came to Stow; and about what houre of the day it was that shee came to Stow, the said Thursday July 16th, 1641.

Oh, how did God harden the Lady Denton's heart to deal thus with a woman of her pietie, birth, state, and tender bodie! How did God blind all their eyes, that they could not all rather have come to Stow, where all things were rather prepared, and have left my wife at Ixworth! But alas, alas! I see the overruling hand of God from the first to the last; perhaps that holy woman might, if shee had lived, have loved the world better than formerlie; and therefore he tooke her to himselfe to live eternallie with him in glory.

Most gladd I would be to have any just and true satisfaction in this particular; for I would not for a world misconceive any thing of my Lady Denton, to whome I have been soe extreamelie obliged. Write to mee an answeare fullie, truely, and plainlie, in all these particulars. And after you have done it, returne mee againe likewise this which I have been written to you.

Written by the most desolate

SIMONDS D'EWES.

Westm. Aug. 2, 1641.

My soule rejoiceth in your last letters! Oh, I see God is a good God to his children! Blessed for ever be his name! that gave my holy yoake fellow-those

glorious comforts before her death! and blessed be God, that made use of soe weake an instrument as you weere to comforte her, with such consolation! I see now, though shee weere at some time distracted in her thoughts, yet shee had at other times a cleare judgment, and an elevated spirit from Heaven. Oh, it will not a little joy mee in my death to consider I shall goe to her!

And for her deare self, I shall ever remember her words, although I neede not such remembrances; for, alas! my care and love are redoubled to her and my other two sweete daughters since their mother's death.

I pray answeare all I have written heere at large in two or three whole sheetes of paper; write all over again you now wrote to mee with enlargements. Oh, I cannot read it too often. For a funerall sermon to be had, it is now too late, her bodie being interred; and you know who must preach it. Shee needes noe testimonie of her graces: all that knew her knew them, and God may perhaps vouchsafe some other occasion to make her evidence knowen. I did little thinke Mr. Chamberlain would have soe failed mee or her. God forgive him! But I see it was his wisdome to deprive her of my company, and of him alsoe, and yet to supplie her from heaven, with those holy refreshings, which God hath denied to many of his deare children upon their deathbedds; for which I hope I shall never forgett dailie to blesse his holy name.

I desire especially to know whether this Glorious Saint now in Heaven spake anye thing after her last sleepe during the halfe houre that shee lived, and what.

And next, the expresse time, and as neare as may be about what houre of the day ; and on what day shee plucked or pulled offe her rings from her fingers ; and how it was possible for her to gett them offe without great paine in respect of the pustulations or small-pox upon her fingers.

I desire to know the verie houre, as neare as you cann, when you had that blessed discourse with her ; and how long after shee had those heavenlie expressions. I hope you add not one worde but what you did then say to her. I expect alsoe to know, upon Monday, July 26, about what houre shee had those sadd doubttes and expressions of which you wrote to mee in your first letter.

Trulie your carelessnes in not writing one worde to mee by Silas of these comfortes, shee found, cost infinite almost greife and anxietie of soule. You shall not neede now to hasten your answeare to mee, as I before have directed in this paper, but take a full weeke's or fortnight's time to sett downe all this excellent storie of the sicknes and death of this glorious Saint of God, and name the day of the month and weeke as you goe along. You perhaps kneeled farre from her, but you may enquire of others whether shee did not shew zeale and affection, when you prayed with her.

The much comforted,

SIMONDS D'EWES.

SIR S. D'EWES TO THE LADY DENTON.

On the same Subject.

ALAS, MADAME!

I NEVER wrote with a moore sadd or a moore unwilling heart to you. My calamitie hath laied mee soe low, as should you see mee, you would scarce knowe my mourning countenance. I have neede to gett newe freinds, not to lose olde. I am in that woefull condition, as I should eschew the having any difference with the poorest man or woman in Ixworth, much lesse with you. I have deferred it thus long also, that I might not add one rash, unadvised, or passionate worde of mine owne. But oh mee, miserable man! that must relate to you as sadd newes, being the words of that dying Saint, as I conceive you ever heard, by which you may see how just cause I have not only to lament her losse, but to feare shee was even cast away.

And her sweete nature and rare goodness was such, at neither living nor dying, she complayned against any without just cause.

On that fatall day, July 15, last past, being Thursday, in the morning, she lay in bedd, being very ill, and in soe extreame a sweate as it turned all shee had on into a muck wett. But when shee had lien till tenne, and founde not remorse or pittie, nor offer for her to stay, shee resolved to adventure herselfe by departing.

Her maide beseeching her to stay, she answered,

I must goe whatsoever hurt comes of it, seeing nobody offers mee to stay. And a little before her taking coach, with much lamentation in Ixworth Hall, Oh! said shee, weere I at Busbridge, my sister Eliott would lose her life before shee would parte with mee thus. For after shee had put on a dry shiftning, and gotten upp, shee never gott out of her sweate till her fatall (oh ever fatal to me!) departure. Oh! my deare, saied shee to mee, I was all of a sweate when I came from Ixworth, and yet my Lady Denton never offered mee to stay. Shee found noe pittie at her parting from Ixworth, but from her poor child Cecilia :—

In her sickness at Stowe, Oh, said she, that I had fallen sicke at London! And oh, my gracious God, that such had been Thy will, for then in all humane reason and likelihood, I had been as happie in the enjoyment of a most pious and most affectionate wife as I am now miserable in her abortive losse.

But I knowe as shee forgave all the worlde when shee died, soe her rare death following her exemplarie and holy life, hath not only bredd admiration in mee and many others, but assurance alsoe that shee now shines in eternall glorie, whilst heere I still continue in this miserable worlde,

Your Ladyshipp's most desolate sonne,

SIMONDS D'EWES.

Westm. Sept. 2, 1641.

SIR S. D'EWES TO LADY STUTEVILLE.

On the same Subject.

AH, MADAME!

How was it possible that your wisdom and foresight, that hath soe often assisted mee, and my dearest Joy, did not sett themselves on worke to have advised my Lady Denton to any other resolution under heaven, than to necessitate soe excellent a woman, soe borne, soe qualified, soe adorned with grace and vertue, to expose herselfe in an extreame sweate, on the thirde day of her sicknes, to a dangerous departure; never offering her or much lesse advising her to stay.

God knows, Madame, I durst not remove my boy, I keepe on the thirde day of his sicknes but two houses off; and oh, the experience of his well-doing and recoverie, though it bee a comferte to mee, yet it hath caused mee, in the remembrance of my most deare wive's misfortune, to shedd many a teare and fetch many a sigh. For hee keeping his bedd on the thirde day after hee fell ill, being Wednesday, August 11th, last past, hee enjoyed a naturall sweate, and that night the small pox came out of themselves, as they usually do on the thirde day, and soe by the 9th day, after their comming out, all danger was past, hee all that time enjoying his rest in a due manner and proportion. And, doubtlesse, had the Lord been pleased to shew so much mercy to my dearest Joy, as shee had not removed in that sweate shee did, her

disease had put forth itselſe in a kindlie and naturall way that very night ſhee removed ; but the ſweate, by the violence of her removal, being driven in, the ſmall pox were not only checked and retarded in their putting out, but, as the woefull iſſue hath made good, could never after bee thoroughly expelled.

For, alas ! though I were deluded by that blindfold and unſkilfull woman who kept her (which occaſioned my unprofitable ſtay and unfortunate departure) that ſhee was noe otherwiſe affected then was uſuall in that diſeaſe, with ſuch as did recover : yet I nowe ſee the extreame paines and torments ſhee endured (exceeding, as ſhee ſaied, her nine lyings in) her unnaturall ſhorte and diſtracted ſleepes, with all the other circumſtances almoſt of her ſadd calamitie, doe ſhowe ſhee never was in any reall or true probabilitie of her recoverie, after her comming to that place to which I thinke ſhee never came before with ſoe ſadd and unwilling an heart.

And though partly by nature's ſtrength, and partly by thoſe violent, expulſive things ſhee tooke, they weere in a great measure expelled forth, yet as ſoon as the worke of nature was grown to its height and could noe longer conflict with the malignitie of that diſeaſe, the remaining contagion ſoone ſeized on the noble and bleſſed hearte of my deareſt comforte.

Ah, Madame ! how was it poſſible my Lady Denton ſhould conclude to haſard ſoe tender and delicate a body to the open air in ſuch a condition ; ſeeing there was noe neceſſitie ? She hath, ere now, left her houſe for a certaine time upon pleaſure, or had ſhee not left it, God protected you all when your daughter was ſicke of the ſame diſeaſe : and was his hand

shortened now? Was not that house to which shee was carried, provided with all things fitting for your stay—I meane all the family at Ixworth? I know she had resolved to go to Stow as soone as her head had but ached, and how shee came to neglect going in time I know not; too sure I am, shee went when it was past time.

Ah, Madame! what had the losse or inconvenience been had you all removed? should wee never have been able to repaire that life to my Lady? I would to God I had given her halfe my estate, ay, the whole, my dearest Joy had enjoyed the benefitt of that extreame sweate sent to her, even from heaven, for her recoverie!

Was it possible that not one body did interpose an intreatie for some Christian pittie. Oh, my sister Eliott saith that shee should not, for all the worlde, have removed her out of her house in such a condition, had shee been with her.

Little did I imagine in what case my poor love was when she removed. It would even break your heart but to heare all the lamentable expressions that holy saint made concerning this, her unfortunate removal. But the Lord's will be done! She is happy, and I am

Your Ladyship's desolate servant,

SIMONDS D'EWES.

Westminster, Sept. 3, 1641.

RICHARD D'EWES TO SIR SIMONDS D'EWES.

The Business of the Count d'Egmond.

GOOD BROTHER,

I was this morning with the Count d'Egmonde, and delivered to him the draught you sent him. He has promised all care to satisfye you in what he can. He asked me if you have done any thing for him about the business of his son, and that of the *Pursevant* injury done to him at midnight. He says that that rascal has sent a kinde of defiance to him, and bids him complaine to y^e Parliament againe, and see what he can gett. He informs me further that this newes is already in y^e two countrys, and the affront done him heere much rejoiced at by his enemies. His desire is to have some speedy redress from the Parliament, in regard he suffers infinitely in it, in respect he is a Prince and the baseness of him that did it.

I have promised to write to him to-morrow and to give him an account, if I cannot come time enough to you in the morning. Pray give me answer of these. The Count d'Egmond further informs me that for certain y^e Prince Cardinal in Flanders is dead, and y^e Archduke Leopold to bee sent Governor.

In haste I write y^r most affectionate brother,

RICH. D'EWES.

Nov. 8, 1641.

THE EARL OF HOLLAND TO D'EWES.

Complimenting him on his Wise Speech to the Parliament.*

SIR,

By my brother's hands I doe return you your paper, whose opinion of it dothe agree with mine, that nothing could bee said with more honour, wisdom, and reasonableness, than hath been spoken by you; and truly I am confident that it will stand in judgment one daye againste such as were not converted by you from the pursuit of their violence, since your arguments weare powerfull, not only in those legal rules that wee are tied to follow and obeye, but they are lykways so strengthened by those that are pious, rashionall, and of example, as it makes mee fear a spiritual curse is upon us; that wee have eyes and see not, and ears and hear not. Though I reverence muche your curiosyte and your industrye, as a galant thinge to bring home, not only into your study but into your head and remembrance, all the great and worthy acsions of past tymes and persons, yet truly amongst them all, you will not fynd any have more oportunely and generously than this present acsion of

* This was probably one of those published in this year, entitled "Two Speeches spoken by Sir S. D'Ewes; the first touching the antiquity of Cambridge, lately published by John Thomas, with many ignorant and foolish mistakes which are here rectified; the other concerning the Privilege of Parliament in Causes Civil and Criminal." This tract was reprinted by Somers.

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U

yours, whiche I confess hath extreamely heighthned the value and the esteem is payed you.

Your most faithfull and most affectionate servant,
HOLLANDE.

For my very worthy friend, Sir Symon
D'usses.

Nonsuche, this 23 Ja^y, 1642.

RICHARD DEWES TO SIR SIMONDS DEWES.

Invitation to York.

DEAR BROTHER,

I WAS in good hopes to have seene you heere before the arrival of these will come to your hands: but I should think this or any other paines well awarded, if I could bee the happie inducement to bring you hither. I dayly understand how you stand affected, and what your opinions are, and out of that sincere affection I bear you, I heartily wish you fortunate in their continuance.

If your other occasions will dispense and give place to my hopes, I can in some measure accommodate you with horses for your journey. 'Tis but sending a note under your hand to Sir Hen. Newton* for a grey geldinge and a bay mare to be left at his house,

* This Baronet espoused the royal cause in the civil wars, and was at the battle of Edge Hill. The present letter is of course an appeal to D'Ewes to attach himself to the Royalists.

Salisbury-court, Fleete-street, and he will very soon let you receive them. By this last post I have nothing, so as I confidently beleve them to be yett in his hands with y^e saddles, &c.

I wrote a letter to you some six weeks past about the Prince Elector, but received no answer.

'Tis worth your journey to bee an eyewitness of the justice and equity of the King's proceedings.

Sir, if you bee affected to this journey, I have said enough : if your time and business permitt not, then I shall but trouble you. I wish you all health and your own desires, and am,

Your affectionate brother and servant,

D'EWES.

If you send I shall not faile of your returns by the post without any further direction.

Yorke, June 17, 1642.

SIR SIMONDS D'EWES TO RICHARD D'EWES.

On the Prince Elector Palatine.—The Evil Consequences of
Civil War.

DEAR BROTHER,

I DID long since receive your letter touching the Prince Elector Palatine, and though I have since remained silent to you, yet upon Thursday, the 12th day of May last past, I did faithfullie vindicate his innocence, there being just occasion offered for my in-

terposition. For mine owne parte I have often repented my being of this Parliament ; having not onlie been much interrupted in my pretious studies by it, but might otherwise in humane reason have been as happie in that inestimable wife I had, as I am now miserable and desolate in her losse.

But now, being called to it by his Majestie's writt, I have noe other resolution but to continue heere, where I shall persist, as I have done hitherto, *procul amore, procul livore, procul partium studio*, to discharge my dutie to God, his sacred Majestie, and the kingdome, without feare or favour.

I have said or done nothing for vindication of the King's just rights, or the upholding of that reverence due to him, but what my conscience dictated to mee to speake in respect of that little knowledge I have in the municipal lawes and ancient records of this State, and, therefore, there is no service of mine that deserves either to be taken notice of in the least measure by his Majestie or any at Yorke.

'Tis true I might, perhaps, have escaped some unjust censures by an unseasonable silence : but I blesse that higher Providence that gave mee courage to speake freelie, and if mine own heart deceive mee not, I could bee willing to redeeme the re-union of his Majestie and the Two Houses with my dearest bloud ; that soe religion might be established in that power and puritie amongst us, and preaching soe settled in those places wheree atheism, profaneness, and ignorance now raignes, as that all men might know their dutie to God and the King, soe as his Majestie might raigne many and many yeares over us with

much honour and grace.* For, doubtles, by a civil warre hee will bee the greatest loser, whosoever gaines ; that being true which Gaspar, Earle of Schomberg, told Henry the Fourth of France, that the people who weere slaine weere his people, the townes and citties which weere burnt weere his citties and townes, and the kingdome which was harassed was his kingdome. Let your prayers and endeavours bee, as mine are, for peace, in which resolucion you shall ever oblige,

Your affectionate brother,

SIMONDS D'EWES.

Westminster, June 21, 1642.

D'EWES TO SIR HENRY WILLOUGHBY.†

On a Marriage Alliance with his Daughter.

NOBLE SIR,

If I cannot, without blushing, acknowledge my presumption in directing this scribble to you unknown, then with what words, what submissions can

* D'Ewes's religious scruples at last overcame his loyalty, and this letter is a curious evidence of the struggle in his mind between the two. At a later period we find he was turned out of Parliament as one of those who were suspected of a leaning towards the institution of Royalty.

† Of Risley, co. Derby. D'Ewes afterwards married his daughter Elizabeth. The Baronetcy became extinct in 1649. This letter was probably kept back, as part of it is repeated by D'Ewes in another, dated August 1st, which the reader will find in its due order.

I excuse the subject-matter of these lines, which is to implore your favour in vouchsafing mee liberty to addresse the most zealous and earnest affection to your noble daughter that ever lodged in an honest heart.

I have been extreamlie obliged to her Hon^{ble} Aunt, the Lady Win, who hath laid a foundation of hope and comforte for mee, upon which I must beseech you to superstruct; assuring you that if my estate weere ten fold moore than it is, I should account it unworthie of her; that which it is I shall gladlie prostrate at her feete: and this, S^r, I will be bold to say, that whatsoever happines the care, industrie, and affection of a poore man may add to a deserving wife, I shall endeavour to procure to her.

My sadd losse of a rare jewell will sufficientlie teach mee, if I wanted all other just motives, to value such an inestimable treasure at a due rate. I am confident alsoe that you will reape some content and satisfaction by the devoted services, and emergent converse of

Your most humble servant,

SIMONDS D'EWES.

Westm. July 9, 1642.

ELIZABETH WILLOUGHBY TO LADY ASTON.*

On the same Subject.

DEARE SISTER,

UNDERSTANDING that Arthur * * * was to come to Risley, I was desirous to take this first occasion to expresse my true love and respect to you by my letters, and to acquaint you with a particular, which I may freele impart to one soe near mee as you are, without blushing. By the earnest entreatie and persuasion of my Aunt Win, my uncle Pots, and other my neare friends heere, I was persuaded to admitt a Suffolke gentleman to addresse his affections to mee, and to use my best endeavours to answeare those desires of his with a liking on my parte; hee is one whose acquaintance I have heard that sweete Sir Thomas Aston hath much desired in respect of his great learning.

Hee hath expressed to mee soe much affection, wisdom, and pietie, as I verilie beleeve I shall not onlie bee trulie happie in him heere, but that hee will be a cheife meanes to further mee in the way to eternall happines hereafter.

It is therefore my humble desire that my most deare father would be pleased to make us both happie by his consent, which I conceive hee will doe upon

* It appears from a note in the original MS. that this letter was composed by D'Ewes himself. Lady Aston was sister to Elizabeth Willoughby

the severall letters sent to him, and then you may forbear to trouble him with these lines, but else to make use of them as in your owne wisdome you shall thinke fitt.

Your affectionate sister and servant,
ELIZABETH WILLOUGHBY.

Westm. Aug. 1, 1642.

D'EWES TO SIR HENRY WILLOUGHBY.

On the same Subject.

NOBLE SIR,

IF I cannot, without blushing, as being unknown, acknowledge my presumption in directing these lines unto you, then with what words, with what submissions can I excuse the subject matter of them, which is to implore your favour and goodnes in vouchsafing mee libertie to consummate as zealous, earnest, and humble an affection with your noble and vertuous daughter, as ever lodged in an honest heart?

She is, indeed, your yongest by birth, but her growth and stature retaine their full proportion in respect of her yeares; and her rare discretion, with other inward endowments, striving to outshine nature itselfe, which hath enriched her with many outward beauties, doth frequentlie sett my admiration and wonderment on worke.

I may trulie say of this much-longed-for happines, that it was *Felicitas ne per somnium quidem excogi-*

tata; and that soe many wheeles of an higher Providence did concentrate in giving life to it, as when publike employments, which necessitate my almost dai-
lie attendance in the House of Commons, shall afford mee a much desired retirement to wait upon you, and kepe your hand, and relate them to you, they will make the very inventions of imaginarie fables of the poets themselves to blush for shame.

I know your indulgent care may perhaps desire to prefer your elder first, but your goodnes and wisdome will easilie remoove that scruple, when you shall understand as the truth is, that there yet appeares such an indisposicion in her to the least motion of this nature, as perhapps divers yeares will not remoove; and that in the meantime your other incomparable daughter may, by God's providence, enrich your pretious stock with severall sweete and blessed grandchildren.

I have been extreamlie obliged to her Honourable Aunt, the Lady Win, who hath laied a foundation of hope and comfort for mee, which hath been seconded by an united concurrence of all my Norfolke allies and kindred, my much honoured and not far distant neighbours; which makes mee presume most humblie to beseech you to crowne that hope by your goodnes, and to render mee capable of the greatest blessednes I cann ever expect heere upon earth myselfe. I may in the faith of an honest man, assure you, that if my estate weere ten-fold more than it is, I should account it and myselfe unworthie of her: that which it is, I shall gladliè prostrate, and all that I am or may be, at her feete.

And this, Sir, I will be bolde to promise, that what-

soever happines the care, industrie, or affection of a faithfull man may add to a deserving wife, I shall endeavour to make her sensible of upon all emergent occasions.

My sadde losse of a rare jewell, the sole inheritrice of a great and ancient familie, will sufficientlie teach mee, if I wanted all just motives, how to prize and value such an inestimable treasure at a due rate.

There is another particular which I desire to leave unto you, least you might possible misinterpret the integritte of my proceedings in this great busines,—in that I did not make more early addresses to yoursele. It was indeed my desire to have first sent into Darbshire, and I did propose it, not onlie as an expression of my true respect unto you, but out of my provident care alsoe I had, to prevent that undeserved calamitie which might else ensue to your noble daughter and mysele, if an Higher Hand should vouchsafe a mutuall affection betweene us, (which hath been since even beyond my hope effected,) and you should afterwards disassent.

But the truth is, that in following the present course and way of my proceedings, I was guided and bidd by the concurrent advice of your nearest freinds heere, which was not to trouble you at such a distance with my letters or treatie by way of articles, before I had some answeare and likelihood to prevaile with her. And they did further enforme mee that your owne wisdome and goodnes was such in itself, and your tender indulgence soe great towards your deare children, that you would make their free choice, if guided by the advice of their nearest kindred and

friends, the cheife cause and ground of your consent.

In confidence of which goodnes and wisdom of yours, I doe, with much comferte and serenitie of spirit, expect your blessed answeare, upon which I should else waite with no lesse impatience and trouble of soule, then the heathens did upon their ancient oracles of life and death. If there hath been anie error, therefore, committed in this particular, my guiltles innocency doth humblie supplicate your pardon. Neither doubt I but that this enclosed particular of my estate and articles, proposed for the setling of it, will witnes my due respect to you and my deare affection to your sweete daughter. And as for those later articles which concerne your performance, although I did insert them with the allowance of your noble allies and kindred heere, yet they are tendered to you as submissive desires onlie, not as peremptorie demands.

I shall, and doe, leave them to your owne noblenes, to doe therin as you shall please, seeing it will be an higher benefitt then ever I can be sufficientlie thankefull for, if you shall vouchsafe to bestow soe invaluable a jewell alone upon mee; for which those reall and faithfull observances you may ever challenge from mee, shall, I doubt not, exceede and outballance all the most devoted attendances of the meanest servants you ever commanded. And lastlie craves pardon for this, his tedious and prolix scribble,

Your most humble ally and servant,

SIMONDS D'EWES.

Westm. Aug. 1, 1642.

RICHARD D'EWES TO MR. HASTINGS,
HIGH SHERIFF FOR LEICESTERSHIRE.

MY HONOURED BROTHER,

THE respect you may justly challenge from me, beside the advantages I give mysele of being your servant, makes me send you these, since I cannot personally wayte on you to give you those little intelligences from Yorke. The King, by Sir John Becon's relations, with what advantages he will make in his businesse by his speedy repaire, will not fail to bee at Nottingham at this night: this will but hasten him a day sooner than his intents weere.

Sir Thomas Glomman is chosen by the town and county of Yorke for their Governor, and by the councill of warr commanded to stay there. I believe the Duke shall be left there as a certification how much the King confides in them.

Prince Rupert is dayly expected, and 'tis given out by our best intelligencers, he has been chased by the Earl of Warwick, but what is become of it, is not yet known certainly. Sir, I am now going to Litchfeild, and cannot give mysele more time then the assurance that

I am y^r faithfull servant,

RICHARD D'EWES.

Monday, Aug. 1642.

HANNAH BROGRAVE TO SIR SIMONDS D'EWES.

The Commencement of the Civil Wars.

DEAR SIR,

ACCORDING as you desire to hear, I write to you. I praise God we are yet quiet in our parts. This day my Lord Capell's * house was searched and his arms taken away, as I believe you may have heard by this time, but no violence ensued upon either side.

I hope the Parliament for their own safety will take measures to prevent all forces from coming so near as our county is to London, or else it will be very distressing.

My sweet cousins are both in health and present their duty to you. I pray seeke the Lord for us all, Who can only keep us safe.

My husband and myself present our best respects to you, and ever remaining

Your most assured loving Aunt,

HANNA BROGRAVE.

Alburie Lodge, Aug. 29, 1642.

* A zealous follower of Charles, who headed the Essex Royalists, and was executed soon after the martyrdom of his Royal Master.

LEAVE OF ABSENCE.

DIE MARTIS, 11^o OCT^{'BRIS} 1642.

It is ordered by the House of Commons, that Sir Simonds D'Ewes shall have leave to go into the country to stay a month.

H. ELSYNGE, Cler. Parl. d. Com.*

DUDLEY FORTESCUE TO THOMAS CLOPTON.

Entreaty in Favour of a Man who had committed an Offence
against the Game Laws.

COSINE CLOPTON.

WHEREAS a pore woman, wiffe to one Mathewe Daye, whome you committed, hath made earnest request to me in y^o behalf of her pore husbände to write to you for the obtayninge of his delivery; although he hath used himself offensively to his Ma^{ties} lawes for shotinge with a gun contrarye to statute lawe in that case provided, the pore man beinge sorye for the

* Clerk to the Parliament, a mode of signature very common at that time, and ridiculed by Butler in his "Hudibras,"—

"_____ if it be a drum,
He'll sign it with *Cler. Parl. Dom. Com.*"

fact, and not knowinge the daunger thereof, I doubt not but you will use your best meanes for his deliverye uppon hope of his amendment. Wheareto I earnestly intreate you. Thus, troublesome to you in pore men's causes, I leave you to God,

Your lovinge cosyn to his small power,

DUDLEY FORTESQUE.

Chilton, the xjth of Februarye.

SIR WILLIAM ELYOTT TO SIR SIMONDS
D'EWES.

Notices of the Civil Wars.

SIR,

HAVING so fitt an opportunitye, I desyre my own hand should witness how welcome your safe returne to London is unto us; and infinitely desirous I am to see you, but in these dangerous tymes, I hold it altogether inconvenient for me to be absent from my house, or country, being never free from souldiers, one syde or other, and have been visited by them, although sustayned hitherto little damage by them.

I was with the King when he was at Oatlands, and kissed his hand, and saluted Prince Rupert. My brother, Lieutenant Colonell D'Ewes, was well on Tuesday last, and is quartered at Reading, where he was visited by one you know, the relacion whereof I leave to this bearer. My brother Bowes is put out of his place when the King came first to Oxford, as Sir William Howard the Lieutenant to his Band told

me ; and how long his Majestie will continue mee I know not. I beseech God sett an end to these miseryes, under which most of the Southerne and Northerne countryes of this Kingdome doe much suffer, and must doe much more to the ruine of the whole, if a blessed peace or a present fight give not a determination thereunto. I heare of some skirmishe at Marlborough, but no particulars. By this bearer you may, if you please, I hope, write safelye. My wife desyres to joyne with me in our best and most affectionate remembrances, with our hearty thanks for yours so weekly testified : which by none can be with more zeal entertained than by your

Loving brother and servant,

WILLIAM ELLIOT.

Busbridge, 11 Dec. 1642.

PASSPORT FOR TRAVELLING.

THEISE are to desyre you to permitt and suffer S^r Symonds D'Ewes, Knight and Barronett, a member of the House of Commons, to pass the ports wth a coatch and horses with his attendants, not exceeding six horses, without any of y^r molestances.

JOHN WYLDE.

22th December, 1642.

SIR JOHN POTTS TO SIR SIMONDS D'EWES.

Condition of the Parliament.

SIR,

I AM glad of your and my neice's safe returne, where I wish myself for ye service of Parliament,* if my country would spare me; but y^e truth is, heere is need of more and wiser men then myself to keep all quiet, for the Parl's freinds are jealous and apprehensive, and y^e Papists are indiscreet and bold, soe as I feare much the different tempers will breake out into some violence upon a small occasion. And though I move slowly in every thing, yet to me there seemes noe meanes of safetie unless ye cuntryes can be united. For what wee have pleased ourselves withall, y^t quiet and connivence would keep those wasps from stinging, will at y^e last deceyve, as they have all this tyme acted by their touns, inventing and publishing all manner of disgraces. And when their own strength and forces sent them (which now they boast of) shall be able to doe noe more, wee may feel their malice, for it appears they are not to fire their own houses, soe as they may burne their neighbours. God send us peace and truth! soe, with retourne of all true respects, heer rests, Sir,

Your affectionate unckle to serve you,

JOHN POTTS.

Mannington, 28 Jan. 1642-3.

* He was returned to Parliament in 1640 for Norfolk, and was one of the secluded members who were restored in 1660.

WARRANT FOR SEARCHING A PAPIST'S HOUSE.

20 Octob. 1643. Att the Comittee of Lords and Comons for Sequestration of Delinquents' Estates.

UPON information brought to this Comittee of Lords and Comons for sequestration, that there are divers goods of Papists in the house of one Morgan, a Papist, in Holborne, London, wherein we are informed, likewise, that his Highness the Duke of Gelderland now lodges, it is thought fit by this Comittee, that S^r Symon D'Ewes and Mr. Laurence Wittakers be desired and are hereby authorized to see and view the goods in the said house, provided that they give all due respect and observance to his Hyness, and behave themselves civilly towards him. And of their proceedings therein they are to give a true accompt to this Comittee of Lords and Comons.

Jo. WYLDE.

LORD FAIRFAX TO SIR S. D'EWES.

Thanks him for his Letter of Intelligence.—Discontent of his Soldiers for want of Clothes and Money.—The Quartering of his Army.

SIR,

I THANK you for yo^r I^{re} of intelligence, w^{ch} I find verie fullie and ablie related more than from any

other hand. I cannot return you any thing from hence of moment, wee being in a verie sadd condition for want of monies and clothes for the souldiers; neither am I able, upon their discontent, to act much upon an enemy. You desire y^e enquartering of my souldiers. Truly, sir, I cannot yet tell, for wee are compelled to change them wthin two or three daies, according to our enemies mocion; onely, I have some that lye before the castles of Pontefract, Sandall, Knaresborough, Hensley, and Scarborough, and I draw forces from each of them unto others as I see the strength of y^e enemy. Your l^{re} unto Mr. Dodsworth I shall send unto my brother to convey unto him, they being of good and ancient acquaintance: but I know not where he is now; some informed me he is gone towards London. This is all for the present I have to write, but to remaine

Yo^r affectionate friend and servant,

FER. FAIRFAX.

For my Hon^{ble} friend, Sir Simonds D'Ewes,
Barronett.

From the Lord Fairfax.

Yorke, y^e 27th of Sep^r, 1644.

CONYERS D'ARCY TO SIR SIMONDS D'EWES.

Descents and Pedigrees.

NOBLE COSEN,

YOUR freindly letter doth sufficiently make good the character my sonne gave me of you, and truly that little glimpse I have of the study you affect, gives me so much light as to discern your ability and paines therin, and shall be beholden to you to be sett right where I run away. I have written to my sonne to give you a view of that I left att London, together with a Pedigree of the late Lord Darcyes of Acton, which I conceive to be very well proved. I was very glad to see this draught of Carew you were pleas'd to send me, beinge most to seeke in that descent ; and as I shall satisfy you as soone as I can speake with Mr. Dodsworthe, concerninge Tempest, beinge confident there will arise divers enquarterings besides the paternall. I have a booke of some collections, which you shall see as soone as with safety it may travaile.

These lines, Sir, with a true affection to you and my cosen, your Lady, you will be pleas'd to entertaine till a happy opportunity may bringe us together, till when and ever I desire you will beleive

I am

Your affectionate cosen and servant,

CONYERS D'ARCY.

Hornby Castle, 3 of Feb. 1645.

CONYERS D'ARCY TO SIR SIMONDS D'EWES.

On the same Subjects.

SIR,

I RECEIVED a copy of some records of my family from you: the first of them I had seene before, the other, I confesse, were strangers to mee, for which I must give you thanks, and shall bee studious how to requite. I writt to Mr. Dodsworth, from whom I have nott yett heard; it is my unhappinesse to bee acquainted with you at a distance, and longe for a tyme when I may be better knowne to you and to your lady, my cosen, to whom, with yourselfe, I tender my best respects and service, ever remayninge

Your most affectionate cosen and servant,

CONYERS D'ARCY.

I pray you doe me the favour to present my service to Sir Richard Winn and his good lady, my cosen.

Hornby Castle, 18th of Aprill, 1645.

CONYERS D'ARCY TO SIR S. D'EWES.

Perilous Situation of his Father.

SIR,

I AM got thus farre on my journey towards you upon the order for the first of August to present to the House, by way of petition, the miserable condition my Lord and my father are in, being destroyed by the Scots' army, and yet under their power; but I am suddenly called back to my friends, they having none to serve them in their present sufferings but myself, my grandfather being old and my father lame. Sir, I humbly beseech you to advise this bearer, and befriend him, how he may possess the House of their condition, and they may be considered accordingly. Sir, my experience of your nobleness assures me you will do what you can for your friends and kinsmen at Hornby, wherein you will infinitely oblige

Your affectionate cousin and humble servant,

CONYERS D'ARCY.

Aston, 30th July, 1646.

ROGER DODSWORTH* TO SIR SIMONDS D'EWES.

On Antiquarian Subjects.

HONOR'D SIR,

YOURS of the 11th Mar. I received, April. I never knew certainly till now that you had seen the Leuton Abbay book. I persuade myself you lett itt not go from you without copying out the foundation, and some other more remarquable things. I should delight much to have a copy of the foundation, for the copy of Bigott with itt would somewhat please me in this regard, that I might compare Yorkshire descendants with them of Norfolk, which I intend to send shortly to you. I can prove they were brothers (temp E. II.) The last heire male of Seterington, in Yorkshire, was Sir Francis Bigot, who was beheaded or hanged about the cause of Religion under Henry the Eighth. An heire female was marryed to one Ratcliffe, whose issue remayneth, but of small reteenue, the lands being attainted and so lost. I would know who was father to the daughter marryed to Garneth. Touching my books to be delivered to my lord Fairfax, lett them be packed up and indorsed, to be left with my Lord's brother, Charles Fairfax, att Menston com. Ebor, Esq^r., to be sent to me.

* One of the most celebrated antiquaries this country has ever produced. Mr. Hunter has clearly proved his title to the authorship of the Monasticon, which is generally attributed to Dugdale. His MS. collections are still preserved in the Bodleian Library.

I cannot indure to be told of vast omissions, when I have not left out one word that I liked, in any record, in all my life. As for transcribing Records literatim & verbatim, let them that list undertake itt; I disclayme itt.

The names of persons, places, and shires, I write them as large as the Records are. Sometyes, in other things, their is no mention of shires; but if there be neyther place nor person mentioned, I have nothing to do with itt, my end being to discover both as nere as I can; and that you meane to lay an aspersion upon me in that particular, I much wonder. For the countyes, I oftentimes, when I know them, forbear (for that present) to marke them on my margents, because I list not to be hindered in my course of collecting, which resolucion to perfect the thing upon the alphabeting of these notes, except the matter be all of one county, of which sort I have divers books—as those out of the Registers of Yorkshire are, except some mixtures of Hottingham, which alwayes come together: but if I lend you any more books, I shall, with care, mend that matter in the margent, as I can scarce do any notes you have taken out of those you have. I find much after Glanvill, and desire what light may be gotten. Touching your queres, I never saw Hocketon; the evidence their I was promised to see by my cosen Townely, who is since slayne at Hedgelymore battell. I shall endeavour to gett a sight of them if I heare they be undestroyed (as many others are at present) in these wofull times. I myselfe have seen and taken upp authentic and divers tomes, throwne up and downe Lincolne Minster.

I have abundance of notes touching Darcy ; how farr they will reach to your curious criticisms, I know not ; I hope in time to try what they will do when I dare open my books. For Bertram of Guildford I give the same answer as to Darcy, for they both are members of my intended (and almost finished) worke of the Baronage of England ; so is Glanvill, too, which I so much inquire after. In which worke of mine, itt must not bee expected that every curious critick must be pleased, but that their shall be a foundacion layd, which others more curious may better if they can. For Warner, Esquire, and Richard Fitzurse his father, he was called Urse de Abtot, and was Vicecomes Wigome, Lord of the Barony of Elmesley in that county ; one of whose heires, *nomine* Emelma, was marryed to William Beauchamp, ancestor to the Erles of Warwick, and brought him Elmesley, which was always counted a Barony of these Beauchamps, against whom the Esquires you speake of brought writts and impleaded them as heires of the said Urse, which pleadings I long since did abstract. By this tyme I hope you are satisfied who was the father of Richard Fitzurse, which I shall make more cleare upon better leysure. I know well that Maud his wife was daughter of Baldwin Boller and Sibill Faleis, as you write, and hope to lett you know how she came to be H. I. neice, or else lose my labour ; but first I must have my books about me. The Esquires were Barons, their cheife seat was Blatheswicke, in com. Northampton, not farr from the Lord Hatton's. They were founders of Finished Abbay, the Register of which place I have had some weeks in my custody, but to little

purpose, itt being rather a Repertory than Cartulary. Whether Sarra, wife of Richard Engayne, was youngest daughter of William de Kuisneto, the great Baron, I cannot agree with you, though I dissent not ; but I can resolve you out of my collections gathered (att least thirty years since). That he was son of Robert Fitzwalter, is true, but not of that house of y^e Lord Fitzwalters that descend of y^e old Lords of Clare, as I think : for he was Lord of a place called Horsham, and, together with his wife, founded the Priory of St. Fayth's att Horsham, upon some miraculous event in their returne from their pilgrimage beyond seas. The story is amongst the rest of my labors, which I shall endeavour to send you as shortly as may be. I remember well, there is some thing in it of Uffords descending of Cressey's heire, but I stand not upon itt. I forget not my promise touching Tempest. I am att Skipton Castle, amongst the evidences (de hoc, inter alia) of which place they sold their lands, and where I find many fine antiquities of that family. I went a fortnight since to the heire in hope to see the evidence, who told me they were all plundred by my Lo. of Newcastle's people att Atherston More battle, —one of his houses, called Bolling hall, being within two myle of the place where his evidences were kept.

The gentⁿ. tells me, he feares, that one Mr. Rolleston, then Secretary to the Marquesse of Newcastle, did take them all away and secured them. The gentleman, Mr. Rolleston, hath come (since his Lord's flight) to the Parliament, and is about London ; if you can find him out you may know the truth hereof, perhaps.

It would be worth the labor. There are many coats and portraitures in the windowes of the Church att Bruewell, the present seat of Tempest. Our coate painted on a wall hath the quarterings containd in this enclosed paper.

That my good lady looke bigge on her freinds is better and more pleasing (I assure you) to heare then any thing afore spoken to

Yours and her faithfull true freind,

ROGER DODSWORTH.

Skipton Castle, 6 March, 1647.

CONYERS D'ARCI TO SIR SIMONDS D'EWES.

Concerning his Daughter's Proposed Marriage with some Nobleman.

NOBLE COSEN,

I AM very sorry your letters to me miscarried, which you may assure yourselfe should not have been requited with a neglect of that civility and respect so worthy a freind meriteth from me. My father commanded me to give you thanks for your letter to him, and, if his eyes did not faile him, woulde have written to you, butt truly he cannot see to write his name, butt shall take the matter you write of into consideration.

I am sory my Lord of W. needs spurringe to that which becomes a man of honour and conscience to doe freely, especially when that on our parts is so freely

performed. My daughter's journey to this end was designde more then a yeare since, and diverted (as rather obstructive) by her brother Sir F. who stayd her at his house in the way, since which time my Lord spoke with my daughter, and hath receaved very moovinge letters from her ; so that I doe not see what can be done more, if his owne nobleness and worthe cary him nott on : and, beleeve it, Sir, the very delay (as our condition is at present) will be as much loss as the sum comes to.

I am glad you have mett with more evidences concerninge D'Arce : you will leave the whole family much indebted to you, and none more then myselfe, who, with a desire to have my service presented to my good cosen your Lady and selfe, I take leave, and rest,

Your affectionate cosen and servant,

CONYERS D'ARCI.

Hornby Castle, 17th of Aprill, 1649.

SIR JOHN STRANGWAYES TO SIR
SIMONDS DEWES.

On Family History.—His Release from the Tower.

MY MUCH HONOURED COSEN,

I KNOW you are of soe noble a disposition that you will not condemne before you heare ; and I assure you, you shall heare nothing hearin but truth. When I made you my promise in London to furnish you with

the inquisition upon the death of Cecilia de Bello Campo, I am verie confident I could then have done it : and also have produced a writt 3^o Hen. IV. directed to the feodarie of Somerset to deliver quiet and peaceable possession to Sir Humphry Stafford, (which was done accordingly,) upon the attainder of Holland Duke of Surrey, being the sonne of the sister of the said Duke of the Barony of Compton Dunden, which was, for want of issue male, intayled upon her and her heyres, and the Barony and Mannor I still hold, as being descended unto me from the familie of Stafford. And I know nothing to the contrarie when I came out of the Tower, but that I should be very well able to performe my word in this particular unto you. But upon my coming home, I finde the greatest part of all my evidences either burnt or plundered, and those few that are left to be soe disordered, being all throwne into one heape, and soe tumbled into a great chest, that I am not able at present to give you any satisfaction to your desires. Besides, I have had a long desperate sickness, of which I am not yett fully recovered, which hath kept me from that employment which I soe much love—I meane, to peruse old evidences : this putt together, I hope, will plead my pardon ; and when upon search (if it be not destroyed) I shall meet with anye thing in this kinde which may conduce to the ende you desire, I shall not fayle faithfully to preserve itt, and carefully to send it unto you.

In the meantime be pleased to retaine me in your good opinion, and not to impute to me the least disrespect towards you. Noe, Sir ; I cannot be so unworthy to requite in soe unworthy a way such real favours I

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received from you, when few or none durst, besides
yourselfe, to owne me.

But rather give me leave to assure you that they
have soe wrought upon me, that any thing wherein I
may approve myself to be a thankfull acknowledger of
them, you shall not find me in a just scale one hayre
too light to doe itt : and for your better assurance I
give itt you under the hand of,

Sir,

Your faithfull freind and very affectionate

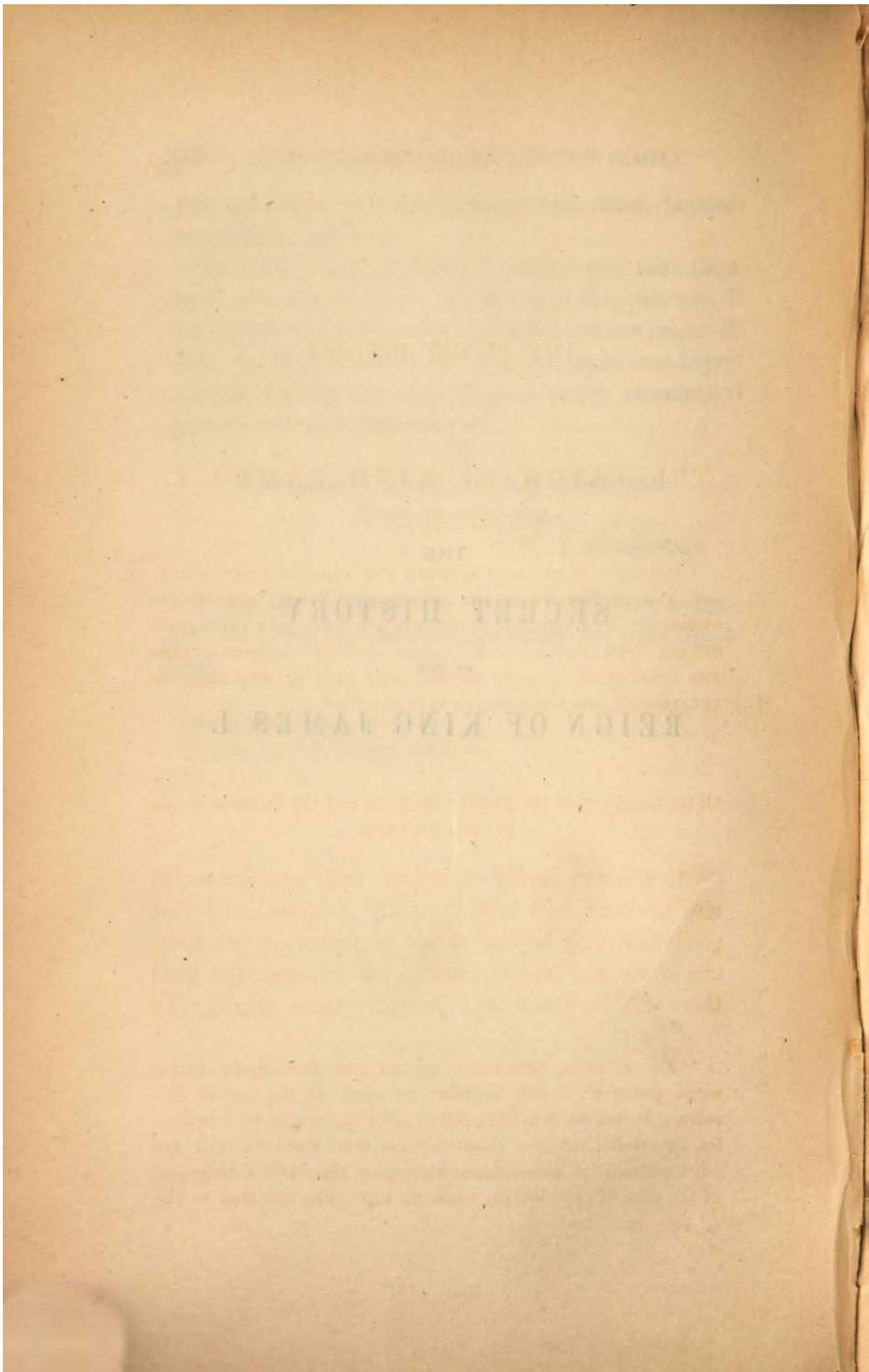
Cosen to serve you,

J. STRANGWAYS.

I pray lett my service be rendered the more accept-
able by being by yourselfe presented to your Noble
Lady.

From Melbury Sampford,
the 23th of October, 1649.

THE
SECRET HISTORY
OF THE
REIGN OF KING JAMES I.



THE SECRET HISTORY

OF

THE REIGN OF KING JAMES I.

A DISCOURSE OF PASSAGES BETWEEN THE EARLS OF ESSEX, SOMERSET, AND NORTHAMPTON, THE COUNTESS OF ESSEX, SIR THOMAS OVERBURY, AND OTHERS; WITH THEIR RISINGS AND FALLS; TOGETHER WITH DIVERS OTHER AFFAIRS, AS THEY OCCURRED DURING THE LATE REIGN OF KING JAMES; AND ALSO OF THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM, HIS FIRST COMING INTO FAVOUR.*

Of the Condition of the State of England, and the Relation it had to other Provinces.

HOWSOEVER every kingdom and commonwealth may be both well and uprightly governed, and that good men may be the means to support it, yet there can be no such commonwealth but amongst the good there will be found evil persons; these, whether by

* The following narrative is printed from the original manuscript preserved in the Harleian collection in the British Museum. It was written immediately after the events here related, for the writer at the close confesses that Monson's trial had not commenced, a circumstance which took place in the latter part of the year 1615. Wilson seems to have been indebted to this

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nature indued, or persuaded through envy and ambition, to the intent to satisfy those appetites, do oftentimes enter into actions repugnant unto the felicity of good government and commonwealths, and, by evil courses and perverse deeds, do secretly, and underhand, seek to haste and set forward the ruin and decay of the same. These things, because they happen contrary, and beyond expectation, are so much the more remarkable by how much they are sudden and unexpected; and from hence it cometh that no state or government can be said to be permanent, but that oftentimes those that are good are by little and little converted unto those that are evil, and those that are evil are oftentimes changed from bad to worse, till they come to utter desolation; neither is this alone proper* to one commonwealth, but to all, nor to foreign kingdoms, but to our own; for though his Majesty, at his coming to the crown, found us vexed with many defensive wars, as that in Ireland, that in the Low Countries, and almost public against Spain, auxiliary in France, and continually in military employment,—although he found it lacerated and torn with divers factions of Protestants and Papists, and others, from amongst whom sprung some evil men, that endeavoured to set into combustion the whole State,—yet, nevertheless, he established a peace both honourable

MS. in his Life of James, and it is altogether a curious and valuable memorial of the stirring events of the time. It has not been considered necessary to give much annotation, the original author having himself presented the reader with most clear and full accounts of the transactions he professes to commemorate, which are besides notorious as matters of general history.

* Peculiar.

and profitable with all neighbouring Princes, and, by relation, through all Europe, so that neither our friends nor our enemies might be either feared or suspected. After this general peace was concluded, and the working heads of dangerous Papists were confined to a certain course of life—that is, peace,—they now petitioned for toleration, for release of vexation, to have liberty of conscience. And, forsooth, because they cannot have these things amongst them, they conceive a most horrible and devilish plot by gunpowder to blow up in Parliament even the whole State and Commons of this kingdom ; and so at one puff to conclude all this peace, and by that means to procure an unruly and unseemly anarchy of this settled Government. And this not so much to establish their own religion, for which purpose they pretended it, but to establish their own power and pre-eminency, and to raise some private families to greatness and dignity, and so faction being nourished, and that jurisdiction established, they might with greater facility suppress whom they pleased, and support their own state. Thus may we see that settled governments do cherish in themselves their own destruction, and their own subjects are oftentimes the cause of their own ruin, unless God of his mercy prevent it.

Of the Domestic Affairs, and of the Lascivious Course of such on whom the King had bestowed the Honour of Knighthood.

THIS evil being discovered by the Lord Mounteagle, and overpassed, divers discontents happened, some between the civilians and common lawyers, con-

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cerning prohibitions. And for that there was one Doctor Cowell stood stiffly against my Lord Coke, divers discontents were nourished between the gentry and commonality concerning inclosures, and it burst out into a petty rebellion, which by some was conjectured not to happen so much for the thing itself, as for to find how the people stood affected to the present state, whereby divers private quarrels and secret combustions were daily breaking out; private families sided one against another, and of these Protestants against Papists, they thereby endeavouring to get a-head, and from small beginnings to raise greater rebellions; new discontents shewed themselves ready, and spoke that publicly which durst not heretofore have been spoken in corners. In outward appearance Papists were favoured, masses almost publicly administered, Protestants discountenanced, dishonest men honoured, those that were little less than sorcerers and witches preferred, private quarrels nourished—but especially between the Scottish and the English, duels in every street maintained, divers sects of vicious persons, under particular titles, pass unpunished or regarded, as the sect of Roaring Boys,* Bravadoes, and such like, being persons prodigal and of great expense, who, having run themselves into debt, were constrained to run into faction to defend them from the danger of the law; these received maintenance from divers of the nobility, and not a little (as was suspected) from the

* Ben Jonson alludes to these bravoos under the title of *Angry Boys*. One of the characters in "the Alchemist" is made to say that he was not so very young, having both seen the Angry Boys, and witnessed them take tobacco.

Earl of Northampton ; which persons, though of themselves they were not able to attempt any enterprise, yet faith, honesty, and other good arts being now little set by, and citizens through lasciviousness consuming their estates, it was likely that the number would rather increase than diminish ; and under these pretences they entered into many desperate enterprises, and scarce any durst walk the streets in safety after midnight.

So that, to conclude, in outward show there appeared no certain affection, no certain obedience, no certain government amongst us ; such persons on whom the King bestowed particular honours, either through pride of that or their own prodigality, lived at high rates, and with their greatness brought in excess of riot both in clothes and diet : so our ancient customs were abandoned, and that strictness and severity that had wont to be amongst the English scorned and contemned, every one applauding stranger or new things though ever so costly, and for the attaining of them neither sparing purse nor credit ; that prices of all sorts of commodities are raised, and those ancient gentlemen who had left their inheritances whole and well furnished with goods and cattle (having thereof kept good houses) unto their sons, lived to see part consumed in riot and excess, and the rest in possibility to be utterly lost. The holy estate of matrimony most perfidiously broken, and amongst many made but a May-game, by which means divers private families have been subverted, bad houses in abundance tolerated, and even great persons prostituting their bodies to the intent to satisfy and consume

their substance in lascivious appetites of all sorts. Such knights or gentlemen as either through pride or prodigality had consumed their substance, repairing to the city, and to the intent to consume their virtues, also lived dissolute lives; and many of their ladies and daughters, to the intent to maintain themselves according to their dignity, prostitute their bodies in shameful manner; alehouses, dining-houses, taverns, and places of vice and iniquity beyond measure abounding in most places, there being as much exaction for sin as there is racking of rents, and as many ways to spend money as are windings and turnings in towns and streets, so that in outward appearance the evil seems to overtop the good, and evil intentions and counsels rather prospered than those that were profitable to the commonwealth.

Of the Lord Northampton's coming to Honour.—The Cause of the Division between the Hollanders and the English.—Between the English and Irish.

Now Henry Howard, youngest son of the Duke of Norfolk, continuing a Papist from his infancy even unto this time, beginning to grow eminent, and being made famous heretofore for his learning, having been trained and brought up a long time in Cambridge, by the persuasion of the King changeth his opinion or religion in outward appearance, and to the intent to reap unto himself new honours, became a Protestant,* for which

* According to Wilson (p. 3) he was "a known Papist, bred up so from his infancy, yet then converted, as he pretended, by the King, being the closest way to work his own ends."

cause he was created Earl of Northampton, and had the King's favours bountifully bestowed upon him. First, the Office of Privy Seal, then the Wardenship of the Cinque Ports, and lastly, the refusal of being Lord Treasurer. This man was of a subtle and fine wit, of a good proportion, excellent in outward courtesy, famous for secret information and for cunning flatteries, and by reason of these qualities became a fit man for the conditions of these times, and was suspected to be scarce true to his Sovereign, but rather endeavouring, by some secret ways and means, to set and broach new plots for to procure innovation; and for this purpose it was thought he had a hand in the contention that happened among the Hollanders and English concerning the fishing,—the Hollanders claiming right to have the fishing in the Levant, and the English claiming right: upon this contention they fell from claim to words of anger, from words of anger to blows, so that there died many of them, and a score was left for a further quarrel, but that it was saved by wise governors, and the expectation of some disappointed.

Nevertheless the Papists, being a strong faction and so great a man being their favourer,* grew into great malice, and endeavour to make the insolence of the Scottish to appear, who, to the intent that they might be the more hated of the English, not contented with their present state, would enter into outrages; some

* This refers to Philip Herbert, brother to the Earl of Pembroke, who had been taken into favour by James, and created Earl of Montgomery. Osborn, who served under him as Master of the Horse, has painted his character in the most unfavourable colours.

counterfeit the seal-manual, others whip the nobility with disdain; and a third sort secretly contrive the English death, whereby it happened, beside common clamour, that there were added secret discontents of private persons, which caused a jealousy to happen between these two nations; but his Majesty, being both wise and worthy, foresaw the evil and prevented it by proclamation, by which means these clamours are stopped and the injuries and offences of both parties were redressed.

The Irish, seeing these sores and hearing of these misdemeanours (for they have their intelligences here also), began to grow obstinate and make religion a pretence to colour their intentions; for which cause they stand out and protest loss of life and goods rather than be forced from their opinion, being wandering and inconstant, rather thirsting for rebellion, to the intent to purchase their own liberty, than peace, every new alteration gives occasion of discontent, and causes the new complaints to be brought to the King's ear, under pretence whereof they grow contemptuous to their governors and haters of the English laws. The captains and soldiers grow negligent for want of pay; the greatest men envying one another through private covetousness, and many insolences being suffered, cause there also to be nourished many misdemeanours, to the ruin of that Government.

These things being thus handled, administer occasion to the Papists to hope for some alteration and change; and that as a body that is violent consumeth itself without some special cause to maintain it, so these occurrences will be the cause of their own destruction.

At this time there was a league in Denmark, and shortly after another in the Low Countries, but to what end the beginnings were intended is yet unknown.

The Rising of the Earl of Somerset.—His Favour and Greatness with the King, and his Parentage and Descent.

AMONGST other accidents that happened about these times, the rising of one Mr. Robert Carr was most remarkable, a man born of mean parentage,* inhabitant in a village near Edinburgh in Scotland; and there, through the favour of friends, was preferred to his Majesty to be one of his pages, (for he kept twelve, according to the custom of the French,) and so continued it as long as he was in Scotland. Afterwards coming into England, the Council thought it much more honourable to have as many footmen to remain with his Majesty as the Queen had before him; whereupon these youths had clothes put to their backs, according to their places, and fifty pounds a-piece in their purses, and so were dismissed the Court. This youth amongst the rest having thus lost his fortunes, to repair them again makes haste into France and there continued till he had spent all his means and money; and that now being bare in a strange country,

* Wilson (p. 54) says, he was "descended from gentry of that name." He was, in fact, a son of Carr of Fernihurst, a faithful servant of Queen Mary of Scotland, and frequently mentioned in her Letters published by Miss Agnes Strickland. According to some historians, James never saw Carr till his attention was attracted to him by the accident of the tilting-match.

without friends or hope to attain his expectations, returns back to England, bringing nothing with him but the language and a few French fashions: nevertheless, by the help of some of his countrymen and ancient acquaintances, he was preferred unto the Lord Hayes, a Scotchman and favourite of the King's, to wait upon him as his page. Not long after, this Lord, amongst many others, was appointed to perform a tilting, who bearing an affection to this young man as well in respect that he was his countryman as that he found him to be of a bold disposition, comely visage, and proportionable personage, mixed with a courtly presence, prefers him to carry his device to the King according to the custom of those pastimes used. Now when he should come to alight from his horse to perform his office, his horse starts, throws him down, and breaks his leg. This accident being no less strange than sudden in such a place, causeth the King to demand who he was? answer was made, his name was Carr: he, taking notice of his name, and calling to remembrance that such a one had been his page, causeth him to be had into the Court, and there provided for him until such time as he was recovered of his hurt.*

After, and in process of time, this young man is

* It is stated that the King repeatedly visited him during his confinement from this accident, with a view to ascertain his qualities and merits; and "though he found no great depth of literature or experience, yet such a smooth and calm outside made him think there might be good anchorage, and a fit harbour for his most retired thoughts." The gross partiality evinced by James for this unworthy favourite is severely commented upon by contemporary historians.

called for, and made one of the Bedchamber to his Majesty. He had not long continued in this place but (by his good endeavours and diligent service in his office) the King shewed extraordinary favour unto him, doubling the value of every action of his in estimation, so that many are obscured that he may be graced and dignified; thus, "the hand of the diligent maketh riches, and the dutiful servant cometh to honour." He, of all other (either without fraud to obtain it or desert to continue it) is made the King's favourite; no suit, no petition, no grants, no letter, but Mr. Carr must have a hand in it, so that great rewards are bestowed upon him by suitors, and large sums of money by his Majesty, by which means his wealth increased with his favour, and with both honour, for virtue and rights dignify their owners, being from a page raised to the dignity of knighthood. After that, his favour still increasing with his honour, there was no demand but he had it, no suit but he obtained it, whether it were crown lands, lands forfeited or confiscated,—nothing so dear but the King bestowed upon him, whereby his revenues were enlarged and his glory so resplendent, that he drowned the dignity of the best of the nobility and the eminency of such as were much more excellent. By which means envy (the common companion of greatness) procures him much discontent; but yet passing all disadvantages, he continued in favour, and men being drawn to applaud that which is either strange or new, begun to sue to him and most to purchase him to be their friend and assistant in Court, so great and eminent is his favour.

Of the Breach that happened between the Earl of Essex and his Countess.—Her Hatred towards Him.—His Lenity.—Her Lightness.—His Constancy.

Now the ears of the vulgar being filled with the fortunes of this gentleman, it ministereth occasion to them to pass their opinions concerning his worth and desert; some extol and laud his virtues, others the proportion of his personage, many his outward courtship, and most, as they stood affected, either praised or dispraised him, insomuch that, amongst the rest, the Countess of Essex (a woman that at this time did not greatly affect her husband, and withal being of a lustful appetite, prodigal of expense, covetous of applause, ambitious of favour, and light of behaviour,) having taken notice of this young gentleman's prosperity and great favour that was shewn towards him above others, in hope to make some profit of him, most admires him to every one, commending his worth, spirit, audacity, and agility of body, so that her lawful, ancient, and accustomed love towards her lord begins to be obscured, and those embraces that heretofore seemed pleasing, are turned into frowns and harsh unpleasant words, utter her discontents unto her husband's ears. The good Earl, carrying an extraordinary affection towards her, and being a man of a mild and courteous condition, withal honest and religious, ready rather to suffer than correct these outrages, patiently admonishes her to a better course of life, and to remember that all her fortunes now depend upon his prosperity, and therefore she in this offered more injury to herself than

hurt unto him ; but, nevertheless, she persisted, and from bare words returned to actions, thereby giving people occasion to pass their censure* of this disagreement, some attributing it to the inconstancy and looseness of the Countess, others to the Earl's travels, and that in his absence she continued most inconstant, of a loose life, suffering her body to be abused, and others to make shipwreck of her modesty, and to abrogate the rights of marriage. But most because she could not have wherewith to satisfy her insatiate appetite and ambition, her husband living a private life ; for these causes, I say, she ran at random and played her pranks as the toy† took her in the head, sometimes publicly, sometimes privately, whereby she both disparaged her reputation, and brought herself into the contempt of the world. But, notwithstanding, the Earl retains her with him, allows her honourable attendance, gave her means according to her place, and shewed an extraordinary affection, endeavouring rather by friendly and fair persuasions to win her, than to become perfidious over her.

But these things little avail where affections are carried to another scope, and those things that to the judgment of the wise become fit to be used, are of others contemned and despised, so that almost all men spake of the looseness of her carriage, and wonders that the Earl will suffer her in these courses ; whereupon he modestly and privately tells her of it, giving her a check for her inordinate courses, shewing her

* Judgment, opinion. *Censure* is constantly used by our old writers in this sense, without any reference to the modern meaning of the word.

† Whim, fancy, conceit.

how much it both dishonoured him, and disparaged her in persisting, in the eye of the world, after so loose and unseemly a sort, desiring her to be more civil at home, and not so often abroad : and thus they parted.

Of my Lord Treasurer's Death.—Of Mr. Overbury's coming out of France.—His Entertainment.—He grows into Favour.

MY Lord Treasurer Cecil, growing into years, having been a good statesman, the only support of the Protestant faction, the discloser of treasons, and the only Mercury of our times, having been well acquainted with the affairs of this commonwealth, falls into a dangerous sickness, and, in process of time, through the extremity of the malady, dies, not without suspicion of poison, according to the opinion of some—others say of a severe disease, some natural, and many not without the privity of Sir Robert Carr.* And the reason of their opinion was, because the King upon a time having given unto Sir Robert the sum of twenty thousand pounds, to be paid by my Lord Treasurer, Sir Robert was denied it ; upon which denial there grew some differences between them. The King was made privy to it after this manner : my Lord having told out five thousand pounds, laid it in a passage gallery in several papers, and invites the King to breakfast,

* Cecil died on the 24th of May, 1612, at Marlborough, in the fifty-first year of his age. There can be no reason for believing the report of his death by poison, as he had been for some time previously in a state of decay. The fact was, that the decease of every person of eminence at this period was accompanied with some rumour of the kind.

bringing him through that gallery. The King demands whose that money was; answer was made by my Lord Treasurer, that it was but the fourth part of that which his Majesty had given unto Sir Robert Carr: whereupon the King retired from his former grant, and wished Sir Robert Carr to satisfy himself with that, holding it to be a great gift. He being thus crossed in his expectancies, harboured in his heart then a hope of revenge, which after happened, as was suspected, but it was not certain, therefore I omit it.

Upon the death of this gentleman, one Mr. Overbury, some time a student of the law in the Middle Temple, was newly arrived out of France, who, having obtained some favour in Court beforetimes, because of some discontents, got licence to travel, and now, at his return, was entertained into the favour of Sir Robert Carr. Whether this proceeded from any love towards him, or to the intent to make use of him, is uncertain;* yet, nevertheless, he puts him in trust with his most secret employments, in which he behaves himself honestly and discreetly, purchasing, by his wise carriage in that place, the good affection and favour not only of Sir Robert, but others also. In process of time, this favour procures profit, profit treasure, treasure power, power large employments, and in him better execution; for, where diligence and humi-

* This intimacy is said to have been brought about by James, foreseeing the deficient education and experience of Carr, which were likely to be obviated by his constant association with Overbury. The Queen gave great offence to the former by exclaiming one day in his hearing, when he and Overbury were walking together, "There goes Carr and his governor."

lity are associate in great affairs, their favour is accompanied with both ; or, that many courtiers perceiving his great hopes, grow into familiarity with him. The Knight's expectations are performed, and his business accomplished rather more than less according to his wishes ; so that, taking notice of his diligence, to outward appearance gives him an extraordinary countenance, uniting him into friendship with himself, in-somuch that, to the show of the world, this band was indissoluble ; neither could there be more friendship used, since there was nothing so secret, nor any matter so private, but the Knight imparted it to the advice of Mr. Overbury.

Of Mrs. Turner's Life.—How the Countess and she came acquainted.—The Combination of the Earl's Death.

THE Countess of Essex having harboured in her heart envy towards her husband ever until this time, makes her repair unto Mrs. Turner, a gentlewoman that from her youth had been given over unto a loose kind of life, being of a low stature, fair visage, for outward behaviour comely, but in prodigality and excess most riotous, by which course of life she had consumed the greatest part of her husband's means and her own, so that now, wanting wherewith to fulfil her expectations and extreme pride, falls into evil courses, and to practice sorcery and enchantment. Her husband dying left her in a desperate state because of her wants, by which means she is made apt to enter into any evil action, and to entertain any motion, be it

never so mischievous. A doctor's wife was during his life her physician ; and in that time she having entertained into her company his said wife, by that means procured further acquaintance, being near of the said disposition and temperature, as *pares cum paribus congregantur*; from whence it happens that she was suspected, even by her means and procurement, before this to have lived a loose life ; for who can touch pitch and not be defiled ? I say, having some familiarity with this woman, and now taking some discontent at her husband more than heretofore by reason of her falling out with him, his sharp answers (as she conceives) unto her, repairs to her house, and there (amongst other discourses) disgorges herself against her husband, whereby the cause of her grief might easily be discovered. Mrs. Turner, as feeling part of her pain, pities her, and in hope of profit, being now in necessity and want, is safely drawn to effect anything she requireth ; whereupon (by the report of some) it was concluded at this time between them to administer poison to the Earl ; but it taking not effect according to their expectation, the Countess writes unto her to this purpose.* The Earl having overpast this evil, and continuing still in his pristine estate, procures not any affection but more hatred and loathsomeness, so that it burst daily forth, to my Lord's great discontent, and draws her headlong unto her own destruction.

* This infamous letter has been preserved, but it is scarcely suited for publication. The Countess addresses her as "Sweet Turner," and speaks of her husband in the most culpable manner.

Sir Robert Carr made Viscount Rochester.—The Acquaintance between my Lord of Northampton and him.—The New Affection of the Countess.

THE King taking great liking unto this young gentleman, to the intent that he might be no less eminent in honour than he was powerful in wealth and substance, adorns him with the title of Viscount Rochester, bestows the Secretaryship of State upon him, so that his honours and his wealth make him famous unto foreign nations.

These things coming to my Lord of Northampton's ears, having been a long time a favourite in Court and now growing into years, and by reason thereof but short-lived, and knowing the favour of the King to depend upon many uncertainties, and that although at this time he was the greatest actor in state affairs, yet if this young man continued his height of glory all his dignity would either be abated or overshadowed, and that he had not that free access to the King's ears which he had wont to have, endeavoureth as much as in him lieth to work this courtier either to be wholly his or dependant upon his favour, that so having relation to him he might make use of his greatness; and for that purpose he begins to applaud the wisdom and government of the Viscount, his virtues, outward courtship, comely carriage, and, to conclude, holding him to be a man of no less worth and desert than any about the King; neither were these things spoke to private and particular persons alone, but even unto the ears of the King, to the intent the better to confirm

the King's favour towards him. These things coming to this young nobleman's ear, he takes it as a great favour from so great a personage, and therefore so much the more admires his own worth, raising his carriage above his wonted course, and, in hope of better things, applauding every action that is performed by the Earl; by which means there grows a kind of community between them, and there wants nothing but intercourse of speech for confirmance of acquaintance, and procuring further relation either unto other. Time offers opportunity; the Earl and he meet, each changeth acquaintance, with acquaintance a greater familiarity, so that many times letters pass between them in their absence, and courtly discourses being present, by which means on all hands a confident amity is concluded. For those times the Countess of Essex, being a spectator of these fortunes, and perceiving the Viscount to be still raised up into power daily, in hope of greater, is the more sinned in a lustful desire, and the greater is her endeavour by the instigation of some of her best friends to accomplish what she determineth: for greatness doth not qualify, but set an edge upon lustful appetites; and where the most means are to maintain it, there the greatest affections are cherished.

The Course she takes to procure Affection.—She combines with Doctor Forman.—They conclude to bewitch the Viscount.

IN these furious fits she makes her repair unto Mrs. Turner, and begins new complaint, whereby she makes

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manifest an extraordinary affection towards this young gentleman, so that she could not rest without his company, neither knew she any means to attain her ends, there being no relation nor acquaintance between them; whereupon Mrs. Turner, being still her second and ready to put any evil attempt into execution, concludes with the Countess to enchant the Viscount to affect her; and for this purpose they fall acquainted with one Dr. Forman,* that dwelt at Lambeth, being an ancient gentleman and thought to have skill in the magic art. This man, by rewards and gifts, was won to join with Mrs. Turner; who now, to the intent to prey upon the Countess, do endeavour the best they may to enchant the Viscount's affection towards her. Much time is spent, many words of witchcraft, great cost in making pictures of wax, crosses of silver, little baubles for that use, yet all to small purpose. At length they, continuing in their sorcery, advise her to live at the Court, where she had free access without controll, though small acquaintance with him whom she most respected, nevertheless shewing an affable countenance towards him, hoping, in process of time, to obtain what she required.

Time at length offers opportunity, and amongst others these two fall into league. The Countess being joyful of her prey, admires him, useth all kindness that

* This quack has already been mentioned in the earlier part of the present work. He was constantly engaged in squabbles with the legitimate physicians of the day, and although his practices were sufficiently notorious, he succeeded, with great trouble and expense, in obtaining a Doctor's degree from the University of Cambridge.

may be to entrap him. He, whether by these enchantments, or by the lightness of his own disposition carried, is as much besotted, numbering her amongst the best women, and doubling every action in his estimation, insomuch that he could scarce rest but in her company ; whereupon their meetings grew frequent and discourses pleasant, by these means inflaming the fire of lustful appetite. These things having happened so well to her expectation, causeth a great love towards these good couple, viz. Doctor Forman and Mrs. Turner, soliciting them with letters, with money, and large promises, to continue still her friends. They, willing to make use of her wealth more than expecting any good they could accomplish by their art, persist. Amongst her employments, Mrs. Turner makes trial for herself, by which means many sleight and unaccustomed tricks are practised, and now reported to have returned to the hurt of many ; for a woman's hands being once entered into the act of sin, runs headlong to her destruction, turning those evil acts to evil ends, and endeavouring to purchase by that means profit and commodity.

How it was thought that the Earl of Northampton had a hand in this Business.—Invites the Viscount to Supper.—The Countess and he meet.—Places of Meeting appointed.—Northampton made Chancellor of Cambridge.

It was vulgarly opinionated that the Countess of Essex, having sustained this discontent with her husband, acquainted her uncle, the Earl of Northampton, of her

affection especially towards this Viscount, who, weighing the profit that might redound to his own employments, if there were such affinity,* had betwixt them seemed to give a liking towards it, and endeavours rather to further it, than at all to dissuade her or giving her the honest and good counsel to be dutiful to her husband, as was fitting. Howsoever, the first meeting that they had wherein there was any conference was at this Earl's house, who invited the Viscount to sup; and there finding the Countess, they, at their pleasure, appointed meetings for further discourses. But whether there was any one made privy unto those things is not evident; but from this time, the Countess and Viscount continue their loose course of life, and, as was commonly suspected, had further relation than was fitting, to the great disparagement of them both, and dishonour of so noble a house.

What the issue of these things is, continues in obscurity; notwithstanding, the Earl of Northampton is much blamed, the Countess defamed, and the Viscount himself, for his looseness, suspected. Now was this Lord propounded, at the Regent House, to be Chancellor of Cambridge; the scholars fall into diverse opinions, and the Vice-Chancellor, propounding† the Prince to oppose him, the election passeth on the Earl's side; he refuseth, but still flatters the scholars; he makes the King acquainted with it, and though

* "The Earl of Northampton, that knew of the endearments betwixt the Viscount and his niece, so base and mercenary was his spirit, thought it good policy to stop all passages, that it might not come into the public mouth."—Wilson, p. 66.

† Proposing.

willing to undertake it, yet showing an unwillingness, endeavours rather to be urged to it than receive it voluntarily. This was imputed because of his opposite* the Prince, but the truth was, to prove whether the scholars' affections were settled upon love and respect unto himself, or merely to depend upon his greatness. The King writes in his behalf to the Vice-Chancellor ; they proceed to a new election. The Earl again is chosen, his title is sent him, and he, in requital, sends many flattering and plausive † letters, and, that they might be the more acceptable, being sent unto scholars, wrote to them in Latin. It is intolerable the flattery that he used.

Overbury grows into Grace with the King.—Is made Knight.—
The Intercourse between the Countess and the Viscount made known to Overbury.

AFTER some continuance of time Mr. Overbury grows eminent in the Court, as well by reason of the Viscount's favour as the good and careful diligence that he had in Court employments ; so that now comparing his worth with his wealth, he is had in more respect, and the honour of Knighthood bestowed upon him with a hope of better things. This, howsoever in itself it be not valuable, yet, in the spectators, it striketh a doubt, especially in the Viscount, for sovereignty and love can abide no paragon. Things that at the beginning proceed with modesty, are little or nothing regarded ; but when men grow old in such things as are hateful, they make every place alike, and, with a blushless face,

* Adversary.

† Plausible.

commit them to the open view. By this means Overbury came acquainted with this intercourse between the Viscount and the Countess; for now they, having had some time of familiarity and intercourse in remote places, shame not to sin in the Court, and that to the privity of Sir Thomas, who both loathes and hates what he sees, avoiding rather than intruding himself to the knowledge of it; neither meddles he any way or other in it, but lets them alone in their vicious courses, and rather seems to be ignorant than to take any notice of it. Nevertheless, he is employed to carry letters to and fro, between the Countess and the Viscount, some to Paternoster Row, some to Hammersmith, and others to other places of meetings which were appointed between them; by which means, comparing both actions together, he enters into the secret secrets of this mystery, and became acquainted with more things than the Viscount would have had him, from whence a kind of jealousy was carried towards him.

Of the Second Complaint of the Earl of Essex.—The Countess combines with Turner to bewitch him.—It taketh effect.—Forman's Death.—One Gresham is entertained * into the business.

Now the Earl of Essex, perceiving himself to be rather less regarded than any whit at all esteems, enters into a new discourse with his Lady, with many protestations both of his constancy and love towards her, but withal tells her of her looseness, and of the report of the vulgar, and what a strange course of life she led, contrary

* Retained.

to all virtue and honesty ; which stung the Countess to the heart, and more incensed her and augmented her malice towards him, so that, in a great fury, she takes her coach and repairs to her ancient acquaintance, Mrs. Turner, who, according to her old custom, is ready to perform any evil act, and then they combine to bewitch the Earl and procure a frigidity *quoad hanc*, for this purpose. Dr. Forman is sent for, letters are written for the procuring of means, pictures in wax are made, crosses, and many strange and uncouth things ; for what will the evil leave unattempted to accomplish their ends ? Many attempts failed, and still the Earl stood it out. At last they framed a picture in wax, and got a thorn from a tree that bare leaves, and stuck upon the privy of the said picture, by which means they accomplished their designs. This being done according to her expectation, she repairs to her house of Chartly, and thither the Earl comes to her, but whether he was more lusty than she expected, or what other accident happened, is unknown. Nevertheless, she grew jealous of her art, and falls into a great fear that all their labour was lost ; whereupon she writes a letter * to Dr. Forman to this effect :—

SWEET FATHER,

ALTHOUGH I have found you ready at all times to further me, yet must I still entreat your help. Wherefore I beseech you remember me, that you keep the doors close, and that you still retain the Lord with me,

* This letter was produced at the trial of Mrs. Turner, in 1615, the 9th of November, when it was stated to have been found accidentally some time after Forman's death in one of his pockets.

and his affection towards me. I have no cause but to be confident in you ; although the world be against me, yet heaven fails me not. Many are the troubles I sustain, the doggedness of my Lord, the crossness of mine enemies, and the subversion of my fortunes, unless you, by your wisdom, do deliver me out of the midst of this wilderness, which I entreat, for God's sake. From Chartly.

Your affectionate, loving daughter,

FRANCES ESSEX.

This letter coming to the hands of the old man, procures a new attempt, and now he goes and enchants a nutmeg and a letter,—one to be given to the Viscount in his drink, the other to be sent unto him as a present. These things being accomplished, he not long after died, leaving behind him some of these letters, whereby the Countess had intercourse with him, in his pocket, which gave some light into the business, amongst which this same was one. Dr. Forman being dead, Mrs. Turner wanted one to assist her ; whereupon, at the Countess's coming up to London, one Gresham was nominated to be entertained into this business, and, in process of time, was wholly interested in it. This man was had in suspicion to have had a hand in the gunpowder-treason, he wrote so near it in his Almanac ; but, without question, he was a very skilful man in the mathematics,* and in his

Its authenticity was fully acknowledged. Coke, who presided at the trial, alluding to the letter in the text, styled the Countess “a daughter of Forman, the *foreman* of the devil.”

* “This Gresham was without any question a very learned

latter time in witchcraft, as was suspected, and therefore the fitter to be employed in these practices, which, as they were devilish, so the devil had a hand in them.

The Countess sends the Viscount this Letter, enchanted by Dr. Forman. — Places of Meeting appointed. — Their Intolerable Looseness.—Poet's Verses upon them.—The Beginning of their Fall.

UPON her return she sends gratulations to the Viscount, and with those the letter sent her by Dr. Forman. He reads it, and the more he reads the more is entangled, for no man knows the miseries that are contained in evil art; and who can withstand the words of evil tongues? Whereupon he returns answer, and new places of meeting are assigned; amongst the rest, one at Hammersmith. In the meantime the Viscount makes dispatch of his business, leaves things half done, half undone, to the intent he might meet her who had now staid for his coming above two hours; and being met, they solemnly salute each other, fall into divers discourses and insinuating praises, from words to deeds, and from speaking to acting.

The Countess having obtained that she desired, and the Viscount, caught in the net of adulation, the more he striveth to be loosened, is caught the faster; so that lust, by this means having got liberty, being covered with greatness, like a fire long concealed

man in all the astronomical sciences, and was suspected of witchcraft by divers, being undoubtedly taken to have had a part in these enchantments used by the Countess."—*Life of Overbury*, Rawlinson MSS.

in a pile of rotten wood, burst forth with all looseness and licentiousness : places of more frequent and private meetings being concluded between them, persons fitting to their purposes being acquainted with their proceedings, watchwords are given. All these things having relation to a certain end, make them more boldly and safely to accomplish that which both times and memory cannot demonstrate in former history.

How these good parts, which seemed heretofore to be hopeful in the Viscount, consume to cinders, and the corruption remains to brand him in the forehead for his ill living ! His modesty becomes eclipsed, his behaviour light, his carriage unseemly in his place ; nothing so costly nor attire so uncouth, but at all cost and charges he obtains it for the increase of favour. New fashions are produced that he might shew more beautiful and fair, and that his favour and personage might be made manifest to the world. And for this purpose yellow bands,* dusted † hair, curls crisped, frizzled, sleek skins, open breasts beyond accustomed modesty, with many other inordinate attires now worn on both sides to the shew of the world, so that for the increase of dishonest appetites they were abundantly practised and praised : surfeiting thus upon pleasure, having been before accustomed unto hardness, causeth him to fall into all manner of forgetfulness, letting all things go to wreck ; careless in attendance, negligent in state affairs, ignorant of his own worth, and subject-

* We have already had a curious notice of the fashion of wearing yellow bands, which only suffered a temporary depression after the trial of Mrs. Turner, being afterwards more in use than ever.

† Powdered.

ing himself to the lustful appetite of an evil woman, accounting no time so well spent nor hours deemed so happy as when dalliance and pleasant discourse pass between them either in words or writings, so that in him may be verified the old saying of the poet.

“ Of thousand youths there scarce is one
That virtue valueth as his prize ;
For vice deceives them, and alone
The show of virtue blinds their eyes.
Although their countenance pensive be,
Their garments and their habits grave,
Yet all their fruit, doubtless, we see
Is lust and glory that they crave.”

These things lay him open to the ill affection of them that hate him, and lays the foundation of his utter subversion, since the eyes of all men are upon such as are eminent ; and, as black upon white is soon discovered, so evil conditions and lascivious affections are soonest perceived in such persons.

The Faithfulness of Sir Thomas Overbury unto the Viscount.—
The Advice he gave him contemned.—Favours are more bestowed upon him.—Made of the Privy Council.

THIS course of life being something strange to those that were ignorant of these designs, gives new occasions of wonder and admiration, how he should continue still in favour, many things being left undone, others done to the halves, insomuch as all must now lie upon Overbury's neck ; and this doth he honestly and to the Viscount's credit, attributing every action to his doing, although of him neglected,—answers for him in his

absence, hastens dispatches in his presence, furthers the request of suitors, and, through the neglect and carelessness of the Viscount, grows into greater credit and esteem, so that his carefulness, sufficiency, and diligence, make him become eminent and beloved both of the King and Council; yet, nevertheless, he lessens his own worth, gives all the dignity to the Viscount. Endeavouring to search out how the people stood affected towards him; he finds both many complaints and some injuries to be done unto him, who being blinded with pleasure, overslips them, or lets them pass with small respect. Whereupon he takes occasion at a time convenient to utter this or the like words unto him:—"Sir, howsoever other things may pass either with small regards, or be smothered with honour and greatness, yet such things as lay a man open to obloquy and contempt, can hardly be obscured in a person public and eminent as your Lordship; which things are often esteemed to be in a man that outwardly seemeth light and effeminate, or inwardly wanteth the ballast of government to poise external actions. Of a truth, sir, be it spoken without offence, the Court calls your modesty into question, and fears that those honours that should be hereditary to noble personages will be obscured with eminent evils and blemishes with levity and inconstancy."*

These, with many other discourses, having at this time passed between them, sounded something harshly in the Viscount's ears, as all good counsel becomes evil to those that are evil, and, in a kind of anger, flung from

* This speech is given with a very few trifling variations in the MS. life of Sir Thomas Overbury, before quoted.

him, though undeserved. Yet, nevertheless, all his countenance and favour was not wholly obscured but that he might still enjoy that which he expected, which was hope of preferment. More favours are bestowed upon the Viscount, being called to be one of the Privy Council ; which honour, howsoever it was great, and more than was expected, yet because he was young, (one that, in the opinion of the world, was of no education, literature, or experience, besides these inordinate causes,) brings him into further contempt of the world, so that every man would take the freedom of their language, and speak harshly of these proceedings,—some condemning his course of life, others his insufficiency because of his youth, and most his want of experience ; by which means his greatness overtops his substance, and, as a ship without ballast is tottered to and again to the terror of those that are in it in a storm and high water, even so these honours thus suddenly bestowed upon him before the due time, lays him the more open to the evil opinion of the envious, and with some doth the sooner hasten his ruin.

For which cause it behoveth such as are thus drawn up merely by fortune either to be possessed of such virtues beforehand, that thereby they might maintain themselves in their greatness, or else to expect a sudden overthrow at a time unexpected.

The Prince takes dislike at the Viscount.—Speech of Marriage with the Palsgrave.—Conditions concluded upon.

Now Prince Henry was living, and having some intelligence of this loose kind of life which the Viscount

led, and being something jealous of him because of that he heard, doth utterly dislike him, forbears his company,* or whether for that or some other cause, it is unknown, falls flat at odds with him, not once giving him any countenance, or vouchsafing him his company. Not long after, as it might be about the beginning of November, he fell sick, continued so some week or little more, the malady increasing, (laying in his head,) he dies.† A man may say of this Prince as was said of Mecænas, both for wisdom and strength of body there was not the like to be found amongst the English. The hope of England! Strange was the accident, and many the rumours that ensued upon his death. Some said, that a French physician killed him; others, that he was poisoned; again others thought that he was bewitched. Yet no certainty could be found but that he died a natural death.

This accident filled all the kingdom with lamentations, and caused the wedding that followed at Candlemas after to be kept in sable. The funeral was performed in great state, and with more grief. Much might be said, but I leave it; my purpose being only in brief to set out these matters to memory, that after ages may see the evils of other times, where the greatest part of many courtiers' actions are to find out tricks how to circumvent their fellow-servant,

* "And on account of the loose conduct of this nobleman, our ever-adored Prince Henry adopted such a dislike to him, as was truly and religiously founded on the bad principles of the said Earl, who was not worthy the favour of such a master."—*MS. Life of Overbury*.
 † See vol. i. p. 46.

and some (if it were possible) to dispossess the King of his dignity, as hereafter shall be shown, — so many are the discontents that are cherished amongst them. These domestic affairs having thus happened, and the death of the Prince having filled the Court with sorrow, and the Court being full of other employment, by reason of the marriage that was to be had with the Palsgrave of the Rhine and her Grace, (who was now marriageable,) I shall pass over the rest in silence. The match is concluded, and great expectation and provision for his coming over to perform the ceremony of matrimony are made. At whose coming many rumours were spread abroad; first, that the Spaniard took this to the heart, and thereupon lay to do him some mischief by the way; that there was a ship of pocket-pistols come out of Spain, and that it was intended by the Papists to have made a massacre, and that Northampton did utterly oppose this match; for he was as great an enemy to the Dutch and Protestants as ever Cecil was their friend; and that many Priests were arrived, and public procession had by the Papist, and such like; yet, nevertheless, it was accomplished with great pomp and state, all, or the greatest part of the nobility being there present. The nobles present a mask in the great Banqueting House, the gentlemen of the Middle Temple another, and Gray's Inn a third, besides three days' tilting and running at the ring, the King being there in person, with the young Prince; besides many other pastimes, both stately and becoming the dignity of a King.

At this time there was proclamation against far-

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thingales,* but to little purpose, for they rather were used greater than diminished; for where a thing is once grown into a habit, it is hardly to be restrained. There was another proclamation upon the former report of the coming of a ship of pocket-pistols out of Spain, that no man should carry a pistol in his pocket, nor any that should be less than a foot long in the barrel. About this time also the Papists were disarmed, and many strange rumours raised with things because they were uncertain. I omit to relate them, being rather pertinent unto state than unto profit.

Ambassadors sent into Russia, Suethia, and other Provinces, for the Renewing of Friendship of the Leaguer in the Low Countries.—That Rumour of it.

MANY outrages having been now of late committed by the Archduke upon the States, divers rumours were raised concerning the Leaguer, both strong and universal; for there were parties, the Pope, the Emperor, the King of Spain, and a Cardinal to aid the Archduke against the States. The foundation of this combustion was laid upon the sacking of a Protestant town in Brabant, whereupon Grace Maurice drew out some thousands into the field, and some sore blows happened; and it was suspected that it would have gone farther, and that there would have been a general

* Farthingales of a ridiculous size were in vogue at this period. One of the pictures of the Queen represents her hands just resting on the verge of one, with her arms extended. They were frequently constructed so that the arms could rest upon them.

opposition between Protestant and Papist : but, by the means of the Pope and the King, it was agreed, and went no further, but left a scar to give a new occasion.

The war of Denmark was likewise brought unto a happy end, and the King retained his right there. Not long after the issue thereof, ambassadors were sent unto Moscow to renew the league of friendship with the Emperor, who now, being brought low by continual wars, was glad to entertain such a motion ; traffic is confirmed there with the nation. And from thence the same ambassadors went to Suethia, to conclude a league of friendship, the reason whereof was thought to be for the ancient amity that had been heretofore between the King and that nation. And from thence they went to the Duke of Cleves, and so to the Emperor with salutations.

The Suit of the Clothworkers.—My Lord of Rochester stands for them.—The Complaint of the Countess.—She sues for a Divorce.

Now this year the clothworkers, being covetous of larger employments, petition the King and Council that there might go no more white cloths out of this kingdom, but that they might be all dressed and dyed here before they went over ; and the reasons of their petition were three : first, that the Hollander, making use of the dressing and dyeing other cloth, sold us our own cloth almost double the value that they bought it for, whereby they were enriched and we impoverished. A second reason, that whereas there are a

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multitude of poor in this kingdom that wanted employment, if they might have the dyeing and dressing of those cloths, it would find them work whereby they might be relieved ; and there was no reason why another should make benefit of that which we might make good use of ourselves. Lastly, whereas the trade of dressing of cloth began to decay ; if now they might but have this, in process of time it might be restored, and they might have as good skill in dressing cloth as the Dutchmen. My Lord of Rochester, my Lord of Northampton, and my Lord Treasurer, the Earl of Suffolk that now is, were great agents in that business, and were thought to have been promised great sums of money to accomplish it.

Now the Countess begins new complaints, and finding her art to continue firm, and that indeed there was such frigidity accomplished ; for which cause she protests that she would never keep him company any longer, and desired a divorcement. This seems strange unto the world, who took notice of the Earl to be of an able body*, and likely to have many children, and to undertake any exploit for the good of the commonwealth ; indeed, valuing this to be but an idle and vain rumour, that was spread (as after happeneth) to see how such a thing would be liked in the world, and therefore let it pass with little notice.

In the meantime there is a motion between North-

* "He was by nature of a strong frame, which made the complaint of his lady the more strange to the world ; yet it is divers times seen that such defects arise from other causes, and many the strongest men have had the like charges brought against them."—*MS. Life of Sir Thomas Overbury.*

ampton and her for a marriage ; and since it was so, that the world had taken notice of their looseness, now to make some satisfaction they would consummate a wedding between them. This motion was well liked of on both sides, but the obstacle remained,—her husband was alive, and the law would not permit her to have two husbands ; whereupon she grows so much the more eager for a divorce, that so she might have a new husband, (for women of her disposition delight in change,) and therefore renews her complaint. Advice is taken in the business, whether such a thing may be had, there being no cause public as adultery, or dislike of the husband. Again, it was a question whether the wife might sue a divorce or not, for that the bill of divorcement was given to the husband, and not to the wife. Many such like objections being disputed to and again, at last it was concluded, that in case the Earl was as she reported, it was lawful that there might be a divorce, and the reason was, that there must be a frigidity *quoad hanc* ; for which cause it was thought lawful to sue a divorce. Upon this they proceeded ; twelve matrons were empaneled, the day appointed, and the verdict returned that she was a true maid. Who should bring this to the ears of the King but my Lord of Northampton, and so to the world, who grows jealous of fraud, doubting either corruption or deceit (for it was vulgarly reported, that she had had a child long before in my Lord's absence) ; whereupon, some say this, some say that, and most that the Countess was not searched, but that one of Sir Thomas Monson's daughters was brought in to be searched in her place, and so both jury and judges

deceived.* But how true this is, is not credible ; yet, nevertheless, they grant a bill of divorce. And now, a separation being had between them, the Earl, in a great discontent, leaves the Court, and repairs to his house in Warwickshire, and there now lives a private life.

The Motion of the Marriage goes forward.—Overbury's Opinion concerning it.—He dissuades Rochester from it.—The Breach between them.—The Principal Cause of it.

Now might there be a lawful discourse of marriage, since there was a lawful divorce ; but yet nevertheless it was kept private, and only some particular friends made privy : on Rochester's side, Overbury, whose advice he, amongst others, required in this business, to what end it is unknown. Nevertheless Overbury was utterly against it, and being in serious discourse with him concerning this subject in the passage-gallery at Whitehall, entered into these or the like words, as was reported : First, how much he stood obliged to him for his countenance and favour, and therefore would speak nothing but that which was truth ; then how dutiful and ready he was to perform all his commands, from whence he might easily perceive that what he spoke was out of affection. And lastly, that he had often endeavoured to avert his mind from these things, that both time and the envy of men might turn to his prejudice, taxing him that he had made all this to become hurtful unto him, and converting the meaning of good intentions towards him to his disparagement

* D'Ewes has alluded to this very improbable tale, which does not seem to have any real foundation.

and loss. Notwithstanding, the Viscount still pressed him on to pass his opinion, professing great kindness, and to do nothing without his opinion ; whereupon he lets him understand that, perceiving the common report of the multitude and weighing them with the greatness of his person, that he found it to be no less hurtful to his preferment than helpful to subvert and overthrow him, for who would (being possessed of so great possibilities as he was, so great honours and large revenues, and daily in expectation of others,) cast all away upon a woman that is noted both for her infamy and immodesty, and pull upon him the satire and contempt of great personages for so small a matter? Then he willed him to consider with himself the condition of the person whereof he spoke, the manner of her carriage from her youth, her pert conversation, the many envies, dishonours, and dislikes that were attendant upon her ; and besides, which is now the common report of the vulgar (and he should find them to be so), many evils to attend his subversion and overthrow. It is not the nature of a wise man to make her his wife whom he hath made his mistress ; lastly, willed him to expect no better requital at her hands than that which she had shewn her former husband, and withal to weigh the present condition that he was in, and compare it with the future. How he had but (as it were) an inclination unto such a thing, neither were those things made evident that after-ages would lay open ; nevertheless, that he was taxed with incivility, levity, and, indeed, effeminativeness ; that, by the opinion of the wise, he was judged altogether unworthy of that honour that was bestowed upon him ;

but when these surmises should come by this his marriage to be made evident, what evils, before now but suspected, should now be enlarged and laid to his charge. Honour is not attended with voluptuousness, nor are the leaves of a rotten branch to be cherished upon a new-planted tree ; but that if he meant to be made famous, and to continue that with him that he now freely enjoyed, his opinion was that he should utterly leave and forsake her company, and to hold her both hurtful and hateful.

These speeches drew on others, and the Viscount, being a little nettled in his affections, grows something harsh ; and Sir Thomas, having been heretofore excepted at with these kind of contentions, grows so much the more careless, answers word for word, so that from fair and friendly speeches they grow to words of anger, and either to cross other in conclusion. Overbury requires his reparation due unto him, and so wills Rochester to leave him to his own fortunes, for that he could not endure these inordinate jangles which he had accustomed towards him of late ; and that if there had been anything said that was either offensive unto him or to the disparagement of the Countess, it was by his own procurement, and by reason of the good-will and affection that he bare him : with these and many other such words they part.

Rochester and the Countess meet.—They conclude the Death of Overbury.—That Northampton had a hand in it.—The Causes why.

THE Countess having ere this borne a deadly hate towards Overbury, because he had oftentimes before dissuaded the Viscount to abstain from her company ; yet now, having disclosed unto her his speech, she becomes much more revengeful, especially because he had taxed her with a bad name.* For truth is hateful to the evil, and what before she concealed now breaks forth with fury,—for concealed anger is much worse than open violence,—persuading Rochester that it was not possible that ever she should endure these injuries or hope for any prosperity so long as he lived, he being the only man that withstood his purposes ; with many other persuasions, that he only of all men began to grow eminent, and who was so likely to be the man to step up next after him as Overbury : insomuch as these persuasions, together with his own conceived evils, procures the Viscount to give a liking to her determinations, and to put his hand into the fire, where he needed not making himself accessory to that which he had no occasion to put in practice at all.

There were some that charged Northampton to have had a hand in these businesses, and to have uttered

* “ Sir Thomas must not indeed be blamed for speaking the plain truth of this bad woman, although it stirred her up the rather to her evil designs, thinking to battle the truth by the death of a true man, as if Providence guarded it by only one sentinel.”—*MS. Life of Overbury.*

these and the like words ; that he wondered how the Viscount could be so much affected to his man Overbury, that without him he could do nothing, as 'twere, making him his right hand, seeing he being newly grown into the Knight's favour, and wholly depending upon his greatness, must expect to come to ruin when that man rose to preferment. Also, he condemned Overbury for his boldness and peremptory sauciness, that checked and corrected the Viscount for the love that passed betwixt the Countess and him, and opposed many of his designs and purposes; whereupon he concluded, that unless he did either curb his greatness or abate his pride, he in time would be equal to him both in power and greatness.

Whether this proceeded out of fear of himself or envy towards Overbury, or to collogue* with his niece and Rochester, and to prevent the plainness of Sir Thomas, that altogether distasted these juggling courses, it cannot be conceived; but these are the last words that he spake on that subject:— that for his own part he knew himself clear of all offence against the State, and their family was so eminent in the Commonwealth that he could not hurt him. But for Rochester being made privy to all his designs, growing peremptory, and no whit tractable to his disposition, besides likely to come to eminency and honour in the Commonwealth, he finds it both necessary and fitting for his safety that he should be a means to dispatch him. Whereupon the Viscount, being led by the nose, as he thought for the best, gives consent, and endeavours to put in prac-

* Conspire.

tice that which they had determined ;—now on all hands they cast about how this might be effected and pass unregarded, so that they might sustain no loss or disparagement by the attempt.

Sir William Wade removed from the Lieutenancy of the Tower.—
Sir Jervase Yelvis preferred.

For this purpose alone it was thought that a quarrel was picked with Sir William Wade, who was now Lieutenant of the Tower, and had continued it a great while ; but there were other causes objected, as, first, he was thought too severe against the Lady Arabella, and gave some other prisoners too much liberty. Another was, that he, being now grown rich, began to grow careless, and neglected his office. But the very truth of the business was thought to be this,—Sir Jervase Yelvis, being a Lincolnshire gentleman, having been brought up in public life from his youth, trained in the study of the laws in Lincoln's Inn, and ambitious of preferment, offered a sum of money for that honour and place ; for howsoever Sir William Wade might be one way taxed for his too much desire of wealth, which thing might be tolerable in him, being pressed with a great charge ; yet he was wise, honest, and discreet in his place, and discharged it with much more sufficiency than he that succeeded him ; but according to the saying of the poet, —

“ Those men that store of money have,
With prosperous wind shall sail,
And fortune plies unto their wish—
To speed they cannot fail.”

By this means he is got into the Lieutenancy, and for this cause Sir William Wade is put out. Things ordered after this sort never proceed without envy ; and unless the persons that enjoy such places be very considerate, it is likely they will have a sudden fall : but what care men of power for such things? He being established in his office, must (to re-collect his money paid) use some kind of extortion ; and, to bear out this, be observant to such as preferred him, that so by their countenance he might use the greater liberty. For this cause, he made the Earls of Northampton and Rochester the whole end of his actions, fearing more to displease them than the King : a fit man for their purpose.

The Countess repairs to Mrs. Turner to enquire a Man out for her.
—Makes Complaint of Overbury's Insolence.—Discloses her Determination.—Weston is nominated.

IN the meantime the Countess thought it not enough to hear, nor to fret and fume, nor to persuade and entreat my Lord to undertake this dangerous enterprise ; but to Mrs. Turner she must go, and there renew her complaint, with tears hardly found in a woman of her disposition, protesting that she was never so defamed ; neither did she ever think that any man durst have been so saucy as to call her a base woman—and that to Rochester, her only hope, and with an impudent face. But Overbury—that Nero, that scum of men, that devil incarnate!—he might do anything, and pass either unregarded or unpunished. This moves pity in this pitiful woman,

Mrs. Turner,* who frets as fast to see her fret, so that there is such storming between them as is incredible. At length, even as we see two clouds, after long strife in the air which shall have priority in place, join in one, so these two women, after they had fulfilled their frantic humour, join in this to be the death of him: that must be the end (there is no malice to the malice of a woman);—no submission, no entreaty, no persuasion could prevail; but he must die! Mrs. Turner soothes her with—*ay, that she would!*—and it is pity he should live to defame so honourable a lady, so well descended, to the utter disparagement of her house! and that rather than he should pass with life, she would be his death's-means herself,—words of course, in such cases where people are carried away with heavy malice—not with reason.

Yet, for all this, coming to their right senses, they begin to weigh the matter, and that it was no small thing to kill a man, both in respect of conscience and law; therefore they cast about which would be the best way to do it; at last they conclude to poison him was the only way, and that with less suspect. But then the party that should do it was to seek for: he must be no ordinary man—some apothecary or physician, that might temper the poison rightly to take effect, according to their mind. After long study, one Weston is named, that had some time been servant to Dr. Turner, and thereby learned such experience that now was so fitting to accomplish that

* The author of the MS. Life of Overbury, so often referred to, quaintly remarks, that “her tears might always be had for the asking.”

exploit to him. This man, now in the country, must be sent for; Mrs. Turner must work upon him to bring him to this exploit, for things of this nature must be carried with wisdom and discretion, for who will hazard his life for *had I wist?** Two hundred pounds is offered him—lucre constrains him—and he of all men undertakes it.

Overbury's great Favour.—The Motion of the Council to send him Ambassador to the Archduke.—He contemplates of it.—Persuaded by my Lord Viscount to refuse it.

THESE things notwithstanding, Overbury still grows into favour; and the Council, finding his diligence and sufficiency in his place, nominates him as a man fit to be sent ambassador into the Low Countries to the Archduke, making that a means to draw him up to great preferment. This comes to Overbury's ear, and knowing my Lord of Northampton to be his utter enemy, and growing jealous of Rochester, begins to contemplate what the meaning of this might be. Thus, between hope and fear, he stands at a maze: to refuse would be too great a disgrace, to undertake it would be to the loss of his preferment. Standing in this doubt, the Viscount, after these many jangles, comes to him and salutes him, and after many discourses falls into speech of the intention of the Council concerning this embassy, and so much to assist him or encou-

* A proverbial phrase, very common in early writers. It is equivalent to *had I known the consequences*, and is generally applied to an action undertaken without sufficient deliberation.

rage him to it, as to see how he stood affected. Whereupon, finding him hammering upon his determination, not being certainly determined of anything, he joins with him, and utterly dissuades him from undertaking it: "for," quoth he, "your preferment and your expectations lie not amongst foreign nations; you are now in credit at home, and have already made trial of the dangers of travel. Why, then, should you hazard all upon uncertainties, being in possession (as a man might say) of all that you may expect by this means already?"

These speeches, what with the trust that he put in the Viscount, what with the doubtfulness of his mind, doth in a manner confirm his opinion rather to leave it than to take it; but, nevertheless, gives him to understand that it was no small thing to oppose the determination of the Council, and to contradict the King's employment; for in either of these he must expect the displeasure of both, and be in danger to receive condign punishment. But Rochester, to get these doubts out of his mind, with great protestations and long discourses, lets him understand that he had so much experience of his worth, and found him so faithful and diligent in his employment, that he could as well miss his right hand as miss him; and that in case any such danger should happen to him, yet, nevertheless, if either his word, his letter, his credit, or favour, could mitigate release, or relieve him, it should not be wanting to do him ease or pleasure. Being led on with these hopes, he is in a manner drawn utterly to deny that which was intended for his profit, and to give him a fit opportunity to execute their

malice towards him, as after happened. Thus, according to the saying of the poet :—

“ Believe thou not scarce any man ;
For oft a Phrygian face
Is smoothly covered with a smile,
But within seeks thy disgrace.”

The Viscount, seeing him at this time in so fit a vein to be wrought upon, and so easily to be persuaded from his purpose, doth show him much more favour than heretofore he had done—the better to confirm credence in him towards his persuasions, and to encourage him in his determinations ; that by this means he is utterly deceived, and grows confident to forsake it. In this mind the Viscount leaves him, and betakes himself to his purpose.

The Countess, Earl, and Viscount meet.—They determine of the Matter.—The King is incensed against Overbury.

SIR JERVASE, being now grown old in his office, and acquainted with it, amongst other things, is sounded whether he stands faithful to his two patrons, Northampton and Rochester ; whereby it is found that he would be pliant to anything they desired. But not yet made acquainted with this determination, nevertheless it feeds them with hope to execute their purposes with better prosperity ; for the Lieutenant being their friend, and Weston* (a man that had gotten the

* See Wilson (p. 70). “ One Weston is thought on for his underwork, who was some time Dr. Turner’s man, and hath a

art of poisoning) entertained for the purpose, and with a resolute mind, ready to effect it, made them neither suspect nor doubt anything, only how they might get him to the Tower. For this purpose it is thought fit that Rochester, having the King's ear, should be a means to possess his Majesty with some misdemeanours that he had committed, that thereby the King being intent against him, and the refusal of the embassy making evident the truth of this complaint, that they need not doubt of any such matter. Whereupon my Lord of Rochester, amongst other things, (at a time convenient,) lets the King understand how insolent Overbury was grown; that he not only contemned him, but his Majesty also, estimating this employment, to be sent Ambassador, either too light a preferment for his desert, or else intends to procure him some further evil, and that he utterly disliked it, and determined to refuse it. The King, being possessed of this thing, and by him who to the judgment of the world was his greatest friend, took displeasure at it, so that by his countenance one might have perceived his anger,—for the frowning of a King is like the roaring of a lion, terrible to the spectators and hearers, so that now they doubted not of their expectations to get him into the Tower; where, being as prisoner in the King's disgrace, under the protection of one who more esteemed their favour than little experience in the nature of poisonous drugs. This venomous plant is sent for out of the country to be transplanted here, and two hundred pounds promised to disperse his venom, so as it may be killing."

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the King's displeasure, sequestered from his friends no intercourse suffered to come unto him but what came from the Countess, Northampton, and Weston, a fit agent to execute all manner of evils; why, to the judgment of the world, it is impossible that this evil should ever come to light.

And thus, being cockered up in their own conceits, they run headlong to their own destruction; for when there were but two persons privy to the act of murder, as in Cain and Abel, it could not pass unpunished of God, but that Cain must be marked with a perpetual mark of ignominy; how much less shall this go undiscovered when there are so many privy to it? Thus may we all see that one sin another doth provoke; and that murder is as near to lust as flame to smoke.

Sir Thomas refuses the Embassy.—Incurs the King's Displeasure.—He is sent to the Tower.—Weston is preferred to him. Gresham dies.—Franklin entertained into the Business.—A new Speech of Marriage between the Countess and Rochester.

SIR Thomas Overbury and Rochester having (for some private occasion) fallen into a new breach at Newmarket, he returns very pensively to London; and now the time being come that he should give an answer what he would do concerning this embassy, he answered that he acknowledged himself much bound unto his Majesty for many favours that he had bestowed upon him, and amongst the rest, most of all in that it pleased him to conceive so well of him as to prefer him to so great honour; but yet, nevertheless, knowing himself unworthy of such a place, inexperienced how to execute

it, and besides, tied to many domestic businesses, desired to be excused.* This seeming something strange and harsh that he should refuse his own good, and by this means incur the displeasure of the King and lose his expectations, and make some of his friends to wonder, others to stand in a maze. But, in conclusion, as he had justly deserved by reason of his contempt, he is committed to the Tower, but not to be kept as a state prisoner: but after my Lords of Northampton and Rochester, being both of the Privy Council, and in great favour at Court, send unto the Lieutenant that he should keep him close prisoner; and afterwards received by word of mouth from Sir Thomas Monson, that he should not suffer any letters, tokens, or other things, to be delivered unto him. Their expectation in this thing being accomplished, Mrs. Turner, by the instigation of the Countess, becomes a great suitor to Sir Thomas Monson to have his letter to prefer Weston unto Sir Thomas to wait on him in the Tower, who hearing the name of the Countess, and withal understanding of the great affection that was between her and Rochester, condescended, wrote and sent him with his letter to Sir Jervase in the Tower. He shewed it to Sir Thomas. Sir Thomas, willing to deserve his precious choice favour, with the more readiness entertained him; as when a man ignorantly treads upon

* The MS. Life of Overbury gives us a very interesting account of the treachery of Rochester in persuading him to refuse the appointment, although he was perfectly aware of the danger of such a step. Rochester is stated to have guaranteed that no evil consequences should arise from Overbury's refusal.

a serpent is stung for his labour, so Sir Thomas harbours in his own breast the author of his own destruction. Now Gresham growing into years, having spent much time and many fine prayers to accomplish these things, at this time gathers all his baubles together, viz. : pictures inlaid in wax in plates of gold, of naked men and women, with crosses, crucifixes, and other implements, wrapping them all up together in a scarf crossed, every letter in the sacred word Trinity crossed, a. w. o. crossed : this being very holily delivered into the hands of one Weston to be hid in the earth that no man might find them. And so in Thames Street, having finished his evil sins, he died, leaving behind him a man and a maid, one engaged for a witch the other for a wife.

After his death, with much writing, many entreaties, and rewards, one Franklin, a Yorkshireman, was entertained into these actions—a man of a reasonable stature, crook-shouldered, of a swarthy complexion, and thought to be no less a witch than the two former, Gresham and Forman. This man was more employed to make poisons fit to be administered by Weston than otherwise, for he was excellent in that art, to mitigate or increase their strength, so that sometimes a poison should be a month ere it would work.

Verily, evil actions shall never want evil actors ! and in all ages physicians, apothecaries, druggists, cashiered serving men that have fallen into want, have still been the agents in such enterprises. Tiberius his physician, Spado, an apothecary, and Ligdo, Druce's servant, are made agents to be his poisoners. Nero's bondmen must kill him ; Pisses, captain under Germanicus, must poi-

son him, and by the help of a woman-poisoner of Cos, a town in Greece, who was so skilful that she hid poison in his hair to kill himself. A centurion to Maximus must poison him; Alexander's physicians, Antipater and Aristotle, must be the authors of his death; and here Franklin, a kind of physician, Weston, a servant to Sir Thomas, and Sir Jervase Yelvis, who is (as you shall hereafter hear) privado* to the Earl and Viscount, and the Countess and Mrs. Turner, are made instruments to kill and dispatch Sir Thomas Overbury: so that it hath been almost in all ages, and in all such outrages, found that either such persons, or women, have been actors in such attempts.

Overbury being thus confined in the Tower,† and accounted amongst them as a friar—a dead person in law, in whose breast many secrets were contained—being still fed on with hope of preferment and liberty, lest he should disclose what he knew, they, at their will and pleasure, carouse full healths of sin and abomination, and freely discourse of a marriage to be consummated between the Countess and Rochester—that so being tied in this bond of matrimony, and joined in affinity with my Lord of Northampton, more trust might be had in him, and better use be made of his honour and greatness. Now there is no man to support him, no man to dissuade him, his looseness with the Countess galls his conscience; and that it might be the more

* A private friend, or favourite.

† “Then the King, highly enraged with the refusal thus conveyed to him, when he expected all compliance and marks of gratitude, forthwith committed Sir Thomas to the Tower, and all was done by the craft of the aforesaid Earl.”—*MS. Life of Overbury.*

offensive to him, and make him the willinger to consent unto this motion, he is still pressed with it, and that is both unfit and unseemly ; whereas, on the other side, if they marry, it will be both lawful, honourable, and commendable, and the ears of the vulgar will be then stopped, and none dares be so bold as to touch him with it. This carries show of truth ; so that what with his former affection, what with his present offence that he conceives at these courses, concludes the marriage. Times are appointed to confer how impediments might be avoided, and what should be fitting to be done in this behalf.

How the Lieutenant became acquainted with this Business.—Encouraged to persist by Northampton.—Rewards promised him.—He examines Sir Thomas to find out his affection.—Most think of Religion.—Some think towards the Countess.

It is now high time to enter into this action, and the Countess means to be the first ; and for this purpose she went and got a glass of blue water, some two inches long ; this (being wrapped in a paper) she delivered to Weston's son, with directions that he should go to the Tower and deliver it to his father. He did so ; who, having this matter aforehand put into his head, at supper-time takes the glass in one hand and part of Sir Thomas Overbury's supper in the other hand : and who should he meet withal as he was going but with Sir Jervase Yelvis, the Lieutenant ; so he demands of him, with a kind of caution, whether he should give it him now ? The Lieutenant stopped, and asked What ? To which Weston answered, " Sir, know you not what

is to be done?" This made him stand in a maze, and doubt the worst; whereupon he calls Weston into explanation, and makes him confess all his intention—from what grounds, from whom he received it, and partly the cause of it. He now, being made a slave unto greatness, and having laid out much money to purchase his place, for fear to lose the one and offend the other, lets Weston go with this caution—to omit it for that time: whom, as a wise man, (rather than he would have run himself headlong into perdition,) would have discovered it, and have made them a means to have manifested his faithfulness and diligence in his office. But what shall we say to a man lost? The next day he is sent for to the Lord of Northampton; there, after many long and large discourses, at length the Earl discloses to him his intention concerning Overbury; and with these things mingles many of his insolencies—first, of his obstinacy against the Viscount, his insolency against the Countess, his opposition against almost all good men;—and that for these causes, if such a thing happened, there being none to look after him, it would pass unregarded or respected. But withal, he gives him many cautions how he should manage himself in this business, letting him understand what manner of man he was—a scholar, and one that had an excellent tongue, with a traveller experienced in the course of the world, and besides that, was favoured of the contrary faction, and as great a politician as any was this day in England; therefore, in this regard, he ought to be so much the more wary, both who came to him and who went from him; above all, that no letters pass to and fro.

This and many other such like speeches having passed between them, (for the Earl was two hours, by his own confession, prompting him with cautions and considerations, that he might be the readier to act his part in this adventure he was to deal in,) lastly he concludes that, above all, he should insinuate with him to see how he stood affected to these proceedings, and what words he uttered; for a heart full trust with grief or sorrow must either speak or burst, and his secrecy and diligence and service shall be rewarded with a thousand pounds. Whether it was the greediness of the reward, or the foolish desire he had to give content unto the Earl and Viscount, they being his only favourers, or some other hope, it is unknown, but he by this means is brought on to his own destruction, and so gives consent to conceal that which was intended. At his coming back he repairs unto Sir Thomas Overbury, under pretence to comfort him in his sorrow, and advises him to be more lightsome, and not to consume himself in grief. By this means, entering into further discourse, he secretly insinuates into his intentions. Sir Thomas having a good opinion of him, and supposing that all was done out of faith and honesty to him, having by this means learnt what he could out of him, writes unto my Lord of Northampton a letter to this effect :—

MY ESPECIAL GOOD LORD,

HAVING undertook my prisoner, according to your instructions, after long silence, as standing between hope and fear, he takes his Bible. After he had read upon it, he takes it, and by it protested his

innocency. After, upon further conference concerning the Countess, he said that he had justified her already, and that he could do no more than what he had done; but for himself, "Alas!" quoth he "what will they do with me?" I answered, "So reason you as you will make no reason hereafter of your pureness;" and so I left him in some sense to work upon him. As I was going, he concluded, that in the generality she was so worthy that she might be a wife for any man, but not to say that she was a wife in particular for my Lord Rochester: he would not say it, lest my Lord should condemn him for weighing his worth. At my next coming to him, I found him not in sense, but fury; he let fly at you, but was respective of my Lord of Rochester, whose part he taketh altogether. I see the event; I desire it might be safely covered.* What my service may do in this or anything else, I will be faithful to your Lordship, and so I rest,

Yours,

JERVASE YELVIS.

This and many other things being inserted into this letter, was sent unto the Earl, which he read, and in reading, laughed and smiled at the simplicity of the one and ignorance of the other; neverthe-

* "The Lieutenant, being a man intelligent enough, could not but apprehend the dangerous path he trod in pursuing this business: for, if he should make the King acquainted with it, to know more of his mind before it were done, and he disclaim it, Northampton was powerful enough to crush him on the one side; and, if it should be discovered after it were done, he might be sure the King would not own it, and it would bring him a certain ruin on the other side."—*Wilson*, p. 70.

less, in outward appearance he applauds all the actions of Sir Jervase, but especially to my Lord of Rochester, holding him both a discreet and wise man, and that his secrecy and honest dealing in this employment deserves everlasting praises with after ages.

More Poisons are sent from the Countess.—Sir Thomas Monson is suspected to have a hand in this Business.—Overbury grows sickly.—Jealous of his Diet.—No Access is suffered to him.

WESTON having received fourscore pounds of his allowance, and yet, nevertheless, nothing accomplished according to the Countess's expectations, is checked by Mrs. Turner for delaying it; whereupon he gets into his hands certain poisons (viz.) roscetre, white arsenic, mercury sublimate, cantharides, red mercury, with three or four more several poisons, tempering them with his broth and his meat, according as he saw them affected, increasing and diminishing their strength, as he was instructed by his ancient friend Mr. Franklin. Besides this, tarts and jellies are sent by the Viscount and Countess to Sir Thomas Monson's, and from thence by the hands of one Symon Master, servant unto Sir Thomas, to be delivered to Weston, and so to Overbury; every of which tart and jellies were poisoned with a several poison.

These courses causeth Sir Thomas Monson* to be

* Sir Thomas Monson was arraigned before Coke on December the 4th, 1615, and pleaded not guilty, alleging that Cotton was able to prove his innocence; but Sir Robert refused to attend, writing to the Chief Justice that he knew nothing either to excuse or criminate him. He was liberated almost immediately afterwards.

suspected of his art, and to have a hand in it: and first, in respect he preferred Weston to this service; secondly because poisoned tarts and jellies went out of his house; and lastly, for that he did not discover these things, his men only having access unto the Tower, and that to speak with Weston. Now his salt, his sauce, his meat, his drink, and whatsoever he eats, is mingled with poison, and, for the increase of the torment, is either increased or diminished, according as he saw Sir Thomas Overbury affected. By this means, he begins to grow extreme sickly, having been heretofore accustomed to very good health, insomuch as he can scarce stand or go, what with the pain of his body and the heat; yet, nevertheless, being a strong man, he stood it out a long time, till at length he began to grow jealous of his man Weston, for his malady increased or diminished as he affected. But yet some physic he desired, and at his special instance and not without some great gratitude, as was thought. One Paul de la Bell, an apothecary, by the advice of Dr. Merwin, brought a bath * to cool his body, with advice to be spare of his diet, for that he suspected his meat was not wholesome. Surely this did him much good and preserved his life longer than they expected, insomuch as they doubted some fallacy or fraud, and there-

* It would seem from the MS. Life of Overbury, that he was troubled with some disease before his enemies conspired to poison him; and from the alleged appearances of the body after death, we may perhaps hazard the conjecture, that however culpable the designs on his life may have been, yet poison was not, possibly, the sole cause of his death.

fore send new letters to the Lieutenant to have a special care that none may be so suffered to see him or speak with him, for evil men are full of needless fears; and now there is such special watch had over him that none of his men might be permitted so much liberty as to speak with him out at a window; and the reason being asked, answer was made that the Lieutenant had commandment from the Council that it should be so. Thus this good gentleman passeth away his tedious and sorrowful days with many discontents, being filled with pain and grief, without friends or comforters, ready to be vexed and tormented upon every new occasion, and consuming and languishing away without any common society that was allowed to the meanest prisoner in the house. In this man may we see the misery of such as fall into the hands of Popish Catholics, for by Northampton's means was this strictness shewn towards him. Now will we leave him languishing in sorrow and lamenting his misfortune.

The Marriage between the Viscount and the Countess published.—
Questioned whether it may be lawful.—A Nullity obtained to the intent to make it lawful.—My Lord of Essex repays her Portion.—The Viscount made Earl of Somerset.

TIME can no longer conceal these secret meetings, but it must come to the light. The marriage betwixt the Viscount and the Countess is published; this is strange to the world, and so much the more strange by how much three such great and eminent persons as the Earl of Essex, the Countess, and the

Viscount were interested in it. And now, according to the common course, every one speaks as they stand affected,—some boldly, some sparingly, some call her a loose woman, and pity the good Earl of Essex, and say that he had sustained more wrong than ever any English peer had done, first to suffer disgrace by the Prince, now by his wife ; others blame her and give words harsh and unseemly ; a third sort Rochester, and that it is a pity but that she should prove as bad a wife to him as ever she did to the Earl of Essex ; then, if Overbury had been at liberty this had never happened. Others that were more staid and judicious in their opinion, foresaw the ruin and downfall of Rochester by this means, but none durst speak, for who will put his finger into the fire unless he be compelled ?

Nevertheless, to stop the mouths of the vulgar, this marriage is called into question, whether it may be lawful or not, because her husband was yet living. For this cause the bishops of this land were divided ; by the opinion of some she might, by the opinion of others she might not. My Lords of Canterbury, London, and some others, were utterly against it ; but Westminster and Ely * stood stiffly it might, provided that a nullity might be had ; for by that means the former marriage should be utterly determined. A nullity was obtained, and upon the grant of that, it was ordered that my Lord of Essex should repay her portion that he received with her at his mar-

* The sentence of divorce, which was signed by the Bishops of Winchester, Ely, Lichfield and Coventry, and Rochester, is printed in Wilson, p. 69.

riage, that so to the show of the world it might be said there had been no marriage between them. This afterwards was called into question, and thought a mere trick of Northampton to disparage some of the greatest of the clergy, and to discountenance our religion. It left a foul scar, and gave occasion to the adversary to speak broadly where they had free liberty, and of some even in our kingdom. This order being sent to my Lord of Essex, he forthwith prepares for the repayment of 5000*l.*, for so much he had received with her, and for this purpose he sold and felled divers woods at Adderstow, and near thereabout. His grandmother, the Countess of Leicester, helped him much, or else he should have been constrained to sell much land to have paid it. Verily a hard course, having sustained so many injuries! The King, nevertheless, continues his favour towards Rochester, and that he might be as eminent as the best, he is installed Earl of Somerset. Thus favours are heaped upon him, though he little deserved them; and the Countess hath what she desireth,—that is, still to be a Countess, but called after another name,—that is, Countess of Somerset.

Many are the chances that happen in this world some good, some bad, and those things we least suspect do soonest happen to subvert us. At this time my Lord of Somerset full little thought to have been laid in the Tower, and made heir of Overbury's bed-chamber. But by this we may see that all things are in the hands of God.

The Marriage comes to Overbury's Ears.—He prophesieth his own Death.—He falleth into a Relapse.—He writes to the Earl to remember his Promise.—Answer is sent him with white Mercury instead of a medicinable Powder.—His Death.—The State of his Body after his Death.—The Rumour that is spread of him.—The Author's Lamentation.

Now, although Sir Thomas Overbury was kept private, and that no man might have access to him, yet the news of this marriage comes to his ears; and presently, upon hearing of it, he tells the messenger that he had almost as good have told to-morrow he should die, for he was sure now not to live long, and thereupon falls into great lamentations,—as well in respect of the Earl of Somerset, that he had so cast away his fortunes, as of himself; for that now he more suspected his life than ever heretofore. Whereupon he falls into a relapse, and his malady increaseth more and more upon him; whether weakened for grief or for want of liberty, or through abstinence, it is unknown, but the poison hath now more power over him than ever heretofore, insomuch that he could scarce contain himself, by reason of his extreme languishing away as a man in a consumption, but with much more extremity; or that, being now in this extremity, he thinks it time to put Somerset in mind of his promise, and for this purpose he writes a letter to this effect:—

RIGHT NOBLE AND WORTHY SIR,

YOUR former accustomed favours and absolute promise concerning my present deliverance hath caused me at this time, by these lines, to solicit your Lordship to put you in remembrance of the same; not

doubting that your Lordship is at all forgetful of me, but only (by reason of my imprisonment) being possessed of a dangerous disease, would for my body's safety partake of the felicity of the open air ; in which case, if your Lordship please to considerate my present necessities, and procure me my speedy deliverance, I shall not only stand so much the more obliged, but also acknowledge you the defender and preserver of my life.

These lines (being subscribed) were sent to Somerset, and delivered into his own hands ; the messenger returns answer,* that presently he could not accomplish what he required, but willed him not to doubt, for shortly he should hear of his deliverance. Thus, being fed with hope, he taketh new comfort to himself. In the mean time Weston repairs to Mrs. Turner for more of his pay, being now in want ; answer was made, that so soon as he had ended his employment he should not fail to receive it ; but before then he must not expect anything. Whereupon he returns, and enters into new designs, for in all this time—that is, from the 21st of April until the beginning of September, in the year 1613—Sir Thomas had held out. While he was thus puzzling himself to bring this to perfection, Somerset sent him a letter to this effect,

* In this reply some white powder of a poisonous quality was conveyed to Overbury, and is stated to have caused much prejudice to his health. Somerset informed Overbury that the King was at that time deeply engaged ; but, on the first opportunity, he would endeavour to move him in his behalf. It is almost unnecessary to remark, that all hopes of the kind were perfectly fallacious.

that as yet the Court was busy about important business, and the King's ear was not at leisure to entertain any motion ; but as soon as he could find opportunity, he would not fail to speak in his behalf. In the mean time, to ease the pain of his malady, he had sent him a foreign powder, either to be eaten or drunk—which powder was rank poison. This feeds him still with hope, but brings him small comfort. Now Weston had found out an unknown apothecary, and with him concludes for 10*l.* to administer a glister, wherein should be put mercury sublimate. The youth was won to do it. Weston prepares it ; persuades Sir Thomas that it will be much for his health ; whereupon, about the 14th day of September, he brings the said apothecary to execute his office—assists him therein ; and by the infusion thereof he falls into a languishing disease, with a pain in his gut. The next day after, with the extremity of pain he gave up the ghost. After his death Weston received the rest of his pay, and dispatches the unknown apothecary into France.

After, it was given out that Sir Thomas lived a loose life in the Tower, and not according to that strictness as became a prisoner ; but being suffered to have too much liberty, he ran into excess, so that thereby he got the French disease, and thereof died. This went for current amongst some ; whilst others, that were ignorant, some little respect had to it, but to others that sought narrower into the matter, they found it far otherwise ; for De La Bell, the apothecary before spoken of, having relation to him, a little before his death reported that he was changed in his com-

plexion—his body consumed away, and full of yellow blisters, ugly to look upon; and it appeared by a letter that my Lord of Northampton wrote unto Rochester to pickthank, that there was found in his arm a blister, and upon his belly twelve kernels raised, not like to break easy, as broad as three pence, as big as a small button—one issue upon his back, whereupon was a plaster, from his shoulders downwards, of a dark tawny colour, strange and ugly to behold. He stank so intolerably not to be borne withal;* glad to be thrown into a loose sheet into his coffin; buried without knowledge or privity of his friends upon the Tower-hill. At last he concludes, that God is gracious in cutting off ill instruments before their time. Some of the factious crew had a purpose, if he had got out, to have made some use of him: from whence may be gathered how that Northampton held Protestant factions, and suspected Sir Thomas to have further knowledge of his secret than he would have had him; which was the cause, as was thought, beside the former evils, that hastened his end, and caused him to be taxed with so great infamy as to die of that disease. This passeth current, and the mischief lies concealed. Who dares to speak of it, two such great men having their hands in it?

Thus may we all see that as well good as bad men come to miserable ends, and other times those that are victims do soonest suffer disgrace and con-

* “And now the last cruel act having taken place, the insatiate murderers were not contented with his mere life, but so battled his body with the noxious poison, that he was like to breed a worse plague in all the beholders.”—*MS. Life of Overbury.*

tempt. This man, before he came to Court, was brought up in all gentlemanlike qualities: in his youth at Cambridge, after in the Middle Temple, there instructed in those qualities became a gentleman; by the entreaty of my Lord Treasurer, Sir Robert Cecil, preferred to honour—found favour extraordinary, yet hindered in his expectations by some of his enemies, and to shift off discontent forced to travel; therein spent not his time as most do, to loss, but furnished himself with things fitting a statesman, by experience in foreign government, knowledge of the language, passages of employment, external courtship and good behaviour—things not common to every man. Notwithstanding, such are the imperfections of the times, he is brought into ignominy and contempt, and all those good qualities obscured, by the disgraceful reproaches of a dissolute woman. What shall we then say, since both vice and virtue do both end with misery? He is most happy that liveth most private, for, according to the saying of the poet—

“ Our lives, our souls, our wealth we spend
 In Court to purchase praise;
 But what reward is in the end
 For our desert t’us repaid?
 Their vows and protestations deep,
 Not prest in paper but in wind;
 Their sounds of words to lull asleep,
 From body forced, not from the mind.
 Hands there we join, but not our heart,
 Whereby it happeneth few are blest;
 But many thousands that resort
 Unto the Court, by it are lost.
 And of those few that blessed are,
 We often see their fall again;

c c 2

Their blessed days they spend in care,
And after end their lives in pain."

To conclude ; among courtiers enmity is holden for perfect amity, and those friends whom we most trust do soonest seek to subvert and outgrow us, as appeareth even in this example before our eyes.

The Complaint for Want of Treasure.—The King sets many Lands to Fee Farm.—The Death of my Lord Harrington.—The Death of his Son.

GREAT sums of money being disbursed upon her Grace's wedding, and daily employment for others, some for Ireland, the Lord Treasurer wanting there to defray ordinary expenses, some for the King's own use, and some for other occasions, causeth a great complaint for want of treasure. Officers of Court go unpaid, and many of the King's servants receive not their wages at set times, so that the King is forced to set many of his lands to fee farm, and therefore deputed treasurers, with some few others, have the passing of them.

Now, my Lord Harrington obtained a patent for the making of brass farthings,—a thing that brought with it some contempt, though lawful, for all things lawful are not expedient ; who, being enjoined to go into the Low Countries with her Grace, by the way lost his life. His son succeeded both in his honour and patent, but enjoyed them not long, for he died within a short time after, the hopefulest gentleman of that name, more fit for employment than for a private life, and for a statesman than for a soldier. He had been at Cam-

bridge, there reputed for a great scholar ; he travelled into Italy, Venice, and France ; he employed his time for the most part in study, whereby he made himself apt for great matters. But yet it pleased God even then, when he was in his greatest hope, to cut off his days. He gave all he had to the Countess of Bedford, his sister, defrauding her neither of the land nor of the right of the barony, estimating her to be worthy of much more than he had to leave : he made a worthy and godly end. These things coming so thick one after another, left not time for men to dream of Overbury's death.

The Earl of Somerset.—His Conscience accuseth him.—Northampton's Speech to him.—He becometh a Neuter in Religion.—The Earl of Northampton's Course.

A NULLITY being thus purchased, he dignified it, as is said, and the match concluded. About Candlemas, 1614, they marry with much joy and solemnity, a masque being performed at Somerset's charge, and many rumours pass without any respect. All these things notwithstanding, a guilty conscience can never go without accusation. Pensiveness and sullenness do possess the Earl, his wonted mirth forsakes him, his countenance is cast down, he takes not that felicity in company as he was wont to do, but still something troubles him.*

* He fell into such a desponding way that he entirely neglected his person,—a point of no small importance with his capricious Sovereign, who never long retained a favourite incapable or unwilling of affording him conversational amusement.

Verily it is a dangerous thing to fall within the compass of a guilty conscience ; it eateth and consumeth the soul of a man as rust the iron, or as beating waves hollow the rock ; and though these things are not made public, yet, nevertheless, Northampton observed it in him, and having so admirable a capacity, he could make use of all things : wherefore, knowing his disease, viz. his mind seared with murder, and knowing the Earl tractable as he desired, enters into more familiar discourse with him ; for when the mind of a young man is corrupted with evil, he runs headlong into sin without stay or fear ; wherefore, among many other discourses, this falls between them. That, in case the death of Sir Thomas Overbury should come to light, they were then in a most dangerous state, and the next thing they must expect is loss of life, goods, lands, honours, their names to be made scandalous to the world, and, to conclude, to be branded with an ignominious death ; neither that there was any way left them for to escape this, but either by making their own fortunes so great that they might oppose all accusations, or else, being Catholics, to endeavour that, in defending them, they again might assist their cause, in case that any matter come against them.

This carrying some show and likelihood of truth, and that indeed his case was desperate, if it should ever come to light, concludes to combine with Northampton in whatsoever he should undertake, and in conclusion, becomes a neuter in religion. Whereupon, to the intent that he might set further evils on foot, beside those before remembered, he begins to rub up the ancient quarrel between the Welsh and the Eng-

lish, who now murmur at some discontent. And, to the intent to hearten on the Irish, send letters thither, by the hands of one Hammon, a poor man, unto such whom he knows to be faithful in the Romish religion, and thereby confirms them in their opinion, assuring them that God will still provide one or more to protect his church, and that now the greatest favourite of England would stand for them; upon which letters, the Irish grow obstinate, as I have said, and altogether neglect the service of God, and utterly deny the oath of supremacy, protesting loss of life and goods rather than to be inforced to so damnable a thing. Now may we see the churches utterly forsaken, none to hear divine service, the discipline of their own church established, and the Irish in general expecting a day to have their liberty and freedom in religion. The same man returning this news is after sent into Yorkshire, with a black staff and a knob upon the end, within which knob, letters were conveyed from place to place, as well for appointing assemblies as meetings for mass and entertaining of priests. Now might a man go to mass in many places in the city, and who were so much publicly favoured as Papists? * Their number increase, their priests are entertained, confession in many parts publicly practised, and although it was contrary to the laws, yet greatness over-countenancing them, it was little regarded.

In meantime quarrels went forward between the Scottish and the English. Continual complaint and the suit

* This account appears to be somewhat overdrawn, when we recollect that, at this very period, the house of a Papist in Holborn was entirely ransacked by the violence of the populace.

of the clothworkers, with hope of obtaining their request, not so much because of the profit as to raise up a discontent between the Dutch and them. These courses caused divers men to pass divers opinions, and many men to pass their opinion as they affected either party.

The Rumour of the Spanish Fleet.—A Proclamation against Spanish Money.—A Leaguer in the Low Countries.—The public Rumour against my Lord of Northampton.—He exhibits a Bill in the Star-Chamber against the Publishers.—They justify my Lord of Canterbury's Speech.—The Death of my Lord of Northampton.—His Funeral.—His Will.—The Names of those that succeeded him in his Offices.

Not long after, it was rumoured abroad that the Spaniards had drawn out a navy of ships of an hundred sail,* but to what purpose no man knew; many suspected for England, because they were come so far upon this coast; others said for the use of their mariners, to accustom them to the sea: but most were of opinion, that these were but shadows, and that the full intention of the Spaniards was to have taken advantage of the time. Howsoever, upon this there followed a proclamation against Spanish money, that their money should not go current in England, which causeth many to suspect worse and the worst, and

* A letter preserved among the Tanner manuscripts, the signature of which is unfortunately torn away, gives a curious notice of the alarm that was felt on this occasion at Portsmouth, and other places on the southern coast, when the rumour of another invasion from Spain obtained ground.

some said one thing, some another. Upon the neck of that comes news of wars in the Low Countries, some say against the Palsgrave, some against the States. The Scots begin to fly out into rebellion and are suppressed. The wilderness in Ireland begins to stir; sometimes thirty, sometimes forty, sometimes three hundred, fly out and stand upon their guard. These things administer occasion of wonder to the ignorant, and many of them who know the truth of things know not what to say to it. Priests come into the kingdom by tens, fifteens, twenties, at a time, and have free access, so that my Lord of Northampton (being Warden of the Cinque Ports) begins to be called into question. Some say he hath a hand in this business, others say he lets priests have this free access, and that in Bloomsbury, amongst his own buildings, they have free harbour; others say that through his countenance thither any man might go to public mass: besides many other intelligences being brought from beyond seas, draws him further into suspicion, and the King begins to withdraw his favour from him; wherefore he exhibits his bill against such as defamed him into the Star-Chamber. Some are for this cause committed to the Tower, others to Newgate, others to the Fleet, till they come to their answer, and in the end openly in the Star-Chamber, he is accused for suffering priests to have free access into Yorkshire under pretence of his office, for countenancing them, for sending letters to and again to encourage men in their opinions, and many other such like things; and when the Lords should come to pass their voices, my Lord of Canterbury made a speech amongst the

rest to this effect :—that although many had been the rumours and reports that had passed in these times, some of them hushed up for uncertain truths and flying fables, then entertained for approved truths, yet nevertheless such things as are grounded upon reason, and for which men of upright conscience have some occasion to speak, to have such either lightly valued or punished, was rather injustice than any way beseeming the equity of that Court. But in truth, these whereof we now speak are grounded upon some cause ; and my Lord's own letters make evident that he hath done something both against his own conscience and meaning merely to attain unto honour and sovereignty, and to please the King ; and with that he pulls out a letter written from my Lord to Cardinal Bellarmin to this effect :—that, howsoever the condition of the times compelled, and his Majesty urged him to turn Protestant, yet, nevertheless, his heart stood with the Papist, and that he would be ready to further them in any attempt.

This and much more being read to some such purpose, he proceeded, and shewed how that these things also were not merely uncertain, but even the actions that followed did justify them to be true ; for there was never known to be so many priests to come over into this kingdom in so short a time as of late there had done ; neither could he assure himself that my Lord was true hearted unto the State, since also he harboured such about him as would undertake to write in defence of the Gunpowder Treason.

This and much more being said about the latter end of Easter Term, in the year 1614, my Lord being

hereat much discouraged, after the Court brake, took his barge and went to Greenwich; there made his will, wherein he published himself to die in the same faith he was baptized, made some of his servants executors, others he bestowed gifts upon. His fair house he disposed to my Lord Chamberlain, his lands to my Lord Theophilus Howard; retired back to his house at London, and before Midsummer Term following was dead. Many were the rumours that were raised of this man after his death; that he was a traitor to the State, and that he was not dead, but was carried beyond sea* to blind the world, and the reason was because he would be buried at Dover and not at London. Others say, that if he had lived, he would have been the author of much stir. Many disliked him, and as was reported, even the King himself now towards his latter end, which made him fall into these courses; but truly he was a notable politician, and carried things more commodiously for the Papists than ever any before him. His funeral was kept privately at Rochester, where he desired to be buried, because it was the chief port town of his office, without any state and outward appearance. My Lord Treasurer that now is, succeeded him in the Treasuryship, my Lord of Somerset made Lord Chamberlain and Chancellor of Cambridge, my Lord Zouche, Warden of the Cinque Ports, my Lord of Worcester some short time after Privy Seal. These succeeded him in his offices.

* To Rome, as generally stated; but there is no ground whatever for such an absurd rumour. Scandal was certainly busy after his death, "laying," in the words of an old writer, "as much odium on his name as infamy could produce."

The Clothworkers obtain their Petition. The Old Charter of the Merchants Adventurers is seized into the King's Hands.—The Dutch grow discontented at it.—The Doubtfulness of Somerset's Mind.—He sues for his Pardon,—Obtains it.—My Lord Chancellor refuseth to seal it.—He falls into suspicion.—Begins to be neglected.

THE clothworkers still persisting in their suit, and having two such strong friends to stand for them, and Alderman Cockayne, a rich merchant, to back them, they at length obtain what they desire, and proclamation goes forth that no more white cloths shall be carried over undyed or undressed. And for this purpose the old Charter of the Merchant Adventurers is seized into the King's hands, so that that Company falls to decay. Now the Dutchmen begin to murmur at the English, and make proclamation there that no man shall buy any such cloths as come so overdrest and dyed; whereupon the English make a new proclamation, that no man shall transport wools out of the kingdom. These things feed some with hope of some further troubles, yet, nevertheless, it is so ordered by the Council, that all those things are pacified, and some quantity, amounting to some certain number of white cloths, are suffered to be transported, as well to give content to the Hollander as satisfaction and employment to some young merchants that had entered into this trade; by which means these clamours are a little stayed; yet, nevertheless, great impression of envy is between these two companies.

Now one of the greatest friends that Somerset had being dead, and himself still jealous of his safety, he begins to cast about him how he might avoid the

danger of the law, for his intelligencers gave him notice of many desperate words that were uttered concerning Overbury's death. Whereupon, finding the King in a good humour, he moves him to this effect:—that whereas his Majesty hath pleased to commit many things into his charge, and some of them proving too weighty to undergo; it was so that ignorantly he ran himself into a premunire, whereby he had forfeited to him both his lands, his goods, and his liberty, and that now he came to surrender them all into his Majesty's hands, unless it pleased him, for his wonted favour towards him, to grant him pardon, and many other offences that he had ignorantly committed.

The King still bearing a good affection towards him, bad him draw his pardon and he would sign it. Whereupon he makes his repair unto Sir Robert Cotton, and entreats him to look him a pardon, the largest he could find, in former precedent, so he brings him one that was made by the Pope to Cardinal Wolsey. The effect of which was, that the King, of his mere motion and special favour, did pardon all and all manner of treasons, misprisions of treasons, murders, felonies, and outrage whatsoever, by the said Earl of Somerset, committed, or hereafter to be committed,* with many more words to make it more ample and large, according to form, which he

* “ It appeared afterwards that this petition of the Earl's to the King was so extravagantly drawn as, in the opinion of the wisest lawyers of this realm, no such pardon could be accounted fully legal; and accordingly the Earl never obtained his desire.”—*MS. Life of Overbury.*

caused to be drawn out and engrossed, and brought it to the King. The King he signed it. At length it comes to my Lord Chancellor's hands; he peruses it, and refuses to let it pass the seal. My Lord asks the reason,—answer was made that he could not justify the doing of it, but that he should incur a premunire as well as himself. This struck Somerset to the heart, and now he was in greater doubt than ever he was before; for still he is stung with fear to be touched with Overbury's death, and so very pensively retires to Whitehall, and there remains. The King coming to London, my Lord Chancellor acquainted him with the pardon, and shewed his Majesty what danger he had incurred in case he had sealed it. The King perceiving the truth of the business, suspecting some greater matter than he knew of, withdraws his countenance from Somerset, who now wanting virtue to support his greatness without the King's favour, falls into the contempt of many, and those that are his enemies neglect him, and do, as it were, deride his manner of carriage, by which means he runs headlong into his own perdition, as shall be hereafter shewed.

My Lord Chancellor sued in the Star-Chamber for being within the Compass of a Premunire.—The King goes to Cambridge.—A Breach about Ignoramus.—My Lord Cook stands against my Lord Chancellor.—The King graces Sir George Villiers.—Bestows great Honours on him.—Somerset's Courses to conceal Overbury's Death.—His Covetousness.—His Insolency —He is crossed by Villiers.—The Report of the Vulgar.

In this year, 1614, the King, by the intreaty of Somerset, determines to go to Cambridge, and there was

entertained with great solemnity. But, amongst the rest, there was a play called by the name of *Ignoramus*,* that stirred up a great contention between the common lawyers and the scholars, insomuch as their flouts grew insufferable, but at last it was staid by my Lord Chancellor, and the explaining of the meaning.

About this time it happened that divers citizens having recovered certain sums of money in the King's Bench, and thereof having had judgment, the party defendant nevertheless exhibits his bill in chancery to have relief, the plaintiffs at the common law having already had judgment for the same matter, there stands out and disobey the King's process. Whereupon a writ of contempt issues against them, they are taken, committed to the Fleet, and there continue in their obstinacy; nevertheless, not long after, upon some advice, they exhibit their bill into the Star Chamber against my Lord, intending that he ought not to intermeddle with any matter that was already determined at the common law, and whereof a judgment had been passed; and this was ordained by the statute in 4 Henry IV., cap. 13, whereby it was enacted that judgment given in the King's Court, shall not be examined in the Chancery, Parliament, nor elsewhere, until it be undone by attainr or error, &c. Now, my Lord having laid them fast upon a bill exhibited before him, and judgment already being given, that

* This play was acted before James on March the 8th, 1614-15, in the hall of Trinity College. It was written by George Ruggle, of Clare Hall, and the names of the original actors in it have been preserved by Granger. There are some curious satirical verses written on this occasion in the MS. library at Middlehill.

therefore my Lord had incurred a premunire, and humbly prayed for relief in this case. Many were the opinions of lawyers concerning this matter, some stood on my Lord Chancellor's side, some said that the poor men had injury and that they might justify what they had done, and amongst many my Lord Coke stood out stiffly that my Lord Chancellor could not justify that action ; and thus it stands still in question, whether my Lord be in a premunire, yea, or nay.

My Lord of Somerset still continuing his loose courses, and utterly neglecting that severity that ought to be in a man of his place, besides the former suspicions and jealousies, gives occasion of others also, whereby the King doth fall more and more into dislike. There being at this time a young gentleman about the Court that not long before had arrived from travels out of France, his name was Villiers, a Leicestershire gentleman and of an ancient house, who, as well in respect of his carriage as of his countenance, was more remarkable than many others. On this man the King cast a particular affection, holding him to be the only properest and best deserving gentleman of England ; whereupon he entertained him into favour, bestows 1000*l.* upon him, after adorns him with the title of knighthood, and now he begins to grow every day more eminent than other ; greater honours are bestowed upon him, as the dignity of the Knight of the Garter and Master of the Horse,—places not common to every person, and so much the more remarkable, because they are bestowed upon him being so young in years. His wisdom is commended of the wisest, and his expectations greater than many that went before

him. This stung Somerset to the heart, to see another step in his place, and the more fears his subversion and downfall. Wherefore he goes about to circumvent danger; and for this purpose sends into France to make away the apothecary that administered the physic that killed Sir Thomas,* endeavours to get in all letters and writings that had passed concerning that business, and disgracing and discountenancing all such as at any time once spake of the death of Overbury, to the intent that it might be kept close and concealed; but what God will have disclosed shall never be concealed. Messengers are sent from place to place; he being a Privy Councillor and in favour, his warrant passeth current, so that in all places, trunks, chests, boxes, studies, doors, and such houses wherein he suspected any letters or other matters that appertain unto this mischief lay hid, were broken open and searched to the intent that they may bring such writing to my Lord.

Yet, nevertheless, many (and more than were dreamt of) of those letters came to my Lord of Canterbury's hand, and my Lord Coke's, so that these courses makes him rather more suspected than any whit at all eases his grief. At home in his office using extraordinary covetousness and parsimony, he thereby heaped up to himself great store of money, and would

* "I was never certainly informed whether it was true what some said, and do still aver, viz. that the Earl of Somerset, still having his conscience stung with remorse for this crime, sent trusty messengers into foreign parts, to the intent to commit a second murder by putting out of the way a person who was concerned in preparing part of the poison for Sir Thomas."—*MS. Life of Overbury.*

not undertake any enterprise without he was well-rewarded for his pains ; every new occasion and occurrence that came to his hands, brought him in also a fleece of money. Offices in Court that lay in his gift, not bestowed without money ; the King's letters not purchased without money ; no pardon obtained without money ; so that he was as great a bribe-taker as his mother, the Countess of Suffolk, and as many rumours and hard reports were spread on him for the same. Yet, nevertheless, he still continued his favour, in despite (as a man might say) of his opposites, even unto the greatest dignity, which caused him to be as proud as covetous, and to commit as many open insolencies as he had received forced bribes ; thought it no matter to lean on the King's cushion in public, to check some of the nobility, and amongst the rest to make a flat breach with my Lord of Canterbury, a grave and reverend gentleman, one of the pillars of this kingdom, one that could discern the follies of this young man. Thus admiring of his own worth, he works his own subversion, and, by these insolencies, plucking more evils upon his head and daily adding more enemies to those that before he had deserved. These things laying him open to the contempt of the vulgar also ; and now all men, according to their custom, begin to exclaim of his great extortion. Thus may we see him falling.

Overbury's Death called into question.—Weston is sent for.—Examined.—Stands out.—My Lord of London's Speech.—He confesseth all.—The Earl and Countess attacked.—They deny the Deed.—Sir Thomas Monson committed to the Tower.—Sir Walter Raleigh and the Countess of Shrewsbury set at Liberty.—The Death of the Lady Arabella.—The Conviction of the Earl and Countess.—The Manner of their Arraignment, and many Rumours that were spread upon these things.

THE death of Overbury having now lain concealed about two years, and the Earl's insolency growing every day greater than other, procures him many more enemies as is said; yet there was no man so hardy for fear of the King's displeasure (he carrying a very good affection still towards him) to make him acquainted with it, or bring it to the trial of the law.

At last (for divers are the rumours how it was discovered) one was, that Sir Thomas Overbury's man petitions to my Lord Coke; and the substance of the petition was to let his Lordship understand, that whereas his master had been committed to the Tower by the consent of Northampton and Somerset, and there languishing to death unnaturally, that if it pleased his Lordship to call one Weston before him, he might gather that out of him that would disclose the whole practice. Others say that my Lord of Canterbury, having conceived (as is said) some dislike against Somerset, and willing to make himself gracious with the King, possesses Sir Ralph Winwood with the business (one that was preferred to be secretary under my Lord of Somerset, and to assist him), and let him understand the whole matter, as hath been related;

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and that many letters came unto his hands, and presumptions therein that it should be true; and there remained a trunk in such a place, wherein many writings were contained that would make evident the truth. Sir Ralph, being willing likewise to become more eminent with the King, possessed him with the business; and proceeding upon a confident ground, warrant was sent to my Lord Coke to prosecute the matter. Others said, that by the loss of a letter it was disclosed; and divers opinions there were how it should come to light, it having been kept close so long, for things of this nature, when they are so long concealed, bring more wonder.

But howsoever it was made known, my Lord Coke,* by virtue of his warrant, sent for Weston to come before him, and examined him upon divers articles concerning this subject, and persuaded him, entreated him, and threatened him, to tell the truth. Weston stood out, and would not; thus he persisted some week or a fortnight; many men urged him to it, accusers were brought before him, and deposed upon their oaths that whatsoever was objected to him was true; this little prevailed. At last my Lord of London went to him, and by his persuasions he tells all, — how Mrs. Turner and the Countess became acquainted, what relation she had to witches, sorcerers, and conjurors — that Northampton, Somerset, Franklin, the Monsons, and Yelvis, had all their hands in these businesses; whereupon they were all

* Coke conducted these trials with great diligence and talent. His connexion with them is well described in his *Life* by Mr. C. W. Johnson, 8vo, 1837.

apprehended, some sent to the Tower, others to Newgate. Having thus confessed this evil, and being convicted according to course of law, he was had to Tyburn to be hanged; and there Sir John Holys and others, imagining this to be but a fable, and that he was hired to accuse those persons, (for who almost would have believed it?) examines him of it at the gallows; and upon his examination he justified what he had done, to the great wonder of all those that stood by and heard it. After him Mrs. Turner, after her Franklin, then Sir Jervase Yelvis, upon their several arraignments and confessions of the fact, were found guilty and hanged—all very penitent and sorrowful for what was done. To write the particulars of their arraignments, confessions, and the manner of their deaths, is needless, being common.

Now the Countess and the Earl are attached, and committed to the protection, one to the Dean of Westminster, the other to the Sheriff of London; and, according to the courses of such cases, there are great reports raised, watch and ward kept more than ordinary, and the guards more observant. This makes the King stand at a maze, and to imagine that there is no truth in man—grows more jealous of himself than heretofore, because Carr, his only favourite—and that lay (as it were) in his bosom—should be entrapped in such an evil; and the tongues of the vulgar begin to wag—some said that Northampton and Somerset had combined with the Spaniards, for a sum of money, to deliver them up the navy, and that Sir William Monson, Vice-Admiral, should have done it the next spring; that the King and the whole state should

have been poisoned at the christening of the Countess's child (for she was then with child) ; and many more the like rumours were spread not worth the speaking, to the intent to incense the people the more against them. And to make the matter more heinous and grievous to the world, at this time the Lady Arabella died—a matter more remarkable than was observed—and gave some occasion of speech to many,* and yet nevertheless passed over in silence.

These hurly-burlies being grown something calm, and the minds of men a little settled, the Countess and Somerset were called before my Lord Chancellor, and others authorised for that purpose, to be examined ; and my Lord Coke was the man that pressed the evidence against them, which (as it was thought) procured him some great enemies. Two-and-twenty articles were objected against them, to all which, or to most of them, Somerset pleaded ignorance, and that these objections were but mere tricks to entrap him. The same answer was in the Countess ; and that it might rather seem to proceed out of envy, than for any just cause, they cause it to be given out that their accusation was wrongful, and none were accused but such as were greatest favourites to the King, so that there was much to do to little purpose. At last, when they heard that Weston, Turner, Franklin, and Yelvis, were all hanged, and that they had confessed the matter, the Countess, being brought before the

* “ The Lady Arabella dying about this time in the Tower, set men's tongues and fears awork that she went the same way ; such mischief doth one evil action introduce, that it makes a great road for jealousy to pursue after it.”— *Wilson*, p. 90.

Council, confessed the whole truth ; but Somerset stood to it still that he was not agent in it, and that these accusations did nothing touch him, and therefore ought to be excused. Nevertheless, his lands and goods were committed to custody, part to my Lord Treasurer, and part to others to the King's use. The money, plate, and jewels which he had heaped up together amounted, by report, unto 28,000*l.*, and his lands to 9000*l.* per annum ; and the King bestowed many of them upon the Prince. There was little speech of this, in respect that both the person and the matter wherein he was agent were both envied and facinorous ; neither was there any that pitied him, but most said that he had but his just desert, for the injuries and wrong that he offered unto Essex.

The arraignment was put off, and in the mean time Sir Walter Raleigh was set at liberty. This man had continued in the Tower now almost ten years,* a condemned person for a plot intended against his Majesty, at his first coming in. He bore a great envy against Somerset, because he had begged his lands of the King, and got it into his possession, giving him many quips and taunts during the time that he was in the Tower. These two accidents happening beyond expectation—that the one being the especial favourite of the King, the other a condemned man—the one imprisoned, the other set at liberty—gave great occasion of speech and rumour, and so much the more wonder and admiration because of Raleigh's wit and policy.

And this year also the Countess of Shrewsbury, who

* Sir Walter Raleigh was liberated in March 1616, having been imprisoned for more than twelve years.

was committed for being privy to the escape of the Lady Arabella, was set at liberty; and the Earl her husband died, leaving the greatest part of his land unto his daughters. During all this time—that is, from Michaelmas term unto the short vacation between Easter and Trinity terms—the arraignment was put off: some attributed the cause to be, for because the Countess was with child, and in the mean time was delivered of a daughter; some, that further proofs of uncertainties might be brought in; others, to give them longer time to consider upon the matter, and that it was a great favour. I say, these rumours being published amongst the people, at length the King authorised my Lord Chancellor to be High Steward of England for the time being, and joins eight of the judges with him for his assistants—viz., the four judges of the King's Bench, my Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, Justice Nichols, my Lord Chief Baron, and others of the barons, with power to call Somerset and the Countess before them, to show cause wherefore they should not have the sentence of death passed upon them for this offence, committed both against the laws of the land, and against the King, his crown and dignity.

So upon the 24th of May in this year (1616), there being a seat royal placed at the upper end of Westminster Hall, a little short of the King's Bench, and seats made round about it for the rest of the Judges and Peers to sit on, and a little cabin built close by the Common Pleas for the prisoners when they came from the Tower, to be put to rest therein, they proceed to the trial after this manner:—as soon as my Lord High Steward with great state came into West-

minster Hall, with his assistants, the Judges, divers Lords and Gentlemen attending, and four Sergeants-at-arms before him, ascending a little gallery, made of purpose to keep off the crowd, he takes his seat and the rest of his assistants and Peers, according to their places. This being done, after silence proclaimed, one of the Heralds-at-arms reaches the High Steward his patent, and he delivers it to the Clerk of the Crown to read it. After Sir Ralph Conisbey reaches him his staff, and is there present according to his place to give attendance. After the patent read and proclamation for silence, and that the accusers should come in, the prisoners were sent for by the Clerk of the Checker, whose office it was to attend the prisoners. This being done, and the prisoners placed at the bar, Sir Henry Fanshaw reads the indictment, to which the Countess pleaded guilty and confessed the fact; but Somerset pleaded not guilty,* and had time from ten of the clock in the morning, till ten of the clock at night, to clear himself.

Much was said, but to little purpose. At last the Peers (having considered of the matter) return their verdict, laying their hands upon their breasts and swearing by their honours (for they do not take an oath as ordinary jurors do) that he was guilty of the murder and poisoning of Sir Thomas Overbury;

* James tried every method to induce him to plead guilty, and by that means contrived to raise rumours of suspicions against himself. There can be no doubt that Somerset was guilty, equally so with his profligate wife. They were, however, pardoned, and released from the Tower in 1621. The Countess died in obscurity about eleven years afterwards.

whereupon my Lord High Steward pronounced sentence of death against him, and so he was had back to the Tower, where he remaineth at the mercy of the King. This man may justly say as sometimes Pope Barbarossa said, when he was put from the Popedom.

Lo, here I am, that foretime took delight in name of Pope,
 Now being sad and abject, do bewail my fate and hope ;
 Of late preferred, I did converse with stately pomp and grace,
 And every nation to my foot their ready kisses place ;
 But now in dungeon deep am thrown of pains in mortal fear,
 A countenance pale, a body lean, deformed with grief, I bear ;
 From all parts of the Earth they brought me gold without constraint ;

But now, nor gold, nor precious stones, nor friends, can ease my
 plaint,—

So variable fortune is,—so nice to great attempt,—

So subject and so doubtful too,—so adverse in event,—

That Atis with his name doth play as with a tennis ball,

For, being lifted up with fame, the greater is the fall.

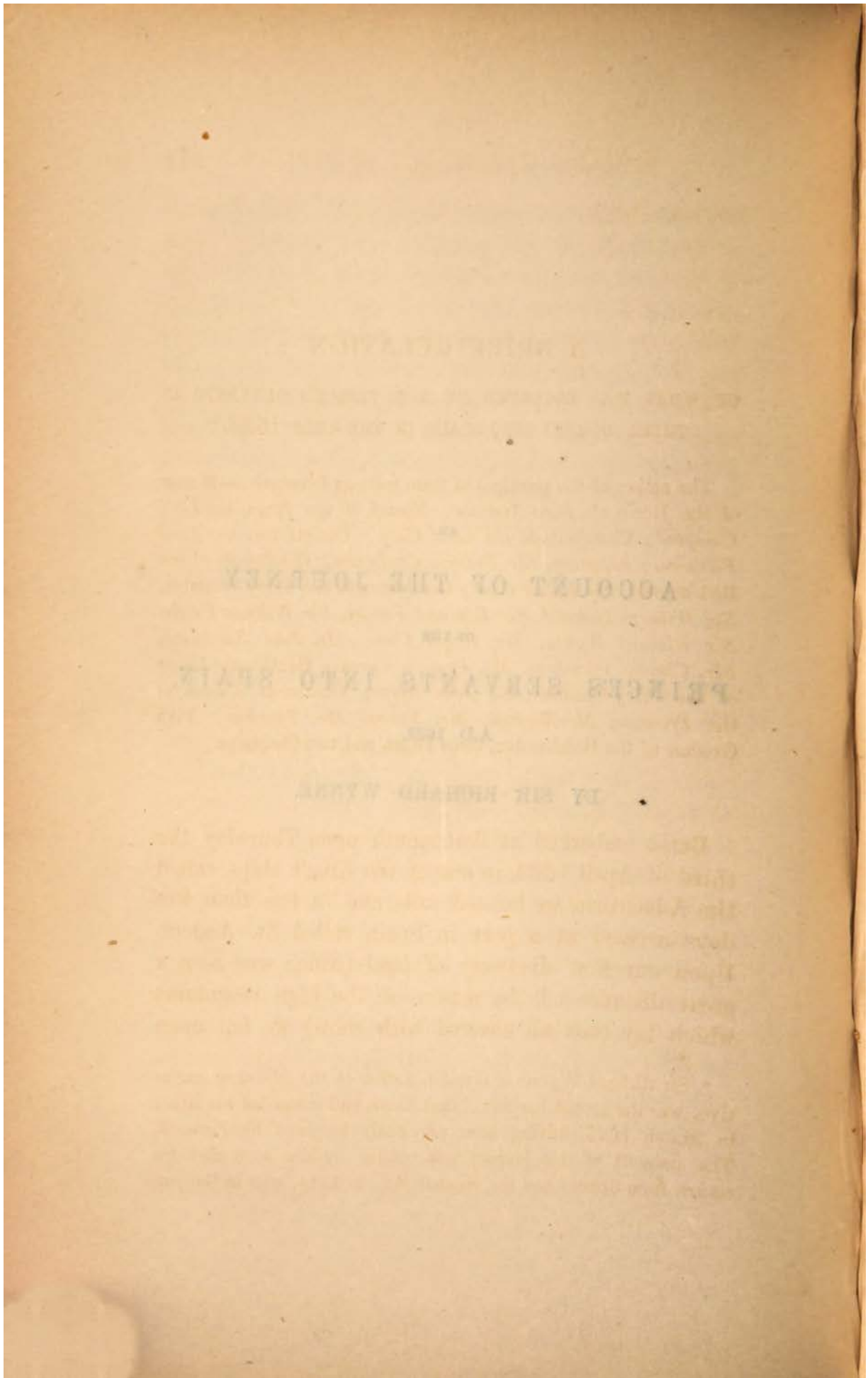
Let this example be to such whom fortune doth advance,

That they, as I from Popedom fell, may fall by like mischance.

For we cannot read of any that ever was so great a favourite as Somerset, neither the Spencers with Edward the Second, nor the Earl of Warwick with Henry the Sixth, nor the Duke of Suffolk with Henry the Eighth, as this man was with the King, neither was there any that ever came to so sudden and unexpected a fall. They, therefore, that do but rightly consider this discourse, shall find in it three things worthy observance ; First, that neither honour nor wealth are any certain inheritance, but occasions (unless God be merciful unto us) for the devil to pick a quarrel against us to bring us to infamy.

Secondly, that God never leaves murder (though never so closely carried) unpunished. Lastly, that there was never known in so short a time, so many great men die with suspicion of poison and witchcraft. There was first my Lord Treasurer, the Prince, my Lord Harrington, his son, Overbury, Northampton, besides these, which are no less than six; besides others, in three years and a half, and the two Monsons, who yet remain untried.

A BRIEF NARRATION
OF THE
AN
ACCOUNT OF THE JOURNEY
OF THE
OF THE
PRINCE'S SERVANTS INTO SPAIN,
A.D. 1623.
BY SIR RICHARD WYNNE.



A BRIEF RELATION

OF WHAT WAS OBSERVED BY THE PRINCE'S SERVANTS IN
THEIR JOURNEY INTO SPAIN, IN THE YEAR 1623.*

The names of the principal of them were as followeth:—Master of the Horse, *the Lord Andover*; Master of the Ward, *the Lord Compton*; Chamberlain, *the Lord Cary*; Comptroller, *the Lord Vaughan*; Secretary, *Sir Francis Cottington*; Gentleman of the Bedchamber, *Sir Robert Carr*; Gentlemen of the Privy Chamber, *Sir William Howard*, *Sir Edmund Verney*, *Sir William Crofts*, *Sir Richard Wynne*, *Mr. Ralph Clare*, *Mr. John Sandilaus*, *Mr. Charles Glemham*, *Mr. Francis Carew*; Gentleman Usher of the Privy Chamber, *Sir John North*; Gentlemen Ushers of the Presence, *Mr. Newton*, *Mr. Young*, *Mr. Tyrchitt*; Five Grooms of the Bedchamber, three Pages, and two Chaplains.

BEING embarked at Portsmouth upon Thursday the third of April 1623, in one of the King's ships, called the Adventure, we hoisted sails, and in less than five days arrived at a port in Spain called St. Andera. Upon our first discovery of land (which was seen a great distance off, by reason of the high mountains which lay then all covered with snow) we fell upon

* Sir Richard Wynne of Gwedir, author of the following narrative, was the second baronet of that name, and succeeded his father in March 1626, having been previously knighted by James I. The account of this journey was written by him soon after his return from Spain; and the original MS., in 1714, was in the pos-

the coast near Bilboa, thirty leagues off our desired harbour, so that we were forced to sail within a league of the shore, in all which way but one castle and a poor village called Loredo, the country all infinitely rocky, covered only with firs and a few juniper trees. Our port lay a league within those mountains, and is esteemed the only best in those parts. At our entrance lies a little ruinous fort, with some three pieces of ordnance in it. As it is now furnished, it is but of little use. Afore the town we cast anchor, which seemed to us to be a very poor thing, having neither glass windows nor chimneys.

We had not long rid at anchor, but the Governor comes aboard of us, giving us notice that it was his master's pleasure that we should receive all the fair usage he could afford us. We went ashore, where each man was brought to his several lodging being in the best men's houses in the town.

Wonderful populous the town is, the men from the highest to the lowest going in the habits of gentlemen, ever in cloaks and swords. Drudgery they will do none at all, for their wives they make their slaves, which do not only till their ground, and plant and prune their vineyards, but also carry all luggage, as our porters do in England. We have seen when these women have come with great trunks upon their heads from the shore, and ready to sink under the burthen, their own husbands standing by, their pride was such, that they

session of Dr. Robert Foulks, a transcript of which was printed by Hearne in 1729, along with several Latin tracts with which it has no connexion, in a volume that has now become scarce and difficult to be procured.

scorned to put their helping hands to help their wives, when they were ready to fall under the burthen, and suffered our people to help them, when they stood by and laughed. The meaner sort of women that are unmarried go all bare-headed, with their crowns shaved like friars. Their sleeves are all of white linen, and their bodies and skirts of a dark bluish cloth, which is all open behind, only tacked together with one pin, so that their smocks are continually seen trailing on the ground. The better sort have their sleeves set with seaming-lace.

Upon holydays all these people do but go from one cross to another shrine, with their beads in their hands, praying in a language they understand not, and adoring of dumb images. So much zeal joined with blind devotion I never saw afore. There be in this town of religious houses, six, besides a college of Jesuits, and a nunnery of six-and-twenty nuns, whom we, divers times, saw and conferred with. They make dainty chains of young oranges, which they sold to divers of us. It seems they fast not overmuch, for they be plump and fat, though not handsome; the most passable amongst them was one that was descended from English parents. The Jesuits college and church we saw, which (as it seems) is but newly reared amongst them, being built within this twelvemonth; a goodly building of rough marble, which cost twenty thousand pounds. They showed us all their relics and idols, amongst which was Garnat and his straw. Much troubled they were at our not kneeling, though the other houses gave us liberty to do what we pleased. The Jesuits offered us some affronts, which we thought

fittest not to take notice of, for we found them and their courses as much disliked by the inhabitants there as by ourselves, and if we had grown to a contest with them, it is certain they would have done us some mischief. In a whole week's being there I saw neither burial, christening, nor marriage, it being the Easter holydays,—no, not so much as fire nor a drunkard.

There was sent to meet us to this town one Mr. Donnes, an English merchant, and an Alguaseele de Corte, which used their utmost endeavours for the furnishing us with mules. After they had continued with us two days, hearing of my Lord Vaughan's arrival at Soredo, they repaired thither, and continued with him till Saturday night, in which time (perceiving there came no mules) we endeavoured to have removed by pack-mules without saddles, and were so resolved upon the Monday following; but late upon Sunday night there came threescore saddle-mules, and so altered our resolutions. I was lodged in one of the chief houses in the town; the master's name was Don Andrias de Pueblo. He feasted me, and each day, during my lying there, he still presented me with somewhat or other. Wonderfully courteous he was, and much importuned me to take his house for my lodging in my return. At my going away, he had given orders that nothing should be taken in his house, and went himself to get me a good mule. I am a little the longer in the relation, because you may see what an altered man he was at our return, being but two days absent.

Having lain here a week, upon Monday we set forwards, (all our carriages being gone upon Wednesday before,) being in number some threescore mules. When

we were mounted, every man with a cloak-bag afore him, putting to spurs, the beasts, instead of going forwards, kicked backwards, standing stone-still, till the toy took them to go on, and then all they would do was to walk. In this equipage we marched on, desiring our friends in England had but seen us in these postures. Thus travelled we on a carrier's pace, and about one in the afternoon we arrived at a scattered village, called El Vallo de Toraco, where we baited. All the way we rode this morning was mountainous and craggy. Towns saw we none, some scattered villages in bottoms, all the flat parts being corn, and the next adjoining were their vineyards, all planted with red-wine grapes, of which they make a sour wine they call *tinto*. Their fruit nor corn was not forwarder than ours in England. When we came to dine at this our baiting-place, we found a plank set up instead of a table, and a few eggs with half a kid held above the fire until it was burnt black. Tablecloth nor napkins was there none. This was the provision we had in this place, notwithstanding that they had a fortnight's time to prepare for our coming.

Having so well dined, we betook ourselves again to our mules, and travelled all that afternoon through such a country, and such ways, as the earth affords not,—I mean not for goodness, but the most wicked ways and country that ever Christians passed. It was well we were upon the backs of mules; for I believe no other beasts in the world could have passed those ways. The terrible stony hills we climbed, and the steep downfalls we descended, are not to be believed, having for two leagues together a narrow passage of

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two feet broad, all made like stairs, lying a hundred fathoms above a great river, whose roaring amongst the stones was such, that we could not hear one another speak. The hills for the most part covered with shrubs and firs : the heat between these hills was such, that we thought ourselves in stoves. Yet all this while, upon the tops of these hills we saw snow in abundance.

With the conclusion of the day our journey ended, and we arrived at our long-looked-for lodging, which we expected would have proved very commodious ; for the muleteers that went along with us said that King Philip and his Queen had both lain in the house where we were to do. When we alighted, we were brought up to this lodging, which was a long room, so much decayed that we expected hourly when it would fall upon us. Glass windows we had none, (for they were things not known in those parts ;) yet we wanted no air, for there was not a foot of that royal room that wanted holes, which, within a few hours after, we had a feeling of, the night being very sharp and cold. There we walked two hours, whilst supper was preparing. When we were ready to sit, there was no table nor stool ; but with much ado we got a piece of timber, about which we stood, and gave God thanks for what we had. Bread and wine were both good.

Ere we had there concluded our supper, there comes a post with a packet from Madrid, directed to the Lord Cary. Much joyed we were all to hear from our master, (for, in a packet which my Lord received at St. Anderas three days afore, the Prince had discharged off the troop, Dr. Betton, Mr. Dethicks, and all the

under-stairs-men, and the rest he commanded to come on with all expedition,) and with much greediness expecting to hear from my Lord some pleasing news. After the reading of his letters, his Lordship told us that it was the Prince's command, and that to be punctually observed, that we should, with all the speed we could, all return in the ships we came to England. The Prince's command, signed with his own hand, we read over and over. It struck such a general sadness in us all, that for half an hour there passed not a word between us; some troubled with their return, others with the fear of the ill success of our master's business, and some with the doubt of his safety. Recollecting ourselves at last, we resolve to advise what is to be done. Each man had a several opinion of his own. At last, coming to my turn to speak, although I was as desirous, since I was come thus far, as any to go on; yet, seeing my master's peremptory command to return, I would punctually obey it. All resolved to do so, saving some six, who would go to Burgos, a day's journey further, where they intended to take post, and go home through France. The Lord Vaughan, who was a day's journey and his company afore us, was directed by this command to return back, and only the Lord Cary and the Lord Compton to go on. The lodging we were in, and the news together, so perplexed the company, that sleep was not thought on, and those that would have slept had no beds. In the end, in this ill-accommodated room, some walk, the rest lay themselves upon the boards, where they made a shift to spend the time till day.

The morning being come, they dispatched a post for

the staying of the trunks, (which were gone four or five days afore,) and for the stay of my Lord Vaughan and his company. Then did we take our mules, and we came backwards, and they went on towards Burgos. The name of this town is St. Andera de Luna. It lies in a bottom, environed all with hills. There is not within three leagues any flat of twelvescore every way. A little church with bells, such as carriers' horses carry. In all the country we travelled, I think there is not a bell so good as the meanest we have in England. At six in the morning and at six at night there rings a bell. They call it *the Ave Mary Bell*, at which time all people (women and children), be they doing anything whatsoever, they fall on their knees, and so continue during the time it rings.

Being a league on our way towards the sea-side, I was inquisitive to know whether there were anything in those parts worth the seeing? They told me, if I travelled two days, I could see nothing but such mountains as were at that instant before my eyes; only they said, Tobosa, a poor village, where the famous Dulcinea* lived, was not far off, but nothing in it worth the taking pains to see it. I then resolved my men and myself (notwithstanding we wanted language) to lie that night in some village of the country, the more to observe the nature of the people, and the usage they would bestow upon a stranger. So parting with my company, and travelling two leagues further, having language enough to inquire

* This of course refers to the novel of Don Quixote, which had not been published many years at the period this was written.

where they sold wine, I was directed not far off to a house in a wood, such as I inquired after. Being come thither about noon, I alighted, and made shift to make the woman understand that we desired to eat somewhat. So she made us a pancake of eggs and bacon, all fried together. She having covered a little stool, and laid on the table two loaves of bread, of a sudden there came out of the wood two black swine, overthrew the stool, and each carries away a loaf. The woman and her children having notice of it, pursue the hogs, and stayed so long in the prosecution,* that we believed they meant not to return at all; but at last they came, and put us out of the fear we had that there was no more bread left.

After we had rested two hours, we departed and travelled till evening, at which time we discovered a scattered village, far bigger than any we had passed through afore, a fair church, and store of people. No sooner were we entered into it, but divers people came about us and told us that in such a house we might have wine, and in such a house a lodging. To the lodging we went, and set up our mules; and being showed a chamber, and the only one in the house, there we rested, and scarce sat down, but in come three priests, who I made a shift to talk with in broken Latin. The first question they asked, as did all the country people we travelled by, why we returned so soon? shewing very much dislike at it. We told them, it was by command. Then they presently concluded, things did not succeed well at Madrid. They stayed with me an hour, and at their parting gave the host charge to use me well, and to call for anything they

* Pursuit.

had to supply me with. No sooner were they gone, but most of the women in the town came thither, and stood all round about me, gazing, the one handling one thing and another feeling of another thing, still in their language saying that what a pity it was that these were no Christians (for that is the doctrine all their priests beat into their heads). They stayed and saw me set to supper, still new company, both of men and women, coming in. I had as good a hen and bacon as ever I ate. The room being very full, and I set alone like a prince, there come in half a score of maids, and one amongst the rest they pointed at, which, they said, was the handsomest woman in the town: her they beckoned to me to look upon, which, upon observation, I found truly to be the handsomest I had seen in those parts. Her head was tied up in linen, somewhat like the Turkish turbans; on both sides hung down curled locks almost down to her girdle. In her ears were hanging two blue sapphire pendants in rings of gold. Her complexion was according to the colour of the country, but the features of her face were most excellent, having eyes, nose, and teeth, as good as ever I saw. About her neck was a chain of black bugle-beads, and between every bead a silver crucifix. Her bodice was all of cloth laced, her sleeves of fine linen, thick gathered at both ends, and laid in divers places with seaming-laces, wrought with coloured silk. Upon her legs she wore buskins; what were underneath is more than I can tell. She stayed an hour, and did as the rest had done before. At last she was sent for, and with her went all the country clowns that had gaped upon me three hours

together. Not a man, although a carter, that came in, but had his sword. I believe this wench to have been the paragon of their parish, by the haste they made after her when she went. Most of the company left me not till they saw me in bed, and much ado the mistress of the house had to make them then go. I observed, that those country people are of innocent, good natures, believing nor knowing nothing but what their priests will have them do.

This morning when we were all in company together, we came by a place where they were mustering some trained soldiers, and standing to see their discipline, (which was but wonderful imperfect to ours in England,) there was a musketeer that (as we conceived it) purposely discharged his musket in the face of a gentleman in our company, named Mr. Young. He, amazed with the clap, having his skin beaten off his face in divers places, went to the Commander, and made signs to him of his usage. The Commander very worthily was much insensed at it, telling us all in general, that if the man might be but named that did it, he should suffer death before our faces. When we found it was really intended, and no rhodomontado, we advised Mr. Young not to show the man, which a priest, standing by, did solicit him, as earnestly as he could; to conceal; for he swore, that if he were revealed, it was an impossible thing to save him. The priest, seeing he would not discover the man, kissed his naked hands a hundred times, and told him he would pray to God earnestly to make him a good Christian. So we parted thence with the general acclamation of the common people.

From the village where I lodged this night, called El Vallo de Caion, the next morning I travelled towards St. Andera, where I arrived before ten o'clock, and found all my company in safety come the night afore. At my first entrance into the town, I gave my servants order to go to the house of that worthy Don that used me so nobly but three days before. Thither they went. At their first entrance, instead of courteous salutations, he charged my men, as they loved their lives, neither to enter themselves, nor bring any of their things into their houses; for, without the King's special command, (which we had at our first landing,) no man should lodge with them. Thus was all the courteous usage and the free promises of taking it unkindly, if, at my return, I did not make his house my lodging, forgot in less than three days! This man proved not a stranger to us alone, but the Governor and Mayor, and all the rest of the Dons in the town, who put on strange looks and faces. So being desirous to speak with the Governor or the Mayor, we could not be admitted to either; so that we were once resolved, for our own security, to have gone and lain on ship-board. Travel the town we did long, before we could get lodging for our money fit for men to lie in. The want we might drive the ship to, by lying in her, and eating her victuals, made us rather hazard all the inconveniences and danger that could happen to us on the shore.

From the time we parted with our company till Thursday following we heard not from them, and then by accident, from a passenger that had met the several troops forty miles asunder, my Lord Vaughan

being gone forwards through Burgos, and my Lord Cary short of it twenty miles. Here let me give an account how the Sabbath-day is employed here, a thing we had more time to observe since our return than before. Dress themselves they do in their holiday clothes, but from six in the morning till noon do they keep a market for all commodities in their chief street, and the only great market in the week. Some few go to mass, (of the better sort,) which is quickly done. In the afternoon, for aught I can perceive, they go not to church at all ; but in some of the chief streets, one of the Jesuits gets up upon a stall, and there preaches to the people until most of them drop away, and often is he left alone. His subject is for the most part of the power of this or that saint, what he is able to do for them, and if they contribute liberally at his shrine to defray the charges of lights and other necessaries, that then there is nothing they can pray for there, but they shall obtain,—nay, redeem, by his help and mediation, multitude of souls from purgatory. Thus do they fleece the people whom they keep in ignorance, and so in more obedience than any prince can do his subjects. All the profit got this way they convert to their own private benefit, living as plentifully and as easy as any. Study, I believe, they do little, for I find them continually walking the streets and prying into every corner. This exercise being done, the people fall to their recreation. All the men use, is to walk a slow pace up and down the streets with their cloaks and swords. The women, some dance, and the music they have to it is their voices, and a thing like the head of a drum, which they tabor upon with their

fingers. So, holding hands all in a circle, they go round without any other variety. All sing together—such discord as quickly wearied all us that were standers-by. Their women likewise do use an exercise well known in England, the setting up of ninepins, and throwing a bowl at them. This is only used by the women. A Saint's-day is in far greater estimation than the Sabbath; for then is solemn procession through the streets, with all their crosses and copes, singing all the way, going from one shrine to another, till they have visited all the little chapels, (as they have a multitude,) resting and kneeling at every cross, either standing in the street or hung out at any window. Enquiring of them the reason why they bestowed so much observance of their Saints'-days, and so little on the Sabbath, their answer was, that the Saint's-day came but once a year, and the Sunday once a week.

Upon Saturday, after our return back, about ten at night, there came a messenger from Burgos from the Lord Compton, to his brother-in-law, Mr. Beaumont, a young gentleman that had returned with us, requiring him with all the speed he could to come to him to Burgos, where he lay sick, willing him to acquaint us that my Lord Vaughan and his company, with all the carriages, were stayed by a second message from the Prince, only my Lord Cary and his servants were gone by post, and that they were all resolved to hear once more from Court, before they would stir; but the conclusion of his letter was, that he feared we should be put every man to use his own means for his return, because he believed the ship that brought us must be otherwise employed than in bringing us back, which

news more troubled us than all the rest; whereupon I wrote to Sir Francis Cottington a letter, the copy whereof is as followeth:—

“Sir,—At Saint Andera, a village in the mountains, (where the devil himself doth inhabit, if he dwell on earth,) we met his Highness’s commands for our return. How displeasing a message this was in so desolate a place, you may easily guess. But without further dispute, for my own part, I resolved in that, as I shall do in all things, punctually to obey, and instantly did return to the place from whence I came, resolving here to remain till I know his Highness’s further pleasure. Divers are gone forwards towards the court,—a thing, I confess, I durst not do, since I saw my master’s hand to the contrary. If they have good success, and we that stayed behind suffer, we shall account ourselves most unfortunate, for we think it penance enough to be confined to this miserable place. But the worst is still behind. From our friends from Burgos, we have notice given us, that the ship that brought us must not waft us back (where now we desire to be), but that we shall be left to our own ways and means to return. It’s a miserable calamity we are fallen into, if it be so, for I believe there be divers in this company that have not money to serve their turns a week. The inhabitants of this town (that used us so well at our first arrival) since our return look upon us like enemies, and not friends; so that we were once resolved (for our securities) to have lain a shipboard. We are likewise here without any commission to show why we came back, or why we

continue here : so, wishing myself in England, I kiss your hands this 19th of April, St. Vet."

The next day following, being Sunday, about two in the afternoon, near my lodging was there got up upon a stall a Jesuit, who took for his text, "I am the true pastor, that lays down my life for my sheep." He did preach in Latin, which drew divers of us to hear him. He told us, they were our Saviour's own words. For division of his text he made none, but the three points he insisted on, which he drew out of his text, were,—Now Christ was gone, the Pope was the Shepherd that was ready to lay down his life for his flock. The second was, the Pope's Supremacy. The third was, the Real Presence in the Sacrament. For the first point, he did not much insist upon, for he was confident none durst deny it, unless it were some heretics that were damned for their opinions. The second point, of the Pope's being Head of the Church, he did insist more upon ; for he said, that in a place called England, it was of late years held that a temporal prince could be head of the Church—that a woman could be head of the Church ; naming Queen Elizabeth, and giving her that opprobrious language, as the daughter of lust and adultery, whose mother was begot by none but Satan, that it made our ears to glow to hear him, wishing he had stood at Paul's Cross. Then says he, judge brethren what a head here was ! Take it upon my salvation if she were a head, she was a head of the Devil's church in hell. What says our Saviour ? He that hath God to his father, must have the Church to his mother. How can those

that deny the Church to be their mother, have God for their father? They will say, They are all christened, they receive the Sacrament, still I say, these things done out of the Mother Church are means for their damnation.

“Henry the Eighth, King of England, until whose time the subjects there were obedient children to their Mother Church of Rome, having many famous martyrs that suffered for the cause of religion, as Thomas à Becket, and Sir Thomas More, and divers others,—this King, I say, was the first who, (to satisfy his own lust, and to bring his adulterous conceptions to his own heart’s desire), did (forgetting God and religion) alter the course of their ever-held obedience to the Church of Rome, by dissolving their abbeys, and putting to death I know not how many hundreds, for which act his soul lies chained in the bottomless pit of hell in everlasting torments. This is not all their heretical opinions. But the damnablest and worst of all is, (which is my last point,) ‘this is my body.’ They dare have the impudence to deny our Saviour’s own words, saying it is but a sign, and not the body and blood itself. The broacher of this impudent opinion was Martin Luther, a friar, who, finding the Pope did not prefer him according to the merits he believed to be in himself, left his cloister, and raised up this and divers other seditious and damnable opinions, for which fact he now lies chained in hell with Judas. John Calvin, Suares, and the Puritans in England, have been the maintainers of these opinions, who, and their disciples, are and shall be damned. To prove that

this their doctrine is false, I wish and beseech God from heaven to strike me here in this place with a thunderbolt dead to the earth, if this their doctrine be not false, and all that trust in it be damned. Had they the true religion amongst them, why have they not miracles wrought by some of their best and holiest men, as are daily done by ours? I can reckon hundreds done within my own knowledge, but I will at this time repeat but one. Saverius, a Jesuit, uncle to my mother, sent into the West Indies to convert the savages there, did reduce to the flock of Christ six hundred thousand souls, and raised from the dead seven and twenty that had lain so long. This was not all he did. For being grown blind and bedrid, when they brought him word of divers diseased persons, he would take little children, and lay his hands upon their heads, and send them but to touch those that were sick, and immediately they recovered." His conclusion was, "that the Prince of England was now come into this kingdom, and he made no doubt but with a resolution to be a Roman Catholic, for whose conversion and his people's out of that damnable way they are in, I will heartily pray." And so concluded.

Upon Monday at noon, being sat at dinner, there comes a letter directed to me from the Lord Vaughan from Burgos, letting me understand that Mr. Tyrwhitt and myself were sent for to Madrid by the Prince's command, all the rest (being eleven gentlemen in number, besides their servants,) were with all speed to make for England, and the ship to continue there till the Prince's pleasure were further known. Upon this

command, Mr. Tyrwhitt and myself repair to the Governor to help us to mules for our journey, which he promised to do. The rest of our company in the meantime consulting together, resolve, what danger soever they run into, to go for the Spanish Court, and before we parted from the Governor's they were all come thither to be fitted with mules for their convoy, which he promised to do likewise.

The next morning, being Tuesday, we were all ready betimes in the morning, but before we could set forwards it was near twelve o'clock. Our number was about twenty-six. The mules that carried us were all pack-mules, not one of them having either saddle or bridle, nor would our sturdy muleteers suffer us to put anything in their mouths to guide them with. Thus did we march on, and ere we came a mile on our way, I believe there were seven or eight of us that had falls, all escaping without much hurt; and the chieftest occasion of their so sudden overthrows was their spurs, which the jades not acquainted with, when they felt them, never left kicking till they had overthrown their riders. That night we walked on a carrier's pace till we came three leagues, and there they stayed, our mules not suffering us to go further that night, where there was no other provision but a stable, and we were forced to lie all night in a hay-loft upon the boards.

The next morning we set forwards betimes, and with continual going from sun to sun, we travelled some eight leagues to a village called Ererueta, belonging to the great Don Pedro, son to him that was the

chief commander in eighty-eight,* who sent us excellent wine, which much refreshed us that night. That day's journey was most up-hill. Such ways truly described will not be believed. When we were at the highest, we were much above the snow, which lay in great shelves a great deal beneath us. So cold it was there at that time of the year, that England is not more cold in the midst of winter.

Here let me tell you, that these muleteers would not have carried us without four days' hire to Burgos, it being but three easy days' journey. So the rogues, to linger out time, and to save their mules from being driven fast, led us such a way, as it was impossible for anything to creep up but these mules; for we went above a river upon a little narrow path, a mile high at least, six miles together, so that one stumble would have thrown a man down headlong a mile. In the midst of this way, we passed a river called Ebro, which parts Old Castile and Aragon, in which kingdom we travelled a league, and then came to the same we were before in. At last we came to a village called Turfo Esculada, about six in the evening, and being very wet I alighted, though much against the muleteer's will, who led all the rest of the company two leagues further, excepting Dr. Maw, and Mr. Pawlett, who stayed with me. The rogues offered to carry away our mules; but seeing we would stay, they returned with them, and set them up in that village. Being resolved to stay, we addressed ourselves to the fairest house there, where we were very well used, had a good fat turkey to our supper, and very good beds. In the morning we sent our men to the mistress of the house to know what would con-

* 1588, the year of the Spanish Armada.

tent her for our entertainment? They having no language, showed her silver, which she very greedily snatched at, and so took twenty shillings of them in silver,—for so much plate, I believe, she had not seen in twenty days. For I saw no other coin in all the country but brass, which passes current for all commodities. When we were ready to part, in Latin we asked the master of the house, whether he were satisfied for our lodging? He answered, he would take no money. We told him (his wife being by) that we had given her so much, and we desired to know whether it were enough or no? Still both of them replied they would take nothing. Our men hearing them say so, justified to their faces they had paid them so much money; yet still they would not understand, but replied, they would take nothing. The condition of the Spaniards in general is, that they will do as many base things as any nation, so their wives or servants do it by their direction, and they be not seen in it themselves. Divers little things we had they pilfered away; as for petty things, they are the veriest thieves in the world. Although it be wonderful safe travelling on their highways, the mountains and woods are very full of wild bears and wolves, that not only do mischief to cattle, but divers times kill men.

This doughty Don sent his son, with his setting-dog and piece, to attend us on our way, which went so far with us till we were weary of his company. At noon we baited at a little village within nine miles of Burgos, and in the afternoon, being on our way, we met (near a river-side in the open fields) a fellow leading two mares tied together. Our mules were all horse-

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mules, as all carriers have for the most part. The foremost man being Mr. Pawlett, his mule having discovered the mares, began to dance under him, so that he was forced (for his safety) to hold with one hand before, and the other behind, fast upon the pack-saddle, his mule going all upon curvets. The next my man rid upon, which was more unruly than his, who never left till he had tumbled his rider with the heels up, and so furiously pursued the mares, that he forced both the leader and the mares into the river, and he upon them. The fellow, to save himself, wades clear through, and stands on the other bank, to see what would be the end of this tragedy. Dr. Maw's mule (undiscovered of us with our earnest viewing this disaster) was teaching the churchman how to prove a good horseman, with infinite bounces beyond his resistance. At last backwards he comes, lighting full on head and shoulders, where he lay groaning, and his mule went into the river, to make up the concert, where the music they made was so loud and shrill, that it drew a number of labourers to be spectators. At last the mares, to save themselves from drowning, clamber up the bank again, and then resolve to trust to their legs, which they did, and ran over a fair field, in view at least four miles, my man's mule still pursuing, the rest being taken by the muleteers. Recollecting ourselves, and surveying our troop to see what hurt was done, we found this tragic beginning end in a comedy. For all was well again, only the mule still in view pursuing the two mares, who with their heels at every stand gave him sound bangs, the muleteers (being put to their footmanship) still following.

We then set forwards, my man travelling with us on foot for five miles, till the fellow overtook him with his mule, by which time we were come within sight of Burgos, a very fair city, lying in a bottom, with a river running through part of it. Walled it is, but much decayed and of little strength. A castle, standing upon a high hill, within the town, kept in good repair, and a governor dwelling in it. Ordnance it has but few, and those unuseful. Wonderful store of friaries and nunneries there be, that I believe the fourth part of the men in the town be churchmen. It is likewise an university, and held the famousest in Spain. It hath an hundred churches in it, and one goodly cathedral, whereof there is an archbishop resident there. A great part of the building is very stately, being six and seven stories high, all done with balconies, and the building of freestone, especially the colleges and churches, whose chapels are far richer adorned than ours in England. Their great and little towns I find governed in the same kind and by the same officers, which are but two; the inferior being called an *Algovasil*, the superior an *Alcade*. The first is of the nature of our constable, the second of our justice of the peace, who within their city or town determine all matters whatsoever. From these there is no appeal but to the Governor of the country (if there be any), who has power to put out and in these officers as he pleases,—or to the King and Supreme Council at Madrid, which must be a cause of great consequence, or they seldom appeal; and all is ended without much trouble or charge in their own town. A number of the better

sort inhabit in this town, for we found it full of coaches and of dainty saddle-horses. If we had not found some gentlemen in this city, I durst have sworn there had been none in all the country ; for in a hundred miles riding, we saw not a man able to keep a servant.

Over the river here there are two fair bridges of stone, and at the one of them a goodly gate, all done above with goodly images of stone, all gilt. There is in one of the nunneries there a great aunt of the King's, with divers ladies of great houses. There is, of this sisterhood, a daughter of the great Earl of Desmond's in Ireland, who has continued there long, and, as we are informed, is the only heiress of that house. I was in one other nunnery, where the lady abbess was a Duke's sister, and the rest all of noble houses ; where I received many courtesies and was presented with divers toys, besides a banquet* of sweetmeats, and their joint suit at my parting was, that I would, at the Prince's return, move him to come and see their house.

In this place I must not forget the courtesy of a stranger to us all, one Don Gregorio, a prime man in this town, a Fleming born, and a subject to this King. So careful he was to give the English contentment, that he gained to himself much hatred from the inhabitants, who, I found, did not cordially affect us. Here we met my Lord of Carlisle returning for England, and with him the Lord Mountjoy, whom we left behind us sick of an ague. This city lies in

* A dessert. The room to which our ancestors retired after dinner was called the *banqueting* room.

Old Castile — hilly and stony all about it — no kind of fuel to be seen within many leagues—corn pretty store—grapes very few or none. To conclude with this place, it is the most nasty and beastly town kept in the world, and so offensive to passengers that they hardly desire either to stay or see anything in this city.

The next day we travelled seven leagues to a town called Lerma, where the Duke (the great favourite of the late King) has a goodly palace, built all of stone, and more uniform than houses in this country are. Little furniture there was within it, besides pictures, only the chapel was richly set forth with relics, plate, copes, and other things that usually adorn such places. The Duke himself resides not there, but lives at a place called Vallo de Lede, two days' journey off, in a monastery of his own erection, where he is not only a cardinal, but hath upon him the order of priesthood, and every day at the altar himself reads mass. He that so lately swayed all the affairs of Christendom, now contents himself with a cell, where we will leave him, and return to his town of Lerma, which has little in it beside the palace worth observation. Walled it is about, but poor defences they are if it were in distress. Churches there be some three, and those of the ordinary sort. The country about it much like that of Burgos, only more grapes, and the wine much stronger.

The next day we travelled some twelve leagues through as ill a country as we had done before, still expecting a change of soil and people, but found neither; so at last we arrived at a poor village,

where we lay all night. Coming somewhat betimes to our lodging, we found it to be a holyday, and the country people at their recreations, some dancing to a tabor and pipe, just such as ours. The men were at tennis off the house, such as is used in Wales. There was a marriage there, and the bride and bridegroom we saw ride home, according to the custom of the country, both upon an ass, the woman riding before and the man behind, he holding her fast in his arms, and the rest of the people walking by on foot. All the women had in each ear great rings, (bigger than those they hang at curtains, by much,) all of silver, with pendants of the same hanging at them; all their smock-sleeves tucked up to their shoulders, and upon their arms, things made of knit-woollen, like stockings, of several colours.

Here we lay this night, and next morning set forwards, where we found no alteration at all in the country, nor anything worth observation. By the way we had brought us partridges and kids, reasonable stores, which was the only provision the country afforded, for in our inns we found nothing but what we brought with us. That night we arrived at a town of the Duke of Infantado's called Putrago, where, adjoining to the town, there was a park and some few deer—the first we saw in Spain. This town is situated upon a hill, with a pretty river running by. The town is walled as all the other towns be. The Duke has a palace there, but so ruinous a one that the inhabitants are only crows that keep possession. If this great Duke and prime Peer of Spain have no other palaces besides, I know gentlemen in

England would hardly change their dwellings with him.

From this town we had a long day's journey to Madrid, and so sat forth betimes in the morning. We had not travelled a league, but we entered into mountains, rather higher, and worse ways, than those we had passed before, all the tops covered thick with snow. This way lasted for seven leagues, where we saw a stork building her nest upon a steeple. About noon we arrived at a village called St. Augustine, where we baited, and were entertained (according to the custom of the country), as we were in all other towns we passed, with the chiming of their bells.

Here let me not forget a passage that happened between the Prince and a Spaniard in this village. His Highness being arrived with my Lord Marquis at the inn, up comes to them (out of a coach that stayed at the door) two Spaniards, who having saluted them, told them they had received many courtesies in England, and understanding they were of those parts, and strangers here, they desired to serve them in anything they could. The Prince thanked them, and then falling into divers discourses, the Spaniards told them what a number of handsome women they had seen in England, naming the Lady Somerset, the Lady Salisbury, the Lady Windsor, and divers others. The Prince then told them, that he had seen one of the handsomest ladies in the world, a Spaniard, that was wife to an Ambassador's son, that was then in England; but, says the Prince, she had the most jealous coxcomb in the world to her husband, a very long-eared ass, such a thing as deserved not to be master of such a

beauty. The one of them stood blank awhile, and after he had mused a time, he answered that he knew them both very well, and that they lived as happily together as any couple did. Pass at last over that discourse they did, and very inquisitive they were to know their lodging at Madrid, and their names. They answered they were brothers, their names Smyths,* their lodgings at the extraordinary Ambassador's the Earl of Bristol's. So they took their leaves of them, but with far more sullen countenances than they came. The Prince observed it, and marvelled what might be the cause, but thinking of their journey drove that conceit quickly out of their heads. The next morning after they came to Madrid, before they were ready, one brings them word up to their lodgings, that two Spanish gentlemen desired to speak with them. They, wondering who they might be, sent for them up, when they found they were those they met by the way. The Spaniards, as they came up stairs, had notice who the Prince was. Then entering the room, desired pardon for not being more serviceable when they met him, but hoped their not knowing him was a sufficient excuse. The Prince thanked them and used them very courteously. Having talked of divers things, and being ready to part, the one steps to the Prince, and told him, "I came with an intention to let you know that I was husband to that lady you had so commended by the way, and came with an intention to have had right done me for the ill language you then bestowed upon me ; but know-

* The Prince and Buckingham, according to Wotton, travelled under the fictitious names of Thomas and John Smith.

ing who you are, I am confident you have all this by relation, and not of your own knowledge." The Prince blushed, and said, "It is true I have been told so; but since I have had thus much knowledge, I will be ready to justify the contrary." The other Spaniard, his companion, that had heard the day before all the discourse, smiles, and claps his fellow on the back, and says, "This is the ass with the long ears, that was so jealous of a fair lady." So all ended in a comedy, and so they parted.

Now must I return to St. Augustine, where we dined, and in the afternoon set forward towards Madrid, being six leagues off. The country is of the self-same mould the rest was of, a little flatter, and more vineyards. The store of rain that fell, had covered the ground with good store of corn, although more backwards than ours in England. Their barley was all grown to the height, but it had been sown in the winter, and is usually cut down green to feed their horses with. Their fruit-trees were but newly-blossomed, so that there was but little show of harvest (as we were made to believe we should find). Between three and four in the afternoon we arrived within sight of Madrid, which stands in a flat, environed in with a half-moon of mountains, distant some twenty miles, the tops of which for the most part were covered with snow. The place resembles Newmarket, both for the country and for the sharpness of the air. It is but a village, and lately grown to this greatness by this King and his father's residing there. It stands very round, thick with buildings, having neither back-premises nor gardens in all the town. We were brought

in at the far end of the town, which lay near the place we were to alight at. Coming through the streets, I observed most of their buildings to be of brick, and some few of stone, all set forth with balconies of iron, a number whereof were gilt. I found likewise that some of their buildings were but of one story, and the rest five and six stories high. Enquiring the reason, I was told those low buildings were called in Spanish, *Casa de Malitia*—in English, House of Malice. For there the King has the privilege, that no man can build above one story without his leave, and for every upper story, the King is to receive half the rent, to save which charge, there be infinite numbers of houses but one story high.

We passed through a great part of the town, till we came to the Duke of Monteleo's Palace, a house taken for us to lie in, where we continued that night; and the next morning, having one of the King's coaches sent for us, we went to the King's palace. By the way we found the streets wonderful full of people, and coaches in abundance, all covered with green cerecloth instead of leather. The buildings all along were like those I saw first. Their balconies, some of them, had richer trimming than the first I saw. At last we came to a market-place, built very uniform, being twelve score square, all six stories high, with gilt balconies, five or six one above another. It is the only thing in that town a man would stand and look at. Thence we came to the palace of the King's, that stands at the South end of the town joining upon the fields. It is all built of stone, with a very fair front. The building is plain

and substantial. Within it are two courts of an indifferent size, set round with cloisters standing upon pillars of the same stone. Nothing in it worth much observation. Nor did I perceive there was in it any store of lodging; for by the Prince's lodgings, who is so much stinted, a man may easily find what receipt the house is of, for no servant of the King's, but the favourite himself, lodges within the house, his chamber excepted, who are but a few.

Up we went to the Prince, whom we found at dinner, attended by some of his own servants, and some Spaniards, whom we found glad to see us, and we much revived with the kissing of his hand. We found him and the Marquis in Spanish habits, such an attire as will make the handsomest man living look like another thing. About three in the afternoon, the Prince, as usually he is wont, went down into the garden, such a one as hardly deserves the name; so nasty and so ill-favouredly kept that a farmer in England would be ashamed of such another: yet this he must walk in, or mew himself up in two little rooms all day long. Over against the court-gate, some twelve score off, stands a very fair stable, that hath in it some three-score horses, the handsomest I have seen of so many together. Above it a goodly armoury, well furnished. Towards evening I went to my Lord of Bristol's, to wait upon my Lady; and in my return through one street, I met at least five hundred coaches; most of them had all women in, going into the fields (as they usually do about that time of the day) to take the air. Of all these women, I dare take my oath, there was not one unpainted—so visibly, that you would think they

rather wore vizards than their own faces. Whether they be handsome or no I cannot tell, unless they did unmask ; yet a great number of them have excellent eyes and teeth ;—the boldest women in the world, for as I passed along, numbers of them called and beckoned to me : whether their impudence or my habit was the cause of it, I cannot tell. I saw more good horses under saddles, foot-cloths, and in coaches, than ever I saw in all my life.

Thus did I pass our first day's being there, and at night did return to the Duke's palace to our lodging, where, by the way, there were so many things emptied in the street that did almost poison us ; for the usual custom there is, that at eleven at night every one empties those things in the street, and by ten the next day it is so dried up, as if there were no such thing. Being desirous to know why so beastly a custom is suffered, they say it's a thing prescribed by their physicians ; for they hold the air to be so piercing and subtle, that this kind of corrupting it with these ill vapours keeps it in good temper. Notwithstanding all these ill smells, yet a plague is not a thing known in this town. Churches there be divers, besides friaries and nunneries, but none of extraordinary note. There is a new nunnery lately built by the last Queen, adjoining to the King's house, and a gallery made to pass from one to the other, where the King and Queen resort very often. The ladies in it are all of great houses, the King having an aunt and the Emperor a daughter in it. They ever go barefooted, and are never seen by any but the King and those he brings with him.

Within two days after we saw a play acted before the King and Queen, in an indifferent fair room, where there was hung up a cloth of state, and under it five chairs. There was a square railed in, with a bench, which was all round about covered with Turkey carpets, which to the stage side covered the ground two yards from the forms. The company that came to see the comedy were few besides the English, although there were no difficulty in getting in ; but the reason was, as I conceived, because there are none admitted to sit—no, not the grandees, who may stand by covered between the forms and the walls. The players themselves consist of men and women : the men are indifferent actors, but the women are very good, and become themselves far better than any that ever I saw act those parts, and far handsomer than any women I saw. To say the truth, they are the only cause their plays are so much frequented.

After some time's expectance, enters the Queen's ladies, by two and two, and set themselves down upon the carpets that lay spread upon the ground. There were some sixteen in number of them : handsome I cannot say any one of them was, but painted more (if it were possible) than the ordinary women ; not one of them free from it, though some of them were not thirteen years old. Rich enough they were in clothes, although not over costly. To fill those five chairs set there, came the King and Queen, the Prince of Wales, Don Carlo and the young Cardinal, the King's brothers. First sat the Queen in the midst, the Prince on her right hand and the King on her left, Don Carlo sitting next the Prince, and the Car-

dinal next the King. All the three brothers (were they no princes) are very handsome young gentlemen. The Queen has a lovely brown face through her vizard, for she doth paint as thick and as palpably as any of her women. The play being ended, the ladies, by two and two, hand-in-hand, go within three paces of the Queen, and there make low curtsies, and so sally out all before her. All the women's ruffs are of a deep wachet. They wear high chopeenes,* and hoops about their skirts. These women are so cloistered up (and they need not) that they see not men at all, but at these times in public, where they dare not speak to any. The better sort of women are much carried up and down in chairs of velvet by two footmen. In all places in the world, there be not so many that walk in the streets, converse, and eat in spectacles, as in this town: you cannot meet ten, but you shall find one of them with a pair of glass eyes.

Since the Prince's arrival, they have had the happiest season that was ever known in this country, for in seven months before there had not fallen a drop of rain; so that such a famine there was like to have been, had he not, as they say themselves, brought with him that weather which has to this instant continued, that affords Spain the fruitfulest crop this year that was ever known within the memory of man. One thing they much observe, that since his being lodged in the palace, there has a single pigeon, never seen there before, nor any of the kind, sat continually since

* A kind of high shoes, or, rather, perhaps, clogs worn under the shoes. Ben Jonson alludes to their being worn by the Spanish ladies.—See his "Devil's an Ass."

above his lodging window—not fed by any, nor has it been observed to travel abroad to feed itself. These little trifles amongst those superstitious people are very much observed. So that they conclude, this match will be most fortunate for the kingdom.

Thus did we bestow six or seven days in viewing of those things, that would have been done in a few hours. Most of our company did nothing else but play at cards; for, to say truth, there was nothing to be done else. How wearisome a life this was to those that had lived continually at liberty, you may easily guess.

Within few days after (upon what ground I know not), there came a peremptory command (not to be disputed), that presently every man should prepare himself for England, and that within very few days, the Prince resolving to send back half his bedchamber, with the rest of the company, giving them liberty either to go by land through France, or by sea in the King's ship called "The Adventure:" my Lord Cary and my Lord Vaughan to be their leaders in their return, as they were in coming. This news perplexed much of the company, so that two days' time did hardly settle their resolutions, whether by sea or land. The Lord Vaughan and Sir John North went through France, and the Lord Cary and myself, and divers else, resolved for the sea, being in number near fifty. Three or four of the gentlemen of the privy-chamber sue to have leave to stay some few days longer, promising then to go post through France, which the Prince yielded to, with much difficulty, at the Marquis's importunity: a thing I refused to join with them in,

because I found it so displeasing a suit. But at my taking leave of the Prince, I told him I had no business in those parts but to wait upon him, and that, in staying or going, that that pleased him, should please me best. He told me, he took it best at those men's hands that went willingest, and they that would stay behind should find it. Desirous I was to know of his Highness, when I should assure those thousands, that would ask, he would return for England? He told me that, by the assistance of the Almighty, he would be there by the last of June. I entreated him to take further day, the tenth of July, and then not to fail. To conclude, he laid with me a horse of forty pieces, or so much money, that he would be landed by that day, which I told him I would as willingly lose, as ever I won any other wager, and so kissed his hand and parted.

The next day following, being Monday, was there a very great procession, in commemoration of a new Saint, canonized by the Pope the year before, and this was the first day that was ever kept for him. Desirous I was to know what this saint was, and how he came now to be thought of? On further inquiry, an English Jesuit, of whom I asked this question, told me, that about four hundred years since he lived in this town of Madrid. He was a ploughman by profession; his name, Isidoro, and he was the proper saint of the place; for, when he lived, he never failed daily to go to a little chapel hard by (where his body now lay) to mass, and when the bell rang, though he were at plough, yet did he leave his oxen in the field, and went to church, and while he was there, there came an

angel and held the plough ; that still, at his return, he found rather more work done than if he had been present himself ; and now, being dead, he lay there incoffined in silver, and but the continual touching of that coffin wrought infinite number of miracles. This he told me with as much confidence as if it had been possible for him to have believed it. "Then," said I, "how, after four hundred years, comes he now to be thought on ?" He told me, that the late King, being wonderful sick, this coffin was brought and laid in bed with him, which instantly recovered him. So, in recompense of this cure, the King got him canonized by the Pope. This procession passed by the court gate. There were of friars at it between seven and eight hundred, of several orders, walking by two and two in rank, and between every several order was there a great cross carried, and intermixed amongst them in divers places, were morris-dancers, pageants, trumpeters, and a number of other light things, far unfit to be mixed with anything that had a show of religion. At the sight of these things most of the people as they passed by, fell on their knees.

This ceremony ended with the day, and the next morning (being the ninth of May, according to our style) we parted from that court, and set forwards toward the Escorial, the only thing talked of in those parts to be worth the seeing. Late we arrived at our lodging that night, and next morning went about to survey this huge building. It is situated in a hole environed close round about with huge high rocks, not having a flat of twelve score near it, nor wood, nor anything fitting to accommodate so great a building.

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The pile itself is of coarse marble the rock it stands on yields. The frame of it is a quadrangle, broader at the far end by much than the entrance. Above the gate stands the statue of St. Laurence, with his grid-iron in his hand. It hath in it thirteen courts, most of which are done with cloisters of three stories high, curiously painted, the roofs whereof be all of vaulted stone. They were half-a-day showing us the whole house. There be a hundred friars still resident in it. When they had shown us most of the house, which were cloisters, walking rooms, libraries, chapels, and galleries, we desired to see the King's lodgings, which we found poorly furnished, and nothing proportionable to the rest of the house, which made me conclude with myself, and I am still confident in that opinion, that it was never intended for a King's palace, but for the goodliest monastery in the world (which it is). There is but one kitchen in it at all, and that a mean one to the proportion of the house. Hall there is none, nor office under stairs fit for a King's house. The friars only live in it, and command it wholly, having each of them divers lodgings a-piece, and most of them chapels. One fair church there is, the richest set forth that ever I saw any, having at least twenty altars in it, all richly furnished with plate, and all the vessels they use of silver. Before the High Altar stand a dozen of silver candlesticks, each of them as high as I am, and heavier than any one can lift. Paved the church is with black and white rich marble, and so are most of the cloisters and divers of the lower rooms, all the fountains in every court of rich marble, with fine

streams running from them. In the west end of the church stands aloft a chapel, whose roof is of the most curious painting in the world, having organs and a desk to hold their books, all of plate. There lay their copes, the most rich and curious that eye hath seen.

To conclude, nothing about this chapel but was the richest of that kind that could be purchased. The painting in their church, chapels, and cloisters, cost at least a hundred thousand pounds, being gathered together from most parts of the world to this place. The plat* of the house I bought of a friar for twenty rials, very well set forth. In fine, nothing that concerned the church or churchmen, but was the best I ever saw; and what belonged to the King the meanest, considering it goes by the name of a palace, and not a cloister, which still confirms me in my first opinion, that it was for the latter and not the former, and is situate far fitter for meditations than recreations. A garden there is that sides on two quarters of the house, not above a dozen yards broad and that handsomely kept, with walks and knots of several flowers; at the lower end whereof there is a pond, made with steps to go down, and the bottom paved, where the friars used to bathe themselves. There be two several piles of building that stand six score off, the one a storehouse, the other a stable for their mules; for by their orders none of them must stir abroad but on his mule's back, although it be but twenty paces from his friary.

Here we bestowed a whole forenoon in viewing

* Ground plan.

this place, and about two in the afternoon set forwards towards Segovia, a city we intended to lie at next night. By the way that afternoon we saw upon a stone-wall six eagles together, which hardly took wing with our passing so near them. Three leagues was all our intended journey that night; but our muleteers not liking the place as well as we did, led us another way, up so high and steep a hill, that most of our company, not daring to ride it up, were forced to walk on foot. Being, with much difficulty and pain, got to the top, still expecting the village we intended to stay at, enquiring of those rogues, our guides, how far it was, when we saw no place of abode within view, they told us the next place now was Segovia, and that four leagues off, through a desert all woods, where none but bears and wolves did inhabit. This was no pleasing news to us, considering it was then even night. Every man, apprehensive of the danger, drove his mule on as fast as he would go; but that served not the turn, for night within less than a league overtook us, and although we were twenty in number, yet were we so scattered, that there was only with me Mr. Knowles and his man, myself and my footman.

When it grew dark we resolved to stay together, and run the same fortune, whatever it were. We had three leagues then to go, of which not a man knew a foot of the way, it being through a great wood of pines, where we saw afar off divers fires, which the inhabitants made to keep off the bears from their cattle, and so are forced to do continually. The people themselves are not out of danger; for, within a few days

before, in those parts, a bear had killed a man. He being found part of him eaten, they watched the next evening with pieces, till the bear came to feed on the same carcass, and then shot and killed it, and hung it up upon the highway, where a number of our company saw it. This way we travelled along, and (God directing us) arrived about eleven o'clock in a dark night at Segovia, where we found a muleteer at the town's end expecting us. I being alighted a little before to stretch my legs, bade my footman get up, and go along with them to the inn, and leave the mule there, and come and meet me ; for, being entered into the town, I believed it had been hard by. I had not walked far, but all the company were lost, and I left alone, expecting the return of my footman ; but there was I an hour at least, and heard nothing from him. Nor could I get any to direct me wither to go. So that I was now in a worse distress than in the woods at the beginning of the night. At last, by mere accident, another man of mine, that was lost in the woods, comes riding by, and finds me in this place. Glad were we to meet one another, and there waited half an hour more, and then came my footman, who led us after above a mile through that blind town to our lodging, being then about twelve at night, some of our company being still behind ; but ere we supped, they all arrived in safety, to our much contentment : and so to rest we went till next morning.

This city we came purposely to see, being recommended to us for the only thing worth view, next to the Escorial. A great large town it is, but much ruinous. Walled about, having a great castle kept in

very good repair, in which there be two goodly rooms, whose roofs are the richest done with gold and painting, of an old manner, but wonderful costly. There is a fresh stream carried many leagues to that city. In some places where there wants earth it is carried upon a wall steeple height, and in that kind, in very many places where it passes over dingles. There is a mint in this town, where the handsomest coin in all the King's territories is made, being all done with a mill, both gold, silver, and brass. Of the latter sort there is most made on, being the only coin that is seen to pass for all commodities. There is a fair river (for that country) with two stone bridges, which runs close under the walls, the city standing a good height on a hill above. The country about it a flat, but the ways wonderfully stony. About ten the next day we parted thence, and within three miles of that town we met at least five hundred asses laden with wood, which was brought some five leagues off; I believe most was for the mint. For we saw there more wood than any one town in Spain consumes in a year. That whole day we travelled through a champion,* that had the best corn and vines we saw in all our journey. Towards evening we discerned afar off a castle standing upon a high hill, and as we approached nearer, we saw a town thereto adjoining. Before we ascended the rising to the town, we passed at the foot of the hill a great bridge of stone over the fairest river we saw in all our journey. It was, as all rivers are there, of a sand colour, the water never coming to be clear, but the rivers in the mountains look like ours. Being

* Plain, open country.

entered the town, we found it, like most of the rest, much ruinous. It hath double walls about it, but wonderfully decayed, and of no use. There we rested that night, and all that town (God knows) could afford us but poor entertainment.

The next day we saw nothing worth the observing; for most of our way was through a great forest, that was nothing but sand, covered with infinite number of pine trees. That night we came to the road again, and lay at Lerma, a town before mentioned in this discourse. So from thence to Burgos, where we found Lord Vaughan and Sir John North, who were, as we, bound for England, but resolved to go by land; for, by their passage by sea, they found they were not able to brook it at their return. The next morning we parted, they for St. Sebastian's and we for St. Andera's, where we arrived within three days after, passing the same way we came. Being come, we found the captain and the rest of the ship in health, who were as glad to see our return as we were to see them there ready for us. Three days after we had an expected wind, which being for our turn we put to sea, where we lay eight nights, and then were driven in at Weymouth, in Dorsetshire, where we were received with so much free entertainment, both of the gentlemen of the country, and of the townsmen, which made us far more sensible of the place we came from. The dinner we had in our inn (within two hours after our landing) had more meat at it than we had seen in two hundred miles riding.

I will conclude all I have to say of this healthful country, for so I may boldly term it. For in all the time

the Prince, and so many of his and his father's servants, have travelled to and fro, both by sea and land, (blessed be God!) there is not one miscarried in six months' time. I have set down here the most precious commodity they have, which is their air. Their good air being but joined to our earth, the sun shines not on a better nor a happier place, which I pray God to grant us with peace and plenty to enjoy, till we be willing to change for any, or all the Catholic King's vast territories. Here I will conclude where I did desire, and we all to be in sweet England.

THE END.

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