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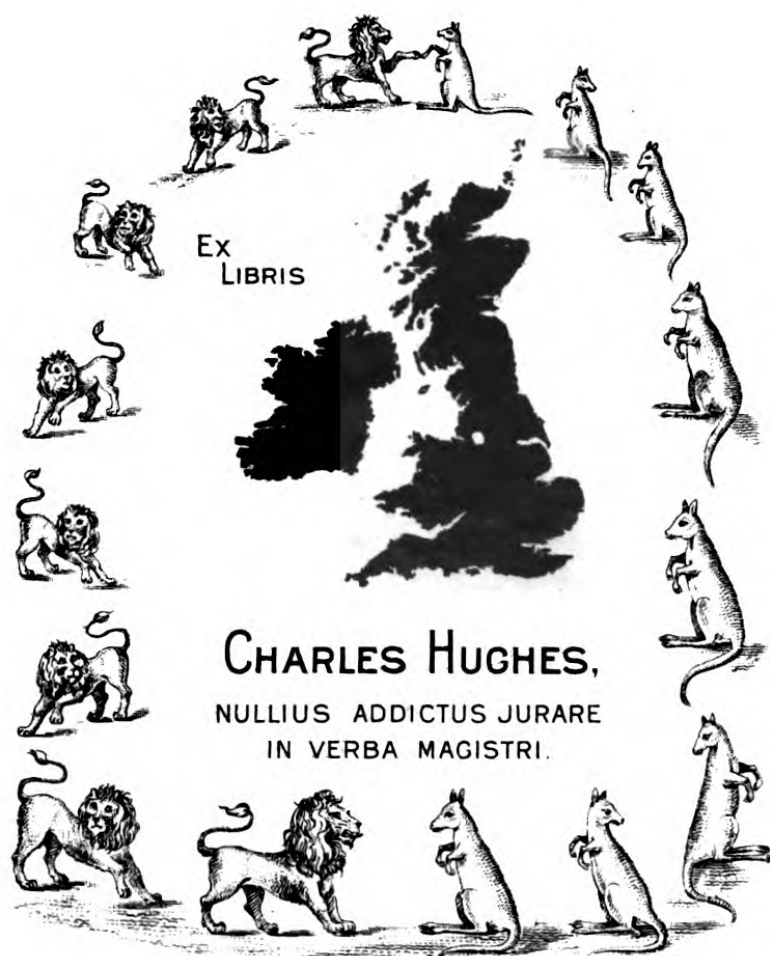
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BEING A
MISCELLANEOUS COLLECTION
OF
ORIGINAL PAPERS

In PROSE and VERSE ;
Written in the Reigns of HENRY VIII. Queen
MARY, ELIZABETH, King JAMES, &c.
By SIR JOHN HARRINGTON,
The Translator of ARIOSTO, and others who
lived in those Times.

Selected from AUTHENTIC REMAINS
By the Rev. HEN. HARRINGTON, A. M.
Of QUEEN'S COLLEGE, OXON.
And Minor Canon of the Cathedral Church of
NORWICH.

A new, corrected, and enlarged Edition, in 3 vols.

V O L. II.

*Non Potes in Nugas dicere plura meas
Ipse ego Quam dixi ———
—— Novimus esse Nihil.* MARTIAL.

L O N D O N:
Printed for J. DODSLEY, PALL-MALL,
And T. SHRIMPTON, BATH.

M. DCC. LXXIX.

TO THE

Right Honourable and Reverend,

Lord FRANCIS SEYMOUR,

DEAN of WELLS,

THIS VOLUME IS HUMBL Y INSCRIBED,

N O T

As a HISTORY of THOSE TIMES, better pictured
In the ANNALS of HIS OWN FAMILY;

B U T

As a partial TESTIMONY of GRATITUDE for
The ESTEEM and FRIENDSHIP shewn

TO THE FATHER OF

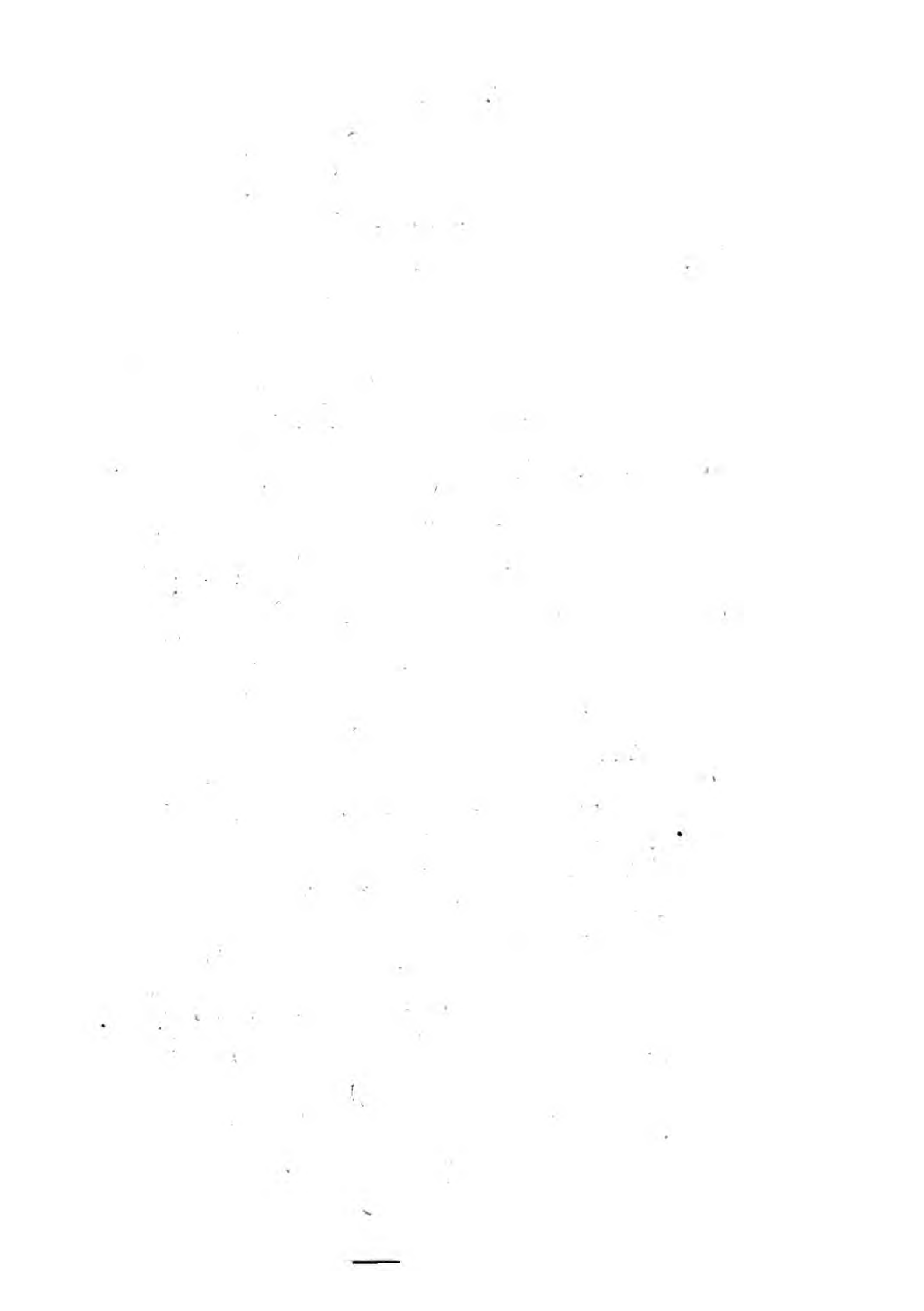
HIS LORDSHIP'S

MOST OBEDIENT SERVANT,

HEN. HARINGTON.

NORWICH, Sept. 2,

1778.



TO THE
R E A D E R.

THE great *Selden* says, that
“ the Complexion of the Times
“ and Manners of Men are best
“ seen in familiar Letters on pri-
“ vate Matters; for, when Men
“ write to the Multitude, they cloak
“ their own Thoughts in the Hopes
“ or Fears of others; but simple
“ Friendship doth unbosom herself
“ with all Purity with no dread of
“ Treachery. Much may be ga-
“ thered from mean Men and vul-
“ gar Matters in this wise, as pri-
“ vate Correspondence informs us
“ through

“through all Ages.” Though the following Letters are not greatly interesting, they are Originals, and may afford some Degree of Amusement to those who indulge an idle Curiosity of this Nature.

The Editor thinks it necessary to make some Apology, if not for the *Matter*, at least for the *Manner* of this Publication. Collections of this Kind seem to demand an Observance of Chronological Order, altho' such Connexion is of little Consequence to the Reader. This Neglect is owing to the Editor's obtaining the following Pieces from different MSS. and at different Times. Many were sent to the Prefs for
Expedition,

Expedition, when others relative to the same Period and Subject were not found. Several were accidentally met with on examining old Family-Books, whose Contents were, as usual, truly Miscellaneous; the same Leaf containing, on one Side, a Letter of *Political Intelligence*, and, on the other, an excellent Ointment for *Kibed Heels*, or a soveraign Balsam for *Broken Shins*. Here, gentle Reader, we beg Leave to anticipate your merry Remark, *viz.* that the Editor has preserved the worst Side of the Leaf.

The late ingenious Author* of the *Biographical History*, having observed in his Supplemental Volume,

* The Reverend and Learned Mr. GRANGER.

lume, that the *Nugæ Antiquæ* deserved a better Title, we shall only remark, that the Sanction of that Gentleman's Compliment is a better Substitute for our little Work, than any *Alteration* we can at present suggest.

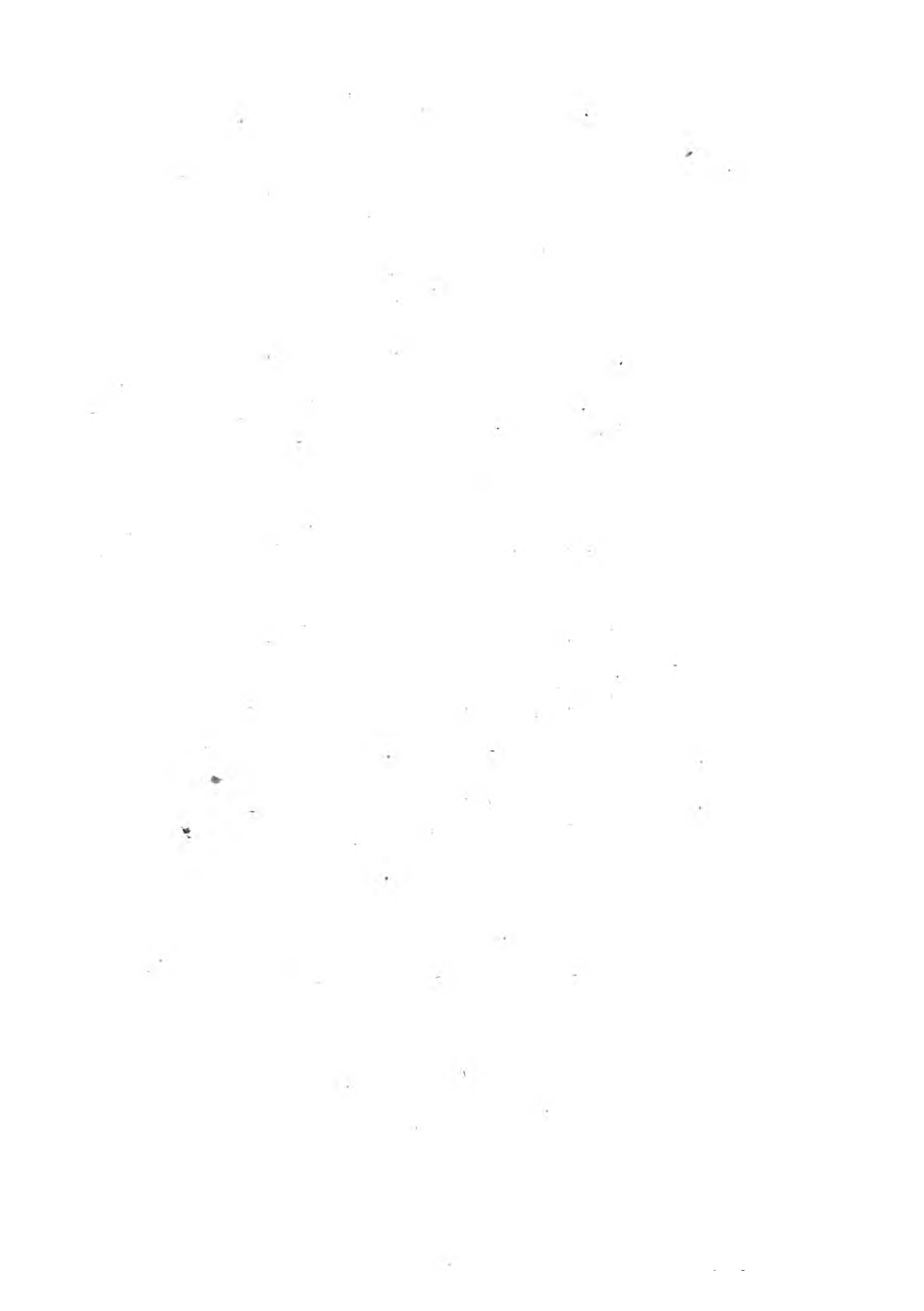
The Spelling has been preserved for the most Part, and altho' the same Persons spelt very differently, it was thought necessary to adhere strictly to it, as a Proof of there being no Standard at this Point of Time, for writing the English Language with correct Orthography.

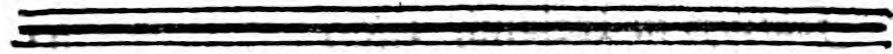
Whatever Objections may arise to this Publication, the Editor commends himself to the Candor of
the

the Public. If the *Matter* be trifling, it is not his *own*; if the *Manner* be erroneous, more serious Avocations shall be his Plea; altho' he has amused himself with—*Quid meditans Nugarum*, he could not submit to be—*Totus in Illis*.

N. B. The Print of the Princess Elizabeth is taken from an original Plate given by herself to her Attendant Isabella Harington, soon after her Enlargement from the Tower, 1554, and is in the Editor's Possession; mention of which is made in some of the following Letters.—

THE





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REPORT OF A
J O U R N E Y
INTO THE
NORTH OF IRELAND,
WRITTEN TO
JUSTICE CARY,
B Y
Sir JOHN HARRINGTON, 1599.

HAVING expected shipping till the 8th of this month, and meeting with none convenient, in respect that all were taken up with sick souldiers, or with my Lord Lieutenants horses, I was desirous to make some use of the time that I should stay here, and therefore was easily persuaded

VOL. II. B suaded

suaded to go with Sir William Warren, my kind friend, with whom I had been formerly acquainted in England, and to see some part of the realme northward, and the Arch-Rebel himself, with whom Sir William was to treat.

But staying at Dundalk till the 15th of this month, and no news certain of the Earl's coming, I went to see the Newry, and from thence to Darlingford by the narrow water, and was hindred by waters that I could not come back to Sir William Warren before his first meeting with the Earl Tyrone, which was on the 17th day; what time how far they proceeded I know not, but it appeared that the Earl was left in good dysposition, because he kept his hour so well, the next morning. And, as I found after, Sir William had told him of me, and given such a report of me above my desert, that next day, when I came, the Earl used far greater respect to me than I expected; and began debasing his own manner of hard life, comparing himself to
wolves,

wolves, that fill their bellies sometime, and fast as long for it; then excused himself to me that he could no better call to mind myself, and some of my friends that had done him some courtesy in England; and been oft in his company at my Lord of Ormonds; saying these troubles had made him forget almost all his friends.

After this he fell to private communication with Sir William, to the effecting of the matters begun the day before; to which I thought it not fit to intrude myself, but took occasion the while to entertain his two sons, by posing them in their learning, and their Tutors, which were one Fryar Nangle, a Franciscan, and a younger scholer, whose name I know not; and finding the two children of good towardsly spirit, their age between thirteen and fifteen, in English cloths like a Noblemans sons; with velvet gerkins and gold lace; of a good chearful aspect, freckle faced, not tall of stature, but strong, and well set, both of them their English tongue.

I gave them, not without the advice of Sir William Warren, my English translation of Ariosto, which I got at Dublin: which their Teachers took very thankfully, and soon after shewed it the Earl, who call'd to see it openly, and would needs hear some part of it read; I turn'd, as it had been by chance, to the beginning of the 45th canto, and some other passages of the book, which he seem'd to like so well, that he solemnly swore his boys should read all the book over to him.

Then they fell to communication again, and, calling me to him, he said, that I should witness, and tell my Lord Lieutenant, how, against all his confederates wills, Sir William had drawn him to a longer cessation, which he would never have agreed to, but in confidence of my Lords honourable dealing with him; for, saith he, now is my harvest time, now have my men their six weeks pay afore-hand, that they have nothing to do but fight; and if I omit this opportunity, and then you shall
prepare

prepare to invade me the mean time, I may be condemned for a fool.

Also one pretty thing I noted, that the paper being drawn for him to sign, and his signing it with O'Neal, Sir William (though with very great difficulty) made him to new write it, and subscribe Hugh Tyrone. Then we broke our fasts with him, and at his meat he was very merry, and it was my hap to thwart one of his Priests in an argument, to which he gave reasonable good ear, and some approbation. He drank to my Lords health, and bade me tell him he loved him, and acknowledged this cessation had been very honourably kept. He made likewise a solemn protestation that he was not ambitious, but sought only safety of his life, and freedom of his conscience, without which he would not live, though the Queen would give him Ireland.

Then he asked of Sir Henry Harington and said he heard he had much wrong, to have

an imputation of want of courage, for the last defeat at Arkloo : protesting that himself had known Sir Henry serve as valiantly as ever any man did, naming the time, place, and persons, all known to Sir William Warren. Other pleasant and idle tales were needless and impertinent, or to describe his fern table, fern forms spread under the statly canopy of heaven. His guard, for the most part, were beardless boys without shirts ; who, in the frost, wade as familiarly through rivers as water-spaniels. With what charm such a Master makes them love him I know not, but, if he bid come, they come ; if go, they do go ; if he say do this, they do it. He makes apparent shew to be inclinable to peace ; and some of his nearest followers have it buzzed amongst them, that some league of England with Spain or Scotland, or I know not where, may endanger them. But himself, no doubt, waits only to hear what my Lord Lieutenant intends, and according to that will bend his course.

Fryar

Fryar Nangle swears all oaths, that he will do all the good he can, and that he is guiltless of the heinous crimes he is indited of; for, if he had his pardon, perhaps there might be made good use of him, This is all I remember any way worthy the writing to you, not doubting but Sir William Warren, that had the sole charge of this business, will give you much better account of the weightier affairs, than I that only went to see their manner of parting,

I remain, in much duty,

JOHN HARINGTON.



To Mr. COMBE, *from* TRIM, *in*
IRELAND, 1599.

GOOD Thomas, I have received sundry letters from you, and namely the last dated August 24th, which came not to my hands till the xxxth of September, whereby it seems the messenger made slow speed, and who it was I know not, and therefore, as I have directed others, so I wish you to name in your letters, if you may, by whom you send them, that they may receive thanks or blame, according to their care and speed. In sundry of your letters, I have received good advertisement and honest counsels, and great good wishes, all which I take in good part; to satisfy you in part of my being here, and what I have seen, and how I have sped (for I find you hear-variable reports) you shall understand, that, since my Lord Lieutenant came into Ireland, the forces being divided as occasion required; some into Munster, some to Lesly, many into the North, and a few into Connought; it was partly

partly my hap, and partly my choice, for Sir Griffin Markhams sake, and three Markhams more, to go into Connoght; where I spent some weeks about Aloane, Ballinglow, Clanrickard, Galloway, and lastly, Roscommon, the place then appointed for garrison. This while I saw many things and some well worth the observing, both for war and peace; and notwithstanding all the dangerous passages through Paves (as they call those woods, which are full of Rebels) and through divers fordes, which are likewise places of great disadvantage, yet we passed still through all with small losse; notwithstanding, I say, the attempts and ambushes of fiery Markhue, of Connor Roe, of the Obrians, of some of the Bourks, and other the Rebels, such as the Jaytes and O'Maddins, and many mad knaves beside. And this while my Lord Lieutenant went through Munster as far as Asketon, and was sometimes fought with upon places of advantage, but without any great loss on either side. Neither in all that journey was any thing done greatly worth

worth speaking of, but the taking of Cathyre, and one or two castles beside.

After this, the next journey was to O'phaley, where Sir Cunynes Clyfford, the Governor of Connought, met my Lord, and Sir Griffin Markham, and six of the best Gentlemen of his troop came with him, and served bravely on foot, for no horse could passe the way they came; they burned and spoile a country called Ferrallie, and won a castle of Terryllies, one of the shrewdest Rebels of Ireland, and his companies did no lesse; so that all the country was on fire at once, and our coming was so unlook'd for, that in the towns where we came, the Rebels had not leisure to carry away their young children, much lesse their corn and other stuff. In all this journey I was comerade to the Earl of Kildare, and slept both on one pillow every night for the most part; here, at the parting, my Lord gave Sir Griffin Markham great commendations, and made him Colonel and Commander of all the horse in
Connought;

Connoght; and gave me and some others the honour of knighthood in the field; and so, my honest Thomas, with honour, conquest, and content, we returned again into Connoght. But see the changes and chances of warr—The Governor woud needs undertake a journey to Sligo, with twenty one weak companies, that were not 1400 strong; and a less proportion of horse than had been requisite for such a purpose; and yet out of his too much haste and courage, after two long days march, with small rest, and less repast, he would needs draw his men to set upon the enemy in a place of great disadvantage, called the Curlews, where, though the enemy was at first repulsed, yet at last their numbers encreasing, and our munition failing, or some secret cause, that we know not, dismaying the footmen, they fell all in rout; the Governor and Sir Alexander Radcliffe were slain 'ere they could come to their rescue. Some of our horse gave a desperate charge upon the hill, among rocks and bogs, where never horse was seen to charge before; it is verily

verily thought they had all been cut in peices, at least lost all their colours; so that, if reputation were to be challenged when so great loss accompanied it, we might take upon us to have won some honour; having, as Sir Henry Davers did pleasantly write to Sir Griffin Markham, not Roman citizens, but rascal soldiers, who, so their Commanders had been saved, had been worthy to have been half hanged for their rascal cowardliness; neither was this good service of ours unpaid for—beside the loss of two or three good horse, and better men, Sir Griffin Markham was shot through the arm with a musket; and though he bare the hurt admirable well, for a day or two, and especially at the instant, yet ever since he hath kept his bed of it; and hath been in danger of his arm by the hurt, and of his life by an ague; but now he is, I hope, out of danger of both, and safe at Dublin.

Myself, after I had conducted him in a horse litter safe beyond danger of the Rebels,

bels, within eight miles of Dublin, went to Trim, the place appointed for our garrison, and from thence have visited Navan and Arbrachan, where my Lord Lieutenant lay yesterday, and the day before, and meant to go from thence to the Brennys; but most men think, by means the weather falls out so monstrous wet as the like hath not been seen, that he will not go far North.

I lye here at Mr. Robert Hammon's house, who is this year Port Reeve of Trim, as much in effect as Mayor. He shews the greatest gratitude to me, and to all my friends for my sake; that to my remembrance I can say no man hath done more. Yet was he not beholden to my father for one foot of his living, but only for his breeding. I recommend this example the rather unto you, because I would have you follow it as far as your ability and opportunity will give leave. Now you see by the course of this letter, that I have rea-

son to thank God very greatly, that among so many as have been hurt and slain, where I have been, and some shot even in the very same ranks I was of. I have escaped all this while without bodily hurt. I protest there is much rather great cause to thank God who hath kept me so long in bodily health at Roscommon, where not so few as sixty died within the walls of the castle, in which we lay; and some as lusty men as any came out of England. In the camp, where drinking water, and milk, and vinegar, and aqua vitæ, and eating raw beef at midnight, and lying upon wet green corn oftentimes, and lying in my boots, with heats and colds, made many sick; yet myself (in a good hour be it spoken, and a better heard) was never sick, neither in the camp nor the castle, at sea or on land. Besides all this, to vaunt myself at large, to you, I have informed myself reasonably well of the whole state of the country, by observation and conference; so that I count the knowledge I have gotten here worth more than

than half the three hundred pounds this journey hath cost me. And as to warr, joyning the practise to the theory, and reading the book you so prays'd, and other books of Sir Griffin Markhams, with his conference and instructions, I hope at my coming home to talk of counterscarpes, and cazamars, with any of our Captains. The Irish Lords, Gentry, yea, and Citizens, where I come, I have found so apt to offer me kindness, so desirous of my acquaintance, that my friends think it a presage of a fortune I might rise to in this kingdom; though myself do little affect it, much less hope to effect it. My Ariosto has been entertained into Galloway before I came; when I got thither, a great Lady, a young Lady, and a fair Lady read herself asleep, nay dead with a tale of it: The verse, I think so lively figured her fortune; for, as Olympia was forsaken by the ungrateful Byreno, so had this Lady been left by her unkind Sir Calisthenes, whose

hard dealing with her cannot be excused, no not by Demosthenes.

Lastly, which perhaps will seem strange to you, and was very grateful to me, three sons of my cousin Robert Markhams of Cottam, whom you know the world mistook to have been wronged by me, and consequently deeply offended at me, have in their several kinds and places offerd me such courtesies, kindneses, nay, such services, as if they held me for one of their best friends in Ireland. Thus, gentle Thomas, I have, in recompence of your long letters, enlarged the discourse of my Irish affairs; but I must not forget nor cease to tell her Majesties good, wise, and gracious providings for us her Captains and our soldiers, in summer heats and winter colds, in hunger and thirst, for our backs and our bellies. That is to say, every Captain of an hundred footmen doth receive weekly, upon every Saturday, his full entertainment of twenty-eight shillings.

In

In like case, every Lieutenant fourteen shillings; an Ensign seven shillings; our serjeant, surgeon, drum, and fife, five shillings pay by way of imprest; and every common soldier three shillings delivered to all by the pole weekly. To the four last lower Officers two shillings weekly, and for every common soldier twenty pence weekly is to be answered to the full value thereof, in good apparel of different kinds, part for winter, and part for summer, which is ordered of good quality and stuff for the prices; patterns whereof must be sent to the Lord Deputy to be compared and prepared as followeth.

Apparel for an Officer in Winter.

A cassock of broad cloth with bays, and trimmed with silk lace, 27 shillings and 7 pence.

A doublet of canvas with silk buttons, and lined with white linnen, 14 shillings and 5 pence.

Two shirts and two bands 9 shillings and 6 pence.

Three pair of Kersey stockings at 2 shillings and 4 pence a pair, 7 shillings.

Three pair of shoes of neats leather, at 2 shillings and 4 pence per pair, 7 shillings.

One pair of Venetians of broad Kentish cloth, with silver lace, 15 shillings and 4 pence.

In Summer.

Two shirts and bands, 9 shillings 6 pence

Two pair of shoes, 4 shillings 8 pence

One pair of stockings, 2 shillings 8 pence

A felt hat and band, 5 shillings 5 pence

Apparel for a common Soldier in Winter.

A cassock of Kentish broad cloth lined with cotton, and trimmed with buttons and loops, 17 shillings 6 pence

A doublet of canvass with white linnen lining, 12 shillings 6 pence

A hat cap coloured, seven shillings

Two shirts of Osnabridge holland and bands, 8 shillings

Three

Three pair of neats leather shoes 2 shillings
 4 pence each, 7 shillings
 Three pair kerfy stockings 8 shillings
 One pair Venetians of Kentish broad cloth
 with buttons, loops, and lining of lin-
 nen, thirteen shillings 4 pence.

In Summer.

Two shirts of Osnabridge and 2 falling
 Holland bands, 7 shillings
 Two pair neats leather shoes, 4 shillings 8
 pence
 One pair of stockings, 2 shillings 8 pence
 A hat cap coloured, 3 shillings

Thus, friend Thomas, her Majesty, with
 wonted grace hath graced our bodies, and
 may heav'ns grace cloath her in everlasting
 robes of righteousnes, and on earth peace
 to her who always sheweth good will to-
 ward all men.

So resteth thy loving Master,

JOHN HARRINGTON.

To

ATHLONE, in *Ireland*, 1599.

To Sir ANTHONY STANDEN.

I DOWT not but many pens and tongues utter, after many fashions, the report of our late unfortunate journey, but yet I thought it not amiss to write you this breif narration of it; which I may say, *Quæque ipse miserrima vidi, et quorum pars una fui.* On Sunday last the Governor marched with one and twenty companies, or colours (for indeed some of them were but mere colours of companies, having sixty for a hundred and fifty) from Tullke, eight miles beyonde Roscommon, to the Abbey of Boyly, some fourteen miles; and hearing belike that the enemy was but weak in the Curlews, and that they expected not his coming; (because Captain Cosby the very day before came from Boyly towards Roscommon) on this account the Governor, God bless him, resolved to possess the Pare that nyght, being

two

two miles from the Abbey. This was against the minds of most of the Captains; the soldiers being weary and fasting, inso-much that they spake for meat 'ere they went up. but the Governor promist them they should have beef enough at nyght, and so drew them on; but many, God wot, lost their stomachs before supper. The order was this, Captain Lister led the forlorn hope; Sir Alexander Ratcliff and his regiment had the vaunt-guard; my Lord of Dublin led the battle; Sir Arthur Savage the rear; the horse were appointed to stand in a little pasture at the foot of the hill, to the intent that, when the Pare had had been cleared, they might have come up. After our men had gone up the hill and entered part of the Pare, the Rebels begun to play upon them from a barracado that they had made, but our men soon beat them from it, and, so mounting high, Sir Alexander Radcliff very bravely beat them out of a thin wood into a bog on the left side of the Pare; and we who stood at the
foot

foot of the hill might see them, and all men thought the Pare had been ours. But after the skirmish had lasted an hour an half very hot, and our shot had expended all our powder; the vantguard wheeled about in such a fashion, that, what with that and some strange and causless fear, that fell upon our men, the vantguard fell into the battayle; and in conclusion all fell in rout, and no man could stay them. The Governor himself, labouring to turne them, lost his breath, his voice, his strength, and last of all his life; or, which is worse, in the Rebels hands, and none could force him off. How it can be answerd at home by such as it concerned most I know not, but so vile and base a part I think was never played among so many men, that have been thought of some desert. But now the horse standing at the foot of the hill, and seeing through the woods and glades some disorder, though not suspecting so ill as it was, charged up the hill another way that lay on the left; if it may be called a way that had stones in it six or seven feet broad, lying
above

above ground. and plashes of bogs between them. But with this charge we made the enemy retire; whereby all the foot and colours came off; but we bought this small reputation (if so it will be taken) very dearly, for our own Commander of the horse had his arm broken with a shot, and had another shot through his clothes, and some seven or eight horse more killed and several proper men. Captain Jephson was next to Sir Griffith Markham in the head of Lord Southamptons troops, and charged very gallantly. I would not for all the land I have, but I had been well hors'd. I verily think the idle faith which possesses the Irishry concerning magic and witchcraft seized our men and lost the victory. For when my cozen Sir H. Harington in a treacherous parley with Rorie Ogie, a notable Rebel, was taken and conveyed to his habitation a prisoner; his friends not complying with the terms offerd for his ransom, sent a large band to his rescue, which the Rebel seeing to surround his house, rose in his shirt, and gave Sir Henry fourteen grievous wounds, then

then made his way through the whole band and escaped, notwithstanding his walls were only mud. Such was their panick, as verily thinking he effected all by dint of witchery, and had by magic compell'd them not to touch him. And this belief doth much daunt our soldiers when they come to deal with the Irishry, as I can well perceive from their discourse. You will hear more from other Captains of further advances :

So I rest, to all commande,

JOHN HARRINGTON.



To Sir ANTHONY STANDEN, *Knight.*

S I R,

IT is not a lake of Lethe, that makes us forget our friends, but it is the lack of good messengers, for who will write, when his letters shall be opened by the way, and construed at pleasure, or rather displeasure? — Some used this in Ireland, that perhaps have repented it since in England. I came to Court in the very heat and height of all displeasures. After I had been there but an hour, I was threatened with the Fleet; I answered poetically, that coming so late from the land-service, I hoped that I should not be prest to serve in her Majesty's fleet in Fleet-Street. After three days every man wondered to see me at liberty; but though in conscience there was neither rhyme nor reason to punish me for going to see Tyrone; yet if my rhyme had not been better liked of then my reason, (I mean when I gave the young Baron of Dungan-

non an Ariosto) I think I had lain by the heels for it. But I had this good fortune, that, after four or five days, the Queen had talked of me and twice talked to me, though very briefly. At last she gave me a full and gracious audience in the Withdrawing chamber at Whitehall, where herself being accuser, judge, and witness, I was cleared, and graciously dismissed. What should I say! I seemed to myself for the time, like Saint Paul rapt up in the third heaven, where he heard wordes not to be uttered by men; for neither must I utter what I then heard; until I come to heaven, I shall never come before a statelier Judge again, nor one that can temper majesty, wisdom, learning, choler, and favour, better than her Highness did at that time. In the discourse you were not unspoken of her. You shall hear 'ere long, but not by writing, for I will send a man. Thus much I adventure to write by this boy, but I trust him with no messages. I omitted no opportunity of mentioning and gracing the
 best

best I could, all my friends while I staid at London: But in December I came hither, but since I hear little, and do nothing but sit by a good fire, and feed my lean horses, and hearken for good news but hear none, save the certain expectation of peace with Spain.

My Lord Keeper is a widdower; Doctor Eaton hath eaten the Bishoprick of Ely, all the Clergy with him choaked with it. Mr. Edmondess hath been with the Dutchess of Burgundy, and well used, and she speaketh much honour of the Queen, which moves great hope of a league. You wonder I write nothing of One—believe me I hear nothing; but HE* is where he was, and I think must be till these great businesses be concluded. Let this suffice from a private country Knight, that lives among clouted shoes, in his frize jacket and gamoshes, and who envies not the great Commanders

D. 2

manders

* This was the Earl of ESSEX.

manders of Ireland, but hereby commends
himself to them.

Your true friend,

Kelston, near BATH, JOHN HARINGTON.

Feb. 20, 1599.



To

The Earl of ESSEX to JOHN HARRINGTON, Esq. touching his being appointed Lord Leutenante in IRELANDE, 1599.

HER Majesties Grace appointeth me to go to Irelannde, and hath speciallie commended yourselfe to my assistance and notyse; hence you are to lerne myne affections for hir commandes; you muste get forwarde and well accouterde in all haste for thys undertakynge. I shall provyde you to a commande of horsemen in consorte and commande of the Earl of Southamptone; youre servys shall not be ill reportede or unrewardede for the love the Queene beareth you. I will confer soche honor and advantages as are in my breste and powere, forasmuche as hir Majestie maketh me to commaunde peace or warre, to truce, parley, or soche matter as seemeth beste for our enterpryse and goode of hir realme: Be nowe assurede of my love for hir sake who byds it, and accounte

youre happynesse in hir favor, and hys
whom she favoereth, even myselfe, who
wylshethe youre advauncement.

ESSEX.

I have beaten Knollys and Montjoye in
the Councelle, and by G—d I will
beat Tyr-Owen in the feilde; for no-
thyng worthye hir Majesties honor
hathe yet beene atchievede.

N. B. Essex knyghted this Gentleman in the
feilde, with many others; which provoked not a
little the Queen at his return home. *Vid.* History,
Camden, &c.



Sir

Sir JOHN HARRINGTON'S Report to
Queen ELIZABETH, concern-
ing the Earle of ESSEX'S Jour-
neys in IRELAND, 1599.

AFTER the Lo. Levetenant generall
and Governor of Ireland had rested
certayn days at Dublin, for establishing the
state of the kingdom, and for making his
necessary provyfyon for the warre (which
I can but coniecture) his Lordship departed
thence (May 10) toward the champion fields
between the villadges Kilrushe and Castell
Martin: In whiche place (on the 12th) he
appointed to meete him 17 Ensignes of
foote and 300 horse; whiche his Lordship
devided into regiments, appointing the same
to be commaunded by Collonells: The
daie folowinge, the rebels shewed them-
selues in small numbers, deliueringe some
fewe shotte owte of woods and ditches vpon
owr vaunt couriers, but without anie hurte.
This night the armie lodged by Athie,
whiche hathe beene a greate markett, but
broughte

broughte by theis warres into the state of a pore villadge: It is devided in two partes, by the river Baro, over the whiche lyethe a stone bridge, and over that a Castell, occupied by James Fitz Deane (a Gent. of the familie of the Gerraldynes, who yeilded himselfe to the mercie of the Lo. Leafete-naunte; as did also, the same daie, the Lo. Viscount Mountgarrett and the Lo. of Cahir (bothe Butlers) who were presented to his Lo. by the Earle of Ormond, who in that place ioyned his forces to our armie: His Lo. having putt a garde in the Castell of Athie, passed his forces ouer the Baro by the bridge of the Castell; whose riuer being not otherwaies fordable but with difficultie; and the bridge therof the onlie waie whiche leadethe into the Queenes Countie; thim-portaunce of this enterprife must appeare to the most dull and ignoraunt sence. At Woodstocke (a villadge scituate vpon Baro) his Lo. expected victualls a daie or two for the releafe of Marieborroughe (a forte of muche importaunce, but of contemptible strengthe) in the Queenes Countie; to
whiche

whiche his Lo. nowe hasted not permitinge other staie in his iournie, then necessitie gaue cause. Duringe the tyme the army encamped (May 14) by Woodstocke, the rebells attempted the stealing of some of our horses; whiche beinge perceaued by Sir Christofer St. Lawrence (sonne to the Lo. of Howthe) he passed by the Baro naked, and, folowed by his menne, rekewed the praie, and retourned withe the heade of a rebell; aboute the same tyme, the rebell presented himself about 200 stronge, in the fight of the Castle Reban (a howse of Capt. Leas, a myle from the armie) whiche, vpon fighte of the Earle of Sowthampton, who hasted towards them in moste soldierlike order, withe a small troope of horse and foote, retyred themselves to there bogges, and from thence to there woodes; There the Lo. Greye, beinge carried nearer to the rebell by heate of valour naturall to suche yeeres and nobilitie) then was reasonable, and contrarie to the commaundmente of the Earle of Sowthampton, was, for his contempte, punished

nished by the Lorde Leiuſetennante with
 a nyghtes imprisonment. So ſoone as his
 Lo. was provided of victualls he marched
 with his armie towards the forte Marie-
 borroughe, in the Queenes Countie. In
 the waie, the rebell ſhewed himſelf by a
 paſſadge called Blackeforde; throughe
 whiche my Lo. marched in ſuche excellent
 order, that it terrefied him not to attempte
 vpon anie parte of the armie, but to ap-
 proche neare vnto the ſame. His Lo. ha-
 ving victualled the forte, where he knyght-
 ed Syr Fra Ruſhe, and encreaſed the gar-
 riſon, lodged that nyght (May 17) at the
 foote of a verie high hill, called Groſſe
 Tuſſe (the Generall lanelie of the province
 of Leinſter) wheare the rebel wonce in
 Rorie O. More ſhewed himſelfe with a-
 bout 500 foote and 40 horſe. 2 myles from
 our campe, renewinge that nyghte, and
 contynewinge the nexte morninge, a chal-
 lenge, whiche he had made a fewe daies
 before, to fight ſome of his with ſome of
 ours, with ſwordes and targettes; whiche
 was conſented vnto by his Lordſhippe, but
 the

the rebell neuer came to performe it. His Lordship havinge, from the top of Crothie Iuffe, veiwed the countrie rounde aboute, and particularlie the waie of that daies iournie, led the armie towards Castell $\frac{1}{2}$ a myle from that nightes quarter. The nature of the passadge is suche: Thoroughe a thicke woode $\frac{1}{4}$ halfe of a myle longe, leadethe a highe waye, in mooste places 10 goinge paces broade, whiche, in the middest, was traversed withe a trenche, and the wood plashed on bothe sydes; from behind whiche the enimie might withe facilitie gaule oure menne in their passadge. To the other too sydes of the woode are adjoyned too bogges, whiche serue the rebell for a verie sure retreatte from all force of our armie: But vpon an elevated pece of grounde betweene the woode and bogge, on the lefte hande, was a villadge, from behinde whiche the rebell might fall in and returne to his strengthe. His I.o. to make his waie secure thoroughe this passadge, ordered his armie in this forte: The whole armie was devided into seven battailes; before the
 vauntgarde

vauntgarde marched the forlorne hope, consistinge of 40 shott and 20 shorte weapons, with the order that the shott shoulde not discharge, till they presented their peeces to the rebelles breastes in their trenches; and that suddainelie the shorte weapons shoulde enter the trenches pell mell, vpon either syde of the vauntgarde (whiche was obserued in the battaile and rearegarde) marched wynges of shott, enterlyned with pikes, to whiche were sente secondes with as much care and diligence as occasion required. The baggadge and a parte of the horse marched before the battaile; the reste of the horse fell in before the rearegarde, excepte 30, whiche, vnder the conducte of Sir Henerie Dauers, made the retreat of the whole armie. Their goinge to the release of Capt. Morrisham, who was ingadged by the rebell, they repelled him without any other losse, than that Sir Alexander Rattcliffe hadd his horffe shott in the heade of the troupe. The vauntgarde, folowed by the other partes of the armie, havinge by provident marche gayned
the

the ende of the passadge (where discovered it selfe a lardge champion) was commaunded to make alt, vntill the horffe, and whatsoeuer was vnprofitable in the straitte, were aduanced to the plaine. This was the order (as I haue harde) appointed by the Lo. Leiusfennaunte; which beinge not obserued in all partes of the armie withe like diligence, there were losse by follie Capt. Gardner and Capt. Boswell, withe some 3 private menne. His Lp. was that day in no place (that is, in euerie place) flyinge like lighteninge from one parte of the armie to an other, leadinge, directinge, and folowinge the vauntgarde, battaile, and rearegarde. The deatnes of our Captaines were reuenged by our quartermen and scoutemen, who accompanied withe diuers Gentlemen, slewe 7 of the rebells, whiche assaied to force the quarter; of whiche were Alexander Donnell, a Gentleman, and Donnel Knogger of base burthe, but for the prooffe of his daringe and skill, of especiall esteeme withe Tyrone. In this conflicte, Edmonde Bushnell, Gent. Vther

to his Lp. receaved a hurte in the breaſte with a pike. The daie folowinge (May 10.) the Lo. Leiuſetennaunte, obſervinge the former order of marche, ledd his menne thoroughe the paſſadge called Ballia Raggatt, where we founde the rebelles ſo fewe in number, and ſo timerous in attemptinge, as their behaviour (on the 20th) proved that the order of the other daies marche was terrible vnto them. Theis paſſadges thus ouercome, to the no ſmall terror of the rebell, and admiration to the ſoldiers, his Lo. came to Kilkennie, where he was receaved withe as muche ioye of the cittizens as coude be expreſſed, either by huelie orations, or ſilent ſtrewinge of the ſtreetes withe hearbes and ruſhes. To Clonmell (on the 24th) his Lp. was well wellcomed, to the like ioye of the people, and withe a Lattin oration, or rather a diſſaſſe, wherein the awthor had adiured his Lp. concerninge the eſta bliſhing of peace in Irelande; whiche beinge deliuered in vnſitt termes his Lo. reſproued, proteſtinge his antipathie concerninge mat-
ters

ters of iustice: to moderate whiche, hir sacred Maestie hadd giuen him bothe sworde and power. The daie after (the 25th) the Castell Darenclare, whiche had longe tyme offended the cittizens of Clonmell in their traffique by the ryver of Suire to Waterford, yeilded to his Lps. mercie. In the middest of the river of Suire lyethe an isleland the same a naturall rock, and vpon it a Castell, whiche, although it be not builte wth anie greate arte, yet is the site suche by nature, that it maie be said to be inexpugnable: Of this Castell, which is called Cahie, is the Lo. of Caire entituled Baron; whiche beinge helde by James Buttler, his younger brother, the L. Leiu. sent the Lo. of Caire to parle wth him; and wth him Sir Heneric Dauers, whome he adiured, duringe the parlie, to vnderstande as muche as he mighte the nature of the place: Who retourninge wth the Lord of Caire (weill satisfied that his brother woulde not yeild vpp the Castell) related the site and strengthe of the Castell to be suche as is mentioned. This night his

to his Lp. receaved a hit
 with a pike. The daie
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 strongest places by nature that is in Ire-
 de, or that can be imadgined ells where.
 uringe this sledge, Capt. Brett was shott
 in the bodie with a hargabushe, as was also

Lordship reviewed the place himselfe in person, and caused the same to be done by the Lord Marshall and Serieaunt Maior, commaunding that after a diligent reuiewe, the approaches, takinge the aduantage by waie of olde diches and walls, shoulde that night be remoued to the wall of the counter scarp: One daie beinge intermitted, without dooinge anie thinge, for want of th'artillerie, whiche coulde not arrive in fronte, the same beinge onbe drawn by the force of menne. There passed a daie or two, before the batterie was commenced. The same night that the batterie was plained (May 28) his Lordship sent the Lord Marshall and Serieaunt Maior, with 300 menne, to occupie a garden whiche adioyned to the Castell, vpon the southe weste parte. Although the passadges to this garden were suche, that a verie small number mighte haue made fronte to an armie, yet did theis beastes firste quite that place, and presentlie after, theie abandoned the Castell, excepte 8 persons; to the releife of, whiche were sente, earlie in the morninge,

morninge, 300 kearne by the White
 Knightes. In the begininge of the nighte,
 (May 29) Sir Christofer St. Lawrence was
 sente, with 300 kearne menne, to possesse
 an isleland whiche liethe from the Castell
 northeaste (not more than hargabushe shott)
 and to breake vpp too bridges; one of
 whiche leadethe from the isleland to the
 maine, and the other from the same isle-
 land to the Castell. The rebells (on the
 30th) seeinge themselues, in the morninge,
 fecluded from that releefe whiche thei
 howerly expected from Desmonde, and
 from the White Knightes, at nighte thei
 conveied themselues (with muche stillnesse)
 owte of the Castell, whiche yet beinge per-
 ceaued by our gardes, theie fell presentlie
 to execution, and entered aswell the Castell
 without resistauce as direction; by whiche
 accident was repossed for hir Maiestie,
 with the slaughter of 80 rebells, one of
 the strongest places by nature that is in Ire-
 lande, or that can be imadgined ells where.
 Duringe this siede, Capt. Brett was shott
 in the bodie with a hargabushe, as was also

Capt. George Cariethoroughe bothe cheekes and thorough the bodie, the bullett enteringe about the lefte shoulder, and passing thorough the opposite arme hole; whiche hurtes were more then miraculous, for that there were onlie 3 shott made, and his bodie in all other partes covered with an armor of muskett proof. Theis 2 worthe Captaines, hauinge in this siede, as in manie other places, made honorable proofes of their vertue, leste, within a few daies, the example thereof to be admyred of all, but to be imitated of fewe, and thei themselves departed to a happier life. His Lordship hauinge (May 31) repaired the breaches of the Castell, and leste suche a garrison in the same as muste annoie the fronteringe rebell (his sickemen beinge sente to Clonmell) he aryed by easie iournies at Lymmericke, where he was entertained with two Englishe orations; in whiche I knowe not whiche was more to be discommended, wordes, composition, and oratorie, all of them hauinge their perticular excellencies in barbarisme, harshenes, and
rustical

ruffical bothe pronouncinge and action. The armie, whiche hadd endured muche, aswell by fowle waies as by vnseasonable weather, beinge well refreshed by the releafe it receaued from Lymmericke, was conducted by his Lordship to Adare, a ruined abbeie; in whiche villadge his Lordship lodged a regiment of foote. Passinge the same daie (June 4) ouer the river Adare, ouer a narrow bridge, which was well perceaued by the rebell Desfonde and Lacie; who never made a shew to prohibit the passage, althoughe theie hadd (not muche more then musket shott from the same) about 12 foote vnder 5 Ensignes and 2 Cornettes of horse, either appearinge at least to be a 100. Theie were trained in fight of our armie, deuided from it by an vnfordable river and a bogge; but in such disorder, that it rather seemed a morrice daunce, by there trippinge after there badge pipes, then anie soldierlike exercise; theie conveyinge themselues (after a while in a ringedaunce into the woode whiche theie hadd close at there backes, and from
 whiche

whiche theie haue not departed farther at anie tyme, since our armie entered Mounster, then an old hunted hare dothe from hir couert for releiufe. Early in the morninge, the armie passed the riuer, and marched towardes a passadge $\frac{1}{2}$ a myle from Adare, whiche hadd on either syde a woode, but vnder that on the right hande a bogge, by the heade of whiche extended it selfe the woode on the lefte hande; the passadge laie ouer the bogge, whiche was verie deficiente bothe for maine naturall strengthe whiche we founde in the same; and for pil-lages made that morninge by the rebell. At the enteraunce into the passadge betweene the woodes, the dexter wings beinge not so farr aduanced as the forlorne hopes; his Lordship (beinge in the heade of his troupes to directe them) had deliuered vpon close at hande, and from reste a volley of at leaste 100 shott, whiche were instauntlie repelled by some troupes whiche his Lordship caused to be drawen forthe of the vauntgarde, commanded that daie by the Earle of Thomounde: His
 Lordship,

Lordship, havinge with the losse of more
 then an 100, without anie losse of his owne,
 putt the rebell to retreat on that parte,
 possessed himselfe of the passadge, placinge
 on either syde a regiment to assure the same;
 and, that done, returned to give order to
 the rearegarde, where he was in like dan-
 ger as before in the vauntgarde, ouerco-
 minge the same with the like order, but
 not altogether with so much slaughter.
 The rebell thus repelled by the prudence
 of his Lordship, the whole troupes marched
 throughe the passadge, not alone without
 losse, but without anie difficultie: On the
 lefte hande of the passadge was Plunkett
 lodged, who with 300 rebells (makinge
 shoue that daie, and with an echoe in the
 woode, with the reporte of 30 or 40 shott)
 was constrained the nexte daie to give
 pledges to Desmonde for thassurance of
 his feithe: From the passadge his Lordship
 conducted his armie to the Castell Asche-
 ton, whiche was then somethinge distressed
 by the rebell, who intercepted the passadge
 in such forte as, vntill the tyme it coulde
 not

not convenientlie receave anie relief from Lymmericke, from whence it was nowe victualld by his Lordship, the rebell neither hinderinge his Lordship to passe nor repasse his armie ouer the river of Doile, vpon whiche Ascheton is seituat, where a small number might haue made heade to a copious troupe; nor indeuoringe anie notable offence, in anie place where theie might haue prooued theire force withe muche aduantage. His Lordship (as I coniecture, to give the rebell an inexcusable provocation) diuerted his iournie towards the Castle Conon in countie of Korke, Desmond's cheife howse. In the waie passinge betweene woodes (harde by Pphemters towne) which flanked the armie on either syde within musquett shott, his Lordship, peradventure to lett the rebell knowe the virtue of his menne, and theire weaknesse, entertained skaramouche withe them in theire owne strengthe, forcinge them to abandon the same, withoute other losse, then that Sir Henerie Norrice, presentinge a chardge withe his troupe of horse, hadd
his

hadd his legge broken with a shott; the whiche, to prevente the laste euil, or rather the firste, enteraunce into garde was cutt of a fewe daies after, at Killmallocke: He endured the same with extraordinary patience. His Lordship, accordinge to his custome, findinge himselfe in euerie place of action, was this daie in as much danger as anie private man: So was likewise the Earle of Sowthampton in much danger, expectinge perpetuallie in the heade of the troupe (all the tyme of the skaramouche) opportunitie to chardge the rebell: The Lord Greye, havinge that daie the vauntgarde of horse, gaue chardge, with 12 of his horse, to as manie of the rebels, forcinge them into the woodes to their foote. There dyed of the rebell clan Donnell, and one of the Burghes, bothe Commaunders; onlie of ours Capt. Ienninges, Sir Henerie Norrice beinge, by reporte, certainehe recovered, as is also Fra. Markam, a Gent. of knowne valor, who hadd his righte cheeke pearced with a bullett (June 16) The same daie that the armie passed by Castell

tell Connor, was the same entertained in
 skaramouche from the flutte of a road
 called Banno Coulaghe by Mac Garties
 menne, where Sir Henerie Dauers (inde-
 uoringe to saue certaine stragglers that in-
 discreetlie hadd ingadged themselues) was
 shott in the face, the bullett passinge to the
 roote of his lefte eare, where it still restethe,
 but without anie annoyaunce, he beinge al-
 readie perfectlie recouered. Desmonde,
 insteade of defendinge his Castell, raced
 the same; by whiche, thoroughe his whole
 countrie, the armie marched without anie
 ofence, althouyhe he might haue presented
 himselfe in our waie in places of exceedinge
 aduantage, so that, without anie impeach-
 ment of the rebell, his Lordship arriued,
 on the 22d (notwithstandinge greate bragges
 by Desmonde) vnfoughte withall at Water-
 forde, where his Lordship was receaued
 withe two Latin orations, and withe as
 muche ioyfull concourse of people as anie
 other towne of Irelande: Duriinge his
 Lordships aboade in Waterforde, the im-
 portance of the plan requiringe the same,

on

H. 10^v

on the 23^d, he reviewed with carefull diligence the harborroughe, as also the forte Don Canon, whiche garde the same; the site and fabricature of whiche declare Sir John Norrys (by whose approbation that was chosen, and then allowed) as iudiciall an engineer, as his other artes haue ennobled him for a worthie souldier. For the syte, it is so ouertopped by a imminent height not distant from it more then 150 paces) that no mann can stande firme in the piazza of the forte; and as for anie arte of fortification, whereof the forte should participate, and wherbie skilfull engineers are accustomed to render places more defensible, I shoulde thinke the same (submitting yet my censure to the comptrolement of more experienced iudgments) an insufficient intrenchment, and consequentlie a most defectiue fortresse; as whose shelter affordethe ferme lodginge under it to an enimie, coveringe him from all offences of the parrapett, and yet not the same raised to suche height as maie secure the defend-

aunes in the *strata coperta*; whose ditches
 are lowe and narrowe and shallowe; whose
 ramparte and parrapett are lowe and slen-
 der; whose defences are a *forbici* and in
barba; and, that whiche is worse, there
 correspondence hindred by the cassamates
 in the ditch, whose piazza is narrowe, af-
 fordinge no place for retreat, when that
 ramparte whiche is shall either be beaten
 or topped; all whiche misfortunes are
 founde in that parte of the forte whiche re-
 gardethe the nanie. The parte of the
 forte towards the water, althoughe it hath
 not so manie defectes as the former, yet
 hath it as grosse errors as anie are men-
 tioned. The 2 platformes beinge bothe
 of them so skante that theie are not alone
 capable of suche a number of peeces as
 might serue to commaund the water, but
 that thei whiche are there haue not suffi-
 cient place for there recoyle. The defectes
 of whiche platformes are sited withe un-
 swettable parapettes, whiche beinge slender
 and of stone, their promise (insteade of se-
 curitie)

curitie) deathe to as manie as shall in tyme
of necessitie, presente themselves to de-
fence.

From Waterforde to Dublin (wither his
Lordship was nowe (June 25) in retourne
withe his armie) leadethe a double waie;
the one thorough the clannes, whiche de-
nieth passage to horse and carriages;
the other alonge the sea shore, by whiche
his Lordship reviewed his armie, aswell,
peradventure, for the conueniencie of the
passage, as to visite in his waie the garris-
sones of Ennis Corphie, Arclloe, Wikloe,
and Newcastle. Until the armie hadd
passed, Amias Corphis, the rebell, neuer
shewed himselfe, for all the former daies
marche was thorough a plain champion,
where he neuer trusteth himselfe; but, be-
fore the armie was aduanced the midd-
waie from Ennis Corphie towards Arclloe,
the rebell, aided with the opportunitie of
woods and bogges, presented himselfe in
our waie, for the distroinge of certaine
F 2 villadges;

villadges; all whiche (and only whiche) his Lordship caused, in despite of him, to be consumed with the fyre, on June 30. Aboute three myles from Arctloe, the armie was to passe a forde, where the enimie presented himselfe in our waie, with the opinion, as maie be coniectured, if not to prohibite, yet to trouble the armie in the passadge: The skaramouche was for one halfe hower hottlie mainteined, either parte contendinge the forme; the other, by freshe secondes, borrowed from their grosses whiche theie hadd at hande. The Lord-Lieutennaunt, thinkinge to inclose the rebell betweene his horse and foote, commaunded the Lord of Sowthampton (who was now passinge the foerde) to take the first opportunitie to chardge; but the rebell (whose dreade of our horse causethe them to obserue diligentlie all their mocions) perceavinge the Earle of Sowthampton to aduaunce with his troupes, retyred himselfe into his strengthe, a parte of them castinge awaie there armes for lightness, whiche yet escaped

cared not altogether the execution of the
 Lord Leifetenant, who directed the foote
 in that parte. The rebell was to passe in
 his strength thorough two small fieldes in-
 closed, thorough the end of the seconde
 of which he had a house waied into a neigh-
 bour wood. His Lordship, invited by the
 opportunity of the place, commanded
 an Irish Commander
 of horse, to charge, who committed a
 double error, the one, that he sente out
 an order of his troupe before the reste,
 which might have broken the rebels, and
 have recovered his first colley. The other,
 that for aboute 12 thou that were deliuered
 up to his troupe, he turned head, when his
 trumpet founded a charge; givinge life to
 more then 200 rebels that stood at his
 mercy. In the meane while, whiles these
 things were in hande, the whole troupe
 were passed the sands, and his Lordship
 beganne to contynewe his marche towardes
 Arcloe, layinge in a villadge vpon the
 waie an ambulcade of aboute 40 horse,

whiche mighte cutt of the rebell, &c.
 (whiche his Lordship most iudicially suppo-
 sed he shoulde approache to offende the
 reare) But the rebell (who is not easlie
 surprised by ambuscado) either perceavinge
 or suspectinge deceipt, made an alt withe
 his two troupes, whiche appeared to be
 about 800 foote, and 50 horse (a number
 whiche, howsoener it seeme contemptible,
 yet is it sufficient to fight, in the strengthes
 of the countrie) withe 50 suche armies as
 ours) His Lordship, perceavinge the re-
 bells stay, rallied his horse to there place;
 and the countrie bringe to apparaunce
 plaine and ferme (champion) the whole
 armie seemed to promise to it selfe securitie,
 and the rebell not presuminge euery man
 attended only to hasten to the quarters in
 a speedie marche, wherebie the armie was
 distracted into an excessive lengthe, and
 broughte therebie (althoughe into no dif-
 order) yet into some vnreadynes. While
 the armie marched, his Lordship (nothinge
 beinge more famylier vnto him then to ob-
 serue

ferde the order of his owne troopes in there
 marche) ascended for this purpose the topp
 of a hill; whose height discovereth the
 whole plaine, and perceavinge from thence
 that the rebell prepared to giue vpon the
 reare of the synister winge of the vaunt-
 garde, ledd by Marmaduke Constable, En-
 signe to Capt. Ellys Iones, he commaunded
 the Lord of Sowthampton (to whom ga-
 thered suddainly a few straglinge horse) to
 haste to there succor. In the meane tyme,
 while the Lord of Sowthampton was occu-
 pied in the assuringe of the seate, and en-
 devoringe to drawe the rebell (whiche held
 him in his strengthe) vpon ferme grounde,
 the Lorde Leiuftennaunt, not attended
 vpon by more then 6 or 7 horse, presented
 a chardge to the rebells grosse of horse and
 foote, whiche was nowe makinge towardes
 the Earle of Sowthampton, whom there
 sawe to be ingadged, and to be vpon a
 grounde disadvantadgiours for horse; but,
 perceavinge the resolucion of the Lord
 Leiuftennaunt, who constantly expected
 them

them vpon the syde of a bogge, whiche
 laie betwene him and them, thei made an
 alt; aboute whiche tyme, the Lord Sowth-
 ampton, hauinge entreated the number of
 of his horse to aboute 24, seeing it lost
 tyme to indeuor to drawe the vermyne from
 there strength, resolved to charge them
 at all disadvauntage; whiche was per-
 formed with that suddainesse and resolu-
 tion, that the enimie, whiche before was
 disperfed in skaramouche, had not tyme
 giuen him to putt himselfe in order; so
 that, by the opportunite of location taken
 by the Earle, and vritte of them that were
 with him, (whiche were almost all noble)
 there was made a notable slaughter of the
 rebels; suche as escaped from theire grosse
 were intercepted from theire grosse (to
 whiche theie laboured to rotyre) by our
 soute, sente thither by the Lord Deiafere-
 nant in releife of the horse, manie of
 whiche by the too much forwardnes of
 the ryders were there imbogged; by whose
 unfortunate death Capt. Cayen, whose in-
 dudltry

dustry hadd adorned him with much
 bothe science and language, dyed in the
 plane; and Capt. Constable, after a dou-
 ble wounde, saved himselfe by his owne
 virtue. That whiche the foote did in this
 parte was not lesse glorious then that of the
 horse, there beinge a staunde made by Sir
 Henrie Pore, Capt. Courtney, and En-
 signe Constable, with 100, againste (at
 leste) 400 rebells. But that whiche hinderd
 the comminge downe of the rebells was the
 presence of the Lo. Leiusetennaunt, who
 stode in a place fit to offende bothe by
 direction and nomber, havinge a litle be-
 fore ioyned vnto him the rearewarde of
 foote and horse. The rebells, Donogh
 Hispanoh and Pheilm M^r Pheoghe, mooved
 either with the slaughter of theirs, where-
 of dyed more then a 100 (five of whiche
 were Commaunders); or terrified with
 the order, redinesse, and virtue of our
 menne, whiche drewe their rowte, and
 desyred Sir Th. Davers, who that daie
 commaunded the rearegarde of horse, to
 come

come out vnto his Lordship, vpon pretex-
 t whiche his Lordship denied, as a course
 unfit for rebels, refusinge to receaue them
 vpon other terms then vpon submission to
 her Maiesties mercie. The next day fo-
 lowinge (July 1) his Lordship vewed the
 place, where (some weekes before) Phelim
 N^c Pheoghe, with 400 foote and 150
 horse (on a plane of vspeakeable aduant-
 adge to our menne) hadd overthrowen Sir
 Hen. Harington, Knight who had with
 him 450 foote and 60 horse. Theie whiche
 escaped by flight, or by base hydinge of
 themselues from the force of the rebelles
 sworde, were by a Martiall Courte con-
 dempned (on the 3d) to be hanged on the
 gallowes; whiche sentence was mittigated
 by his Lordships mercie, by whiche euerie
 10th man was sentenced onlie to die; the
 reste appointed to serue in the army for
 pioneers.

Thus is my dyscourse, guided by the
 foote-steppes of victorious and successfull
 1555
 iourneys,

journeys, returned as it were, in a circular revolution; but Dublin, his firste periode, where the Lord Leiuftennaunt, nowe remayne the, meditatinge, as it is thoughte a seconde iourneie. If in this relation I have omitted anie thinge of note, or noted anie thinge superfluous, either error is ignorance, neither iudgment, my purpose beinge to discowrse breiflie the iourneie, without either amplifyinge small accidentes, or detractinge from well deseruinge persons, whiche, for their satisfaction, as manie as knowe me will beleue; and, as for the reste, I desire not to knowe them.



Letter to Mr. SUTTON, the Founder of the Charity Institution of the Charter-house School, occasioned by a Report that Sir JOHN Harington had endeavoured to make his Court to King JAMES, by saying, that Mr. Sutton would leave his great Fortune to Duke CHARLES, who was afterwards King of England, if the King (James) would create Sutton a Baron, and secure thereby the Estate to the Duke of York.

S I R,

YOUR strange message, first by my man, after by my son, now seconded with your speech to myself, did greatly trouble me. That I have undone you, overthrown your estate, disturbed your designs; that no man dare buy any land of you, be your feoffee, nor take any trust
from

from you; so as that which you had ordained to good uses, and to redeem your sins, was now so incumberd, as you were scant master of your own; and all by means of a bruit among your friends, raised as you suppose by me, That you have made Duke Charles your heir, and the King your executor.

Far be it from me to abuse or mis-report either so princelie and pious an intention, as I know his Majesty hath to further all good works, or so godlie a purpose, as you intend to do some; but God cannot be mocked, though we may dissemble with men. The letter is still extant which was my warrant. I have spoken nothing but within compas of that, and that very sparingly to your private friends; in which letter seeing you yourself would needs in your sence read a caveat to refuse honour because of age, which, in my construction, was an incouragement to take the honor due to your abilities and years; I have been sence, and will be silent about it. For

the suit you would make to his Majesty, which I will not so much as guess at, I will say what I thinke, you will make no suite, but such as will find favor and expedition, and, seeing you suppose I wronged you before, I would be glad to make you amends now by any endeavor of mine: Only, my old friend, you may not forgett to be a benefactor to Bath church in your life-time; for alms, in one's life, is like a light borne before one, whereas alms after death is like a candle carried behind one.

Do somewhat for this church, you promised to have seen it 'ere this; whensoever you will go to Bath, my lodgings shall be at your commandment; the bath's would strengthen your sinews, the alms would comfort your soul.

The tower, the quire, and two isles, are all-ready finished by Mr. Billett, executor to the worthie Lord Treasurer Burleigh; the walls are up ready for covering.

The

The lead is promised by our bountifull Bishop, Dr. Montague; timber is promised by the Earl of Shrewsbury, the Earl of Hartford, the Lord Say, Mr. Robert Hopton, and others.

There lacks but money for workmanship, which if you would give, you should have many good prayers in the church now in your life-time, when they may indeed do you good, and when the time is to make friends of the mammon of iniquity, as Christ bids us, that we may be received into everlasting tabernacles, to which God send us, to whose protection I leave you, &c.

From *Greenwich*, this
13th of *June*, 1608.

JOHN HARINGTON.

To SIR HUGH PORTMAN, *Knight.*

My honoured Friend,

I Humblie thank you for that venison I did not eat, but my wife did it much commendation. For six weeks I left my oxen and sheep, and venturd to Court, where I find many lean kinded beastes and some not unhorned. Much was my comfort in being well received, notwithstanding it is an ill hour for seeing the Queen. The madcaps are all in riot, and much evil threatend. In good soothe I feard her Majestie more than the Rebel Tyrone, and wisht I had never received my Lord of Essex's honor of knighthood. She is quite disfavoured, and unattird, and these troubles waste her muche. She disregardeth every costlie cover that cometh to the table, and taketh little but manchet and fucory potage. Every new message from the city doth disturb her, and she frowns on all the Ladies. I had a sharp message from her brought by my Lord Buchurst, namely
thus,

thus, "Go tell that witty fellow, my god-son, to get home; it is no season now to foole it here." I liked this as little as she dothe my knighthood, so tooke to my bootes and returned to the plow in bad weather. I must not say much even by this trustie and sure messenger, but the many evil plots and designs hath overcome all her Highness sweet temper. She walks much in her privy chamber, and stamps with her feet at ill news, and thrusts her rusty sword at times into the arras in great rage. My Lord Buckhurst is much with her, and few else since the city business; but the dangers are over, and yet she always keeps a sword by her table. I obtained a short audience at my first coming to Courte, when her Highness told me, if ill counfel had brought me so far from home, she wisht Heaven might marr that fortune which she had mended. I made my peace in this point, and will not leave my poor castle of Kelston, for fear of finding a worse elsewhere, as others have done. I will eat Aldborne rabbits, and

get fish as you recommend from the man at Curry-Rival, and get ~~partridge~~ partridge and hares when I can, and my venison where I can; and leave all great matters to those that like them better than myself. Commend me to your Ladie and all other Ladies that ever heard of me. Your books are safe, and I am in liking to get Erasmus for your entertainmente.

From *Kelston*, Oct.
9. 1601.

JOHN HARINGTON.

I could not move in any suit to serve your neighbour B. such was the face of things, and so disorderd is all order, that her Highness hathe worne but one change of raiment for many days, and swears much at those that cause her griefs in such wise, to the no small discomforture of all about her, more especially our sweete Lady Arundel, that
Venus plus quam venusta.—

To Sir HUGH PORTMAN, *Knight*.
1598.

My good Friend,

I HAVE been to visit at the house which my Lord Treasurer dothe occupy at the Bathe, and found him and another cripple together, my cosen Sir John Harrington of Exton; when it grieved me to see so much discretion, wisdom, and learning in peril of death. My Lord doth seem dead on one side, and my cosen on the other, though both in their health were ever on one side. It gave me some comfort to hear their religious discourse, and how each did despise his own malady and hold death in derision, because both did not despair of life eternal. The Treasurer asked me if I had any ailment, and smiled to see me look gravely at their serious talk. I wished them all benefit, and that the waters might wash away all their deadness, save that to iniquity, which would still hold them both unto death; my cosen said,
“ You

“ You are not dead to good works, for even
 “ now this churche doth witness of your
 “ labour to restore it to its ancient beauty.”
 In good sooth we want good men who build
 unto the Lord to forward this work ; and
 many indeed have passed assurance of such
 helpe. Her Highness doth much lament
 her good servants malady ; my Lady Arun-
 del came with earnest suit from Court,
 touching the Treasurers state, and did
 bring an excellent cordial for his stomach,
 which the Queene did give her in charge ;
 and said that she did intreat Heav'n daily
 for his longer life. Else would her people,
 nay herself stand in need of cordials too.
 If I may venture thus much, it seemeth as
 though this good man had little else to do on
 earth than die.

I have not got what you do so much covet
 from me, nor can I hitherto obtain an au-
 dience from the Bishop on such account ;
 but you shall hear further in good time, as
 my own business doth yet stand unmoved,
 and giveth me matter of disquiet. The
 Lord

Lord Treasurers distemper doth marvelously trouble the Queen, who saith, that "her comfort hath been in her peoples happiness, and their happiness in his discretion;" neither can we find in ancient record such wisdom in a Prince to discern a servants ability, nor such integrity to reward and honour a Princes choice—*Quando ullum inveniat parem?* I reſte in good hope of ſeeing your Lady and ſuch branches of olive as may adorn your table, before Christmas next; and may they bring you more peace than the branches which adorn your neighbour Hattons brows; but—*levius fit patientia, et conjugem corrigere eſt nefas.*

JOHN HARINGTON.

What other news doth happen I will bear with me at my coming.

To

1609.

To Prince HENRY.

Most noble and honoured Sir,

I HERE sende by my fervant such matter as your Highness did 'covet' to see, in regard to Bishop Gardener of Winchester, which I shall sometime more largely treat of, and lay at your feet. I may truly say, this Prelate did persecute me before I was born; for my father was by his command imprison'd in the Tower for eleven months, for only carrying a letter to the Princess Elizabeth; and my mother was taken from her presence, and obliged to dwell with Mr. Topcliff, as an heretic. My poor father did lend many petition to the Bishop, but in vain, as he expended one thousand pounds to get his liberty. Nor had they any comfort but their consciences to beguile this affliction, and the sweet wordes and sweeter deeds of their Mistres and fellow prisoner. But, not to rail only, I will inform your Highness what old Sir Matthew Arundel was wont to say, touching these times—

times—that Bonner was more to blame than Gardener; who used to call him afs, and other scurvy names, for dealing so cruelly by honest men. I was moved to say so much against this judgment, that Sir Matthew said, my father ought to have lain in prison much longer, for sending such a saucy sonnet to Gardener; in truth it was not over civil, but after fair wordes ill taken, such deeds are not foul; and, considering those unrefin'd times, the poetry* is not badly conceived: As your Highness may judge in due season, when I bring it before you, and here have sent no ill written letter to beg mercy of the Bishop; of which my father gave me copies, with many others in his own justification. In humble consideration of your Highness favour and countenance,

I remain, to all commande,

JOHN HARINGTON,

The

* This poetry is printed in the first volume, in the life of Bishop Gardiner.

The picture of Lady Elizabeth, our late glorious Queen, was printed from a copper, graved by a most skilful artist, and given by her as a token of her affection to my mother; which I send your Highness as it was thought to be of rare workmanship, as it is cut in metal, which few did then ever attempt to do.



*To the Bishop of WYNCHESTER.**My Lord,*

THYS myne humble prayer dothe come wyth muche sorrowe for anie deed of evil that I have done to your Lordshippe; but, alas! I knowe of none, save suche dutie to the Ladie Elizabeth as I am bounden to paye her at all times: And, if thys matter breedethe in yow suche wrathe towardes her and mee, I shall not in thys myne imprysonmente repente thereof. My wyfe ys her servante, and dothe but rejoyce in thys owr miserie, when we looke withe whome we are holden in bondage. Our gracious Kynge Henrie did ever advaunce our families goode estate, as did his pious father aforetyme; wherefore our servyce is in remembraunce of suche goode kyndnesse. Albeit there needethe none other cause to render our tendance, fythe the Ladie Elizabeth beareth suche pietie and goodlie affection to all virtue. Consider that your Lordshippe aforetyme hathe

combatede with muche lyke affliction: Whye then should not our state cause yow to recounte the same, and breede pity to uswarde. Myne poore Ladie hathe greater cause to waile than wee of suche small degree, but her rare example affordethe comforte to us, and shameth our complaynte. Why, my good Lorde, must I be thus annoy'de for one deed of special good wyll to the Ladie Elizabeth, in bearynge a letter as was sente from one that had such ryghte to gyve mee his commande, and to one that had such ryghte to all myne hartie sarvyce. Maie God inclyne yow to amende all thys crueltie, and ever and anon turne our prayer in goode and mercyfulle confyderation. My Lorde Admyrale Seymor did trulie wynn my love amydst his harde and deadlie annoyance: Now, maie the same like pitie touche your harte, and deal us better usage. Hys sarvyce was ever joyfule, and why must thys be so afflictynge. Myne auncient kyndred have ever held their dutie and leige obeyfaunce, nor wyll I doe them suche dyshonour as maie blot
out

out their worthie deeds, but wyll ever abyde
 in all honestie and love; if yow should
 give eare to myne complaunte, it wyll
 bynde me to thankfullie repaie thys kynd-
 nesse; but, yf not, will contynue to suffer,
 and reste ourselves in God, whose mercie
 is sure and safe; and in all true love to her,
 who dothe honoure us in tender sorte, and
 scornethe not to shedde her teares with
 oures. I commende youre Lordeshippe to
 God's appointemente, and reste forely af-
 flictede,

From the *Towre*,
 1554.

JOHN HARYNGTON.



Sir JOHN HARINGTON *to his Lady,*
Dec. 27th, 1602.

Sweet Mall,

I Herewith fend thee what I woud God none did know, some ill bodings of the realme and its welfare. Oure deare Queene my royale god-mother, and this states natural mother, dothe now bear shew of human infirmitie, too faste for that evil which we shall get by her dethe, and too slowe for that good which shee shall get by her releasement from pains and miserye. Deare Mall, how shall I speake what I have seene, or what I have felt; thy good silence in these matters emboldens my pen. For thanks to the swete God of silence, thy lips do not wanton out of discretions path like the many gossipping dames we coud name, who lose their husbands fast hold in good friends, rather than hold fast their own tongues. Nowe I will truste thee with greate assurance, and whilste thou doste
broode

broode over thy young ones in the chamber, thou shalt read the doinges of thy greiving mate in the Cowrte. I finde some lesse mindfull of whate they are soone to lose, than of what they may perchance hereafter get: Nowe, on my owne parte, I cannot blote from my memories table, the goodnesse of our Sovereigne Ladie to me, even I will saie before borne, her affectione to my mother who waited in privie chamber, her bettering the state of my father's fortune (which I have alas so much worsted) her watchings over my youthe, her likinge to my free speech, and admiration of my little learninge and poesy, which I did so much cultivate on her commande, have rootede such love, suche dutyfull remembrance of her princelie virtues, that, to turne askante from her condition withe tearlesse eyes, woud staine and foule the springe and founte of gratitude. It was not manie daies since I was bidden to her presence; I bleste the happy momente, and founde her in moste pitiable state, she

bade the Archbifhope afke me if I had feene Tyrone? I replied with reverence, that I had feene him withe the Lord Deputie; ſhe lookede up with much choler and greife in her countenance, and faide, Oh, nowe it mindethe me that you was *one* who ſawe this manne *elſewhere*, and hereat ſhe droppede a teare, and ſmote her bofome; ſhe helde in her hande a goldene cuppe, whiche ſhe often put to her lippes, but in foothe her hearte ſeemethe too fulle to lacke more fillinge. This ſighte movede me to thinke on whate paſte in Irelande, and I truſte ſhe did not leſſe thinke on *ſome* who were buſier there than myſelfe. She gave me a meſſage to the Lord Deputie, and bade me come to the chamber at ſeven o clocke. Hereat ſome who were aboute her did marvel, as I do not holde ſo highe place as thoſe ſhe did not chuſe to do her commandes. Deare Mall, if I gette no profite, I ſhall gette ſome envie, and this buſineſſe maye turne to ſome accounte withe the Lorde Deputie. Her Majeſtie enquirede

quirede of some matters whiche I had written, and as she was pleased to note my fancifulle braine, I was not unheedfull to to feede her humoure, and reade some verses, whereat she smilede once, and was pleased to saie, when thou doste feele creeping tyme at thye gate, these fooleries will please thee lesse; I am paste my relishe for suche matters; thou seeste my bodilie meate dothe not suite me well, I have eaten but one ill tasted cake since yesternight. She rated moste grievoufflie at noone, at some who minded not to bringe uppe certaine matters of accounte; several menne have been sente to, and when readie at hande, her Highnesse hathe dismissed in anger; but who, dearest Mall, shall saye, that "*your Highnesse hathe forgotten.*"—I was honourede at dinner with the Archbishoppe and several of the Church Pastors, where I did finde more corporeal than spiritual refreshmente, and though oure ill state at Cowrte maie, in some sorte overcaste the countenance of these apostolical

lical messengers, yet were some of them well anointed with the oyl of gladnesse on Tuedaie paste. Hereof thou shalt in some forte partake, my Lorde of Salisburie had feizen his tenantes corne and haye, with fundrie husbandrie matters, for matters of money due to his Lordshippes estate; hereat the aggrievede manne made suite to the Bishoppe, and requestede longer time and restitution of his goodes; go, go, faithe the Bishoppe, I heare ill reporte of thie livinge, and thou canst not crave mercie; thou comeste not to Church service, and haste not receivede confirmation, I commande thee to attend my ordinance and be confirmed in thy faithe at Easter nexte cominge. I crave youre Lordshippes forgiveness, quoth the manne, in good sooth I durste not come there, for as youre Lordshippe hath lain your hande on all my goodes, I thinke it full meete to take care of my heade!—Suche was parte of oure discourse at dinner: So thou seeste, swete Mall, although the Bishoppes hande
was

was heavy, oure pefantes head was not weake, and his Lordshippe said he woude forego his paymente.—Nexste monthe I will see thie fwete face, and kifs my boys and maids, which I praie thee not to omitte on my accounte; sende me up by my manne Combe my Petrarche. Adeiu, fwete Mall.

I am thyne ever lovinge,

JOHN HARINGTON.



Sir

Sir JOHN HARRINGTON, *to the* Lorde
Treasurer BURLEIGH.

My worthie Lorde,

IT affordethe me no small joye to hear by Mr. Bellot, whom good fortune did throw in my way at the Bathe, that your gouty disorder was growing to better humour; it is a plague, like the greedy parasite, the better fed. the longer guest; but your Lordship dothe not invite the stay of such friends by rich wines, or strong spices; yet, like many others, it will come to your door, which shutteth against none. Your message to me for my budget of wit, is ill-timed, I am very busy, yet very idle; very well, yet very ill; very merry, yet very sad. Busy with my workmen, yet idle myself, I write nought but long bills. Well in my body, but sick in my purse. Merry to think my house well nigh done, and sad to say tis not well nigh paid for. In an old book of my father's I read a merrie verse,
which,

which, for lack of my own, I send by Mr. Bellot, to divert your Lordshippe, when as you say weighty pain and weightier matters will yield to quips and merriment. This verse is called *The Blacke Sauntus*, or Monkes hymne to *Saunte Satane*, made when Kynge Henry had spoylede their *synginge*. My father was wont to say, that Kynge Henry was used in pleasante moode to sing this verse; and my father, who had his good countenance, and a goodlie office in his Courte, and also his goodlie Esther* to wife, did sometyme receive the honour of hearing his own songe, for he made the tune which my man Combe hath sent herewith; having been much skilled in musicke which was pleasing to the King, and which he learnt in the fellowship of good Maister Tallis, when a young man. Bishop Gardener woud not have liked him the better, had he known he was guilty of such jibes, which

* This Esther was a natural daughter of the Kyng's, to whom he gave as a dower the lands belonging to Bathe priory, or a part thereof.

which, perhaps, he had heard of too. Our work at the Bathe dothe go on *haud passibus æquis*—we sometime gallop with good presents, and then as soon stand still, for lack of good spurring; but it seemeth more like a church than it has aforetime, when a man could not pray without danger of having good St. Stephen's death, as the stones tumbling about our ears, and it were vain to pray for such enemies. But now, to pray for our friends may not be ill taken on earth or in heaven. So may God give your Lordship all comfort, ease, and health of body, till he shall (*O dies procul esto*) receive your soul. If I ever pray'd better for myself, I become a greater sinner by so much of a lie, for I never did, nor ever will. In all dutie, I reſte

Your humble Well-wisher,

Kelston, 1595.

JOHN HARINGTON.

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Scin - dis cotem novacu - la O &c



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A Romantic Letter, from a Miscellaneous Collection of Letters and Poetry in MS. dated 1647, by different Authors; the following seems Part of a longer Work, and is signed on the back JOHN HARRINGTON, alias POLINDOR, to his loving Sister ELIZABETH, Of the beginning of Love's Progress. From Cambridge.

TWAS in the day of that sweet time when the gaudy earth seems newly teeming with the fruits of Flora, and paints her young cheeks like a bride; when the Sun her lover smiles, and runs his nearest course to court her. Twas at the hour when the larks shrill waits called forth their Lady Morn; dropping her pearls like favours on the gazing mortal. Such beautiful morn more than the painted face did I admire; ah, gentle sifter! beyond the grace of mistress's cheek, best lip, or

VOL. II. I eye;

eye; then did I love the May flow'rs gau-
 dery, blind to the living beauties that dis-
 pose the joyes of life. One while I try'd
 my bow, then, to beguile flow time, some
 philosophic book holds dialogue; then by
 the curling brook lye down and muse; till
 again I tread in gambols ore the flow'ry
 plain; then sing, soft eccho bearing part,
 and seem'd to say,—‘ Churl as thou art,
 ‘ that flouts fair beauty, and wantons with
 ‘ thine self delighted; wise age may prove
 ‘ thy folly—Then wilt weep thee blind,
 ‘ when Cupid's justice pays thee back dis-
 ‘ dain.’—Thus pass'd the morn; when lo!
 a still small noise stole to mine ear; whe-
 ther a voice that sung, complained, or
 what I knew not then, but 'twas a sound of
 pleasure; it seem'd so dandled by the ore-
 joy'd air, that I was lothe to lose it; I
 hugg'd it close like mine ears jewel; I lis-
 tening went, yet softlier pacing, lest a hurt
 leaf should broach complaint.—'Twas a
 bower whence seem'd to float this musick of
 lute and voice compos'd. Each sense was
 now chain'd to the ear, and in sweet tran-
 sport

sport did I lie, conjuring the twilight shade
 to favour the repose. Now with new joy
 inflam'd to see those lips and hand that frame
 such wondrous sounds; and thought she
 must be fair whose voice and touch were
 charming. Yet, gentle sister, did I say,
 beware, fond youth, if, so enamour'd of
 a voice, her eye may kill thee. Pacing
 like the soft air, through every place I
 darted my quick sight, till one blest glance
 sav'd my eyes longings; I spy'd a glorious
 form. The woman, bravest priz'd, now
 blouze-like woud appear. Nature's whole
 stock was lavish'd here, and shee herself
 undone. The sight woud move gods to
 cross arms, and be her suitors; and poor
 weak mortals wonder into stone. She
 seem'd a Vestal in attire, a cold and frozen
 maid expos'd to that chaste curse, a single
 life. She to the fount had stray'd, nought
 fearing ambush'd eyes, and there, gentle
 sister, to the foot disrob'd. She shot new
 light into those shades as though another
 morn did rise with her. Eyes, colour'd
 black, with pure life-stremaing ray, mock'd

the poor diamond's sickly blaze, and sham'd the eye of noon. Had fair Narcissus glanced his peerless self in this fond chrystal fount, well had the form itself adored, and for the mirror's sake the youth had died. Her forehead high-rais'd and even, spread like the sky majestic; it was the throne of state to beauty. 'This was the barr that seem'd to arraign each bold o'er saucy thought; and though she feign'd a frown, yet smil'd a lightning through it. Now did my new-world-wandering eye coast on her cheek; it show'd of purest colour, and here did lillies start, with bashful roses lending, 'neath the warm sunshine of her eye. Here did the graces loiter, and here woud lie Love's wag made wanton by her smile, tumbling himself. Then to her rare shap'd lips I bent a veiw; the cherry looks but pale, the ruby too. The praise of Gods woud wait their nectar, if they knew such heav'n preserves were yet untasted. So glow'd the blushing boy, lifting his burning cheek from Venus' kifs ambrosial, nuzzling to her breast. Her silken hair in
many

many a bread, coronet-like, clove to her head; no gaudy tiffue here nor wire of gold, which some fond poets gild their verse withal; 'twas brown, the noblest die, most comely sweet. Its top o'er-peering, a diamond phœnix shone, that seem'd Love's ambush, out which came braided strings for Cupid's bow. Next shew her breasts, so sweetly aspiring, as if they meant to suckle the babe Desire. I did suppose them the Love-god's mounts, where oft in wanton play he loses his random arrows. Were he again in his swadling cloths, sure, gentle sister, he would have lain here cradled, and slumberd on such down-felt pillows. Her arms, like twins, in loving-fold play with each other; so lovely that all praise dispraises. Who woud not live a prisoner in such arms, and all his freedom give for so fair keepers? And shall they, cruel fate! embrace but one another! Her dainty curious hand Love's mother's self might envy. I saw the azure veins that shewd like purling founts wandering ore white banks of lillies. Sure nature's mold was lost when

these were made. Then did sweet Fancy say, their touch divine could raise a palsy to its life, could charm the gout into a galliard, or stroak a panther tame. And now (lower wading) was unveil'd her fine naked waist; about it nought did hover but the enamoured stream, and wreath'd its amorous folds. So smooth, so dainty shap'd, ah, happy they, such wealthy armfuls to inclose, and zodiack that blisful world, which circles more than the whole great one. Thus, gentle sister, did I grow to Love, and thus did Cupid from her eye split, till then, a heart of stone. Pity is Heaven's glory, but what alas! can this hope give? She is a Vestal vow'd, and says she must not love. Go rather woo some marble statue, love a tree, or court the northern ice than she far, far more melting. Those may eccho some kind noyse, and seem to mourn again; weep o'er the adamant, 'twill surely pity more. Through doubt and through desire do I burn and freeze; I blame my stars with thanks. I talk unto the wand'ring wind, and fool it with

with the eccho. Am pleas'd with trees, lone
rocks, and cells society. I kiss my chain ;
sweet hopes and fears convulsion my poor
heart. I grow a man of all weathers, this
hour lowring smiling the next in sunshine
of a honey shower. In brief, some hea-
vens, but yet more hells do seize me ; and
nought is left my gentle sifter, but to enjoy
or die. Adieu.



Another

*Another Letter from J. H. dated
Cambridge, 1647, to his Sister,
being Part of the History begun
Page 85.*

THERE is a precious gift, a wondrous thing, my gentle sister, which the world doth bless, and prize it as the gem of heav'n, and 'tis intituled—Happiness. Each pining slave for this doth plod and sweat; from towers to thatch, from silk to leather, 'tis the prime minion of frail humanity; But most, alas! how blindly hurried to the wrong school, and cull a fool for tutor! Reason disclaim'd, sheer fancy is their guide; like the deluded pilgrim straggling wide, and so become worse strays. We grasp but airy blisses, and thus, tarantulation, dye midst laughing fits. Since virtue only, Heav'n's choice offspring, does on her votaries the gift confer of a tenfold Indies. In Her we have an All. She gives the comfort, the nobler souls prime glory, the peace of a good action; she
gently

gently does infuse the moderate mind that seeks but what's enough, and points the happy man, Prince of this medley world, crown'd—by himself. But, gentle sister, why talk I of happiness? Like to the chased deer is that wretched lover, whose travels nought but scorn discover; his fancy shews a wilderness which wild thoughts compose; the dogs that hunt him, Grief, Sorrow, and lean Despair, killingly fleet, too true, and bloody diligent. The shaft sheath'd in his side—Desire, wave-pointed with a flame that heats the blood; at last, imbost with rage, the poor o'er hounded wretch (far from the comforts of a cooling stream) with stag-like tears he falls,—Scorn's triumph and Love's sacrifice! And must I thus fall, my gentle sister!—Why then so coy, so dainty nice, my fair Flostella! When but to win one favour such a task doth prove, it were Herculean labour. Tell me, Love! what though that dainty hand touch mine, woud it less fair be shewn, or lose its fashion, if once but kindly prest? Or say those daintier lips touch mine, are they

they impoverishd, or waste their delicacies by often giving? The wanton air does in its hovering play still touch them, nay too the tawny ray of Phœbus. The fly may buzzing kiss, and touch unblamed those chose cherrys—mine's no more. Reason I well, my sifter?—And should she chide and frown, when I for charity do beg the alms of one sweet kiss? 'Twas never yet held sinn for starvelings to crave meat, or to deny life's self, when you are ne'er the poorer. But why does fair Flostella thus still retreat, or why so long adjourn our day, but sheds the Greenland curse of loathsome long felt night? Why pore we on the clods of this poor dull creation, whilst she our gem is hid, and thus inshrines the longing blisses of mankind? Say, Did we too prophanely slight the blessing of thy sight, or meanly rate it, when enjoy'd? If so, let angry absence make thee more reverenced. Or was it charity divine impelld thee to thy prayers, and kindly sue for our atonement; restore the fair example of that face, and we shall all be good. My
gentle

gentle sister! she was not made for cloy-
 string: The glorious lamps of heaven, the
 wondrous seven that traverse in their spheres
 like blazing pageants, were not to corners
 thrust, but spread their glory to th' admi-
 ring world. O purest maid! were it not
 sometime wholesome to air thee through
 the field or shade, when from some hill fair
 map'd does lye a little Europe travel'd by
 thine eyes keen veiw? May's soveraign de-
 licious breeze might aid thine cheeks, and
 fan thy spicy breast to breath its purest
 odour! How blest! when erst the kind in-
 dulent stars propitious shone on earth;
 when, with sweet converse, and in evening
 fair, the mildest age of day, we stole toge-
 ther forth, beneath the sprinkling of the
 suns kind ray; or else, when night sends
 from the West the drowsy light of morn,
 placed like a pause so sweet 'twixt aguish
 chill and heat, we traversed some thick
 gloom that seemd Love's maze designd;
 when only strayd those harmles gales, that
 dance the leaves with nicc^d play, and gent-
 lest whispers seemd in sign of welcome.

How

How sweet, my gentle sister, 'twas to hear
the jolly mirth that fill'd the warbling quire,
by her so fair inspir'd; when to the night-
ingale's sweet throat, the shade's prime
songster she in accordance joynd, it was
the best of joys the ears capacity could reach;
and I in fancy found the All of Rapture.
Rare, charming voice! but O how rare,
breath'd by Flostella she so only fair! whose
face and body's beauties are compos'd with
such according symmetry, and such the
choice design of Heav'n, she passeth on the
eye as Nature's silent harmony. Were ever
yet so doubly blest both ear and eye? Re-
cord it, Love, 'twas only now—Each
trembling note that died upon the sense, me-
thought, was then embalm'd within so sweet
a breath, it flying came, wrapt in a preci-
ous air of odours, 'bove Arabian far! If
famed Orphean harp could rivers cause to
stand at wanton gaze and pause, or beasts
and burly trees make dance in antic revelry,
her voice might greater magic prove, and
make them court her with resistless love.
Sometime, my gentle sister, her fair creating
hand

hand gave life unto the senseless lute, and then delicious strains did so much sweeten and enrich the air, that with new-warbled language she did shame the great orbe's minstrelsy; Sight, smelling, touch, and taste were then all gone, and left the officious ear with me alone. The list'ning crowd of happy nymphs or swains, that chanced to catch this bliss, seem'd in their eyes to hold a glimpse of twilight life, and more like stones shap'd for some monument, so whist and dead a silence reign'd, welcoming such sweet death. O let me thus expire and melt away to dissolution; and Nature this way pay her debt of vapour-breath. Sweet-killing Stella! thus for the soul to stray to heaven, it were, my gentle sister! to have heaven by the way.

Adeiu.

JOHN HARRINGTON *to his Sister, on
FLOSTELLA'S Death, 1647.*

YET once more list! my gentle sister,
list! I that so late did chaunt my story
forth to the kindness of thine ear!—A story
that might claim the prime of glory in the
Love-god's chronicle, and, whilst I told,
seemed fallen in love again, it was so full of
rapture! now, now, must sigh—farewell to
all my joyes!—A fullen hour of doom
broods with as horrid sight as midnights
womb ere swell'd with.—Is any shepherd's
ear so deaf to fame, so used to tender bleat-
ings,—that has not heard of fair Flostella's
death! Or any nymph to whom hath not
arriv'd that funeral knell which groan'd this
fair to earth and made all hearts congeal?
If such—thrice happy ye! to whom's as
yet unfelt distress'd Arcadia's loss, whose
best beloved fair cloysters in the dust. Died
she alone? No, gentle sister! Hundreds
did seem to die in sorrow with her. The
fun's

sun's self did go fast from her funerals, and night came on to bring her fables. A crew of goblins seemd to strike my sight, with such dire ceremony, and in such rueful guise, as each did solemnize its own departure. Crownd in mournful cypress we ushered on Death's march. Lo, on her *now* black bed, the *once* fair Stella lay, prepared, as 'twere, to bridals; yet Death's arms embraced. Make to thy fancy's eye what then did seem thy brother—The slow-paced *I*—that *I*—the truest bulk of wretchedness; o'er whose dim face such mere life damp was cast,—I seemd but ghost to that fair corps before. My torrent eyes bedrenchd their shore, and sighs so utterd out my woe, that I surpassd in grief. The sister-virgins, dark-vaild like dooms day planets, their censors bore, bedeckd with mournful shreds of many a friendly herb to grief; and thus we slowly paced in dire measure, ah, gentle sister, how unwilling! to the sad place where she, fair flumbring nymph, is left to enrich the covetous earth.

Ne'er spake Sorrow more than now in silence.—All lookd their utmost, till lost the sight of her with whom all eyes seem buryd, and, blind to upper things, are following her in earth; as if, in spite of death, they still should find enjoyment. What tears! what kind adieus! They kisd the place, and, with a lingring look, all sighd—*Earth ne'er was richer gem'd.*

And now, my gentle sifter, the world's fond pleasures but torment my soul; they are but the shades of mirth, which cannot wear away the slow-paced hours of consuming grief. Sometimes I tread to Folly's gaudy Court, and see the world in colours that might shame the cheek of Proteus, or the silken train of Flora's nymphs; each sex presents the jolly hour of careless glee, and tramples sorrow in the rounded dance: The sun confronting Iris ne'er spread such various hues. When time-beguiling Pleasure advances with her lustful trump, and blows the bold alarm, how frisks the sport-
full

full soul, and hugs that syren in her twined arms! Wonder not, gentle sister, that a soul like mine should ranfack such unwonted ways—The wily fox by night, nor the dull owl by day, have searchd such places as myself. Doth not the widow'd turtle, lost to the faithful partner of her heart, stretch forth her feeble wing from coast to coast, in haunt of every path! at last betakes her to the lonely bed. So let me progress ev'ry place that love or dear affection can contrive,—and then embrace a death for her in whom I cease to live. Fear not, my gentle sister, though danger doth surround me in the false shades of those deceitful bowers—I search for mirth, and then I wooe the shades of sleep to ease my day of griping sorrow with a night's reprieve. Mark how the simple sheep, whose rambling steps do stray from the safe blessing of her shepherd's eye, becomes the unprotected prey of night-howling wolves; she frisks from bush to brake, and wildly flys, even of herself afraid; she throwds her troubled

brow in every glade, and craves its mercy with her tender plaint. May not then my wandering soul, that has thus lost her *good Shepherd*, be thus wilder'd, and want Flossella's eye to lure her to the paths of virtue? Yet fear not, gentle sister, her tongue hath wrought such sweet persuasion in my heart, her hand unveild such beauty to mine eye, that faith shall ne'er renounce one sacred truth, though she herself should come and tell me it were false—Then let me sigh no more—my heart shall dance and frolick with you all—I'll tread your measures, and beat the foot of joy.—O tyrant Love, how doth thy sovereign power subject the soul to more than imperial sway! They say thy cup's composed of sweet and bitter, of honey mixed with gall:—How comes it then to pass these lips of mine still trade in bitter, nor can find a sweet?—Ye heavenly maids, —ye virgins of the blessed throng, restore my spirits faint and spent, for I am sick of love: Tuck up your silken laps, and fill ye with the fair wealth of Flora's magazine,
the

the purple violet,—the pale faced lilly,—the lowly pink, and lofty eglantine ;—the blushing rose, the Queen of Flora's beauty :— Yet, above them all, let Jesse's fovereign flower perfume my qualming breast. Gentle fister, adieu, nor taste the melancholy of Polindor's soul,——

Till Heaven shouts to joy,

Sister, farewell!



*A Letter from JOHN HARINGTON
to Mr. NEWTON, afterwards Sir
ISAAC; with a Scheme of the Har-
monic Ratios.*

S I R,

AT your request I have sent you my scheme of the Harmonick Ratios adapted to the Pythagorean proposition, which seems better to express the modern improvements, as the ancients were not acquainted with the sesquialteral divisions, which appears strange. Ptolemy's Helicon does not express these intervals so essential in the modern system; nor does the scheme of four triangles, or three, express so clearly as the squares of this proposition. What I was mentioning concerning the similitude of ratios, as constituted in the sacred architecture, was my amusement at my leisure hours, but am not master enough to say much on these curious subjects, The given ratios in the dimensions of Noahs ark,
being

dem.

KLM

CML

CB : 0

BG : :

BA : 1

AD : 1

C : A

B : C

BA : 1

A : B

C : B.

being 300, 50, and 30, do certainly fall in with what I observed; the reduction to their lowest terms comes out 6 to 1, which produces the quadruple sexquialteral ratio; and 5 to 3 is the inverse of 6 to 5, which is one of the ratios resulting from the division of the sexquialteral ratio; the extremes are as 10 to 1, which produce by reduction 5 to 4, the other ratio produced by the division of the sexquialteral ratio. Thus are produced the four prime harmonical ratios, exclusive of the diapason, or duple ratio. I have conjectured that the other most general established architectural ratios owe their beauty to their approximation to the harmonic ratios: and that the several forms of members are more or less agreeable to the eye, as they suggest the ideas of figures composed of such ratios. I tremble to suggest my crude notions to your judgment, but have the sanction of your own desire, and kind promise of assistance to rectify my errors. I am sensible these matters have been touched upon before, but
my

my attempts were to reduce matters to some farther certainty as to the simplicity and origin of the pleasures affecting our different senses; and try, by comparison of those pleasures which affect one sense from objects whose principles are known as the ratios of sound, if other affections, agreeable to other of our senses, were owing to similar causes. You will pardon my presumption, as I am sensible neither my years nor my learning permit me to speak with propriety herein; but, as you signified your pleasure of knowing what I was about, have thus ventured to communicate my undigested sentiments, and am, Sir

Your obedient servant,

*Wadham College,
May 22d, 1693.*

JOHN HARRINGTON.

Mr.

Mr. NEWTON'S *Answer to* Mr. JOHN
HARRINGTON, 1693.

S I R,

BY the hands of your friend, Mr. Confel, I was favoured with your Demonstration of the Harmonic Ratios, from the Ordinances of the 47th of Euclid. I think it very explicit and more perfect than the Helicon of Ptolemy, as given by the learned Doctor Wallis. Your observations hereon are very just, and afford me some hints which, when time allows, I would pursue, and gladly assist you with any thing I can, to encourage your curiosity and labours in these matters. I see you have reduced, from this wonderful proposition, the inharmonics as well as the coincidences of agreement, all resulting from the given lines three, four, and five. You observe that the multiples hereof furnish those ratios that afford pleasure to the eye in architectural designs: I have, in former considerations,

siderations, examined these things, and with my other employments would permit my further noticing thereon, as it deserves much our strict scrutiny, and tends to exemplify the simplicity in all the works of the Creator; however, I shall not cease to give my thoughts towards this subject at my leisure. I beg you to pursue these ingenious speculations, as your genius seems to incline you to mathematical researches. You remark that the ideas of beauty in surveying objects arises from *their* respective approximations to the simple constructions, and that the pleasure is more or less, as the approaches are nearer to the harmonic ratios. I believe you are right; portions of circles are more or less agreeable, as the segments give the idea of the perfect figure from whence they are derived. Your examinations of the sides of polygons with rectangles certainly quadrate with the harmonic ratios. I doubt some of them do not; but then they are not such as give pleasure in the formation or use. These matters
 you

you must excuse my being exact in, during your inquiries, till more leisure gives me room to say with more certainty hereon. I presume you have consulted Kepler, Mersenne, and other writers on the construction of figures. What you observe of the ancients not being acquainted with a division of the sexquialteral ratio is very right; it is very strange that geniuses of their great talents, especially in such mathematical considerations, should not consider that, although the ratio of three to two was not divisible under that very denomination, yet its duple members six to four easily pointed out the ditone four to five, and the minor tierce six to five, which are the chief perfections of the diatonic system, and without which the ancient system was doubtless very imperfect. It appears strange, that those whose nice scrutinies carried them so far as to produce the small limmas, should not have been more particular in examining the greater intervals, as they now appear so serviceable when thus divided. In fine, I am inclined to believe some general laws of

the Creator prevailed with respect to the agreeable or displeasing affections of all our senses; at least the supposition does not derogate from the wisdom or power of God, and seems highly consonant to the macrocosm in general. Whatever else your ingenious labours may produce I shall attentively consider, but have such matters on my mind, that I am unable to give you more satisfaction at this time; however, I beg your modesty will not be a means of preventing my hearing from you, as you proceed in these curious researches; and be assured of the best services in the power of

Your humble servant,

May 30, 1693.

Is. NEWTON.

Letter

Letter to Lorde Thomas Howarde,
from Sir I. H. 1603.

MY LORDE,

TOUCHYNGE our matters here, and what hath fallen oute sithence you departede, maye perchance not be unpleasante to you to heare. Manie have beene the mad caps rejoicinge at oure new Kynges cominge, and who in good trothe darede not haue set forthe their good affection to him a monthe or two agoe; but, alas! what availeth truthe, when profite is in queste? Yow were true and leige bondfman to her late Highnesse, and felte her sweete bounties in full force and good favour. Nor dide I my poor selfe unexperience her love and kyndness on manie occasions; but I cannot forbear remembringe my dread at her frownes in the Iryshe affaire, when I followede my General, (And what shoude a Captaine doe better?) to Englande a litte before his tyme: If Essex had met his *appoyntede time*, as Davide saithe, to die, it

had fared better, than to meet his follie and his fate too. But enoughe of olde tales; a new Kynge will have new foldiers, and God knowethe what men they will be. One saith he will serue him by daie, another by nyghte; the women who love to talke as they lyke are for seruyng him bothe daye and nyghte. It pleaseth me to thynke I am not under their commande, whoe offer so bountyfoullie what perchance they woulde be gladde to receive at others handes.—But I am a cripple, and not made for sportes in newe Cowrtes. Sir Robert Cary was prime in his Scottyshe intelligence of the Queenes deathe: Some will saye that bad tydings travel faste; but I maye call Sir Roberts no ill borden to Edenborrow.—St. Paul hathe saide, that *the race is not alwaie givene to the swyfte*. I dowte Sir Robert will give the Sainte the lie, for he is like to get both *race* and *prize*, and as fame goethe, creepethe not a little into favoure. I am now settyng forthe for the cuntry, where I will read Petrarch, Ariosto, Horace, and suche wise ones.

ones. I will make verses on the maidens, and give my wine to the maisters; but it shall be such as I do love, and do love me. I do muche delight to meete my goode freindes, and discourse of getting rid of our foes. Each nighte do I spende, or muche better parte thereof, in councell with the aunciente examples of learninge; I con over their histories, their poetrie, their instructions, and thence glean my own proper conducte in matters bothe of merri-mente or discretion; otherwyse, my goode Lorde, I neer had overcome the rugged pathes of Ariosto, nor wonne the highe palme of glorie, which you broughte unto me, I venture to saie it, namely, our late Queenes approbation, esteeme, and rewarde. Howe my poetrie maye be relishde in tyme to come, I will not hazard to saie. Thus muche I have livede to see, and in good soothe feel too; that honeste prose will never better a mans purse at Courte; and, had not my fortune been *in Terra firma*, I might, even for my verses, have daunced bare foot with Clio and her school-

fellowes untill I did sweat, and then have gotten nothings to slake my thirst, but a pitcher of Helicons well.—E'en let the beardless God Apollo dip his own chin in such drinke, a haire of my face shall have better entertainment. I have made some freindes to further my suite of favour with the Kynge, and hope you will not be slacke in forwardeing my beinge noticede in proper season; but my goode Lorde, I will walke faire, tho a cripple; I will copie no mans steps so close as to treade on his heel; if I go at all, it shall be verily uprightly, and shall better my selfe in thus saieing, *Sequar.—sed passibus, æquis.*—Nowe, my Lorde farewell, and truste his worde who ventureth to honour himselfe in the name of

Yours freinde,

JOHN HARINGTON.

When you can fairely get occasion, I entreate a worde touchynge your doinges
at

at Cowrte ; I will pointe oute to you a special conveyance, for in these tymes discretion must stande at oure doores, and even at our lippes too ; goode caution never comethe better, than when a man is climbinge.—It is a pityfull thinge to sett a wonge foote, and, insteade of raisinge ones heade, to falle to the grounde and showe ones baser partes.



Sir

Sir JOHN HARRINGTON to Sir AMI-
AS PAWLETT, 1604.

My Louynge Cosene,

IT behovethe me now to recite my Jour-
nal, respectynge my gracious commande
of my Sovereigne Prince, to come to his
closet; which matter as you so well and ur-
gentlie desyer to heare of, I shall, in such-
wyse as suitethe myne beste abilitie, relate
unto you, and is as followethe: When I
came to the presence chamber, and had
gotten goode place to see the Lordlie at-
endants, and bowed my knee to the
Prince; I was orderde by a specyall mes-
senger, and that in secrete sorte, to waite
a whyle in an outwarde chamber, whence,
in near an houre waitinge, the same knave
ledde me up a passage, and so to a smale
room where was good order of paper, inke,
and pens, put on a boarde for the Princes
use. Soon upon this, the Prince his High-
nesse did enter, and in muche goode hu-
mour askede if I was cozen to Lorde Ha-
rryngton

ryngton of Exton? I humblie repliede, His Majestie did me some honour in enquiringe my kin to one whome he had so late honourede and made a Barone; and moreover, did adde, wee were bothe branches of the same tree. Then he enquiryede muche of lernynge, and showede me his owne in suche sorte, as made me remember my Examiner at Cambridge aforetyme. He soughte muche to knowe my advances in philosophie, and utterede suche profounde sentences of Aristotle, and suche lyke wryters, whiche I had never reade, and which some are bolde enoughe to saye others do not understand; but this I must passe by. The Prince did nowe presse my readinge to him parte of a canto in Ariosto, prayfede my utterance, and said he had been informede of manie, as to my lernynge, in the tyme of the Queene. He asked me what I thoughte pure witte was made of; and whom it did best become? Whether a Kyng should not be the beste clerke in his owne countrie; and, if this lande did not entertayne goode opinion of
his

his lernynge and good wifdome? His Majestie did much presse for my opinion touchinge the power of Satane in matter of witchcraft; and askede me, with much gravitie, If I did trulie understande, why the Devil did worke more with anciente women than others? I did not refraine from a scurvey jest, and even saide (notwithstandinge to whom it was saide) that we were taught hereof in Scripture, where it is tolde, that the Devil *walketh in dry places*. His Majestie, moreover, was pleasede to saie much, and favouredlye, of my good report for merth and good conceite; To which I did covertlie answer, as not willinge a subjecte shoude be wiser than his Prince, nor even appeare so. More serious discourse did next ensue, wherein I wantede roome to continue, and sometime roome to escape; for the Queene his mother was not forgotten, nor Davison neither. His Highnesse tolde me her deathe was visible in Scotlande before it did really happen, being, as he said, spoken of in secrete by those whose power of sighte presentede to them

them a bloodie heade dancinge in the aire. He then did remarke muche on this gifte, and saide he had soughte out of certaine bookes a fure waie to attaine knowledge of future chanches. Hereat he namede many bookes, which I did not knowe, nor by whom written; but advised me not to consult some authors which woulde leade me to evile consultations; I tolde his Majestie, the power of Satan had, I muche fearede, damagede my bodilie frame; but I had not farther will to cowrte his friendship for my soules hurte. We nexte discoursede somewhat on Religion, when at lengthe he saide: Now, Sir, you have seen my wisdom in some sorte, and I have pried into yours. I praye you, do me justice in your reporte, and, in good season, I will not fail to add to your understandinge, in suche pointes as I maye find you lacke amendmente. I made courtesie hereat, and withdrewe downe the passage, and out at the gate amidst the manie uarlets and Lordlie servantes who stooode a-rounde. Thus you have the historie of
 your

your neighboures highē chaunce and entertainement at Cowrte ; more of whiche matter, when I come home to my owne dwellynge, and talk these affaires in a corner. I muste presse to silence hereon, as otherwyse all is undone. I did forget to tell, that his Majestie muche askede concerninge my opinion of the new weede Tobacco, and said it woud, by its use, infuse ill qualities on the braine, and that no lernede man ought to taste it, and wishede it forbidden. I will nowe forbear further exercise of your tyme, as Sir ROBERTES man waitethe for my letter to beare to you, from

Yours olde Neighbour,

Friend, and Cosene,

JOHN HARINGTON.

Copy

Copy of a LETTER *from* Sir JOHN
HARINGTON *to* PRINCE HENRY,
Son *to* KING JAMES I. *concern-*
inge his DOGGE.

MAY it please your Highnesse to accepte
in as goode sorte what I nowe offer,
as hath done aforetyme; and I may saie *I*
pede fausto; but, havinge goode reason to
thinke your Highnesse had goode will and
likinge to reade what others have tolde of
my rare Dogge, I will even give a brief
historie of his good deedes and straunge
feats; and herein will I not plaie the curr
myselfe, but in goode soothe relate what is
no more nor lesse than bare verity. Al-
though I mean not to disparage the deedes
of Alexanders horse, I will match my
Dogge against him for good carriage, for,
if he did not bear a great *Prince* on his
back, I am bolde to saie he did often bear
the sweet wordes of a greater *Princesse* on
his necke. I did once relate to your High-
nesse after what sorte his tacklinge was
wherewithe he did sojourn from my house

at the Bathe to Greenwich Palace, and deliver up to the Cowrte there such matters as were entrusted to his care. This he hath often done, and came safe to the Bathe, or my howse here at Kelstone, with goodlie returns from such Nobilitie as were pleased to emploie him; nor was it ever tolde our Ladie Queene, that this messenger did ever blab ought concerninge his highe truste, as others have done in more special matters. Neither must it be forgotten as how he once was sente with two charges of sack wine from the Bathe to my howse, by my man Combe; and on his way the cordage did slackene, but my trustie bearer did now bear himselfe so wisely as to covertly hide one flasket in the rushes, and take the other in his teethe to the howse, after whiche he wente forth, and returned with the other parte of his burden to dinner: hereat yr Highnesse may perchance marvele and doubt, but we have livinge testimonie of those who wroughte in the fieldes and espiede his worke, and now live to tell they did muche
 longe

longe to plaie the Dogge and give stowage to the wine themselves; but they did refrain, and watchede the passinge of this whole businesse. I neede not saie how muche I did once grieve at missinge this Dogge, for, on my journie towards Londonne, some idle pastimers did divert themselves withe huntinge mallards in a ponde, and conueyd him to the Spanish Ambassadors, where in a happie houre after six weekes I did heare of him; but suche was the cowrte he did pay to the Don, that he was no lesse in good likinge there then at home. Nor did the household listen to my claim, or challenge, till I rested my suite on the Dogges own proofes, and made him performe such feats before the Nobles assembled, as put it past doubt that I was his Master. I did send him to the hall in the time of dinner, and made him bringe thence a pheasant out of the dish, which created much mirthe; but much more when he returnede at my commandment to the table again, and put again in the same cover. Herewith the companie

nie was well content to allow me my claim, and we bothe were well content to accepte it, and came homewardes. I could dwell more on this matter, but *jubes renovare dolorem*; I will now saie in what manner he died: As we traveld towardes the Bathe, he leapede on my horses necke, and was more earneste in fawninge and courtinge my notice, than what I had observed for time backe; and, after my chidinge his disturbinge my passinge forwardes, he gave me some glances of such affection as moved me to cajole him; but, alas, he crept suddenly into a thorny brake, and died in a short time. Thus I have strove to rehearse such of his deedes as maie suggest much more to yr Highnesse thought of this Dogge. But, havinge saide so muche of him in prose, I will say somewhat too in verse, as you may finde hereafter at the close of this historie. Now let Ulysses praise his Dogge Argus, or Tobite be led by that Dogge whose name doth not appear; yet could I say such things of my **BUNGEY**, for so was he styled, as might
 shame

shame them both, either for good faith, clear wit, or wonderful deedes; to say no more than I have said of his bearing letters to London and Greenwiche, more than an hundred miles. As I doubt not but your Highnesse woulde love my Dogge, if not my selfe, I have been thus tedious in his storie; and again saie that, of all the Dogges near your father's Courte, not one hathe more love, more diligence to please, or less pay for pleasinge, than him I write of; for verily a bone will contente my servante, when some expecte greater matters, or will knavishly find oute a bone of contention.

I nowe reste your Highnesse friend in all service that maye suite him.

JOHN HARRINGTON.

P. S. The Verses above spoken of are in my book of Epigrams in praise of my Dogge BUNGEY to Momus. And I have an excellent picture curiously limned to remaine in my posterity.

Kelstone, June 14, 1608.

M 3

Sir

Sir JOHN HARRINGTON to Mr. Secretary BARLOW, 1606.

My good Friend,

IN compliance with your asking, now shall you accept my poor accounte of rich doings. I came here a day or two before the Danish King came, and from the day he did come untill this hour I have been well nigh overwhelmed with caroufal and sports of all kinds. The sports began each day in such manner and such sorte, as well nigh persuaded me of Mahomets paradise. We had women, and indeed wine too, of such plenty as woud have astonishd each sober beholder. Our feasts were magnificent, and the two Royal guests did most lovingly embrace each other at table; I think the Dane hath strangely wrought on our good English Nobles, for those, whom I never could get to taste good liquor, now follow the fashion and wallow in beastly delights. The Ladies abandon their sobriety, and are seen
to

to roll about in intoxication. In good sooth, the Parliament did kindly to provide his Majestie so seasonably with monee, for there hath been no lack of good livinge; shews, fights, and banquetings from morn to eve. One day, a great feast was held, and after dinner the representation of Solomon his Temple and the coming of the Queen of Sheba was made, or, as I may better say, was meant to have been made, before their Majesties, by device of the Earl of Salisbury and others.— But, alas! as all earthly thinges do fail to poor mortals in enjoyment, so did prove our presentment hereof. The Lady who did play the Queens part did carry most precious gifts to both their Majesties; but, forgetting the steppes arising to the canopy, overset her caskets into his Danish Majesties lap, and fell at his feet, tho I rather think it was in his face. Much was the hurry and confusion; cloths and napkins were at hand to make all clean. His Majesty then got up and woud dance with the Queen of Sheba; but he fell down and humbled

humbled himself before her, and was carried to an inner chamber and laid on a bed of state; which was not a little defiled with the presents of the Queen which had been bestowed on his garments; such as wine, cream, jelly, beverage, cakes, spices, and other good matters. The entertainment and show went forward, and most of the presenters went backward, or fell down, wine did so occupy their upper chambers. Now did appear, in rich dress, Hope, Faith, and Charity: Hope did assay to speak, but wine rendered her endeavours so feeble that she withdrew, and hoped the King would excuse her brevity. Faith was then all alone, for I am certain she was not joyned with good works; and left the Court in a staggering condition. Charity came to the Kings feet, and seemed to cover the multitude of sins her sisters had committed: In some sorte she made obedience and brought giftes, but said she would return home again, as there was no gift which heaven had not already given his Majesty; she then returned to Hope and Faith,

Faith, who were both sick and spewing in the lower hall. Next came *Victory*, in bright armour, and presented a rich sword to the King, who did not accept it, but put it by with his hand; and, by a strange medley of versification, did endeavour to make suit to the King; but *Victory* did not triumph long, for, after much lamentable utterance, she was led away like a silly captive, and laid to sleep in the outer steps of the anti-chamber. Now did *Peace* make entry, and strive to get foremoste to the King; but I grieve to tell how great wrath she did discover unto those of her attendants, and, much contrary to her semblance, most rudely made war with her olive branch, and laid on the pates of those who did oppose her coming. I have much marvelled at these strange pageantries, and they do bring to my remembrance what passed of this sort in our Queens days; of which I was sometime an humble presenter and assistant; but I neer did see such lack of good order, discretion, and sobriety, as I have now done. I have passed much time
in

in seeing the royal sports of hunting and hawking, where the manners were such as made me devise the beasts were pursuing the sober creation, and not man in quest of exercise or food. I will now, in good sooth, declare to you, who will not blab, that the Gunpowder fright is got out of all our heads, and we are going on, hereabouts, as if the Devil was contriving every man should blow up himself, by wild riot, excess, and devastation of time and temperance. The great Ladies do go well-masked, and indeed it be the only show of their modesty, to conceal their countenance; but, alack, they meet with such countenance to uphold their strange doings, that I marvel not at ought that happens. The Lord of the mansion is overwhelmed in preparations at Theobalds, and doth marvelously please both Kings with good meat, good drink, and good speeches. I do often say (but not aloud) that the Danes have again conquered the Britains, for I see no man, or woman either, that can now command himself or herself. I wish I was
at

at home :—*O rus, quando te aspiciam ?*—And I will, before the Prince Vaudemont cometh. I hear the uniting the kingdoms is now at hand ; when the Parliament is held, more will be done in this matter. Bacon is to manage all the affair, as who can better do these State jobs. My cosin, Lord Harington of Exton, doth much fatigue himself with the Royal charge of the Princess Elizabeth, and midst all the foolery of these times, hath much labour to preserve his own wisdom and sobriety. If you would wish to see howe folly dothe grow, come up quickly ; otherwise, stay where you are, and meditate on the future mischiefs of those our posterity who shall learn the good lessons and examples helde forthe in these days. I hope to see you at the Bathe, and see the gambols you can perform in the hot waters, very speedily ; and shall reste your assured friend in all quiet enjoyments and hearty good affections,

JOHN HARINGTON.

Sir

Sir JOHN HARINGTON *to* Mr. ROBERTE MARKHAM, 1606.

My goode Cousin,

HEREWITHE you will have my Journale wyth our Historie, duringe our marche against the Iryshe Rebels.* I did not intend any eyes should have seen thys discourse, but my own childerns; yet, alas! it happened otherwyse; for the Queen did so aske and, I may saye, demande my accounte, that I coude not withholde shewing it; and I, even nowe, almoste tremble to rehearse hir Highnesse displeasure hereat. She swore, by Gods Son, we were all idle knaves, and the Lord Deputy worse, for wasting our tyme and hir commandes in such wyse as my Journale dothe write of. I coude haue tolde hir Highnesse of fuche difficulties, straites, and annoyance, as did not appear therein to her eyes, nor, I founde, coude not be broughte

to

* See page 31 of this volume.

to her eare; for her choler did outrun all reason, tho I did meete it at a seconde hande. For what shewe she gaue at firste to my Lorde Deputy, at his return, was far more grieuous, as wyll appeare in goode tyme. I marvell to thynke what strange humors do conspire to patch up the natures of some myndes. The elements do seem to strive which shall conquer and rise above the other. In good foothe, our late Queen did enfolde them all together. I blesse her memorye, for all hir goodnesse to me and my familie; and now wyll I shewe you what strange temperament she did sometye put forthe. Hir mynde was oftime like the gentle aire that comethe from the westerly pointe in a summers morn; twas sweete and refreshinge to all arounde her. Her speech did winne all affections, and hir subjectes did trye to shewe all love to hir commandes; for she woude saye hir state did require her to commande what she knew hir people woude willingly do from their owne love to hir. Herein did she

shewe hir wysdome fullie; for, Who did
 chuse to lose hir confidence; or, Who
 woude wythholde a shewe of love and obe-
 dience, when their Souereign said it was
 their own choice, and not hir compulsion?
 Surely she did plaie well hir tables to gain
 obedience thus wythout constraint; again,
 she coude pute forthe suche alteracions,
 when obedience was lackinge, as lestie no
 doubtynge whose daughter she was. I
 saie thys was plain on the Lorde Deputys
 cominge home, when I did come into hir
 presence; she chaffed muche, walkede fast-
 ly to and fro, looked with discomposure in
 her visage; and, I remember, she caught
 my girdle when I kneeled to her, and
 swore, 'By Gods Son, I am no Queen,
 that MAN is above me;—Who gave him
 commande to come here so soon? I did
 sende hym on other busynesse.' It was
 longe before more gracious discourse did
 fall to my hearynge; but I was then put
 oute of my trouble, and bid go home. I
 did not stay to be bidden twise; if all the
 Iryshe

Iryshe rebles had been at my heels, I shoude not have had better speede, for I did now flee from one whom I both lovede and fearede too. Hir Highnesse was wont to soothe hir rufflede temper wyth readinge every mornyng, when she had been stirred to passion at the Council, or other matters had overthrowne hir gracious disposition. She did much admire Seneca's wholesome advisinges, when the soules quiet was flown awaie; and I saw muche of hir translating thereof. By art and nature together so blended, it was difficulte to fynde hir right humour at any tyme. Hir wisest men and beste Counsellors were oft fore troublede to knowe hir wyll in matters of State: So covertly did she pass hir iudgemente, as seemede to leave all to their discret management; and, when the busynesse did turn to better advantage, she did mooste cunningly commit the good issue to hir own honor and understandinge; but, when ought fell oute contrarie to hir wyll and intente, the Council were in great straite to defende

their owne actinge and not blemyshe the
 Queens goode iudgmente. Herein hir
 wyse men did oft lacke more wyfdome;
 and the Lorde Treasurer woude ofte shed
 a plenty of tears on any miscarriage, well
 knowynge the difficulte parte was, not so
 mucche to mende the matter itselfe, as his
 Mistresse's humor; and yet he did moste
 share hir favour and good wyll; and to his
 opinion she woude oft-tyme submit hir owne
 pleasure in great matters. She did keepe
 him till late at nyghte in discoursinge alone,
 and then call oute another at his departure,
 and try the depthe of all arounde hir some-
 tyme. Walsingham had his turn, and each
 displaied their witte in pryvate. On the
 morrowe, everye one did come forthe in
 hir presence and discourse at large; and,
 if any had dissembled withe her, or stood
 not well to hir advynges before, she did
 not let it go unheeded, and sometymes not
 unpunishede. Sir Christopher Hatton was
 wont to saye the Queene did fishe for mens
 soules, and had so sweet a baite, that no
 one

one coude escape hir network. In truthe, I am sure hir speeche was such, as none coude refuse to take delyghte in, when forwardness did not stand in the way. I have seen her smile, soothe with great semblance of good likinge, to all arounde, and cause everie one to open his moste inwarde thought to her; when, on a sudder, she woud ponder in pryvate on what had passed, write down all their opinions, draw them out as occasion required, and sometyme disprove to their faces what had been deliuered a month before. Hence she knew every ones parte, and by thus fishing, as Hatton sayed, she caught many poor fish, who little knew what snare was laid for them. I will now tell you more of hir Majestys discretion and wonder-working to those about her, touchynge their myndes and opinions. She did oft aske the Ladies around hir chamber, If they lovede to thinke of marriage? And the wise ones did conceal well their liking hereto, as knowing the Queenes judgment in this matter. Sir

Mathew Arundels fair cofin, not knowing fo deeply as hir fellowes, was asked one day hereof, and fimply faid ſhe had thought much about marriage, if her father did confent to the man ſhe loved. You ſeem honeſte, I'faith, ſaid the Queen; I will ſue for you to your father.—The damſel was not diſpleaſed hereat; and, when Sir Roberte came to Cowrte, the Queene aſked him hereon, and preſſede his conſenting, if the match was diſcreet. Sir Roberte, muche aſtonied at this news, ſaid he never heard his daughter had liking to any man, and wantede to gain knowledge of hir affection; but woude give free conſente to what was moſte pleaſinge to hir Highneſſe wyll and advyſe. Then I will do the reſte, ſaith the Queene. The Ladie was called in, and the Queene tould her father had given his free conſente. Then, replied the Ladie, I ſhall be happie, and pleaſe your Grace. So thou ſhalte, but not to be a foole and marrye. I haue his conſente given to me, and I vow thou ſhalte

shalt never get it into thy possession. So
 go to thy busynesse. " I see thou art a
 bolde one to owne thy foolishnesse so rea-
 dilye." I coude relate manye pleafante
 tales of hir Majesties outwittinge the wit-
 tiest ones, for few knew how to aim their
 shaft against hir cunninge. We did all
 love hir, for she said she loved us, and
 muche wysdome she shewed in thys matter.
 She did well temper herself towards all at
 home, and put at variance those abroad ;
 by which means she had more quiet than
 hir neighbours. I need not praise her fru-
 gality ; but I wyll tell a storie that fell oute
 when I was a boye ; She did love riche
 cloathynge, but often chid those that bought
 more finery than became their state. It
 happenede that Ladie M. Howarde was
 possesede of a rich border powderd wyth
 golde and pearle, and a velvet suite be-
 longinge thereto, which moved manie to
 envye ; nor did it please the Queene, who
 thoughte it exceeded her owne. One daye
 the Queene did sende privately, and got
 the

the Ladies rich vesture, which she put on herself, and came forthe the chamber amonge the Ladies; the kirtle and border was far too shorte for her Majesties heigth; and she askede every one, How they likede her new-fancied suit? At lengthe, she asked the owner herself, If it was not made too short and ill-becoming?—Which the poor Ladie did presentlie consente to. ‘Why then, if it become not me, as being too short, I am minded it shall never become thee, as being too fine; so it fitteth neither well.’ This sharp rebuke abashed the Ladie, and she never adorned her herewith any more. I believe the vestment was laid up till after the Queenes death. As I did bear so much love towarde hir Majestie, I know not well how to stop my tales of hir virtues, and sometimes hir faults, for ‘*nemo nascitur sine*——,’ saith the poet; but even her errors did seem great marks of surprizing endowments: When she smiled, it was a pure sun-shine, that every one did chuse to bakke in, if they

they could; but anon came a storm from a sudden gathering of clouds, and the thunder fell in wondrous manner on all alike. I never did fynde greater shew of understandinge and lerninge, than she was bleste wyth; and whoever liveth longer than I can will look backe and become *Laudator temporis acti*. Yet too will I praise the present tymes, or I should be unmindfull of many favours receivede from manie handes. Nowe will I trye to stop, and give your patience a breathing-time from my Historie; but the subject of the Letter wyll excuse my tedious reciting. I write from wonder and affection. I have nowe passed my storms, and wishe for a quiet harbour to laye up my bark, for I growe olde and infirme. I see few friendes, and hope I have no enemies. So nowe adieu, good cofin, and read my tale which I penned of our marches, ambuscades, culverins, and such-like matters; which if it give you no more pleasure in the readyng, than it did me

in

in the endurige, I muste thinke it a sorry
tale trulye.

I reste your louynge Cofin,

JOHN HARINGTON.

Send me Petrarche by my man, at his
returne.



*Letter from Sir JOHN HARYNGTON,
to Prince HENRY, 1609.*

Moste Noble Prince,

IT was sometye since your wyll that I should sende unto you suche scraps and fragments of witte and poesie as I mighte from my poore braine; but as respecte is due to Crowned Heads, and as soche sholde be honorede before clownishe heads, I have here sente to your Highnesse a prettie verse, made by that unfortunate, and yet in his godlinesse I wist moste fortunate, King, Henrie the Sixthe; it hathe often caused much grieffe to thinke on the perillous state of that goode Kinge, not forgetting to remark how he framed his lyfe to meet his death. I met with this verse in a book of my grandfathers writing, whose father was so moche in the trobles and warres of York and Lancafter, as to lose all his landes for being a Commander on
the

the wrong side, and among the traitors, if
so I may say; and yet thus saith a Poet:

Treason dothe never prosper, What's the reason?
Why, if it prosper, none dare call it Treason.

But this is not King Henrys verse. My an-
cestor Sir James Haryngton* did once take
prisoner, with his party, this poor Prince;
for which the House of York did graunt
him a parcel of lands in the northern
counties, and which he was fool enough to
lose again, after the battle of Bosworth,
when King Henry the Seventh came to the
crown; and methinks I feel his follie to this
tyme, for, on forfeiture of twenty five rich
manors, it was time for our house to travel
to southward, where, if they brought no
landes, they found some more from the
goodnesse of Henrie the Eight. The
verse I did mean to present your Highnesse
wyth is as doth now followe, and well suit-

* The Grant of Lands for this Service is given
in the latter part of this volume, dated 1464.

eth the temper and condition of him who made it :

“ KINGDOMES are but cares;

State ys devoyd of staie;

Ryches are redy snares,

And hastene to decaie.

“ Pleasure ys a pryvie prycke

Wich vyce doth styll provoke;

Pompe unprompt; and fame a flayme;

Powre a smouldryng smoke.

“ Who meenethe to remoofe the rocke,

Owte of the slymie mudde,

Shall myre hymselfe, and hardlie scape

The swellynge of the flodde.”

Soe much for poor King Henries verse; and nowe take, if your Highnesse will excuse it some of his prose: For I find written under this, in the same hand, the following sentences; and no doubt they were not given as his without good credit and groundes:

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“ Patyence

“ Patyence ys the armore and conqueste
of the godlie: Thys merytythe mercie,
when cawlesse ys soffered forrowe.”

Nougte els ys warre bote furie and mad-
nesse; whereyn ys not advyfe bote rash-
nesse; not ryghte bote rage rulethe and
raignethe.

HENRIE.

And none so trulle coud speake thus as
our poore Author, under his piteous im-
prisonment, his bloody kingdom, his dis-
trefsd kyndred; from all which God hath
now most marvelously freed and deliverd
these realmes. As I have thus given your
Highnesse a short ensample of Royal poe-
trie, I will not in haste forsake the matter,
and descend from high to low; but will now
venture to send to your readinge a special
verse of King Henry the Eight, when he
conceived love for Anna Bulleign. And
hereof I entertain no doubt of the Author,
for, if I had no better reason than the
rhyme, it were sufficient to think that no
other

other than such a King could write such a sonnet; but of this my father oft gave me good assurance, who was in his household. This sonnet was sung to the Lady And at his commaundment, and here followeth:

THE eagle's force subdues each byrd that flies;

What metal can resist the flaminge fyre?

Dothe not the sunne dazle the clearest eyes,

And melte the ice, and make the froste retyre?

The hardest stones are peircede thro wyth tools;

The wyfest are, with Princes, made but fools.

Thus have I given your Highnesse another ensample of Royal poetrie; nor, if time did serve, or your time woud permit, shoud I omit some prettier verses of our late Princesse, of blessed remembrance; but enow at this time. I have complied with your requeste, and sente my Ariosto, for your Highnesse entertainment, humbly suing for some special marke of your approbation in returne, from the hand and

heade of that Prince who claymeth the
dutyful obeylance and unequalled estima-
tion of

His honoured Servant,

JOHN HARRINGTON.



Sir

SIR JOHN HARRINGTON to DR. JOHN
 STILL, the Bishoppe of BATH
 and WELLES. 1603.

My Worthie Lorde,

I HAVE lived to see that damnable rebel
 Tir Owen brought to Englands, cur-
 teouslie favoured, honoured, and well
 liked: Oh my Lorde, What is there
 which dothe not prove the inconstancie of
 worldlie matters! How did I labour after
 that knaves destruction! I was callede
 from my home by hir Majesties commaund,
 adventured perils by sea and lande, en-
 dured toil, was near starvinge, eat horse-
 fleshe at Munster; and all to quell that
 man, who nowe smilethe in peace at those
 that did hazarde their lives to destroy him.
 Effex tooke me to Irelande, I had scante
 tyme to putte on my bootes, I followed
 withe good wyll, and did returne wyth the
 Lorde Leutenante to meet ill wyll; I did
 beare the frownes of hir that sente me;

and, were it not for hir good lykinge, rather than my good deservynges, I had been fore discourtenacede indeede. I obeyede in goinge wythe the Earle to Irelande, and I obeyede in comynge wythe him to Englande? But what did I encounter thereon? Not his wrathe, but my gracious Soveraigns ill humour. What did I advantage? Why, trulie, a knyght-hood; whych had been better bestowed by hir that sente me, and better spared by him that gave it. I shall never put out of remembraunce hir Majesties displeasure; I entered her chamber, but she frowned and saide, "What did the foole brynge you too? Go backe to your busynesse." In soothe, these wordes did fore hurte hym who never hearde soche before; but Heaven gave me more comforte in a daie or twoe after; hir Majestie did please to aske me concernynge our Northerne journeyes, and I did so well quite me of the accounte, that she favoured me wyth such discourse that the Earle himself had
been

been well glad of. And now dothe Tyr-
 Owen dare us old Commanders, wyth hys
 prefence and protection. I doubte not but
 some State busynesse is well nigh begunne,
 or to be made out, but these matters per-
 tain not to me nowe. It mucche feare for
 my good Lord Grey and Raleigh. I hear
 the plot was well nigh accomplyshede to
 disturb our peace and favour Arabella Stu-
 art, the Princes cousin. The Spaniardes
 beare no good wyll to Raleigh, and I doubte
 if some of the Englyshe have mucche better
 affectione towarde hym. God delyver me
 from these desygn. I have spokene wyth
 Carewe concernyng the matter, he think-
 ethe ill of certaine people whome I knowe,
 and wythethe he coude gaine knowledge and
 further inspectione hereof, touchyng those
 who betrayede thys busynesse. Cecil dothe
 beare no love to Raleighe, as you well un-
 derstande in the matter of Essex. I wyfte
 not that he hathe evyl desygn, in pointe of
 faithe or relygion. As he hathe ofte dis-
 coursed to me wyth moch lernynge, wyf-
 dom,

dom, and freedom, I knowe he dothe somewhat dyffer in opynyon from some others; but I thynke alsoe his hearte is welle fixe in everye honeste thynge, as farre as I can looke into hym. He seeme the wondroffie fittede, bothe by arte and nature, to serve the State, especiallie as he is versede in forain matters, his skyll thereyn beinge alwaies estimable and prayse-worthie. In relygion, he hath shorne, in pryvate talk, great depthe and good readyng, as I once experyencede at his owne howse, before manie bernde men. In goode trothe, I pitie his state, and doubt the dyce not fairely throwne, if his lyfe be the losynge stake, but hereof enowe, as it becomethe not a poore countrye Knyghte to looke from the plow handle into policie and pryvacie; I thanke Heavene, I have been well nigh driven heretofore into narrowe straits amongste State rocks and sightles dangers; but if I have gained little profite and not moche honour, I have not adventured so far as to be quite
funken

sunken hereyn; I wyll leave you all now to
 synke or swym, as seemethe beste to your
 owne sykinge; I onlie swym nowe in oure
 bathes, whereyn I feel some benefyt and
 more delyghte. My lameness is bettered
 hereby, and I wyll shortly set forwarde to
 see what goethe on in the citie, and pric
 safelie amonge those that truste not mee,
 neither wyll I truste to them; newe Pryn-
 ces begete newe lawes, and I am too well
 strycken in yeares and infirmities to enter
 on newe courses. God commend and de-
 fend your Lordshippe in all youre under-
 takynges. He that thryvethe in a Courte
 muste put halfe hys honestie under his bon-
 net, and manie do we knowe that never
 parte that commoditie at all, and sleepe
 wyth it all in a bag. I reste your Lord-
 shippes trew friende.

JOHN HARRINGTON.

TREATISE on PLAYE,

BY

Sir JOHN HARRINGTON,

NEVER PRINTED.

Of PLAYE.

IT may seeme strange, among so many graue and waighty matters, to present so idle and trylinge a discowrse as the tytle hereof seemeth to promis; and the wryter may be thought to haue been verry game-some in his humor, or verry barren of other matter for so doing, yf bothe our chronicles did not shew vs a president of a stowt and pollytyck Kynge (I cannot say iust and vertuous) that propownded as a serious matter, at a counsell-boord, to haue a fitt and well chofen playfellow for his nephew; and

if

if every mans owne experience did not tell him, that recreation after study, ease after payne, rest after labor, is very necessary.

Now though I know that holly and wise preachers may say, and say truly, that as a man may be merry without laughing, quell hunger and thirst without surfeting, so hee may refresh his sperites without dyce or card-playing; yet I will not bee so severe and stoycall to pronowce that such play is vnhopefull, yngodly, vnlawful, and by wise Princes ought to be banished, not only owt of their howses, but owt of theyr dominions, as an infecter of manners, a spoyle-er of yowth, a waster of welth, yea, and of that wiche is not to be redeemed by welth, our most precious tyme; for, if I shoulde holde a paradox, I shoulde have all our young Lordes, our fayr Ladyes, our gallant Gentlemen, and the flower of all England against mee; yea, to say truly, I should haue myne own fanfy and custome,

nay

may even my owne opinion and judgment against mee : because I do think yt at the worst tollerable, for the most part indifferent, and in some sort commendable ; and therefore, at the first entrawnce hereto, I may shake handes and make trewse with my good friend Mr. Groomporter, and assure him that this discowrse of myne tends no way to his hindrawnce ; but rather to establish an honor and order in that, which in wise mens opinions is now both dishonorably and disorderly abused, specially in that house whence the pattern and lyght of all honor and order should come.

I. Fyrst thearfore, I will shew you what the trew vse of play is.

II. Secondly, I will lay downe breefly what vices it participateth.

III. Thirdly, I will declare my conceyl for a remedy of soche disfease, for avoyding all or the mooste of the inconveniencies that

that happen by the vntemperate and immoderate vse of the same.

Play, accordinge to the awncient schoolemen, (who weare the narrowest examiners and fittellest distinguyshers of wordes) ys defined to bee, *Ludus, id est, locutus vel operatio in quo nihil quæritur nisi delectatio animalis.* A spending of the tyme eyther in speeche or action, whose onely end ys a delyght of the mynd or speryt. And therefore they call yt also a remedy against the overburthening and dulling of the speryts; yt may be deriued into three kyndes.

I. Fyrst, of devocion, of which kinde of recreation, although yt bee absolutely the best, I shall haue cause to speake but little.

II. The second of vnseemly pleasures, provoking to wantonesse; of which, because it is the worst, I must needs say somewhat.

III. The third, of all kynde of games devised for pastyme, which they comprehend vnder the name of *Alearis* and *quasi Alearis*; in which eyther meer hazarde pre-
 vayles, as at dyce; or chawnce with some vse of witt, as in cardes and tables; or chawnce with some sleight, strength, and agillitye of the body, as shooting, bowling, tennis, the mooste of which being ἀδιάφορα, things indifferent, and both to good and bad vses in all the ages of a man, are consequently the principall grownd and pro-
 iect of this my discowrse.

Of the fyrst and mooste excellent play or recreacion (that I may not speake without awtorytie) wee finde an example in the holly historyes of David, 2 *Kings*, vi. *cap.* who said, *Ludam & fiam vilior*. Holly virtuous pastymes bee advised in the New Testament, singing salmes, and himms, and spiritual songs, as St. James counselleth those that are mery; walking abroad and meditating as Iake did like a doue; re-
 cording some of the elloquent and excel-

lent

lent soliloquyas of St. Awgustin, or, yf they be vnlearned, finginge one of Dauid's dyvine salmes well translated into meeter; of which myselfe haue heard some profes to haue had more pleasure, and theyr mindes more lifted vp to devotion, then with all the sollom church musycke of organs and voyces: whether it weare the matter, or the meeter, or the maker, or the musycke, or all together that so ravysh't them. Of which excellent worke, I meane those salmes in meeter, seing it is allredy prophecied those precious leaues (those hims that she doth consecrate to Heauen) shall owlast Wilton walls,* meethinke it is pittie they are unpublyshed, but lye still inclosed within those walls lyke prisoners, though many haue made great suyt for theyr liberty; but of this kinde of playe I need say no more, not doubting but many noble mynded cowrtiers frequent often such vertuous exercyses, and, if they would more often by my perswasyon, I would bee not a little glad of yt.

P 2

II. OF

* The Countess of Pembrokes.

II. Of the second sorte of play, provoking only and chiefly to wantones (though some more, some lesse) such haue generally been esteemed enterludes, tumblers, jesting fooles, and scoffers, masking and dawncing, and such-like. in some of which there may sure bee such temper, as to make them voyd of sinne; yet commonly their ys such temptation as ys not without some shame, therefore how so ever the beholders, yf they geve not as yt weare the brydle to much to loose and wanton desyres, may bee excused, yet the actors for the most parte are esteemed illiberall, base, and ridiculous. One sayd merely that enterludes weare the divells farmons, and jesters the divells confessors; these for the most part disgracing of vertue, and those not a little gracing of vices. But, for my part, I commend not such sower censurers, but I thinke in stage-playes may bee much good, in well penned comedies, and specially tragedies; and I remember, in Cambridge, howsoever the presyter sort haue banisht them, the wyser sort did, and still

still doe mayntayn them. Trew yt is that St. Awgustin doth reprove, and that very justly, the plays of the awncient Romans, such as those that weare called *Bacchanalia*.

Not only thease drunken and wanton playes, but even their *Circenses* and *Seculares*, because thease wear for the moste part full of blasphemows superstition, and even dedicated (as he moste amply prooveth) to the honor of theyr fallse godds, indeed fowle sperits and meer devylls; but what preiudyce neede that to bee to owr enterludes, which are no way intended to the dishonor of our own trew Lord, nor honor of his enemy. Concerning this matter one wrote a pretye elegye, of wich I remember thease fower fyrst verses:

*Non ego qui ludos spectant reor esse nocentes,
Non his omne tamen crimen abesse puto;
Grandior his ætas morum sine vulnere magno
Forsan adesse potest, sed nisi forte potest.*

To see a play I call no haynous cryme,
 Yet say not I all fawlte ys absent thence ;
 Men stayd in yeares may see the same sometyme,
 Perhapps (and but perhapps) without offence.

But now whence comes this offence, but from the ill penning of the plays by the wryters, or by the wanton humor of this tyme, whom no mirth can please yf it be not sawced with some bawdery ? and the Poets care, as sayth Terence, ys, *Populo ut placerent quas fecissent fabulas.*

Nero, one of the worst Emperors, was to much delyghted in musycke, and all kinde of poetry ; Will any man conclude thearby, that musycke and poetry is abhominable, because that abhominable tyrant loved them ? Nerua, one of the best of the good Emperors, was much pleased with a buffon or jesting foole that he had ; yet that followd not that all that can play the fooles are worthy to be favored by Emperors ; for even that jester was pretely jested at one day by the Emperor. For, when
 the

the foole, havinge made him mery, begged somewhat of him, and cowld not obtayne it, he asked the Emperour why he would not geve him greater rewardes. seeing he took suche pleasure in his cownterfaytinge? Oh, said hee, if I payd for yt, the pleasure were lessened; meaning, belyke, that haulfe the sport was to see him play the foole for nothinge; and fewr yt seems they are not well sortedin theyr state and qualytie, if they be not, as Horace calls me,

*Scurra vagus non qui certum præsepe teneret,
Quælibet in quemuis obprobria fingere scæuus.*

Lyke wandring rogues that haue no certaine manner,
Prest to rayle and scoffe at every stranger.

But that such kinde of fellowes as thease bee still hawkinge and hanginge about Princes cowrtes and Noble mens howses, is a custom so awncient that it ys made lawfull by prescripcion. As for the rest of the sportes of this second kinde, being not
the

the chiefe intent of my present tretys, I passe them over with this general caveatt, eyther for practising or beholding of them, *Ne quid nimis*. For as to bee plesawnt conseyted, to be actyve and musicall, are cowrtly and liberall quallyties; so for Noble personages to become jesters, tumblers, and pypers, is hateful, fond, and dishonorable.

III. The third sort of plays, which I calld *Alearis* & *quasi Alearis*, comprehending in a manner all kinde of games playd at for wagers, beinge one of the moste dawngerows rockes at wich the yowth of this island suffer voluntary shipwrack, both of fame and fortune, is the speciall kinde of which I wolde now speake. For I haue somtyme considering herof wondred at that strange desease of some men in this kinde, who playing at cardes or dyce, with as ill fortune (commonly) as may bee, and with such impacience, that in reason it must exclude all pleasure; that haue not had the power to refrayn from it, but haue still pursued

fued it eyther to the utter decay of theyr estates, or ellse dryven with a kynde of unnecessary necessitye to descend to so base shifts, as when theyr wyser judgment hath after (by assistance of Gods good grace) expelled that foolyshe fansey, they themselues haue damned and detested as most ignominious and reproachfull.

And therefore, seing so playnely this infection begin to grow so generall, and my selfe havinge so hardly (and perhapps skantfully) escaped yt, I thought it weare an honest and acceptable endeavor to fynde soome remedy, if I coulde, for the same. Fyrst, thearfore, I did searce, as phisycions doe, the trew nature of the desease, and owt of what humors yt is specially fed, and I fynd, partly by vnparciall examining mine owne imperfections and follyes, and partly by observing other mens customs, this excessyve play to grow from one of these evill affections of the minde which the awncientes (not vnproperly) weare wont to term dedly sinnes, viz. pryde, covetowfnes, and slowth ;
of

of which slowness causeth the frequentation of
 yt, pryde the greatnes, and avarice the
 greedines. And accordingly I direct my
 aduise hereto as good phisicians dooe mede-
 cynes, not quite to take away the humors,
 but only to restrayne the dawngerous over-
 flowing thearof. Not but that I am fully
 perswaded, that, yf I shoulde make such
 an anotomy, as might easely bee donne, of
 the fowlnes of these offences that aryse out
 of great play, yea, if one of these gam-
 sters myght, with the eye of virtuous iudg-
 ment see but one sawfer full of the corrupt
 blood that this pestilent desease hath bread
 in them, they would suffer themselues not
 only to be purged, but to bee lawnced; ra-
 ther then any drop of such blood, or of so
 dawngerous an humor, should bee remayn-
 inge in them; and, as for those that weare
 yet never infected, they would follow the
 Italians medecyn for the plague:

Presto procul tarde cede recede redi.

Goe

Goe away with the fyrst, remove away fardest, returne with the last.

But this season sarves not for such kynde of physicke; I will neyther purge, lawnce, nor lett blood; my pacientes shall fare delicately, so they will feede moderately; finally, they shall never need eyther sweare or swett (though theyr desease make them often doe both) if they will follow but the prescript that I will geve them; and for theyr more assurance, I have taken it my selfe and some of my good frends, and thearfore I can say as my Ariosto sayth,

Beleeve what heere is shown for thy behoofe,
Probatum est, I know 'tis trew by proofe.

But, that I may yet a while continew this my phisycall metaphor, marke what I shall tell (I speake to all great players) of the origin of youre malladys, and, if you find that I discover aryght your deseases without feeling your pulses, thinke I can as well prescribe a medecyn without casting your waters.

I. Fyrst,

I. Fyrst, thearfore, I say, the cheefe nurse of play is idlenefs or slowth. Not but that play is a kinde of remedy allso against slowth, but yet, when wee are grown by to much eating and surfeting to a general indisposycyon to all busines, then commonly wee embrace play to avoyd sleep. I will leaue to the divynes to tell you how dangerous a thinge this fulnes of fleshe is cownted, and what became of them that did eate and drinke, and rose up agayn to play. Lett us but morally and civilly (as I may say) lay before vs an exampell of some one, of which there is to great choyse, that spendes his whole life in play: as thus, for example, in the morninge, perhapps, at chesse, and after his belly is full then at cardes; and, when his sperites was dull at that, then for some exercyse of his armes at dyce, and, being weary thearof, for a little motion of his body, to tennis; and, having warmd him at that, then, to coole himselfe a little, play at tables; and being disquieted in his paciens for ouerseeing fynk and quater, or missing two or three fowle blotts,

blotts, then to an enterlude, and so (as one well compared yt) lyke to a mill-horse, treadinge alwayes in the same stepps, bee ever as far from a worthy and a wise man as the circle ys from the center: Would not one swear this wear a marvelous idle fellow?

Sewer idlenes is a thinge not only condemned of all men, and by some law-makers severely punished, but evn hateful to nature itselſe, and thearfore commonly it ys the first suggester of all the fowl and enormows sinns that are committed.

*Quæritur Ægistus quare fit factus adulter,
Impromptu ratio est, desidiosus erat.*

What made Ægistus first a lecher grow?

Slowth was the cause, as all the world doth know.

Yt is the broom that sweepeth cleen all good thoughts owt of the howse of the mynde, making it fitt to receaue the vii devills, that the manns end may be worse

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Q

than

then the beginning. For, as contemplacion rayseth the fowle to the trew loue of God and inflameth it with a desyre of vyrtuows actions, so doth idlenes depresse the spe-ryts, engenders a desyre of vnworthy thinges, and cooleth or rather quencheth all the sparkes of vertue and honor. Whearfore not to stand to long vppon this poynt, which wold (yow may see) afford infynit matter, whosoever will not be noted with the fowle infamy of ydlenes, let him not bee a continuall gamster, for, if he play very much, Demosthenes wear not able to cleer him if he were sued vpon an action of idlenes. I say (very muche) not but that I cownt a little play, as I said in the beginning, both tollerable and also commendable for worthy parsons of eyther sex (specially attending in cowrt) to recreat themselves at play; and meethinkes I have observed good vse therof. For it is (be yt spoken vnder correction) an vnfittinge fyght to see a presence-chamber empty more than haulfe the day, and men cannot bee allwayes discowrsing, nor women always pricking

pricking in clowts; and therefore, as I say, it is not amisse to play at some sociable game (at which more than ii may play) wherby the attendawnce may seem the lesse tedyous to the players, and the rest that looke on may in a sort intertayn themselvs with beholding it, as daylie experience sheweth vs. Whearfore I haue been ever against the opinion of some elder farvitors (that seeme now to be better antyquaryes then cowrtyers) who will mayntayn that till ii of the clocke no Gentleman should stand aboue the cubbard; that to leane in the presence-chamber is vnseemly; to fyt is vn sufferable; that play came not yn by licence, but crept in by lycenciowfnes.

These good Gentlemen thinke that one of us may boft of the well spending of that day whearein they haue told vs how mery a world it was when the King went to Bullen; whereas, thankes be to God and that noble Kings moste noble dawghter, wee thinke it as mery still; and to such reprov-

ers I answer, New Lords, new laws; her Majesties commawndment is suffycient law in her cowrt, and if it please her Hyghnes, she may haue yt so still, but *sublata causa tollitur effectus*; Effects remoue with theyr cawses: Good manners will teach every man when it is vnseemly to leane or sitt, and yet the noble nature of Princes is feene in thease indulgences of ease (as I may so call them) to theyre seruantes and subiects. Yt hath been a favor, (thoughe now not common) to geue a pardon of the cap, viz. to stand coverd; yt is a great honor of the Queens court, that no Princes seruants fare so well and so orderly, nor have more hollsome provision in all Europe; to bee short, the stately pallaces, goodly and many chambers, fayr gallerys, large gardens, sweet walkes, that Princes with magnificent cost do make (the xxth parte of which they vse not themselues) all shew that they desire, and would have all men thinke they desire, the ease, content, and pleasure of theyr followers, as well as themselues. Which
 matter,

matter, though it be more proper to another discourse, yet I colde not but touch yt in this, agaynst theyr error rather than awsterytie that say play becoms not the presence, and that it would not as well become the state of the chamber to haue easye quilted and lyned forms and stools for the Lords and Ladyes to sit on, (which fashyon is now taken up in every marchawnts hall) as great plank forms that two yeomen can skant remoue out of their places, and waynscot stooles so hard, that, since great breeches were layd asyde, men can skant indewr to sitt on. But, to end this fyrst part of this triperyte descowrse, you see how willing I am both to allow play, and all ease in your play, so the cheefe end of play bee that which shoulde indeed bee the trewe use of play, to recreate the speryts for a short tyme, to enable them better to feryows and wayghty matters.

II. The second cause of excesse in play I noted to be pride; an ill cause of a

worfe effect, which because it loues to be gloryows will feldom be feene alone, but attended on wyth wrath, ryot, and blafphemy; and, faue that custome hath made it fo familiar to vs that we neither obserue it in ourfelues nor in others, wee should perceave that this proud humor that is fed by play makes vs ofte sweare more in one howr, then otherwise a man cowld have occafyon to dooe in a whole yeer. Now that you may playnly fee it is pryde cheefly that moves men to great play, fpecially in cowrte and in publyque affemblies whearfoever; mark, I fay, the greateft and the moſte professed great players if they will not in pryvat mens howfes, or in theyr own (yf they have any) play as fmall game as need bee, whearas to play the fame, nay fyve tymes the fame ftake in other places, they wold cownt themſelves diſparaged for ever.

Yt ys ever noted that the fowleſt vice that is, ſeekes to put on a maſke and ſhew of ſome vertue; ſo thiſ pride in gaming
would

would fayn bee taken for a kynde of magnanimytie and bountifull difpofycion, and thearfore, as I fayd, the more publicke the place is, the more honorable the prefence, the deeper the play groweth, and then, as though two fhillinge and fixe pence had not as many fillabells in it as one hundred pownds, yow fhall heere them ftill talkinge of hunderds and thowfandes. And whearfore is all this, forfooth? becaufe the beholders may extoll theyr braue myndes, and faye one to another, Did yow ever fee Gentlemen that cared fo little for theyr money, fo braue, fo bountifull, etc. and perhaps evn herein they are deceaved, and that the infted heereof fome of the ftanders by tell how they hard, but 3 dayes pafte, a mercer importuning fome one of them for 10l. matter; and colde get no other answer but God damme me if I pay you not the next mony I receave; and another had a poore widdow following of him, fewing to buy a copy-holde in which fhee had a widdows eftate, and offerede in a yeare to
 pay

pay fyftie pownd; and he protested hee had fuch present need of mony hee could not ftay fo longe, and folde it to another for 30l. in hand. And a thirde, perhappys, was hard chaffing with the baylie of his husbandry for gevinge viii d. a day this deere yeer to day laborers, faying, hee myght haue had them for viid. Loe the bownty of thefe magnificall players! to omit how basely fome of thefe big men will borrow, how beggerly they will fhifte, when they will feem moft bowntyfully to fpend.

Such fkorfull and myferable freyghts they are dryven unto that fkor to use a meafurable proporcion in theyr play, according to theyr ftate and callinges. Neyther would I conclude heerof that great Princes or Nobles fhould play for fo little as weare not worth the reckoning of, for I know the faying, *Sine quæftu friget lufus*; fmall ftakes makes colde play. And thearfor, thoughe yt be hard to prescribe a mean and rule of a thing fo fubject to extremityes

tremities in so diuers callings and abillities of the players, yet I wolde delyver this as my opinion and advise heerein in generail: that the wager in play should bee as it wear fawce, and not the substance of it; so as a man should take at least equal contentment for winninge the game as the mony, and be less greeved for loosing the mony then the game; that a man should venter no more to play then he cowld bee easily perswaded to geve out of his superfluytie to some well deserving person that wear in want.

That if the quallitye of the parsons be so different as ofte it happens, that 10 shillings losse to one wear more than 10l. losse to another; then the greater parsons should rather stoop somewhat below theyr custome, than the meaner man should step somewhat aboue his calling. For sewer I am, yf one of the extreame must be fallen into, the little play has the lesse dawnger, of fame, of fortune, of fault, than the greater. Besyde, yf the greater parsons in matter of
game

game shewld not forte themselues to the meaner, how showld Princes in their dominions fynde playfellows? For, if her Majestie would play at Primero in that proportion of her estate as I have seen some of her mean subiects in theyr poor callinges, she showld play a dukedom at a rest, and a barrony stake, and then I know none able to hold play with her: but, if her Highnes can vowtsaf to play somtyme with her servawntes, according to theyr meaner abilities, I know not why we her servawntes showld skorne to play with our equalls or inferyors for competent wagers, as the losse may not be burdensome to them.

And yet, not to neglect the honorable shew of the place, I woulde wysh that greater parsons showlde, according to theyr callinges, play on a velvet carpet, handle nothing but golde, talke of nothing but pownds, and yet to venter no more than they may with theyr honors trewly pay, and with theyr ease willingly spare. As
for

for the standers by, who need not know whether every ryall passses current for 10s. or for 10d. theyr eyes are as well enter-tayned and theyr thoughts as well pleased as if so moche golde wear truly wonne and lost, of which myselfe haue seen doble ex-perience. For example, whear Lords and great men have been disposed to play deepe play, and, not havinge mony about them, have cut cardes insteede of cownters, with affewrawnce on theyr honors, to pay for every peece of carde so lost a portegue; (a thing as some say, common in Spayn) and somtyme donne in this cowrt. I haue observed that the beholders have taken small pleasure in beholding this play, though hundreds were really and indeed lost there-at. And evn now this other day, when *Craftino animarum* was sollomly appoynted for the payment of many matches wonne and lost at bowls, the country peeple, that saw no mony walking; helde themselves deluded, and thought they playd but xiii d. vpp xii d. thoughe I doubt some of theyr
 friends

friends feele a greater rate for it ear long.
 And of the other side I haue observed,
 when some of the better sort haue by my
 perswasyon (for putting in practyse this
 cownterfet gaming) playd good store of
 golde and siluer, rating it for the present at
 the 10th or 12th peny, so as above a noble
 or a ryall was not in commont account to
 be lost at a sittinge; yet the vulgar beholders
 did holde it for the noblest and royal-
 lest play they had seen; only marvelling
 to see such sober Gentlemen play so much
 in an howr as they wear not vsed to spend
 in a weeke. Now yf the yrreuerent Doc-
 tor Fawstus, or some such grave patron of
 great play, should protest this to bee an In-
 tollerable cofenage and dishonorable abuse
 of the beholders, and with some Chester-
 like elloquens, deride the weaknes of the
 conceyt. I answer him that I no way com-
 pare with his rare and well studyed inven-
 cions of stopps, of cuts, of points, of marks,
 of slipps, of lays, of fetts, of odds in bet-
 ting, of flurrs, of hy-men, and low-men, of
 familiars

familiar, and such-lyke; which I am haulfe ashamed to name, becaufe it shews I am not so ignorant of them as I ought to bee; all which cunning, if great play were suppressed in our common ordenaryes, wold bee as meerly left and forgotten (thoughe it bee now studyed and practysed as an excellent misterie and scyence) as Demetryus occupacion of making silver shrynes for Dyana was hindred by the Apostles preaching of Chryste. But I say in defence of this honest or at least harmles diffimulacion, in making the play seeme greater then it is, that thear is almost no parte of our lyfe in which wee doe not generally affecte and effect more dawngerows practyses of diffimulacion in matters of earnest and wayght than this that I bring in, in matter only of sport and game. Wee goe braue in apparell that wee may be taken for better men than wee bee; wee vse much bumbastings and quiltings to seeme better formed, better showlder, smaller wasted, and fuller thyght, then wee are; wee barbe and shaue ofte, to seeme yownger than wee are; wee use per-

fumes both inward and outward to seeme sweeter then wee be; corkt shooes to seeme taller then wee bee; wee use courtuows salutations to seem kinder then wee bee; lowly obayfances to seeme humbler then wee bee; and somtyme grave and godly communication to seem wyser or devowter then wee bee. And infynit such things wee may observe in owrselues, which are some of them commendable in this respect, that, by good and trew endeavour to seeme to bee, we may obtayne at last the habyt and grace to become to bee such indeed, according to the excellent counsell, *Labour to bee as you would bee thought.* Wherefore, if we allow in so many thinges seeming without beinge, why should wee not bee content, in this one thing, to be lesse bowntifull, or, to term it ryghtly, lesse prodigall, lesse wastefull, lesse madde then wee seeme to be.

But, because examples are more effectual often then perswasions, and to prayse the dead is no flattery, I will alleadge one example,

example, well known to many of vs, and thearfore not vnfit for this purpose. Who was more magnificent in matters of trew honor, more sumptuows in building, ritch in furnishing, royall in entertayninge, orderly in maintayninge his howse then Sir Christopher Hatton, late Lord Chawncellor? a man taught vyr tue, framed to wisdom, ray sed to honor by her Majesties speciall grace and choyce; yet when some Embassadors lay at his howse, (knowinge the generall humor of the meaner sort to loue to see great play) whyle hee himselfe entertayned the cheefest of them wyth some graue discourse or some follom musycke, hee caw sed some of his freends to play at cardes with 1000l. in fayr golde of his mony, ratinge it at theyr owne pleasures at xii d. the pownd, or as themselves agreed on, that the summes playd might seem great, the show bountifull, and the substance not vn supportable.

Thus you see that, if men will needes have a pryde in a thinge whearof they may rather be ashamed, yet in this manner of
 R 2 play

play I recommend to you, both the idle man may have his pastyme, and the proud man his pompe? Now remaynes only how we may allay the covetouse humor of play, for satisfye it we never can, being the verry dropseye of the mynde, whose thirst encreaseth with drinking; a wolfe whose famin abates not with raveing, a sea that augmenteth not his waters with fillinge; Is thear any hope to affwage the fury of this deseasse in a gamster? Horace sayth, thear ys in any man :

*Fervet avaritia miseraque cupidine pectus?
Sunt verba et voces quibus hunc lenire dolorem
Possis, et magnam morbi deponere causam.*

Boyleth thy brest with lucre's base desire?
Preceptes are fownd to quench this filthy fire,
And forse this maladye from thee retyre.

It hath been sayd, One strong poyson will expell another, which made me to perswade myselfe that the pryde men have in play myght have been a suffycient restraynt
of

of this base humor of cofenage, specially in a courtier; for I remember that hee that wrytes the most exact rules for a worthy courtier to follow, concerninge theafe kynde of games, geveth theafe speciall rules; that a Gentleman labor not to bee so cunning at any of them, though the game favor of witt, as ches and the lyke.

2. That his play never breed any vnseemly or vntemperat passions, but above all that yt bee voyd of deceyt and advantage. O then that Gentlemen would bee so proud to disdayn theafe base-mynded shifts and cofenages, and to skorne that gayne that is got with a packe of cardes and dyce.

The awncyent Romans, as appeares by theyr own historys, wear exceeding ambitious, but yet, as St. Awgustin excellent well noteth, that ambition brydled in them many greater and more enormows vyces; for the pryde of theyr conceyt was such as made them dispyse pleasures, ritches, ease, or whatsoever they thought myght demenish theyre reputation with the people, or make

them the lesse or the worse spoken of.
But, how farr otherwise it is with the pryde
of great play, I partly noted before.

It begins with wantones and ryot, con-
tinews in cursing and blasphemy, and ends
commonly in quarrel and cofenage, which
how unworthy it is of a noble and vertuows
sperit, any, that have read Tullyes Offices,
maye imagin. For thear yt is sayd, *Fraus*
vulpecalæ, vis Leonis, otrumque alienissimum ab
homine, sed fraus odio digna maiore: Frawd
ys fox-lyke, force is lyon-lyke, both for a
man moſte unſeemely; but frawd of the
two more hatefull. I will not heare ſpend
muche tyme to awnſwer ſome poore appo-
logyes that ſome weake witts haue devyſed,
beguiling themſelves whyle they would fain
prooue it lawfull to beguile others. But
this I am moſt affured and can proove it by
moſt eydent reaſons, that to vſe cofenage
at play is a thinge vnnaturall, vnlawfull,
and, for the moſt part, to the party that
uſeth it, vnproffitable. For whether play
wear fyrſt devyſed as a ſociable paſſing the
tyme

tyme to recreate the speryts, or else (as some will haue it) to beguile hunger in a time of great famine, (for I will not discredyt that same hungry history, havinge my selfe seen some, for eagernes to play, forbear eating, drinking, and sleepeinge, and other necessyties of nature a very long time) What can, I say, be more against the nature, institution, and vse thearof, then to turn kyndnes to unkyndnes, myrth to melancholy, pleasure to pain; fynally, the recreation of overstudyed sperites, to a most busy study of cofenage.

For, to omit theyr brabblyngs and blasphemyes (which would to God they coulde be omitted) is it a small tyme, thinke yow, that one of these cunninge gamsters spendes in practysinge to flurre a dye sewerly, to stop a cardo clenly, to lay a packe cunningly. I haue herd some, and those no novyses in these misteryes, affyrme, that the dewyfer of the sett at the new cutt (that did cut so many ear the edg was fully discovered) colde not spend so litle as a moneths earnest

neft study beatinge his brayns ere hee could
 contryve it (if it colde be done without
 help of the devell) for, indeed, whom the
 devill should the devill affyst, but such as
 labor and study night and day in his service?
 Whearfore let them not call it theyr play,
 but theyr labor, theyr trade, theyr occu-
 pacion, that play only for gayne; for gree-
 dines breeds earnestnes, and earnestnes over-
 throws quite the very nature of all game.

*Lusuri nuces animos quoque ponere debent,
 Lusori cupido semper gravis exitus instat;
 Pone malas quoties ludendo vinceris iras,
 Nemo potest semper faelici ludere dextra.*

Lay down your stake at play, lay down your passions;
 A greedy gamster still hath some mishap;
 To chafe for loss proceeds of foolish fashions,
 No man throws still the dice in Fortunes lapp.

These olde verses, patched by me togea-
 ther owt of I know not what olde wryters,
 are sufficient testimony to proove, what
 temper the wyser haue tawght in times past,
 and

and what folly the foolyshe haue committed at all tymes, concerning gaming; by which it appears moſte playnly, that not only to uſe deceit in play, but, which is far leſſe, to make gayne the end of your play, quite perverteth the ryght uſe, quality, and nature thearof.

Now that it is vnlawfull is ſoone proved, by the common law, by the civill law, by Gods law. By the common and civill law the phraſe in bothe is to call cardes and dyce vnlawfull games, yea though playd at without coſenage; and by the cyvill law mony wonne of a warde or of a ſarvant myght haue been recovered yeers after as appears in the Digeff, though I am not ygnorant that ſome Cyvillians oppoſe againſt ſuch a recovery this maxim *In pari cauſa turpitudinis melior eſt condicio poſſidentis*: Whear both partes haue like turpitude or diſhoneſty, the law favors the party in poſſeſſyon; but admyt yt be ſo for fayr play, (though in my poore opinion that worde turpitude hath relation not to the play uſed
in

in dycing-howfes, but in bawdy-howfes) yet for cofenage I hold yt vndowbtedly that mony fo wonne, if yt may be proved, for in law *quod non probatur non est*, nothing is withowt prooffe) may be recoverd of the keeper of the dycing-houfe, by the civil law, as appeeres () and by action of cofenage or conspiracy at the common law. Neither doth the former maxim make aught agaynst it, becaufe the difhonefty is not equal, but all in the deceiver. But now, for Gods law, I muft confefs I finde no commandement that fays, Thow fhalt not play, neyther in prefise wordes, neyther yet by implicacion; and therefore I fayde at the firft, it is in ytfelfe a thinge indifferent, other than as it is reft rayned eyther by cannons of the church (of which many are ftill in force in this realme) or by other pofytive lawes, foch as eatinge fyfh in Lent, wearing foch or foch apparell, which our devynes hold to bynd a Cryftan in confcyence, being not dyrectly [agaynst the Word of God. But (I fay) bee it that play by Skrypture is a thinge

thinge indifferent (for fewr I am my gostly father never barred it me neyther by precept nor exawmple) what excuse is this for cosenage in play, that breaks at least halfe the commawndments of the old and new law? The new law sayth, Loue God aboue all, loue thy neyghbor as thyselfe. How well this Gentleman loues his neyghbor that lays bayts and hookes to catch his monny from him, every man may see: But I hope for all this hee may loue God better; I will beleeeve it if hee can awnswer this question of Saint John, How can one loue God whome hee hath not seen, that loues not his brother whome hee hath seen? But some will say this is a law of a secret and rare perfection; the ten commawndments are playne and open, Doth the cunning gamster keepe them? Thou shalt not couet is the last and least of them, lett him be pardoned for breaking that; but yf hee bee (as St. Pawle calls it) an idollater with his covetowfnes, if hee swear and forswear, breake sabbaths, dishonor parents and magistrates, murther with mallys, steale from
all

all hee plays with (for it is worfe then theft) witnes falshood with others, all which all the world sees that the coseninge gamsters daylie do, then it is to playn that they breake nyne of the commawndments; and (if hee bee not an eunuche) I dare be sworn that hee that breakes nyne of them doth keep none of them.

Now lett them devyse what defences they can for this theyr cosenage, let them excuse it as a *pecca*, and say it is no robbery becawse the party brings yt to venter it (for so taylors deny theyr stealinge by saying the stuffe is browght them) yet I thinke, if thease seeke theyr stolen stuffe in hell, those will finde theirs in hell also. For whear law allows a recouery, and conscience byndes to restitution, how can the gayne bee any waye lawfull?

Men are not passinge good nor passinge yll of a sudder, or all at once; but, as the good grow from fayth to fayth, so the lewd fall from filth to filth. At the fyrst a
man

man makes somme skruple, and, when he hath gevn himselfe leaue to play fallse for a little, at last hee taketh not only leaue but pleasure, yea, sometyme a pryde to do it for more then a great deale. Wherefore, as Ovid sayth,

*Obsta principijs ; sero medicina paratur,
Cum mala per longas invaluere moras.*

Stop the first breaches; medicine will not boot,
When by delay diseases take deep root.

But yet to remember my purpose and promiss in the beginning, which was that I wold not quite purge any humor, but only allay yt a little; so I will still yeelde to leaue so moch of this covetows humor in play as may serue for a sawce (as I sayd) yea, and a hungry sawce, soch as may moue sufficient appetyte, but withall I wishe you to beware of a surfitte. Neyther need I herin to geve any other rules, but to refer you to those former aduises that I gaue in

waying the dyvers callings and qualyties of men.

Thear is a great shew of popularitytie in playing small game, as wee haue heard of one that shall be nameles (becawse he was not blameles) that with shootyng seauen vp groates among yeamen, and goinge in playne apparell, had stolen so many hartes (for I dare not say hee came trewly by them) that hee was accused of more then felony. But my noble godfather, William Erle of Pembroke, shall not bee nameles, who (as I haue herd a speciall sarvant near about him tell) losse two thousand pounce in one night (imitating Augustus Cæsars play, though I will be sworn for him he never read his life) still geving away all he wonn, and paying all hee lost; and yt ys possible (for so said his sarvant to mee) that, by this his ill luck at play, hee saved as much as the man before ment (thowghe not mencioned) did loose. Thus I haue named, or at least signified an exawmple of small
game

game without basenes, of great play without folly; now I will ad only two not vnpleasawnt tales, one of a witty deceyt not dishonest; another of a willing losse not vndiscreet. Pope Julio* (if I fail not in the name, and fewr I ame that their is a game of the cardes after his name) was a greate and wary player, a greate vertue in a man of his professyon; but being a goode companyon, and as the phraze is, as mery as Pope Joane, yt is sayd hee playd at *Primero* with some great Princes or Cardinalls that vse to be Popes play-fellows, and, after the play was grown warm and the restes great, it happened that two of them wear incowntered fve and fiftye; moch mony being sett vpp, and moch more to sett, the Pope being the younger 55, though it weare the greatest game of the cardes, yet smelling the ratt, for they be all *Nasuti*, and mistrusting, as it was indeed, that thear was an elder game on the boord, gaue it

S 2

ouer,

* Now called *Pope Joan*, an old Game.

ouer, swearing, if hee had been but one more, hee wold haue seene it; the other supposinge, as the speech intended, that hee had been at the most but fower and fiftie, allowed him the one more, and by judgment of the groom-porters thear lost it. Heer was a kind of frawd, but not so full of fawlt as of witte, and the parsons being soch with whome 5000 crownes is but a rewarde to a cortefan for a nights lodging, it cannot in them seeme covetownes or cosenage. Well you may call it a stratagem of witt at the cardes, as they terme stratagems of war in a campe; for thowghe a Heathen Prince coulde say,

*Ferro, non auro, vitam cernamus utrique,
Vos ne velit vel me regnare hora quidve ferat fors.*

Try wee, with glittering blade, not glistening gold,
Which of vs two the highest seat shall hold,

Yet now Hollynes and his cheef Catholic sonnes can say,

Dohus

Dolus an virtus quis in hoste requirat?

Be it virtue, be it frawd,
Against a foe it merits lawd.

O Chrystians! if you will not learn fayr warrs, and fayr play, and honesty from Heauen, learn it from the Heathen; and, if humility cannot teache yow to shunne some gloriows sinns, lett pryde moue yow to shame of so base sinns.

The other tale I wold tell of a willinge and wise losf I have hearde dyversly tolde. Some tell it of Kyng Phillip and a favoryt of his; some of our worthy Kyng Henry 8 and Domingo; and I may call it a tale, becawse perhappes it is but a tale, but thus they tell it: The Kinge, 55 eldest hand, set vp all restes and discarded flush; Domingo or Dundego, call him how you will, helde it vppon 49, or som such game; when all restes wear vp and they had discarded, the Kinge threw his 55 on the boord open, with great lafter, supposing

the game (as yt was) in a manner fewer. Domingo was at his last carde incownterd flush, as the standers by saw and tolde the daye after; but, seeing the Kinge so mery, would not for a rest at Primero put him owt of that pleafawnt conceyt, and put vp his cardes quietly, yeelding it lost. What shall we say, for it is disputable? Was it well or ill donne? We must say as is oft sayd, it was as it was taken, and they say it was well taken. But I say, if the fauoryt did it with a cleere mynde, as I may say, *candide*, to encrease and preserue his masters pleasure, it was a worthy and a kinde parte; but if the fox had read the fable of the beastes hunting with the lyon, how the pray thear is wont to be devyded, then it was a wrong to the Kyng, and a crafty fox-like parte; and for my parte, if my man should doe soe to me, I would think he mistrusted my pacience; and I remember, fower yeers since, a verry neer kinsman of myne, becawse I lost a game at chesse for vid. somwhat to patiently unto him, whear-

by

by he mistrusted, as yt was indeed, that I lost yt voluntary, vowed hee wold never play with me at chesse agayne, though hee loue the game, and wee mett often; neyther can I hyer him, with the best horse I haue, to dispence with this foolysh vow. But to draw to an end, for I fynd in this idle discowrse I am apt to fall into many idell digressyons, I will now only show that the masters of this so seldom thryue by it, as if it weare that alone yt wear enowghe to make them geve it over; and then, for my conclusion, I will sett down breefly the good vses may be made of this cownterfet great play.

Wee iudge ordinarily those trades the best at which eyther some thryue exceedingly, or many thryue reasonably; and those the worst at which many breake bankrowtes, and none wax wellthy. By this rule a cosenyng gamster of all others should have a bad occupacyon; for, to omit his losse of Heavn, which perhappes
 he

he never thinks of, fewr I ame following that cowrse hee can never hope of (for if a customer cowld not be a discyple till hee fyrst left his receyt of custome) moche less can a cosener be a trew Chrystian till he leaue his deceyt in cosenage. But I say, omitting that great losse that will make them eternal bankarowtes, lett them show mee but an exawmple among a million that euer rose by play. I haue herd of many ritch marchawnts and goldsmiths in Cheap, some came owt of worshipfull howses to comme after them; *Who hath not hard of the Hosyer whome Deane Nowell, that goode old Father, was administrator vnto;* of a ritch shoemaker in Westminster; of hunderds I need not name, that by thease honest, painful trades, how fondly soeuer some skorn them, came to greate welthe and substance? But what speake I of honest trades, courtesans haue become ritche, and after haue been conuertytes and remayned honest. Pyrates by sea, robbers by land, haue become honest substanciall men as

wee

wee call them, and purchasers of more lawfull purchase. But a cosener in a dycing-howse that shall thryue by his occupation, and liue well with that hee hath got so ill, is as rare as a blacke swanne, and no exawmple to be showed of it in memory or history. Whearfore a dycing-howse may not vnfitly be lykened to a barrene vnholsom iland standing in a tempestuows sea, (lyke to some of those of the West Indyas) whear no sustenance colde bee had, nor no man wold lyve save for the shipwracke happening thearabout, wich helps them though vncertenly, and not ouer abundantly, to so much as mayntaynes lyfe and fowle, for in suche sort, with the ruyn of infinit young gentlemen, the dycing-box mayntains a hungry famylee. Now for the cunning gamsters, who cannot often meet with a good market, but some tymes, when some good gulle comes owt of the cuntry, and knowes not how to grace himselfe in company but with play and good clothes, then doe those gallantes draw a good hand or two, but for
the

the most parte they spend more then they gett, for, though to a good vse yow shall feldome see them geve vid. yet are they for all that exceeding prodigall in expence, specially on theyr back, and theyr belly, and beneath the belly, I meane in theyr fyne filke stockings and Spanysh leather shoos, French garters, and moche Frenche besides, the procuringe whearof somtyme, and somtyme the curinge, and, after oft very divacion, the recuringe is exceeding chargeable; all which charges are not easily borne: Beside theare ys now so many of that association as much hinders the gayne of the fathers of that facultye: but if they gett nothing (as most at home heere bee eyther so wyse with theyr deer bought witt, as they will play no more, or so poore with theyr now felt folley, as they can play no more) so as now theyr cheefe hope is for owr yowng Captaynes to come ritch from the Indyas (but, if they gett, I say, no good bootyes, yet they must stick to it, and liue by it, as the olde wall standes by the
 helpe

helpe of that ive that was the first cawse of rottinge and vndercreeping the fowndacion thearof; so that I may boldly conclude, that, though thear will euer bee some fooles to be cosened, yet, as longe as thear is soch store of knaues that would cosen them, yet will grow euery day poor by this beggerly occupacion; and God send me quickly fatherles sonne, yf I had not rather one of my sonnes wear a tanker-bearer, that weares sometymes his silke sleeves at the church on Sunday, then a cosener that weares his fatten hose at an ordenary on Fridaie. But now I come to the last parte of this discowrse, and will shew some good vses of this kynde of counterfayt play, wich, by reasons, by exhortations, by simmilytudes, and by exawmple, I doe soe earnestly labor to perswade.

Fyrst, therefore, I say, for those that haue been vfed to great play, and therefore can take the lesse pleasure in small game, of the sudden, they shall with this fashon play lesse offend theyr fancye, and
lesse

lesse alter theyr custome then suddently to
 fall from powndes to shillinges; as wee see
 a chylde weaned from his teat by litle and
 litle, somtyme with a sucking botle, som-
 tyme with making bitter the nurfes nipples,
 then with other spoone meate, till at last
 hee makes no reckoninge of childish milke,
 but falls to feed on more manly meat.
 Why should not a man bee as well content
 to wean himselfe from unproffyttable and
 vnmanly customes? I haue heard of one
 hath been so sicke of maulencolly, that hee
 hath thought his hed, or I thinke it was his
 nose, did fill all the chamber, (for many
 mens hedes fill greater roomes then they
 are aware of) now this man could not be
 cured by any reason to prooue it was not
 lyke to be so, nor by demonstracion to
 prooue yt was vnpossible to bee so, nor by
 sence to feele it was not so; but a far diffe-
 rent means was vsed to cure him, by per-
 swadinge him it was so, and feedinge a
 while that strange humor of his so longe
 till the same humor, and the same weaknes
 that fyrst moved that ymaginary malady,
 made

made him capable of that ymaginary cure ; for, the phisycion coming into the patients chamber, at his very entry fownd fawlte that hee could not come to the beddes fyde for the greatnes of the nose that filled all the chamber ; yea, marry, sayd his pacient, it is to trow, how should it bee remedyed ? Why, sayd hee, it must bee cutt till it bee less, and then bee seared ; and, presently calling for a hatchet, hee layd about him vpon the stools and formes, and, havinge conveyed great gobbets of flesh into the chamber, bare him in hand they weare cut from that superfluous nose ; at last, when hee came with his hott yron to seare it, lest it should bleed to much, the mallencolly man no sooner felt a little singinge of the hott yron, but hee fownd his nose restored to verry good proporcion ; so ended his mallencolly. But alas ! they are sicke of a woorse mallencholly, that thinke eyther great play pleasawnt, or fallse play lawfull ; and, though they bee not easely cured, yet my medcyn is as fitt and lyke to cure them as that I last recyted.

A second good vse of this counterfet play is, that if men weare bownd indeed strictly to vse it (as for example, by her Majesties commawndment in her howse, or souch-lyke) it wold quickly take away by one reason, bothe the greatnes and greedines in play, which I noted as two of the cheefest ills that play is subiect vnto; and by such a means did Lycurgus banish vsury and all kind of covetowines owt of his cowntry.

For hee finding the cawse why men hoorded up gold and siluer was only because a little purse full of that would buy so many kynde of necessaryes both for vse and pleasure; I say hee presently made such an imbasement of mony in so extreame a degree, as all the currant mony was only of iron, and that tempered in vinegar, to make it good for no other vse; whearby it soone came to pass that no forren nacion brought them any new-fangled toyes to carry away theyr mony, nor no man covyted to haue great store of it, when it
cold

could not be kept secret, and, if one would buy moche, hee must haue brought fouer or five sumpters loden with that coyn to buy that fouer or five fouerayghs heer wold pay for. Now, if I doe not much mistake it, this practys of play I perfwade hath moche affinity with that law of Lycurgus; for if, duringe the tyme of play only, angells wear imbeded to shillinges, or shillinges to pence, yt would bee such a cumber to play deepe play, that none would endure yt. If a man would have xl. in his reste, he muste haue 100l. sterling; if he wonne fyve pownd at a cast at dyce, he must tell over fyfye, which wear a paine rather then a pleasure.

3. Thirdly, a kynde of comodytie, though I cownt it but a small one, wear this, that by vsyng this play a man should play for more franckly and lesse impaciently, when hee should play for so much mony indeed: As the Italyan that imboldened himselfe so by vsing to stabbe a Dukes picture, that in the end hee stabbed the Duke himselfe.

And meethinke it so far vnfittinge for a Gentleman to chafe at his ill lucke as many will dooe, whereas it is indeed the losse of the mony, and not the game that makes them so cholleryke; that somtymes I blush in theyr behalfe that, specially in the presence, will beate theyr fyfles on the boord, flinge the cardes under table, which in smaller game you shall neuer see them offer. And therefore to such specially I commend this play, as most fitt for them; whearin perhaps many will fynd theyr humor so well fitted, that they wil bee content neuer to prooue the greater play, but please themselves with this, which is gentlemanly for thew, little for losse, and pleasant for company and recreacion.



From Sir JOHN HARRINGTON'S *Papers*, called his *Breefe Notes and Remembrauncer*.

APRIL 4th, 1594. It was bruited at Cowrte that Davide Areskine, a Scottish man had basely reviled the Queenes Majestie, by sayinge she was cosenede by the Devile, and sold her faith for hypocrisie, in the matter of the Queene of Scotlandes death.—It dothe not behoove us ordinarie men to touche on extraordinarie affaires.—God direct the princelie counciles, saith Sir William W——, and yet, God wot, Sir William is a shallow wight.—Heav'n defende mortal man from hypocrisie.

Warren
page 2

I came home to Kelstone, and founde my Mall, my childrene, and my cattle, all well fedde, well taughte, and well belovede. 'Tis not so at Cowrte; ill-breeding with ill feedinge, and no love but that of

the lustie God of gallantrie, Asmodeus. I am to send goode store of newes from the countrie; for hir Highnesse entertainment. I shall not leave behinde my neighbour Cottons horn, for a plentifull horn it is.—Her Highnesse loveth merrie tales.—My howse at Bathe I have promisede to younge Shetton; who may do me kindnesse with his Lorde; and as for his Ladie, I will do my kindnesse as I shall liken my selfe.—Must not talke more about Spanishe grandeur; and well shapen mustachoes.

Sunday, June 14. The Queenes Majestie tastede my wifes comfits, and did moche praise her cunnige in the makinge.—Sende no more, for other Ladies jealousie workethe againste my Malls comfits, and this will not comforte her.—I will write a damnable storie, and put it in goodlie verse, aboute Lorde A——; he hath done me some ill turnes.—God keepe us from lyinge and slander worke.

The Queene stode up and bade me
 reache forthe my arme to reſte her thereon.
 Oh, what ſwete burden to my nexte ſonge.
 — Petrarcke ſhall eke out good matter for
 this buſineſſe.

The ſwete Ladies ſuite to her Maieſtie
 I will forwarde. — Woud God I never had
 ſo manie ſuites of mine owne to forwarde
 withe Ladies as I have heretofore. — *Mili-
 tavi non ſine gloria.* The Queene loveth to
 ſee me in my laſte frize jerkin, and ſaith
 tis well enoughe cutt. I will have another
 made liken to it. I do remember ſhe ſpit
 on Sir Mathews fringed clothe, and ſaid,
 the fooles wit was gone to ragges. — Heavn
 ſpare me from ſuche jibinge.

I talkede muche to the Treafurer on ſun-
 drie matters latelie, which hath been re-
 portede.

Who

Who livethe in Cowrtes muste marke what they
saie,

Who livethe for ease had better live awaie.

In August I was muche troublede at sundrie grievances from divers mene in high states; but envie dothe haunte manie, and breed jealousie; I will bid adieu to good companie, and leave sueing and seeking at Cowrte, for if I have no more friends nor better at Heavens Cowrte than at this, I shall begine to thinke somewhat of breefe damnation.

I have spente my time, my fortune, and almoste my honestie, to buy false hope, false friends, and shallow praise;— and be it rememberd, that he who casteth up this reckoning of a cowrtlie minion, will sette his summe like a foole at the ende, for not beinge a knave at the beginninge. Oh, that I could boaste withe chaunter Davide, *In te speravi Domine.* I muste

I muste turne my poore wittes towardes
 my suite for the landes in the northe, Sir
 Ralph H—, ~~biddethe me~~ move the *Howsay*
 Queenes Majestie in my behalfe, and that
 I will not lie unto her. The Earle doth
 tell me one waie, but I shall not abide
 thereby; I have seen those faile by such de-
 vices.—I muste go in an earlie houre, be-
 fore her Highnesse hath specciale matters
 broughte up to counsell on.—I muste go be-
 fore the breakfastinge covers are placede,
 and stande uncovered as her Highnesse
 comethe forthe her chamber;—then kneel
 and saie, God save youre Majestie, I crave
 youre eare at what houre may suite for youre
 servante to meete your blessedde counte-
 nance. Thus will I gaine her favoure to
 followe to the auditorie.

Truste not a friende to doe or saie,
 In that yourfelfe can sue or praie.

Yesterday

Yesterday I was neare drunkene, and to-
 daye am neare sicke, and perchance to-
 morrowe maye be bothe sicke and sorrie;
 my cosin did chide me, and saide, I bade
 my man lighte his taper at the moone; It
 maie be so, Horace saithe,

Coelum ipsum petimus stultitia.

I see some men who love gameing, some
 men who love wenching, some mene who
 love wine, and some who love trenchering.
 —These ofte finde an emptie purse, a run-
 ninge reins, an acheinge heade, and grum-
 blinge guttes; Now, what findethe he who
 loveth the pride of life, the cowrtes vani-
 tie, ambition's puff ball? In soothe no
 more than emptie wordes, grinninge scoffe,
 watching nightes, and fawninge daies.—

Relix quem faciunt aliena pericula cautum.

One Sunday (April last) my Lorde of London, preached to the Queenes Majestie, and seemede to touche on the vanitie of decking the bodie too finely.—Her Majestie tolde the Ladies, that if the Bishoppe helde more discorse on suche matters, shee wolde fitte him for Heaven. but he shoulde walke thither withoute a staffe, and leave his mantle behind him; perchance the Bishoppe hathe never soughte her Highnesse wardrobe, or he wolde have chosen another texte.

I heare I am marked out for the nexte yeeres Sherrife for the countie of Somersette. I will not gibe at the Judge, as my neighbour did, when he was appointede to that charge, and with more wit than good heed, told the Judge, who complainde of stonie roades, and fearede muche the dangers of our western travellinge; In goode soothe, sir, it be but faire playe, that you, who so ofte

ofte make others feare for their neckes
 shoud in some sorte beginne to thinke of
 savinge your owne. Herewithe Judge Mi-
 nos was not well pleasede, but saide, goode
 Maister Sherife, leave alone my necke,
 and looke to youre owne heeles, for you
 may one daye, be laide by them. Nor did
 his anger here reste, for on very flighte of-
 fence in Cowrte, he finde my wittie neigh-
 boure five poundes; *Felix quem faciunt ali-
 ena pericula cautum.*—So shall I when in such
 companie make no accounte of the countie
 wayes, but looke well to my owne.

I muste not forgette to call on the Trea-
 surer, he that dothe not love the *man*, will
 have little favoure with the mistresse, and I
 am in good likinge withe bothe, praisede
 be God.—My Lorde of Effex is also my
 friende, and that not in bad sorte. He
 bides me lay goode holde on her Majesties
 bountie, and aske freely; I will attende to-
 morrowe, and leave this little poesie be-
 hinde

hinde her cushion at my departinge from
her presence.

To the QUEENS MAJESTIE.

For ever dear, for ever dreaded Prince,
You read a verse of mine a little since;
And so pronounc'ft each word, and every letter,
Your gracious reading grac'ft my verse the better:
Sith then your Highnesse doth by gift exceeding,
Make what you read the better for your reading;
Let my poor muse your pains thus farre importune,
Like as you read my verse, so—read my Fortune.

From your Highnesse saucy Godson.

Note here, how muche will a man even
benefitte his enemy, provided he dothe
put him out of his owne waie? My Lord
of Effex did lately want Sir George Carew
to be Lord-Leiutenante of Ireland, rather
than his owne unkle, Sir William Knollys,
because he had given him some cause of

offence, and by thus thrusting him into high office, he would remove him from court.

October . I this daye wente to the new Lord High Treasurer, Lorde Buckhirst; I was not ill receivde, nor in foothe, so well as I had been beene usede to in the daye of Lorde Burleighe. When shall oure realme see suche a man, or when suche a mistresse have suche a servante; well mighte one weepe when the other diede. This choice dothe well assure us that in the witte of the servante dwellethe the masters fortune, and that all States have thriven better or worse, as the government was given to suche as were honeste as well as able. If a King hathe not discernement to chuse a few wise heads, how shall he subdue the many foolish hearts, or how shall the leaves and blossom flourish when the sap is corruptede at the roote of the plante. I coud herewithe cite manie good authorities

authorities both Greek and Latin, to prove this mine opinion, but I do remember what Burleigh did once saye in my hearinge to Walsingham, who had been waiting to confer with him aboute manie great matters, whereof I had borne some parte, in bearinge a message from the Queen to Hatton: When my Lord Treasurer did come in from prayers, Sir Francis Walsingham did in merrie sorte say, that he wished himself so goode a servant of God as Lord Burleigh, but that he had not been at Church for a week past. Now my Lord Burleigh did gravely repleye thus, I holde it meete for us to aske Gods grace to keepe us sounde of hearte, who have so much in our powre, and to direct us to the well doinge for all the people, whom it is easie for us to injure and ruine, and herein my good friendes, the special blessinge seemethe meete to be discretely askede and wisely worne.

I did not a little marvele at this goode discourse, to see how a good man considerethe his weightie charge, and strivethe to keepe oute Satane from corruptinge the hearte in discharge of his duties. Howe fewe have suche heartes or suche heades, and therefore shall I note this for those that read hereafter.

It is worthie noting when we finde how little sure happines is allotted even to the mightie on earthe. Philip of Spain reigned fortie-two years in troubles and disquietudes, losse his provinces, whilst he was strivinge to enlarge his possessions, and then in olde age was eaten by lice when livinge: God grante me no further ambition than to be eaten by wormes when I am deade, and this I saide to the Queene.

The Queene seemede troubled to daye; Hatton came out from her prefence with ill coun-

countenaunce, and pulled me aside by the girdle, and saide in secrete waie, If you have any suite to daie, I praye you put it aside, *The sunne dothe not shine.* Tis this accursed Spanishe businesse; so wyll not I adventure her Highnesse choller, leste she shoulde collar me also.

News from the Ambassadors to France; Wilkes died at Paris; God speed Cecil and Herbert, or we shall ill speede at home. It is a base matter in Henrie of France, to make peace withouten his allyes and friends; I coud wyshe her Highnesse coud once rounde him in the eare aboute this matter, she seemethe in apte sorte for suche businesse, for she callede him in my hearinge, the antichriste of ingratitude.

My Notes and Remembraunces.

The Iryshrie are muche given to whoredome, as I sawe at Munster, where the

Souldiers withouten clothes on their backes or foode in their bellies, were lying under hedges withe marvelous ill favourede wenches, whom they woud rather perish for than fighte for, and herebie were much injurie to their cause, for nothing but stripes coud bringe them to their dutie. They likewise are abusive in their discourse, and yet they do appeare in the upper sorte very kinde and hospitable to all new comers, as I did well experience in this countrie even so muche as if my owne landes were here I woude hazarde my dwellinge with them for life. I was often well entertaind, and in some sorte got ill will for speakinge in praise of their civil usage among our owne commanders, whome I often tolde that tho' I was sente oute to fighte withe some, there did appeare no reason for my not eatinge withe others. I was well usede, and therefore am in dutie bounde to speake welle of the Irishrie,

The

The Queene did once aske my wife in merrie sorte, how she kepte my goode wyll and love, which I did alwayes mayntaine to be trulie goode towards her and my childerne? My *Mall*, in wise and discrete manner, tolde her Highnesse, she had confidence in her husbandes understandinge and courage, well founded on her own stedfastness not to offend or thwart, but to cherishe and obey, hereby did perswade her husbande of her owne affectione, and in so doinge did commande his. Go to, go to, mistresse, saithe the Queene, you are wisely bente I finde; after suche sorte do I keepe the good wyll of all my husbandes, my good people; for if they did not reste assurede of some specyal love towarde them, they woud not readilie yeilde me suche goode obedience. This deservethe notinge, as beinge bothe wise and pleasaunte.

What

What perylls have I escaped ; I was entrusted by Effex, whom I did adventure to visite withe a message to the Queenes Majestie, settinge forthe his contrition and fore greivance for his manie offences ; I was righte glade to heare suche contrition, and labourede to effecte this matter ; but ere I coude beare these tydinges, whiche I was well advysede to do, the Earles petition reached her hand, and I fear her displeasure too, but herein I bore no parte ; I was muche encouraged to go throughe this friendlye parte on manie sides, but I saide, charitie did begin at home, and shoud alwaies sayle with a faire winde, or it was not likelie to be a prosperous voyage. I had neerly been wracked on the Effex coaste in my laste venture, as I tolde the Queene, had it note been for the sweete calme of her specyal forgivenesse. I have hearde muche on bothe handes, but the wiser he who reportethe nothings hereof. Did either

ther knowe what I knowe either have faide,
it woulde not worke muche to contente-
mente or goode lykinge.

It restethe wythe me in opynion, that
ambition thwarted in its career, dothe spee-
dilie leade on to madnesse; herein I am
strengthened by what I learne in my Lord
of Essex, who shytethe from sorrowe and
repentaunce to rage and rebellion so sudden-
lie, as well provethe him devoide of goode
reason or righte mynde; in my laste dis-
course, he uttered strange wordes, bor-
derynge on suche strange desygns that
made me hastene forthe, and leave his pre-
sence; thank heaven I am safe at home,
and if I go in suche troubles againe, I de-
serve the gallowes for a meddlynge foole:
His speeches of the Queene becomethe no
man who hathe *mens sana in corpore sano*.
He hathe ill advysers, and muche evyll
hathe sprunge from thys source. The
Queene well knowethe how to humble the
haughtie:

haughtie spirit, the haughtie spirit knoweth not how to yield, and the mans soule seemeth tossed to and fro, like the waves of a troubled sea.

1603. Here now wyl I reste my troublede mynde, and tende my sheepe like an Arcadian fwayne, that hathe losse his faire mistresse, for in sooth, I have losse the beste and faireste love that ever shepherde knew even my gracious Queene, and sith my goode mistresse is gone; I shall not hastily put forthe for a new master. I heare oure new kynge hathe hangede one man before he was tryede, tis strangely done; now if the wynde blowethe thus, why may not a man be tryed before he hathe offended.—I wyl keepe companie with none but my oves and boves, and go to Bathe and drinke sacke, and wash awaie remembraunces of paste times in the streams of Lethe.

I hear

I hear muche by pryvate means of strange plottes by Cobham, Grey, Raleighe, and others. I have no concerns of this forte, save that my man Ralphe, hath stolen two cheeses from my dairy-house, I wishe he were chokede herewyth, and yet the fellow hath five childerne; I wyll not sue hym if he repentethe and amendethe,

Manie letters from the cowrte at Wilton, perswade me to come thereto, and some special notices from persons in highe state.

My poor cosen, Sir Griffyth Markham, prayethe my servyce in his behalfe wyth the Kynge, concernynge his imprysonmente.

I muste wryte my news to my poore wyfe; the Bishops came to the Kynge aboute the petition of the Puritans, I was by and heard
much

much dyscourse ; the Kynge talkede muche Latin, and disputed wythe Dr. Reynoldes, at Hampton, but he rather usede upbraid-inges than argumente, and tolde the petitioners that they wanted to strip Christe againe, and bid them awaie with their snivellinge ; moreover, he wishede those who woud take awaye the surplice, mighte want linen for their own breech. The Bishops seemed much pleased. and said his Majestie spoke by the power of inspiration ; I wist not what they mean, but the spirit was rather foule mouthede ; I cannot be presente at the next meetinge, though the Bishoppe of London saide I myghte be in the anti-chamber ; it seemethe the Kynge wyll not change the religious observances.— There was muche dyscourse aboute the rynges in marriage, and the crosse in baptyfme, but if I guesse aryghte, the petitioners againste one crosse, wyll finde *another*.

I thys day heard the Kynge delyver hys
speeche

speeche to the Commons and Lordes, and notede one parte thereof wherein his Majesty callede the Devil a busy Bishope, sparynge neither labour nor paines. My Lorde of London tolde me, he thoughte his Majesty mighte have chosē another name.



The following Extract may serve to confirm the general Idea given us of QUEEN ELIZABETH'S Passion for rich Cloaths and personal Ornaments. A Law-suit was depending to recover some Lands which had been forfeited by SIR JAMES HARRINGTON, for espousing the Cause of RICHARD the Third, and a Reversion granted to his Family by HENRY the Eighth.

“ **—** YET I will adventure to give her
 “ Majesty five hundred pounds
 “ in money, and some pretty jewel or gar-
 “ ment as you shall advyse, onlie praying
 “ her Majesty to further my suite with some
 “ of her lernede Counsel; which I pray
 “ you to find some proper tyme to move
 “ in; this some hold as a dangerous ad-
 “ venture, but five and twentie manors do
 “ well warrant my trying it.”

A Letter

*A Letter from King JAMES the First,
to Sir JOHN HARINGTON, in the
original Spelling.*

*To our Trusty and Well-belouede Sir JOHN
HARINGTON, Knight.*

RYHTE trustie and welbelovite Frinde,
we greeete yow heartily weill. We
have raiffavit your lanterne, with the poesie
yow sende us be owr servande Williame
Hunter, gevinge yow hairtie thankes; as
lykewayse for your laste letter, quhawin we
perfaife the continuance of your loyall af-
fectione to us and your servyce; we shall
not be unmyndefule to extende owr prince-
lie favoure heirafter to yow and your per-
ticulers at all guid occasions. We com-
mitte yow to God.

JAMES R.

*From our Cowrte at Hallyruid,
Howse, April the Thyrde, 1603.*

Mr. FENTON to J, HARRINGTON, at
BATH.

Moste respectede Friende,

IT seemethe marvellous that our gracious
Queene hath so muche annoyance from
her most bounden servaunts; I verily
think her Highnesse cannot demande what is
not due from any of her subjects. Her
owne love hath so wrote on us all, that
the hearte muste be evil that dothe pay her
its small dutie so grudgingly as some have
done of late. I have not seene her High-
nesse save twice, since Easter last, bothe of
which times she spake vehementlye and with
great wrathe of her servante, the Ladie
Marie Howarde, forasmuche as she had re-
fused to bear her mantle at the hour her
Highnesse is wontede to air in the garden,
and on small rebuke did vent suche un-
seemlie answer as did breede much choler
in her mistresse. Again, on other occa-
sion, she was not ready to carry the cup of
grace

grace during the dinner in the privie-chamber, nor was she attending at the hour of her Majesties going to prayer. All whiche dothe now so disquiet her Highnesse, that she swore she would no more shew her any countenance, but out with all such ungracious, flouting wenches; because, forsoothe, she hathe much favour and marks of love from the younge Earl, which is not so pleasing to the Queene, who dothe still muche exhort all her women to remaine in virgin state as muche as may be. I adventured to say, as far as discretion did go, in defence of our friende, and did urge muche in behalfe of youthe and enticinge love, which did often abate of righte measures in faire ladies; and moreover related whatever might appease the Queene, touching the confession of her great kindness to her sister Jane before her marriage; all which did nothingse soothe her Highnesse anger, saying, " I have made her my servante, and she will now make herself my mistresse; but in good faith, William,

X 3

" she

“ she shall not, and so tell her.” In short, pitie dothe move me to save this Ladie, and woud beg such suit to the Queene from you and your friendes, as may winn her favour to spare her on future amendmente; if you coud speak to Mr. Bellot, to urge the Lord Treasurer on this matter, it might be to goode purpose, when a better time dothe offer to move the Queene than I had; for wordes then were to no availe, tho as discreetlie brought as I was able. It might not be amisse to talke to this poor younge Ladie to be more dutiful, and not absent at meals or prayers, to bear her Highnesse mantle and other furniture, even more than all the reste of the servantes, to make ample amends by future diligence; and always to go first in the morninge to her Highnesse chamber, forasmuche as suche kindnesse will muche prevail to turne awaie all former displeasure. She must not entertaine my Lorde the Earl in any conversation, but shunne his companye; and moreover be les carefull in attiringe her
 own

own person, for this seemeth as done more to win the Earl, than her mistress's good will. Suche and other advice as you and other friends are more able to give on these matters may prevent all other extreme proceedinge, especiallye if it be urged by my Lorde Treasurer, in assurance of her good behaviour. If we consider the favours shewed her familie, there is ground for ill humour in the Queen, who dothe not now beare with such composed spirit as she was wont, but, since the Irish affairs, seemeth more froward than commonlie she used to bear herself toward her women, nor dothe she holde them in discourse with such familiar matter, but often chides for small neglects, in such wise as to make these fair maids often cry and bewail in piteous sort, as I am tolde by my sister Elizabeth. Pray observe secrecy in discovering my good will, when you speake to Mr. Bellot, or write to the Lorde Treasurer; as it is not safe to bee too meddling in such matters. Commende me to your Ladye Mall, not forgetting

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forgetting her brothers and childerne. And
now in all love I hie to mine office and du-
tie, remaining

Your Servante,

May 23, 1597.

W. FENTON.



A Letter

*A Letter from Lord HARINGTON to
Sir JOHN HARINGTON, at Bathe.*

Much respected Cofin,

OUR great care and honourable charge, entrusted to us by the Kings Majesty, hath been matter of so much concern, that it almost effaced the attention to kyn or friend. With Gods assistance we hope to do our Lady Elizabeth such service as is due to her princely endowments and natural abilities; both which appear the sweet dawning of future comfort to her royal father. The late divilish conspiracy did much disturb this part. The King hath got at much truth from the mouths of the crew themselves; for guilt hath no peace, nor can there be guilt like theirs. One hath confessed that he had many meetings at Bathe about this hellish design; you will do his Majesty unspeakable kindness, to watch in your neighbourhood, and give such intelligence as may furnish inquiry. We know of some evil-minded Catholics in the West, whom the Prince of darkness

hath

hath in alliance; God ward them from such evil, or seeking it to others. Ancient history doth shew the heart of man in divers forms: We read of States overthrown by craft and subtlety; of Princes slain in field and closet; of strange machinations devised by the natural bent of evil hearts: But no page can tell such a horrid tale as this. Well doth the wise man say, that the wicked imagineth mischief in secret. What, dear cosin, could be more secret or more wicked? A wise King and wise Council of a nation at one blow destroyed in such wise as was now intended, is not matchable. It shameth Caligula, Frostratus, Nero, and Domitian, who were but each of them fly-killers to these wretches. Can it be said that religion did suggest these designs; did the spirit of truth work in these mens hearts? How much is their guilt encreas'd by such protesting! I cannot but mark the just appointment of Heaven in the punishing of these desperate men, who fled to our neighbourhood; you hear they sufferd themselves by the very means they
 had

had contriv'd for others. A barrel of gun-powder was set on fire during the time that the house was besieged, and killed two or three on the spot; so just is the vengeance of God. I have seen some of the chief, and think they bear an evil mark in their foreheads, for more terrible countenances never were looked upon. His Majesty did sometime desire to see these men, but said he felt himself sorely appall'd at the thought, and so forbore. I am not yet recover'd from the fever occasioned by these disturbances. I went with Sir Fulk Grevile to alarm the neighbourhood and surprize the villains, who came to Holbach; was out five days in peril of death, in fear for the great charge I left at home. Wynter hath confessed their design to surprize the Princess at my house, if their wickedness had taken place at London. Some of them say, she woud have been proclaimed Queen. Her Highness doth often say, What a Queen shoud I have been by this means? I had rather have been with my royal father in the Parliament-House, than wear
his

his crown on such condition. This poor Lady hath not yet recoverd the surprize, and is very ill and troubled. I hear by the messenger from his Majesty, that these designs were not formed by a few; the whole legion of Catholics were consulted, the Priests were to pacify their consciences, and the Pope confirm a general absolution for this glorious deed, so much honourable to God and his holy religion. His Majesty doth much meditate on this marvellous escape, and blesses God for delivering his family and saving his kingdom from the triumphs of Satan and the rage of Babylon. My being created Baron of Exton did give much offence to some of the Catholics; and his Majesties honouring my wife and self with the care of the Lady Elizabeth stirred up much discontent on every side. I only pray God to assist our poor endeavours, and accept our good will to do right herein, maugre all malice and envious calumny. If I can do you any service with the King, you may command my friendship in this and every other matter I can. He hath no little affection for your poetry and good learning,

learning, of which he himself is so great a judge and master. My Lady Sydney desires her remembrance to you, as do all friends from Warwickshire. I hope your disorder is much better; may you feel as much benefit from the Baths as I did aforetime. Thus, dear cosin, I have given my thoughts in large of our sad afright, as you desired by your sons letter, which is notably worded for his age. My son is now with Prince Henry, from whom I hope he will gain great advantage, from such towardly genius as he hath even at these years. May Heaven guard this realm from all such future designs, and keep us in peace and safety. My hearty love waits on Lady Mary, and every one belonging to her household. Pray remember what I desire as to noticing evil-minded men in your parts, as it is for the Kings sake and all our own sakes.

Adieu, dear Cosin,

From Comb-Abbey,
Jan. 6, 1606.

HARINGTON.

VOL. II.

Y

The

The following Letter was written to JAMES HARRINGTON, Author of the Book called Oceana, on his Publication of that Work, by J. LESLEY, Dep. C. and, as it contains the true Spirit of Party Rage, Prerogative Madness, and blind Enthusiasm, is humbly offered to the candid Reader for his Judgment how far that Book deserves such violent Treatment, or whether the Writer had Sense enough to understand the Author's Meaning. However it was then deemed a most unanswerable Performance by the bigotted Adherents to Jus Divinum, and is found in the Hand-writing of a Nobleman, at that Time steadily attached to Non-Resistance: This Letter is intitled, at the Top, A Slap on the Snout of the Republican

publican Swine that rooteth up
Monarchy. *Risum teneatis Amici!*

J. LESLEY TO JAMES HARRINGTON, Esq.

S I R,

IF much griveth me to see the wickedness
of man, in overturning the works of
God; albeit such iniquity doth not for ever
prosper. Shall the Anointed of the High-
est, the Rulers of the land, the Powers or-
dained, find trouble and annoyance from
the pens of sedition; or can the vile la-
bours of dust confound the stately pillars of
heaven? Must Kings be deposed at every
blast of human sufficiency, and the gates
of government be shouldered by every
Samson that boasteth in his mightiness?
Verily this is to tempt the Lord, and, though
Oceana be the offspring of much learning,
long study, and abundant of ingenuity,
yet must it fall again on your owne pate,
for the wickedness it containeth, and the

evil it imagineth. Good man! what movethe James Harington to provoke the wrath of Kings? His own lineage is derived from the blood of the Anointed, as will truly appear in the following account, which I have much laboured to obtain from Sir Andrew Markham, and be it now marked with the eye of shame and sorrow. The marriage of your ancestor with a descendant from Matilda, neice to William the Conqueror, is the first derivation of royalty; another was granted lardge rewards by state acts, for valiantly making prisoner Henry the Sixth, in obedience to the Powers that were then ruleing: The great King Henry the VIIth matched his darling daughter to John Harington, and, though a bastard, dowered her with the rich lands of Baths priory; and Queen Elizabeth affected these faithful servants so much, as to become godmother to their son, and made him a knyght for his wit and his valour. Our blessed King James did ennoble your great uncle the Lord Harington of Exton,
and

and entrusted to his care and wisdom the renowned Princess Elizabeth for tuition. Yourself was careff'd by the blessed martyr Charles, and honour'd with his wordes, and even his princelie favours from his own hands on the scaffold. And shall then any one branch of such noble stock, endowed with such rare gifts and graces, as all have been for the most part, and so many of you countenanced by Kings, shall any espouse such evil principles as you have now set forth in your book? If this be learning, give me to know only righteoufness, and seek the Lord by obeying those whom he hath appointed. Why do you thus stir up the people to imagine a vain thing, and set themselves against the Anointed, to whom you claim such glorious affinity, nay consanguinity? Had Prince Henry had preface of your boldness, he would not have chosen young Lord Harington, your cosin, to tennis withal, and write Latin epistles to in Germany. His virtue and godliness, his endowments and learning woud not have

purchas'd such favours, if your future do-
 ings had been foreseen. The whole is to
 disturb the peace again, and fill the people
 with notions of Kings doing wrong, which
 all earthly wisdom and divine information
 prove they cannot do; for whatever is of
 God is pure and perfect. God anointed
 Solomon King, and Solomon judged wisely.
 Mr. Ferne is about to make nought your
 doctrines, and cover you with dishonour.
 You cannot be a good man, for, Fear God,
 and Honour the King, are both in one
 place, and support each other as the cor-
 ner stones of religion and royalty. But
 you have dishonoured both, and blasted a
 long line of ancestors renown'd for both,
 and stirred up the ill affections of all the
 noble families to whom you stand in alli-
 ance. I could not hold from speaking thus
 much, and if I may say more, you cannot
 do a better deed than burn the work, which
 will continue to sin when you are no more
 able to sin, and for ever prevent the sha-
 dow of mercy from approaching you; for
 to

to him that fighteth against Kings, there
can be no peace or quarter from the King
of Kings.

I am your Well-adviser,

but in much wrath, as the cause requireth,

Whitehall,
June 24.

J. LESLEY. Dep. C.



As

As slight Circumstances often point out the Change of Men and Manners at different Eras, the candid Reader will excuse the following Specimen of the Mode of Election in the last Century, and make what Reflections he pleases, on Comparison with the present Times.

To our much honoured and worthie Friend, J. H. Esq. at his House at Kelston, near Bathe.

Worthie Sir,

OUT of the long experience we have had of your approved worth and sincerity, our Cittie of Bathe have determined and settled their resolutions to elect you for Burgeses of the House of Commons in this present Parliament, for our said Cittie, and do hope you will *accept the trouble thereof*; which if you do, our desires is, you will not fail to be with us at Bathe, on Monday next, the eighth of this instant, by eight of the

the

the morning, at the furthest, for then we proceed to our election. And of your determination we intreat you to certifie us by a word or two in writing, and send it by the bearer to

Your assured loving Friends,

Bathe, December 6,
1645.

JOHN BIGG, the Major.

WILLIAM CHAPMAN.



A SPECIMEN of the MODE of Elect-
ing MEMBERS for PARLIAMENT
in the last Century. Taken
from a Memorandum MSS. of
J. HARRINGTON, Esq. of Kel-
ston, in Somersetshire. Dated
1646.

A NOTE of my BATHE BUSINESSE *about*
the PARLIAMENT.

SATURDAY, December 26th, 1646,
went to Bathe, and dined with the
the Mayor and Citizens; conferred about
my election to serve in Parliament, as my
father was helpless and ill able to go any
more;—went to the George Inn at night,
met the Bailiffs, and desired to be dismissed
from serving; drank strong beer and me-
theglin; expended about ijs. went home
late, but could not get excused, as they
entertained a good opinion of my father.

Monday,

Monday, Dec. 28th, went to Bathe; met Sir John Horner; we were chosen by the Citizens to serve for the City. The Maior and Citizens conferred about Parliament business. The Maior promised *Sir John Horner and myself a horse apiece*, when we went to London to the Parliament, which we accepted of; and we talked about the Synod and ecclesiastical dismissions. I am to go again on Thursday, and meet the Citizens about all such matters, and take advice thereon.

Thursday, 31, went to Bathe; Mr. Ashe preached. Dined at the George Inn with the Maior and 4 Citizens; spent at dinner *vj sh.* in wine.

Laid out in victuals at the George	s.	d.
Inn	—	xj 4
Laid out in drinking	—	vij ij
Laid out in tobacco and drinking		
vessels	—	iiij 4
Jan. 1. My father gave me 4l. to bear my		
expences at Bathe.		Mr.

Mr. Chapman the Maior, came to Kelston and returned thanks, for my being chosen to serve in Parliamt, to my father, in name of all the Citizens. My father gave me good advice, touching my speaking in Parliament as the City should direct me. Came home late at night from Bathe, much troubled hereat concerning my proceeding truly for mens good report and mine own safety.

Note, I gave the City Messenger ijsh. for bearing the Maiors Letter to me. Laid out, in all, 3l. vijsh. for victuals, drink, and horse-hire, together with divers gifts.

N. B. The Editor is not quite certain that this Election was in 1646, as the Date is obscure in the MSS; but it was within a Year or two of that time.

Sir

SIR ROBERT SYDNEY *to* SIR JOHN
HARRINGTON, 1600.

Worthy Knyght,

YOUR presente to the Queen was well accepted of; she did much commend your verse, nor did she lesse praise your prose: Your Irysh business is lesse talked of at her Highness's palace, for all agree, that you did go and do as you were bidden; and, if the great Commanders went not where they ought, how should the Captains do better withouten order? But, mum, my worthie knyght, I crave all pardon for touching your galled back. The Queen hath tasted your dainties, and saith you have marvellous skill in cooking of good fruits. If I can serve you in your northern suit, you may commande me; I hear you have been to those parts, and taken possession of Harrington Parke: Our Lawyers say, your title is well grounded in conscience, but that strict law doth not countenance your recoveringe those landes of your ancestors,

as the Queen's ryghte is somewhat extinguished by your cofins Stephen and James, who left issue, and hereby it comyth not straight to the Queen, whose good will towards you is ever apparent. I have seen ancient recordes, wherein it appeareth, that Sir James Harington, slain in Bosworth field, did give by wyll all these landes to his brother, Sir Robert, who was attainted by Hen. VIIth, for siding with the Yorkists. Our Queen's father did grant them by reversion to your father, and so far I learn from Master Sherwood, a cunning lawyer; what I can do herein I will to serve you. Vifit your friendes often, and please the Queen by all you can, for all the great Lawyers do much fear her displeasure. I know not how matters may prosper with your noble Commander, the Lord Essex; but must say no more at this time of writing. My sifter beareth this in privacy, and therefore so safe; but I will not trust to ill fortune which crosseth good purpose, and leadeth oft to danger. My malady is much abated; my wife hath been my doctor,

tor, my nurse, my friend, and my sovereign cure. I suppe broth from the Queens kitchen, and eat of her Majesties sweet cakes, which do nourish my poor blood, and cherish good humours. I do read Ariosto, and commend the translator to all friends, which you mark as the best good will I can shew you. Now you have left the sword in Ireland, and taken to the plough in England, let me have proofs of your employ, and send me verses when you can; I do see the Queen often, she doth wax weak since the late troubles, and Burleigh's death doth often draw tears from her goodly cheeks; she walketh out but little, meditates much alone, and sometimes writes in private to her best friends. The Scottish matters do cause much discourse, but we know not the true grounds of State business, nor venture farther on such ticklish points. Her Highness hath done honour to my poor house by visiting me, and seemed much pleased at what we did to please her. My son made her a fair speech, to which she did give most gracious reply. The wo-

men did dance before her, whilst the cornets did salute from the gallery; and she did vouchsafe to eat two morsels of rich comfit cake, and drank a small cordial from a gold cup. She had a marvelous suit of velvet borne by four of her first women attendants in rich apparel; two ushers did go before, and at going up stairs she called for a staff, and was much wearied in walking about the house, and said she wished to come another day. Six drums and six trumpets waited in the court, and sounded at her approach and departure. My wife did bear herself in wondrous good liking, and was attired in a purple kyrtle fringed with gold; and myself in a rich band and collar of needle-work, and did wear a goodly stuff of the bravest cut and fashion, with an under body of silver and loops. The Queen was much in commendation of our appearances, and smiled at the Ladies, who in their dances often came up to the stepp on which the seat was fixed to make their obeysance, and so fell back into their order again. The younger Markham did
 several

several gallant feats on a horse before the gate, leaping down and kissing his sword, then mounting swiftly on the saddle, and passed a lance with much skill. The day well nigh spent, the Queen went and tasted a small beverage that was set out in divers rooms where she might pass, and then in much order was attended to her palace, the cornets and trumpets sounding through the streets. One Knyght I dare not name did say, the Queen had done me more honour, than some that had served her better; but envious tongues have venomd shafts, and so I rest in peace with what hath happened, and God speed us all. My worthie Knyght, I wish you in health and good cheer, and when fortune doth favour, I hope to see you this way, and taste wit, and you shall taste our wine. Thus I will lay down my quill, which seldom wearys in a friendly tale; but aches, and pains, and sleep, and haste do all conspire against further matter of writing. Ever remaining, in kind remembrance,

Your Friend,

ROB. SYDNEY.

MR. CHEEKE *to* JOHN HARINGTON,
Esq.

I COULD not take my leave of you at my departure, and geve you such thanckes as your frendshipp in myne adverfytie deserved; and therefore I coulde no lesse then, at my going out of the Englifhe pale, do that absent by letters, whiche I wolde have done present, and offer myself and my good will to be yours during my lief. You say it is nothing. It is not in deede; a man without havour, and a will without habilitie, yet is it all I have, and therefore the greatest thing I can geve you; not worthie your frendshipp, but not unfitt for my offer. I pray you, therefore, take me as a man myndfull of your desert, and readdye to wishe you suche continewance in honour, as your wisdom and frendshipp is worthie of. My desyre is of the same continewance of good will towards me that you have hetherto borne me; whiche you shall fynde me as worthie, I trust, of, and as needeful
as

as afore. This you shall shewe it moſte to me, if you will pittie and helpp my wifes poor eſtate, being miſerable of it ſelf, if your frendſhepp helpp not her extreamitie. I am gone to ſeeke for my ſelf, I have leſte my children and her to her ſelfe and her ſute, whoſe relief is onlye in the Queens goodneſſe and your frendſhipp; herein as occaſion ſerveth you, if you helpp a pittifull woman overladen almoſte with the greatneſſe and devertie of miſeries, you ſhall do worthe your accuſtomed and knowen frendſhipp; you ſhall bynde me bothe at home and abroad to beare you that good will that your contynewal good mynde toward me hath alwaye deſerved. Yf there be any thing in theiſe coaſtes which I paſſe throughe, that I may ſtand you in any ſteede, I pray you commaunde me as your owne. The living God kepe you in his feare, and increaſe you in honour and godlyneſſe. Fare you well.

From Calais, the 4th of April, 1554.

PARLIAMENT

PARLIAMENT MATTERS, *in* 1628,
and Times ensuing. In LETTERS
to JOHN HARYNGTON, Esq. *from*
 WM. PRYNNE, Esq.

Jovis, 3. Apr. 4^{to} Caroli Regis, 1628.

1. **R**ESOLVED, vpon question, That
 no man ought to be committed, or
 detayned in prifon, or otherwise reftrayned,
 by the commaund of the Kinge or the pri-
 vye Counfell, or any other, vnleffe fome
 caufe of the committment, detayner, or
 reftraynte, be expreffed, for which by lawe
 he ought to be committed, or reftrayned.

2. Resolued, vpon question, That the
 writt of *Habeas corpus* may not be denyed,
 but ought to be granted to euerye man that
 is committed, or deteyned in prifon, or
 otherwise reftraynd, though yt be by the
 commaund of the Kinge, the privye Coun-
 fell, or any other, he prayinge the fame.

3. Resolued,

3. Resolued, vpon question, That, if a freeman be committed, or deteyned in prison, or otherwise restrayned by the command of the Kinge, the privye Counsell, or any other, noe cause of such commitment, detayner, or restraynte being expressed, for which by lawe he ought to be committed, deteyned, or restrayned; and the same to be returned vpon a *Habeas corpus*, or granted for the same partye; that then he ought to be deliuerd or bayled.

4. Resolued, vpon question, That the auntient and vndoubted right of euerye freeman is, that he hath full and absolute propertye in his goods and estate, and that no taxe, tallage, loane, benevolence, or other like charge, ought to be demaunded or levyed by the Kinge, or any other his Ministers, without common assent by acte of Parliament.

Apr. 4^{to}.

The proceedings of the plaintiffe beinge this daye related to the Kinge at the Counsell-

fell-Boord, by the Counsellors of the Commons House of Parliament, his Majesty, vpon the reporte made, exprest the greate contentmente that it gave him, not valuing the money given, comparable to the heartes shewed in the way of givinge; for although his greate occasions of State did require more money then att this tyme was given, yet now he made accompte he would not lack, finthens he had theyr loves. And att this daye he thought he had gayned more reputacion in Christendome, then if he had gayned many battles. Saying further (according to his Speeche, the first daye of Parliamente) that they might easly make him in love with Parliaments. Nowe he professed he was foe: and that they should see the fruite of it by callinge them oftner togeather; and, to secure theyr feares and create future confidence, he assured them that they should inioye as great ymmunities and freedoms as ere they possessed in the reygne of any the best Kinge of this realme.

Sir

SIR R. CECIL to Sir J. HARYNGTON,
1603, *with Household Rules and
Ordinances for Servantes.*

SIR ROBERT CECIL to Sir JOHN HARING-
TON.

My Noble Knyght,

MY thanks come wythe your papers
and wholesome statutes for your fa-
thers householde. I shall, as far as in me
lieth, patterne the same, and geue good
heed for due observaunce thereof in my
own state. Your father did muche affect
suche prudence; nor dothe his sonne lesse
followe his faire sample, of worthe learninge
and honor. I shall not faile to keep your
grace and favor quick and lively in the
Kinges breaſte, as far as good discretion
guideth me, so as not to hazard my own
reputation for humble suing, rather than
bold and forward entreaties. You know
all my former steppes; good Knyght, reste
content,

content, and give heed to one that hathe
 forrowde in the bright lustre of a Courte,
 and gone heavily even on the beste seeminge
 faire grounde. 'Tis a great taske to prove
 ones honestye, and yet not spoil ones for-
 fortune. You have tasted a little hereof in
 our blessed Queenes tyme, who was more
 than a man, and, in troth, sometyme les
 than a woman. I wishe I waited now in
 your prefence-chamber, with ease at my
 foode, and reste in my bedde; I am push-
 ed from the shore of comfote, and know
 not where the wyndes and waves of a Court
 will bear me; I know it bringeth little com-
 fote on earthe; and he is, I reckon, no
 wise man that looketh this waye to hea-
 ven; we have muche stirre aboute Coun-
 ceils, and more aboute honors. Many
 Knyghts were made at Theobalds, duringe
 the Kynges staye at myne house, and more
 to be made in the citie. My father had
 muche wisdom in directing the State; and
 I wysh I coud bear my parte so discretely
 as he did. Farewel, good Knyght; but
 never come neare London till I call you.
 Too

Too much crowdinge doth not well for a
cripple, and the Kynge dothe finde scante
roome to fit himself, he hath so many friends
as they chuse to be called, and Heaven
prove they lye not in the ende. In trou-
ble, hurrying, feigning, suing, and such-
like matters, I nowe reste

Your true friende,

29 May, 1603.

R. CECIL.



ORDERS for Household Servantes;
*first deuised by JOHN HARYNG-
 TON, in the Yeare 1566, and re-
 newed by JOHN HARYNGTON,
 Sonne of the saide JOHN, in the
 Yeare 1592: The saide JOHN, the
 Sonne, being then High Shriewe of
 the County of Somerset.*

IMPRIMIS, That no seruant bee absent
 from praier, at morning or euening,
 without a lawfull excuse, to be alledged
 within one day after, vpon paine to forfeit
 for euery tyme 2d.

II. Item, That none swear any othe,
 vppon paine for euery othe 1d.

III. Item, That no man leaue any doore
 open that he findeth shut, without theare
 bee cause, vppon paine for euery tyme 1d.

IV.. Item,

IV. Item, That none of the men be in bed, from our Lady-day to Michaelmas, after 6 of the clock in the morning; nor out of his bed after 10 of the clock at night; nor, from Michaelmas till our Lady-day, in bed after 7 in the morning, nor out after 9 at night, without reasonable cause, on paine of 2d.

V. That no mans bed bee vnmade, nor fire or candle-box vncleane, after 8 of the clock in the morning, on paine of 1d.

VI. Item, That no man make water within either of the courts, vppon paine of, euery tyme it shalbe proued, 1d.

VII. Item, That no man teach any of the children any vnhoneft speeche, or bawdie word, or othe, on paine of 4d.

VIII. Item, That no man waite at the table without a trencher in his hand, ex-

cept it be vppon some good cause, on paine of 1d.

IX. Item, That no man appointed to waite at my table be absent that meale, without reasonable cause, on paine of 1d,

X. Item, If any man breake a glasse, hee shall aunswer the price thereof out of his wages; and, if it bee not known who breake it, the buttler shall pay for it, on paine of 12d.

XI. Item, The table must bee couered halfe an houer before 11 at dinner, and 6 at supper, or before, on paine of 2d.

XII. Item, that meate bee readie at 11 or before at dinner, and 6 or before at supper, on paine of 6d.

XIII. Item, That none be absent, without leaue or good cause, the whole day, or any part of it, on paine of 4d.

XIV. Item,

XIV. Item, That no man strike his fellow, on paine of losse of seruice; nor reuile or threaten, or prouoke another to strike, on paine of 12d.

XV. Item, That no man come to the kitchen without reasonable cause, on paine of 1d. and the cook likewyse to forfeit 1d.

XVI. Item, That none toy with the maids, on paine of 4d.

XVII. Item, That no man weare foule shirt on Sunday, nor broken hose or shooes, or dublett without buttons, on paine of 1d.

XVIII. Item, That, when any strainger goeth hence, the chamber be drest vp againe within 4 howrs after, on paine of 1d.

XIX. Item, That the hall bee made cleane euery day, by eight in the winter, and seauen in the sommer, on paine of him that should do it to forfeit 1d.

XX. That the cowrt-gate bee fhutt each meale, and not opened during dinner and fupper, without iuft caufe, on paine the porter to forfeit for euery time, 1d.

XXI. Item, That all stayrs in the houfe, and other rooms that neede fhall require, bee made cleane on Fryday after dinner, on paine of forfeiture of euery on whome it fhall be belong vnto, 3d.

All which fomme fhall be duly paide each quarter-day out of their wages, and beftowed on the poore, or other godly vfe.



To Sir JOHN HARRINGTON *from*
Lord THO. HOWARD, 1611.

My Good and Trusty Knight,

IF you have good will and good health to perform what I shall commend, you may set forward for Courte, whenever it suiteth your own conveniency; the King hath often enquired after you, and would readily see and converse again with the 'merry Blade,' as he hath oft called you, since you was here. I will now premise certaine thinges to be observed by you, toward well gaining our Princes good affection: He doth wondrously covet learned discourse, of which you can furnish out ample means; he doth admire good fashion in cloaths, I pray you give good heed hereunto; strange devices oft come into mans conceit; some one regardeth the endowments of the inward sort, wit, valour, or virtue; another hath, perchance, special affection towards outward thinges, cloaths, department,

deportment, and good countenance ; I woud wish you to be well trimmed, get a new jerkin well borderd, and not too short ; the King saith he liketh a flowing garment ; besure it be not all of one sort, but diversly colourd, the collar falling somewhat down, and your ruff well stiffend and bushy. We have lately had many gallants who failed in their suits, for want of due observance of these matters. The King is nicely heedfull of such points, and dwelleth on good looks and handsome accoutrements. Eighteen servants were lately discharged, and many more will be discarded, who are not to his liking in these matters. I wish you to follow my directions, as I wish you to gain all you desire. Robert Carr is now most likely to win the Princes affection, and dothe it wonderously in a little time. The Prince leaneth on his arm, pinches his cheek, smoothes his ruffled garment, and, when he looketh at Carr, directeth discourse to divers others. This young man dothe much study all art and device ; he hath
 changed

changed his taylors and tiremen many times, and all to please the Prince, who laugheth at the long grown fashion of our young Courtiers, and wisheth for change every day. You must see Carr before you go to the King, as he was with him a boy in Scotland, and knoweth his taste and what pleaseth. In your discourse you must not dwell too long on any one subject, and touch but lightly on religion. Do not of yourself say, This is good or bad; but, If it were your Majesties good opinion, I myself should think so and so; ask no more questions than what may serve to know the Princes thought. In private discourse, the King seldom speaketh of any mans temper, discretion, or good virtues; so meddle not at all, but find out a clue to guide you to the heart and most delightful subject of his mind. I will advise one thing: The Roan jennet, whereon the King rideth every day, must not be forgotten to be praised: the good furniture, and, above all, what lost a great man much notice the other day.—A
Noble

Noble did come in suit of a place, and saw the King mounting the Roan; deliverd his petition, which was heeded and read, but no answer was given; the Noble departed, and came to Courte the nexte day, and got no answer again. The Lord Treasurer was then pressed to move the Kings pleasure touching the petition; when the King was asked for answer thereto, he said, in some wrath, ' Shall a King give heed to a dirty paper, when a begar noteth not his gilt stir-rops?' Now it fell out, that the King had new furniture when the Noble saw him in the Courte-yard, but was overcharged with confusion, and passed by admiring the dressing of the horse. Thus, good Knight, our Noble failed in his suit. I could relate and offer some other remarks on these matters, but silence and discretion shoud be linked together like dog and bitch, for of them is gendred security; I am certain it proveth so at this place. You have lived to see the trim of old times, and what passed in the Queens days: These thinges are

no more the same ; your Queen did talk of her subjects love and good affections, and in good truth she aimed well ; our King talketh of his subjects fear and subjection, and herein I think he dothe well too, as long as it holdeth good ; Carr hath all favours, as I told you before ; the King teacheth him Latin every morning, and I think some one should teach him English too, for, as he is a Scottish lad, he hath much need of better language. The King doth much covet his presence, the Ladies too are not behind hand in their admiration ; for I tell you, good Knight, this fellow is straight-limbed, well-favoured, strong-shoulderd, and smooth-faced, with some sort of cunning and shew of modesty ; tho, God wot, he well knoweth when to shew his impudence. You are not young, you are not handsome, you are not finely ; and yet Will you come to Courte, and thinke to be well favoured ? Why, I say again, good Knight, that your learning may somewhat prove worthy hereunto ; your Latin and your Greek, your
 Italian,

Italian, your Spanish tongues, your wit and discretion, may be well looked unto for a while, as strangers at such a place; but these are not the things men live by now a days: Will you say the moon shineth all the summer? That the starrs are bright jewels fit for Carrs ears? That the Roan jennet surpasseth Bucephalus, and is worthy to be bestridden by Alexander? That his eyes are fire, his tail is Berenices locks, and a few more such fancies worthy your noticing? Your Lady is virtuous and somewhat of a good hufwife; has lived in a Courte in her time, and I believe you may venture her forthe again; but I know those woud not quietly reſte, were Carr to leer on their wives, as some do perceive, yea, and like it well too they ſhould be ſo noticed. If any miſchance be to be wiſhed, tis breaking a leg in the Kings preſence, for this fellow owes all his favour to that bout; I think he hath better reaſon to ſpeak well of his own horſe, than the Kings Roan jennet. We are almoſt worn out in our endeavors

endeavors to keep pace with this fellow in his duty and labour to gain favour, but all in vain; where it endeth I cannot guess, but honours are talked of speedily for him: I truste this by my own son, that no danger may happen from our freedoms. If you come here, God speed your ploughing at the Courte. I know you do it rarely at home: So adieu, my good Knyght, and I will always write me your truly loving old freinde,

T. HOWARD.



*Copy of a Letter to J. HARRINGTON,
Esq. at Kelston.*

WE the Maior, Aldermen, and Citizens of Bathe, in fear and trouble, beseeche you to give advices to your son, touching our cities distress at this present time, that he may in such wise get favour from the Commander to spare further levies, as we hear the troopes are coming onward for our city, and our houses are emptied of all useful furniture, and much broken and disfigured; our poore suffer for want of victuals, and rich we have none. God assist your love and friendship to us, and favour your good will herein. Your son hath good interest in the army, and we doubt not will use his endeavours to succour and save his poore neighbours. Warrants are come to raise horse, but we have none left; Colonel Sandford doth promise his assistance, as much as he is able. We have now 400 in the town and many more coming; God protect us from pillage. We remain

Your sincere Welwishers to

Bathe City, Feb. 1646.

command.

A

*A Letter to Captain HARRINGTON,
at his Quarters in Taunton, 1646.*

Good Sir,

IT is commanded me to give the thanks of our Citie of Bathe, and all its inhabitants, to you for your good care and concern in providing your owne company to come hither, and thereby preventing such disorder as doth often happen, too oft, under foldier-like quarterings. The troop behaved well, as it was expected your good direction did so endeavour they should. Major Hewlet got in the levies as commanded, in such manner as the rate observed all over the West. Many citizens had no monies ready, and were threatened with pillage. Eighteen horses were provided at the Market-house, and deliverd up, as you desired; but the men requird were excused on your desiring, nor was any seizure made, or plunder, excepting in liquors and bedding. The Town-house was filled with troops that came from Marlborow in their march West-

ward. I have sent oute 5 men and 3 horses, but have no orders for more yet. God preserve our kingdom from these sad troubles much longer! I hear the Parliament have taken into consideration the Scots business; pray, good Sir, as far as your power goeth, do us all the service you can in these afflictions. I know your heart is ready to help us, and you stand fair with the General.

Our meal was taken by the Marlborow troop, but they restored it again to many of the poorer sort. Our beds they occupied entirely, but no greater mischief has happened as yet. God direct your good ordering for our safety in future; and come to us, when you can, as your presence will do us good. Your father went to London on Sunday. We have no Divine Service as yet; the churches are full of the troops furniture and bedding. Pardon my haste, as I have sent this by a poor man who may suffer if he is found out, and I dare not send a man on purpose on horseback, as the
horse

horse would be taken. We all commend
our love and duties to you, from

Your true friend,

ROBERT JONES, sen.

We heard you was hurt in the skirmishe
on Holte-Common, and hope it was not
severe enow to endanger your life.



*Letter to Mr. JOHN HARYNGTON,
at Cambridge, from the Lord High
Treasurer BURLEIGHE, 1578.*

I Thancke you, my good Jacke, for your lettres, which I lik not for the praise thei giue me, but for the promise thei make me; that is, that you will continewe your endeavor to gett vnderstandinge, without the which a man is lytle accompted of, and, in deed, can not tell truelie, how to accompte of him self. But, as the waie to knowledge is not shorte, so the travailers therein must neither be idle nor wearie; nor thinke a lytle ynough of that wherof non can have too much. For that weare like a man goinge home, that tooke the nexte inne for his owne house, or the halfe waie for his iorneis ende. Besides this, he that vndertaketh the iornie you haue in hande (if he will not goe out of the waie) must use good guides as I doubte not but you will. For the Iatin tongue. Tullye chierseie, if not onlie; for the Roman
story

story (whiche is exceedinge fitt for a Gentleman to vnderstande) Lyuie and Cæsar; for Logycke and Philosophie, Aristotle and Plato. And so, in all tonges and sciences, the most notable and approved (as your Tutor can best tell you) not dealinge with over greate varietie of books, which yonge men delite in; and yet, in myne opynion, they breede but a scattringe of the mynde. For, as Seneca sayeth, *Cavta lectio prodest, varia delectat.* Nowe, to geve you better speede in this waie, thoe your Maistres informacion and your good fathers aduise will muche availe you, yet to heare mye fanfye can nothinge hinder you. Therefore thus I thincke: The most ordinarie meanes to further men to knowledge be readinge and hearinge; and reasoninge and wrytinge be most requisite; but all, done in tyme and order, be most profitable. Hereof the rules be as dyvers, as their witts be that be teachers, or the orders be in diuerse vniuersities and houses of lerninge. Therefore I will appointe you no other paterne; the place you lyve in

in dothe shewe you, from whence so manye notable lerned men and noble seruants of the Common wealth haue proceeded to fame and greate fortune. Onlie I woulde particulerlie warne you, that (to seeme a good fellow) you fytt not in your studie reading, when you shoulde be in the hall hearinge; nor be wrytinge a declamacion for your prayers, when you maye be at a disputation for your more profytt: For at a good lecture youe maie lerne, in an houre, that a good Teacher, perhapps, hath bene studyinge for a daie, and yourself, by readinge, shall not fynd oute in a moneth. Againe, you shall reache more discerninge of trothe in an howres reasoninge with others, then a weeks wrytinge by yourself; thoe I knowe nothinge I woulde haue you more vse then wrytinge. And nowe, that I haue made mension hereof, I will therein, likewise, tell you my mynde: In wrytinge, to seeke varietie of invention, to make choise of words and phrascs, to vse apte examples, and good imitacyon, I knowe to be verie good thinges; but if you follow
the

the trade of Sir John Cheeke (who was one of the sweetest flowers that hath coomen in my tyme out of the garden you growe in) you can not doe better. One manner of his, amongst dyvers excellent, was this, to appoint those that weare under hym, and that he desired shoulde moste profytt, to take a peece of Tullie, and to translate it into Englishe, and after, layinge their bookes asyde, to translate the same againe into Latine, and then to compare them with the booke, and to consider whiche weare don aptelie, or vnproperlie; and howe neare Tullies phraze was folowed in the Latine, and the moste sweete and sensyble wrytinge in Englishe; contynewinge with this kinde of exercise once or twice in a weeke, for two or three yeres, you shall come to write (as he dyd) singularlie in both tongues, which is most necessarie and most comendable.

Last of all, whether you speeke, or write, or whatsoeuer you doe, I wolde aduise you to remember Cicero his lesson, which is
good

good in lerninge, but better in lyvinge :
 ‘ Omnis actio vacare debet temeritate et
 negligentia.’ Thus first fearinge and praif-
 inge God, and folowinge your booke and
 good companie, you shall become a greate
 comferte to your father, and praise to your
 Master, an honor to the Vniuerfitie that
 breedes you, a fyttē seruaunte for the
 Queene and your countrey, for which you
 weare born, and to which, next God, you
 are most bounde ; a good staie to your self,
 and no smale ioye to your freends ; which
 I, that loves you, bothe wishe and hope of.
 And so commend me to you, my goode
 Jack, and us bothe to Gods goodnes.
 From the Courte, the vith of June, 1578.

Your fathers frende that loves you,

BURLEIGHE.

Mr.

MR. ROBERT MARKHAM, *to* JOHN
HARINGTON, Esq. 1598.

NOtwithstandinge the perilous state of our times, I shall not faile to give you such intelligence and advices of our matters here as may tende to your use and benefite. We haue gotten goode accounte of some matters, and, as I shall finde some safe conduct for bearinge them to you, it may from time to time happen, that I sende tydings of our courtly concerns. Since your departure from hence, you haue been spoke of, and withe no ill will, both by the Nobles and the Queene herself. Your book is almoste forgiven, and I may say forgotten; but not for its lacke of wit or satyr. Those whome you feared moste are now bosoming themselves in the Queenes grace; and tho' her Highnesse signified displeasure in outwarde sorte, yet did she like the marrowe of your booke. Your great enemye, Sir James, did once mention the Star Chamber, but your good esteem in better mindes outdid

outdid his endeavors, and all is filente again. The Queen is minded to take you to her favour, but she sweareth that she believes you will make epigrams and write *misfacmos* again on her and all the Courte; she hath been heard to say, 'that merry poet her godson, must not come to Greenwich, till he hath grown sober and leaveth the Ladies sportes and frolicks.' She did conceive much disquiet on being tolde you had aimed a shafte at Leicefter; I wishe you knew the author of that ill deed, I woud not be in his beste jerkin for a thousand markes. You yet stande well in her Highnesse loue, and I hear you are to go to Ireland with the Lieutenant, Essex; if so, mark my counsel in this matter: I doubte not your valor nor your labor, but that damnable uncoverd honestie will marr your fortunes. Observe the man who commandeth, and yet is commanded himselfe; he goeth not forthe to serve the Queenes realme, but to humor his owne revenge. Be heedful of your bearinges; speake not your minde to all you meete. I tell you I
 have

have ground for my caution; Essex hath enemies; he hath friends too; now there are two or three of Montjoys kindred sent oute in your armie; they are to report all your conduct to us at home. As you loue yourself, the Queene, and me, discover not these matters; if I did not loue you, they had never been tolde: high concerns deserve high attention; you are to take accounte of all that passes in your expedition, and keepe journal thereof, unknown to any in the company; this will be expected of you; I have reasons to give for this order: If the Lord Deputy performs in the field what he hath promised in the Council, all will be well; but, tho' the Queene hath granted forgiveness for his late demeanor in her presence, we know not what to think hereof. She hath, in all outward semblance, placed confidence in the man who so lately sought other treatment at her handes; we do sometime thinke one way, and sometime another; what betyde the Lord Deputy is known to Him only who

knowethe all; but when a man hath so manie shewing friendes, and so manie unshewing enemies, who learneth his end here below? I say, do you not meddle in any sorte, nor give your jesting too freely among those you know not; obey the Lord Deputy in all thinges, but give not your opinion; it may be heard in England. Tho' you obey yet seem not to advise, in any one pointe; your obeyfance may be, and must be, construed well; but your counsel may be ill thoughte of, if any bad businesse followe. You have now a secret from one that wishes you all welfare and honour; I know there are overlookers set on you all, so God direct your discretion. Sir William Knolles is not well pleased, the Queene is not well pleased, the Lord Deputy may be pleased nowe, but I fore fear what maye happen hereafter. The hart of man lieth close hid oft time; men do not carrye it in their hand, nor should they do so that wish to thrive in these times and in these places; I say this that your own honestie may not
shew

shew itself too much, and turn to your own ill favor. Stifle your understandinge as much as may be; mind your bookes, and make your jestes, but take heed who they light on. My love hath overcome almoste my confidence and truste which my truthe and place demandethe. I have said too much for one in my dependant occupation, and yet too little for a friende and kinsman, who putteth himself to this hard tryal for your advantage. You have difficult matters to encounter besyde Tirone and the rebels; there is little heed to be had to shewe of affection in State businesse; I finde thys by those I discourse wyth dailie, and those to of the wiser sorte. If my Lord Treasurer had livede longer, matters woud go on surer. He was our greate Pilot, on whom all caste their eyes, and soughte their safetie. The Queenes Highnesse doth often speake of him in teares, and turn asyde, when he is discoursed of; nay, even forbiddeth any mention to be made of his name in the Council: This I learne by

some friendes who are in good liking with Lord Buckhurst. My sifter beareth thys to you, but dothe not knowe what it containethe, nor woud I disclose to any woman my dealinges in this sorte; for danger goeth abroad, and silence is the safest armor. The death of K. Philip was good news to our realme; God did seem to punishe his vain glorie bothe in his life and at his death. It is reported he was eaten up by loathsome vermin; and we know what troubles he endured aforetyme, and yet got little good but in his Portugal businesse. God speed your jorneyes and keep you safelie to returne to us againe. So wisshethe and praiethe

Your loving Kinsman and Friende,

ROB. MARKHAM.

N. B. The Editor is sorry he could not throw together the papers respecting the Irish affairs, in their proper order; but, as many of these pieces were sent
to

to the press before others werè found, it was impossible to digest them in due time.

* * * The Work alluded to, in the foregoing Letter, was called *The Metamorphosis of Ajax*; a severe Satire on many persons, at that time in high stations, and incurred severe censure from the Queen herself. But the Author's estimation with that Princess secured an unexpected forgiveness.



The State of Ireland, as it appeared to the Army Inspectors in Queen ELIZABETH'S Time, during the Rebellion in 1599. From a Paper sent by Lord ESSEX to England, and delivered by Sir JOHN HARRINGTON, Captain of Horse.

THE cheefe causes of want of reformation in Ireland arise, 1. From the Churches for the most part, in general, being decayed so as the lawes of God are not in anye good sorte or order therein minister'd.

2. The good instructions delivered to Governor from England, not put into execution, nor followed during their governments.

3. No shire halls, nor other places fitt for the ordinary administration of justice there.

4. No

4. No circuits nor quarter sessions there kept, as becomethe.

5. The disorders of soldiers not punished.

6. The disorders of purveyors not corrected.

7. The joyning in marriage, fostering, and allying of the Irishry with the English subjects.

8. No English laws or orders put in execution, or administered in Irish countries, where the English do governe.

9. No restitution made to the subjects of the Pale for any spoiles on them committed by the Irishry.

10. The selling of horse armour, weapons, munition and furniture by the English subjects to the Irishry, and payeing of
great

great customs and duties in the Irysh markets by the Englysh subjects.

11. The great want of Englysh tenants throughout the Pale.

12. The want of armour, weapons, munition, and furniture by the subjects of the Pale, and want of skylle for lacke of exercise, how to use Englyshe weapons.

13. The want of schooles throughout the Pale, either to learn younglings the Englyshe tongue, or to instruct the elder sorte in rules of humanity.

14. The want of gaol-houfes for to imprison offenders; by reason whereof private subjects do imprison within their owne houfes for their particular causes; and likewise upon agreement with the parties, do also enlarge, by which occasion, force is holden in many places for lawe, and the meaner sorte greatly impoverished.

15. A

15. A number of idle people, horsemen, Karne, Galoglas, and such like, with their followers, and dependers, do live travellinge the Pale, and consuming the poor inhabitants thereof in eating their meate and drinke, and drawinge the Irysh neighboures to robbe and spoyle the subjects as they find opportunity, who, being knowne offenders, doth sometymes shew signs of advancing into the Irysh countries next adjoyning, and there accompanying themselves with the loofest and naughty people thereof; with whom they join in alliance, to the end to acquaint them with the pathes and secreties of the Pale, of intent to punish the robbery and such like, to every one these idle people are not friendlie unto; by which disorders great harms have been often committed, the offenders escaping punishment thereof.

16. Item, The loose and naughty people of the Iryshry are sometymes taken to Comericke by the borderers of the Pale,
during

duringe which time they be not only hare-doers, but become perfect guides to harm the subjects in time of rebellion.

17. Item, The youthe of the Iryshe countries are for the most part brought up in the Pale as horse-boyes, until they come to years of man's estate, whereas they commonly depart into their owne countries with some spoyle, and, being learnede after in warrs or committinge of stelthes, there they are maintained, and relieved in the Pale as beggars; so is the Pale theyr only refuge, save duringe the time that they are able to offend the same.

18. Item, The maintainge of a number of uncivil and unnecessarie people, by the wicked abuse of coyn and livery greatly used.

19. Item, The borderers of the Pale bringeing up their children after the savage and Iryshe manner, settinge them at liberty
at

at the age of sixteen years, or thereabouts, with companies of Karne, to live unbridled by the spoyle.

20. The not usinge Englishe apparel and Englishe behaviour by many great Gentlemen on the borders, of Englishe birth.

21. Item, The maintaing of Irishe harpers, rymers, bardes, poets, and such other their likes, in the Pale together, proving that the Iryshe behaviour is too perfectly lernede.

22. Item, The merchantes of the Pale do not bring Englyshe bowes, and armor, as by the lawes they are appointed, whereof the subjects are very ill furnished.

23. Item, The leavyng of Englyshe castles, and border landes waste by the Englishe subjects, or setting the same to some Iryshe Gentlemen that have made free passages into many places of the Pale for the
Iryshry

Iryshry to have their wills ; by committinge many spoiles therein to the weakeninge thereof.

24. Item, The using to kill, murder, robbe, and spoyle by such of the Englishe borders, as on whose name the like offences have been committed, unless that great eryckes or ransomes be made in recompence, not seeking the due means to punyssh the sayd offences, by course of her Majesty's lawes, hath bred great disquietnes to that estate.

25. Item, The using to parley by borderers with the Iryshe neighbours privatly for their own causes without commissiion, and joyninge with them in great league of friendshippe ; by means whereof the secret serveyce, intended by Governors on their appointments, have been by the said private parlors made knowne to the rebels, to the great hinderance of serveyce many times.

26. Item,

26. Item, Loofe, idle, and naughty people of the Iryſhe countries, by whom the ſubjects are moſt offended, are not answered for, nor brought in by the Captains or cheefetains of the Iryſhe, neither puniſhed in any ſorte for their offences, to the great annoyance of the Pale, by ſuch encouragement.

27. The relievinge of the Iryſhry with aqua vitæ, made plentifully in the Pale, and to them conveyed as well in time of peace, as duringe their rebellion, to their great incuragment, and hindring the Pale many wayes.

28. Item, The want of good labourers, handycraftsmen, and artificers, by occaſion that ſo many are mayntainde in idle life, hath greatly weakened the countrey in general.

29. The black rents and tributes, paid by the Engliſhe ſubjects to the Iryſh neighbours,

bours, doth weaken the subject, and strengthen the enemy very much.

30. Item, The hue and cry not followed in form of lawe, on any robbery or spoyles committed by the Rebels, doth embolden them greatly, and weaken the Englyshe nation.

31. Item, The Spirituallities and Temporalities do not maintain the number of men appointed them by the lawes, for the defence of the realme, to the distrengthening thereof.

32. The Sheryffes and Under-sheryffes of the English counties do use to accompany themselves with Karyn and suchlike Irysh helpers, in servyng her Majesties processe, and doing of their offices, being very unfitt ministers to execute any Englyshe actions, under colour whereof they take horse-meate and man's meate gratis, and commit great extortion and outrage, but never are punished.

For

For all which abuses and defectes there are many good lawes; yet suche hath been the negligent execution of them, that they are at this tyme little regarded; therefore no hope of reformation, untill the saide lawes are executed, or such as shall be thought necessary, without respect of persons.



A Letter of the QUEENE's Majesties Translation out of SENECA.

N. B. This Letter was given by Queene ELIZABETH, to her Servante JOHN HARRINGTON, in Token of Remembrance of her Highness Pains-taking and learned Skyll, 1567, and which he did highly prize and esteem in such Sort.

WHERE is this witt become, where lies this subtill scanninge that breeds this contempte of all? What harborowe hath the stoutnesse of thie mynde? Can so small a thing vexe the? Thie servaunte sawe thie busines greate, and thought that meetest cawse to leave the so; what, and thye frends beguile the? Geve them that name that the Epicure gave them: Such be their cristening. What great matter is it if they leave thee at thie neede, that made thee marre thie worke, and cawsed thee troblesome to all? There is none of all theise things neither unwonted or unlooked

looked for. To be offendid at these matters is as great a scorne, as to whyne that thou art dashed with myre, or trobled with the thronge: Our lief is as thrall to myshapps as paynes be common, multitudes not rare, and journeyes of sondrie fortes. Some things are diferred, and other redilye happens. It is no delighting thinge to lyve, for so thou entrest into a long journey, where somtymes thou must needes slyppe and then upp agayne, and so somtymes thou fallest, often tymes art weried, and dryven to crye oute. Of deathe thou measurest this waye, in some place thou shalt leave thie companyon, in an other tyme thou shalt have his companye, in an other thou shalt feare hym. By suche myshapps fallen in offence, this broken craggie waye must thou passe: Who so must dye, let his mynde be prepared agaynst all events. When he hathe suffrede the clappe, let hym be sure the liighteninge is past. Let hym not be ignorant that he is come in to that place, where greivous woes and revenging cares have

made their harborowe; where pale disease and sad age have built their tenement. In this rotten bower our life we must lead: To shonne these things we cannot, to despise them lieth in our power. And thus we may contempne them, if ofte we thincke there on, and overtake them ere they happe. There is no man but stoutlier resisteth that to whiche a long contynewed purpose hath hasted his redynesse, and maketh hym with force resyst the hardest happs by fore thoughts of such chaunces.

But, farr awaye from this, the unskilfull man is made full fore afraied of every tryfeling cause. Let this be our greatest care, that never nothing happen to us that our imagination hath not foretolde us. And, for that all things be made more greivous bye noveltie, lett this daylye thought stand the in steede, that thou never be a new soldiour to anye mishapp. Have thie seryants forsaken thee? thou art in good case, other they have robbed, some they have accused, other they have
killed,

killed, betraied, overtrodden, yea, ended with venome, and shortenyd their dayes by false accusation: There is nothing thou canst reckon that hath not bene the luck of more than one. Since then manie and fondrie mishapps be levelled to our share, of whiche some stycke faste in us, other some glaunce very near unto us, and, when they moſte touche us, wee go not free without some rase of another's mishapp. Let us make no wonder of suche things, to which we are borne; let no one complayne of that, that a lyke doth happ to all; thus I mean alyke, for, though one shonne it, he might have suffered it. The law is a lyke, not by the use, but by the commaundement. Let equitye reigne over thie mynde, and without bill of complaynt pay the trybute that to death thou owest. The winter bringeth his coldes, shever then: The summer sheweth her heat, give place to his gloomes. The evell-seasoned aier breedeth diseases: Brook well sicknes. An untamed beast crosseth thie waie; yet, wurst
then

then that, one harmfuller of thine sexe :
 Somethinge water destroyeth, an other the
 fyer takes awaye ; the wandring state of
 things no man maye chaunge. This onlye
 lyeth in our power, to frame a stowte mynde
 and worthie a good bodie, by which we
 maye strongly withstand mishapps, and ea-
 syllye consent to nature's myserye : Yea,
 nature her self (which daylye our eyes wit-
 nesseth) tempereth the force of her raigne
 with the nomber of her chaunges. The
 cleare daies followes the darck clowdes ;
 the rowghest seas insues the greatest calmes ;
 the wynds that harme and helpp be blasted
 bothe at once. The day followes the trace
 the night hath gone before ; part of the
 heavens bye rowling cometh alofte, when
 other part is drenched in hidden place far
 from our sight : The contynewaunce of all
 standeth by contrarieties. To this lawe
 our mynde must be prepared ; let it follow
 and obey this, and, whatsoever betydes,
 let hym thinck it behoved to be done ; and
 let hym fynde no faulte with nature's blame :

It

It is best to suffer that thou canst not mend. And, sence, God is the authour of all things that be, without whome nothing can happ, let us follow him with no grudging mynde. An evell fouldiour is he whoe with fighes followes his Captayne: wherefore lett us take our chardge not lyke the grudging sluggard, but as the joyfull man; nor lett us leave this course of faire workmanshipp, in which all our sufferance is well engraven. And thus let us talke with our Maker, the Father and Ruler of the loftie skye: Lead me where so it please the best, no abode shall staye, but I will obeye; with no slowe pace will I trafe thie pathe. Imagen that so I cannot doe, yet must I follow thee with teares, and, as a wicked wretche, must byde that, which, as a good man, I might have borne. Destenies guyde the willing, but draw the grudging forte.

So let us live, so doe we speake, that theye maye ever fynde us readie and not unprepared. The greattest hart is it that
bequeaves

bequeaves to God his parte, and he, of
vaine and basterdlye mynde that wrestells a
pluck with the world's order, conceyves
therof an evill opynion, and seekes rather
to amend God than hym self.

Fare well.



Words spoken by the QUEENE to Master CECIL afterwards Lord BURLEIGH.

I GIVE you this chardge, that you shall be of my Privie Counseille, and content yourself to take paines for me and my realme. This judgement I have of you, that you will not be corrupted with anie maner of guifte, and that you will be faithfull to the State, and that, without respect of mye private will, you will give me that counseile that you thinck best: And, if you shall know anie thinge necessarie to be declared to me of secreasie, you shall shew it to myself onlie, and assure yourself I will not faile to keep taciturnitie therein. And thearfore hearewith I chardge you.

*Words spoken by the QUEENE to the
LORDES, at her Accession.*

MY Lordes, the law of nature moveth me to sorrowe for my sister: The burdaine that is fallen uppon me maketh me amazed; and yet, consydering I am God's creature, ordeined to obey his appointment, I will thearto yelde, requiringe from the bottome of my hearte, that I may have affistaunce of his grace, to be the minister of his heavenlie will in this office nowe committed to me. And, as I am but one bodie naturallye consydered, though, by his permission, a bodie politick to governe; so I shall require you all, my Lords, (chieflye you of the Nobilitie; everie one in his degree and powre) to be assistant to me; that I with my rulinge, and you with your service, maye make a good accompte to Almyghtie God, and leave some comfort to our posteritie in earthe. I meane to direct all myne actions by good advice and counseill, and thearfore, at this present,

con-

confydering that divers of you be of the
 auncient nobilitie, having your beginnunge
 and estates of my progenitors, Kings of
 this realme, and thearbie ought in honour
 to haue the more naturall care for the main-
 teining of mye estate and this common-
 wealth. Some others have bene of long
 experience in governaunce, and ennabled
 by my father of noble memorie, my bro-
 ther, and my late sifter, to bear office:
 The rest of you being uppon special trust
 latelie called to her service onlie and trust,
 for your service confydered and rewarded.
 My meaning is to require, of you all, no-
 thing more but faithfull harts, in suche ser-
 vice as from tyme to tyme shal be in your
 powers towards the preservation of me and
 this commonwealth. And, for counseill
 and advice, I shall accept you of my nobi-
 litie, and suche others of you the rest, as
 in consultation I shall thinck mete, and
 shortly appointe; to the whiche also, with
 their advice, I will join to their aide, and
 for ease of their burden, others mete for
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my service; and they which I shall not appoint, lett them not thinck the same for anie disabilitie in them, but for that I consider a multitude doth make rather disorder and confusion than good counseill, and of my good will you shall not doubt using yourselves as appertaineth to good and loving subjects.

Extract from a Speech of Q. ELIZABETH, to her Parliament, relating to her Celibacy, 1575.

— — — **N**OW, to rehearse my meaninge, latelie unfoldedde to my Lord Keeper, yt shall not be needfull, though I must needs confesse myne owne mylike so much to stryve againste the matter, as if I wear a milkmaide wyth a payle on my arme, wheareby my pryvate person

person might be little fet by; I wolde not forsake my poore and single state, to match wyth the greatest Monarche. Not that I do condemne the double knot, or judge amyss of suche as, forced by necessitie, cannot dispose of themselves to another lyfe. —————



The following Letters I find in a MSS. intituled, A precious Token of her Highness's great Wit and marvelous Understanding. It doth not seem improbable that ELIZABETH'S Ambition might prompt her to emulate other Princes in the Gift of writing, dictating, and talking at the same Time, as these Letters intimate she did, on different Subjects. At what Time this happened is not mentioned, nor does the Subject determine the Period; but the Authenticity is scarce to be doubted, the MSS. containing many Papers written in her Time, and by a Person about the Courte. What Honour these extraordinary Performances reflect on this illustrious Virgin, the Editor submits to the Reader's Judgment,
and

and wished only to gratify his Curiosity by inserting them.

The Letter the QUEENE'S MAJESTY wrote, whylest she gave Instructions for the other that followith, and hearing a Tale which she made Answer unto.

EVEN suche good helpe, my friende, as never can appeare, is wisht may fall unto your share! bye one even whollye yours, if he can be such one, that scant is found to be his owne. Your curiouse care to know what greive encombred mye breast, together with the remedie that may cure the fore, is harder for mee to utter than wryte.

If mye guesst were not worse than the lodging, the rest were not worse than the travail; and least my paraphrase agree not with the text, I will make myne owne expoytion. The constitution of my mynde's vessel is not so evil framed, as whereupon grevous diseases or perillous maladise have

taken holde. I fynde not the mixture so evil made, as that any one of the foure elements of all overruleth so his fellow, as that the rest may envye his happ.

Since but one other parte the divine Powre hath geaven us for the best, it followeth then that there must be the playnte, or gone is all the mone. And your request that seldom I denye, had not enforced a custome newly made, it would have pleased me well, that you should not forget how hardlye grene wounds suffered their touchers hand; but, since a naye your firme friende can scarce be brought to make you, the upper scale you shall touche, to fownde the depthe, shall serve the feelers parte. When I a gathering make of common pathes and trades, and think upon the fundrie sortes of travailars in them, I fynde a muse, no greater when multitudes be gathered, and faces many a one, amongst the whyche, not two of all be fownd alyke. Then wonder breedes in me how all thys worldlye

worldlye masse so longe is made to holde, where never a moule is framed alyke, no never a mynde agrees wyth any other. And, were it not that heavenlye dower overcome the phylosophie, it coud not content me well to remember that an evel is betterd, the less it be endured.

The Letter dictated by the QUEEN.

A Question was once asked me thus, Must ought be denied a friende's request? Answer me yea or naye. It was answered, Nothyng. And first it is best to scann what a friende is; which I thinke nothyng less than friendshippe is, which I deem nothyng but one uniforme consent of two myndes, suche as virtue links, and nought but death can part. Therefore I conclude, that the howse which shrinketh from its foundation shall down for me. For friende leaves he to be, that doth demande more than the giver's grant, which reason's leave maye yeilde. And, if then mye friende
no

no more, God send my foe may mende.
 And, if needylie thou must wyll, yet at the
 least no power be thyne to atchieve thyne
 desyre; for where myndes differ, and opi-
 nions swarve, there is scant a friende in that
 companie. But if my happ be fallen in so
 happie a soyl, as one suche be founde who
 wylls that beseems, and I be pleased with
 that he so allows; I bid myself farewell, and
 then I am but his.

The Reader may observe a strange quaintness in
 these letters, often obscure, yet mixed with shrewd
 matter; and in many places an affectation of con-
 fining the sentence to a kind of measure sometimes
 ten, eight, or six syllables.



The unexpected Surrender of Bristol Castle to the Parliament's Forces having been Matter of great Offence to the Royal Party, the following uncommon Summons from Lord FAIRFAX to Prince RUPERT may not be unacceptable to the Reader which is not inserted in Lord CLARENDON'S or RAPIN'S Account of that Matter, and is found written and inclosed in a Letter from Old PRYNN to J. H. calling it, The most Christian Remonstrance.

To Prince RUPERT.

S I R,

FOR the service of the Parliament I have brought their own army before the city of Bristol, and do summon you in their names to render it, with all the fortes belonging

belonging to the same, into my hands for their use.—Having used this plain language, as the business requires, I wish it may be as effectual to you, as it is satisfactory to myself, that I do a little expostulate with you about the surrender of the same; which I confess is a way not common, and which I should not have so used, but in respect to a person of such sort, and in such a place, to take into consideration your royal birth, and the relation to the Crown of England, your honor, courage, all the virtues of your person, and the strength of that place, which you may think yourself bound and able to maintain. Sir, the Crown of England is and will be where it ought to be. We fight to maintain it there; but the King, misled by evil Counsellors, or thorough a seduced heart, has left his Parliament and People (under God the best assurance of his Crown and Family :) The maintaining of this scism is the ground of this unhappy war on your part; and what sad effects it hath produced in the kingdom is visible to all men. To maintain the right of the
Crown

Crown and Kingdom joyntly, the principal part is, that the King in supreme actes concerning the whole State, is not to be advised by men of whom the law takes no notice, but by the Parliament, the great Council of the nation; in whom, as much as man is capable of, he hears all his people as it were at once advising him, and in which multitude of Counsellors lies his safety and his people's interest. To set him right in this hath been the constant and faithful endeavour of the Parliament; and to bring those wicked instruments to justice that have misled him is a principal ground of our fighting. Sir, if God make this clear to you, as he hath to us, I doubt not but he will give you an heart to deliver it, notwithstanding all the considerations of honor, courage, and fidelity; because their consistency and use depends upon the right or wrongfullness of what has been said. And, if upon such consideration you should surrender the city, and save the loss of blood and hazard of spoyling such a place, it would be an act glorious in itself, and joyful

ful to us, for the restoring you to the endeared affections of the Parliament and People of England, the truest friends to your family it hath in the world. But if this be hid from your eyes, and so great, so famous, and so ancient a city be exposed, through your wilfulness, to the ruin and extremity of warr, (which yet we shall in that case, as much as possible, endeavor to prevent) then I appeal to the righteous God to judge between you and us, and to requite the wrong; and let all England judge whether to burn its towns, and ruin its cities, and destroy its people, be a good requital from a person of your family, which have had the prayers, tears, money, and blood of this Parliament; and if you look on either as divided, both ever had the same party in Parliament, and among the people most zealous for their assistance and restitution, which you oppose and seek to destroy; and whose constant grief hath been that their desire to serve your family hath been hinderd, and made fruitless by that same party about his Majesty. I expect

pest your speedy answer to this summons
by the return of the bearer this evening,
and am

Your Highness humble Servant,

Sept. 4.

THO. FAIRFAX.

Answer.

S I R,

I Received yours by your trumpet, and
desire to know if you will give me leave
to send a messenger to the King, to know
his pleasure therein. I am

Your Servant,

RUPERT.

Reply.

S I R,

YOUR overture of sending to his Ma-
jesty, to know his pleasure, I cannot
give way to, nor admit of so much delay

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as

as that woud require: wherefore thereby I cannot but understand your intention intimated not to surrender without his Majesty's consent, yet, because it is but implicit, I send again to know more clearly, if you have any more positive answer to give from yourself, which I desire to receive, before it be too late, -

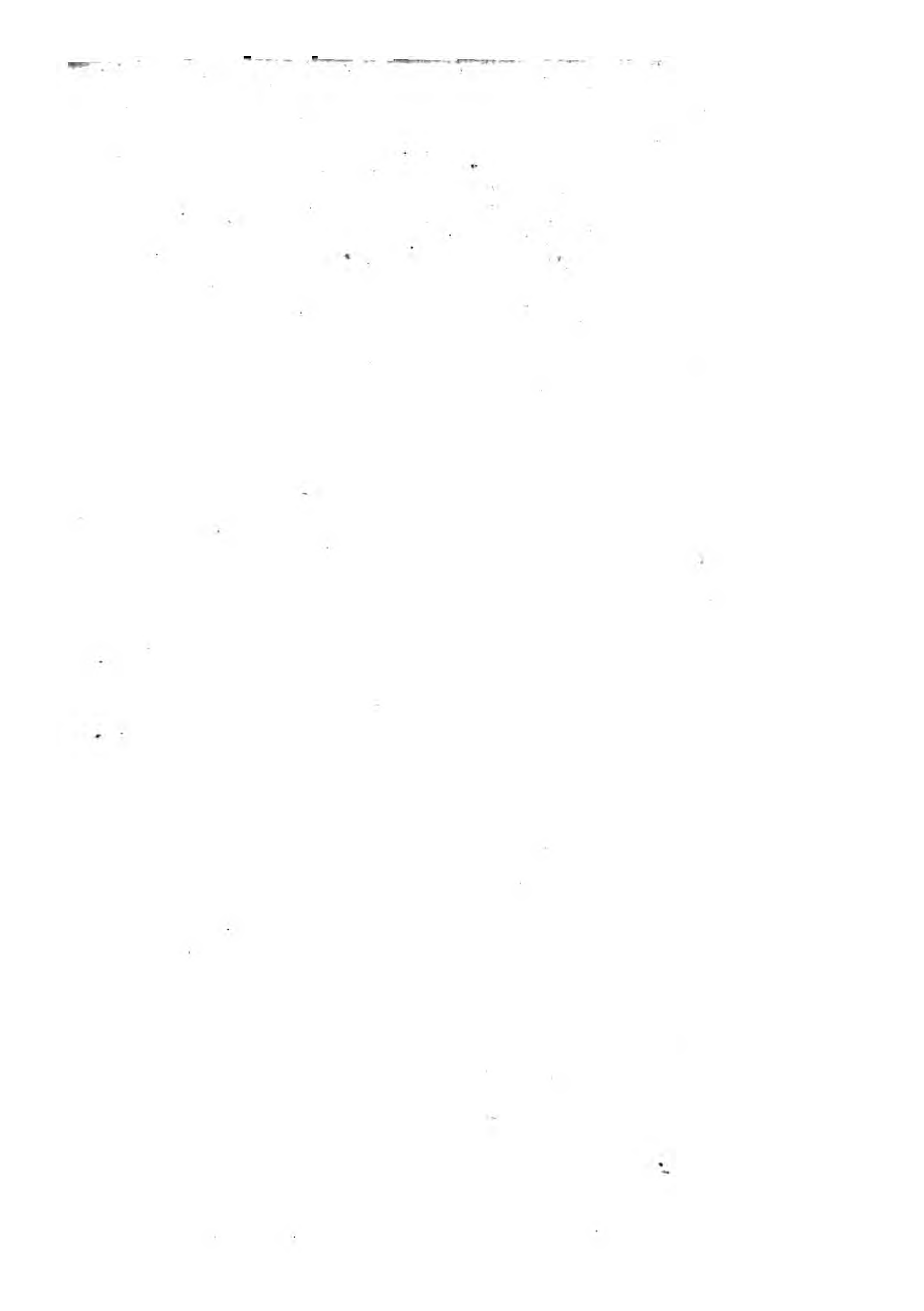
Your Highness humble Servant,

Sept. 5.

THO. FAIRFAX.

End of the SECOND VOLUME.





Lady Feb 21

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1600,



