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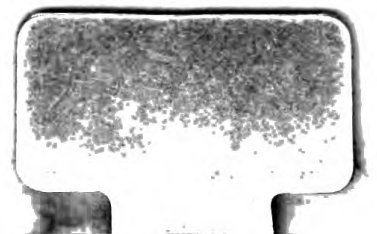
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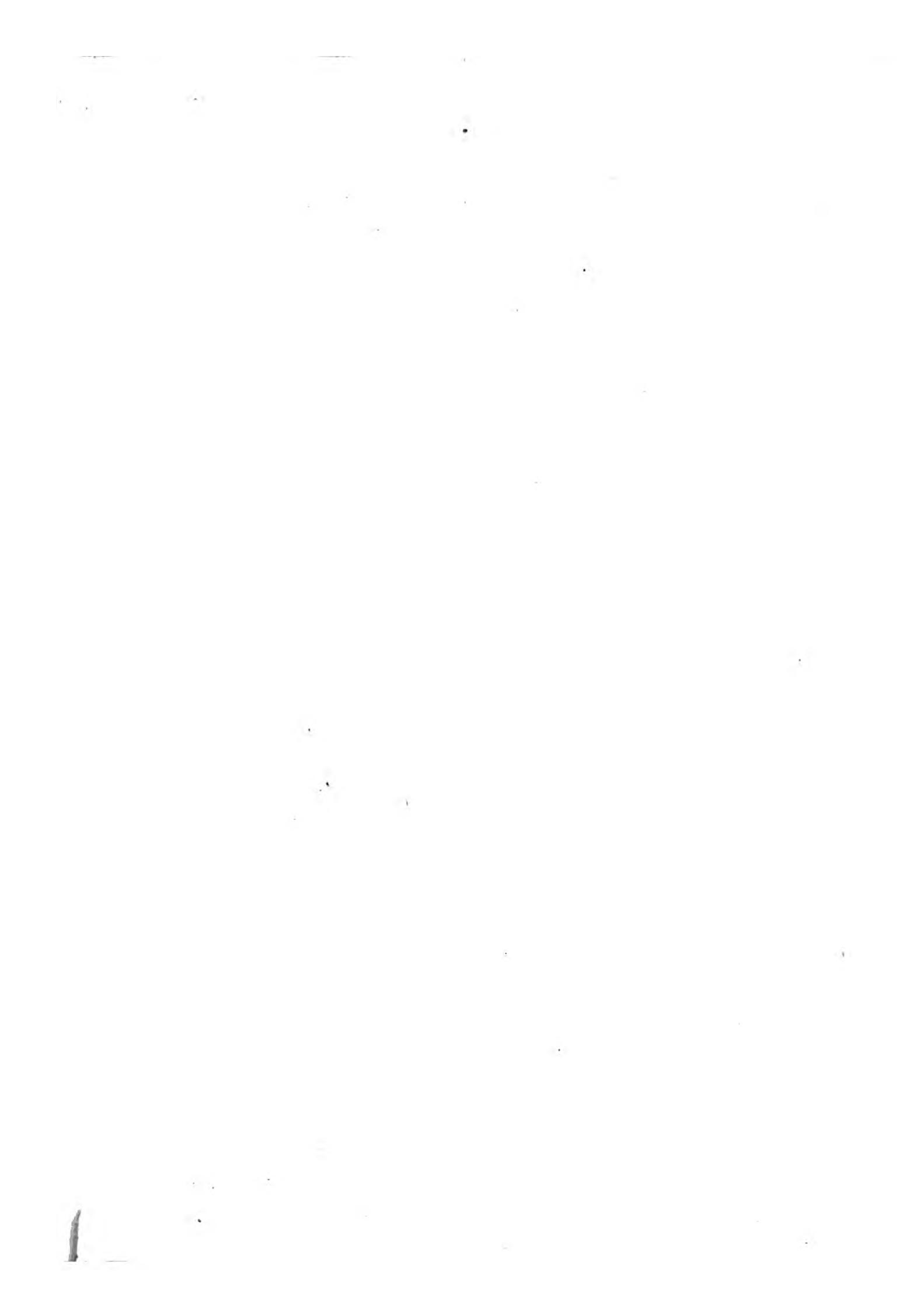
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Thomas Bell

2262. d. 17





MISCELLANEOUS
ANTIQUITIES;

O R,

A COLLECTION OF
CURIOUS PAPERS:

Either republished from SCARCE TRACTS, or now
first printed from ORIGINAL MSS.

NUMBER I.

TO BE CONTINUED OCCASIONALLY.

Invenies illic et festa domestica vobis.

Sæpe tibi Pater est, sæpe legendus Avus.

OVID. Fast. lib. 2.

STRAWBERRY-HILL:
PRINTED BY THOMAS KIRGATE, M.DCC.LXXII.

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A D V E R T I S E M E N T,

BY THE EDITORS.

THE taste for anecdotes and historic papers, for ancient letters that record affairs of state, illustrate characters of remarkable persons, or preserve the memory of former manners and customs, was never more general than at present. To indulge this disposition in the public and in themselves, the Editors of the following pages, being possessed of several original MSS. and being promised the use of others, propose to publish in numbers some of the most entertaining: at the same time intending to mix with them other pieces formerly printed, now little known, and not to be met with but by accident. Nor will the numbers appear with any periodic regularity, but as it shall suit the leisure and convenience of the Gentlemen who have undertaken
the

the work, which is in imitation of Peck's *Defiderata Curiofa*, and is solely calculated for amusement; for which reason the Editors make no promises, enter into no engagements; but shall take the liberty of continuing, varying, or dropping the plan, when and in what manner they please---a notice they think right to give, that no man may complain hereafter of being disappointed.

Miscellaneous Antiquities.

NUMBER I.

CHAP. I.*

An Account of some Tournaments and other martial Diversions.

This piece is extracted from a thin folio written by Sir William Segar, Norroy; and is called by the Author, Honour Military and Ciuill; printed at London in 1602. It is divided into four books, of which, the first treats of war and soldiers; the second of knighthood; the third of single combat, and thence of triumphs, tournaments, and challenges; and the last of honour and honours. The work contains many curious notices: the third book has preserved some of the splendid and romantic ceremonies, practised in the reign of our Heroine Elizabeth. These, with their introductory chapters, are now offered to the public.

AT every publique triumph before a Prince it seemeth the vse heretofore hath ben, that the Prizes of best desert should be giuen by the hand of the Queene, notwithstanding it were in the Kings presence: but first a solemne proclamation to be made by the Heralds, to this effect.

B

Oyez,

* In the original this is the 49th chapter.

Oyez, oyez, oyez: Be it knowen to all men by these presents, that by authority of the most high, most excellent, and most puissant Prince *H.* by the grace of God King of England, France, and Ireland, &c. That of those which haue Iousted on the Challengers side, *A. B.* hath deserved the prize, and to him let the same be giuen as due, by the censure of the Queene, with the assent of her Ladies, Gentlewomen, and all others of her Highnesse Court here present.

Likewise on the party of Defenders, *C. D.* hath Iousted well, *E. F.* better, but *G. H.* best of all: vnto whome the prize is iudged by the most mightie, most excellent, and vertuous Princeesse with consent aforesaid.

This was the forme of deliuering the prizes, at the most noble and triumphant Iousts performed by King *Henry* the eight and *Francis* the French King, with their Nobility and Gentlemen of Armes, at their Interview in *Picardie*, where the Proclamation in forme aforesaid was pronounced in English and French.

It seemeth that in ages more ancient the vse was, that the Prince did also giue a letter of attestation to such persons as gained any prize, either in combat for life or honour: for myself haue read such a one granted by a King of *France* vnto an Italian Gentleman, in these words following:

Philip

*PHilip** by the grace of God King of *France*, &c. Be it knowen to all men to whome these Letters shall come, and to euery other person that take delight or pleasure in Arms; and generally to all Emperors, Kings, Dukes, Marquesses, Earles, Princes, Barons, and other Gentlemen, That we haue celebrated a solemne triumph, to the honor, praise, and the glory of God, and the commendation of such as did fight in this honourable action of Armes. And beeing desirous that they who have valorously perfourmed their parts without receiuing blame or disgrace, should be knowen; to the end honour may be giuen to euery one according to his merit: Therefore we haue hereby ordained, commanded, and iudged, for the euerlasting honour, praise, and glory of the excellent and vertuous Gentleman *N.* his name shall be proclaimed in all the foure corners of the Lists or place of Iousts by the king of Armes, the Heralds, and Pursuants, and by the censure of the Iudges of the field, representing our person: whereby all men may knowe, that the sayde *N.* is the most excellent and most vertuous Gentleman of Armes in all our kingdome. Wee moreouer commaund, that hee shall be mounted vpon a white horse, and that euery person present, as well women as men, shall with vs follow him in procession on foot. And that the said *N.* shall ride vnder a canopy vnto the Church. We likewise ordaine and commaund, that in returne from the Church, hee shall passe through the
place

* Query, Whether Philip le Hardy, or Philip le Bel?

place of Ioufts, and there take poffeffion of the keyes, which fhall be deliuered vnto him by the king of Armes in figne of victory. Laftly wee commaund, that the celebration of the feaft fhall continue the fpace of fifteene dayes, to the commendation and glory of the victorious *N.* And in witnes of the very troth in this matter, we haue figned thefe Letters with red inke, and thereunto fet our Royall Seale. Dated in our Citie of Paris the 4. of July, &c.

C H A P. II.*

Of Jufts and Turneaments, and how the accidents in fuch exercifes are to be iudged in the Kingdome of Naples.

IT is written, how at a triumph in the noble citie of *Naples*, a Gentleman called the *L. Peter* Counte of *Derife*, receiued fo furious an encounter by the Launce of another that ran againft him, that therewith he became at one infant difarmed of his fhield, his Curats and Headpeece, fo as he being vtterly difarmed, was left on horfebacke in his doublet onely, without other harme. In requital whereof, the faid *Peter* gaue vnto the other Gentleman fo violent a blow, as therewithal the girthes of the horfe were broken, and the man caft headlong on the ground.

Whereupon

* The 50th in the original.

MISCELLANEOUS ANTIQUITIES. 5

Whereupon a question was moued, which of them had merited most honour, or rather which of them deserved least reproch? Whereunto was answered absolutely, that he who fell from the horse, was most dishonored, for (next vnto death) to fall from the horse is most reprochfull.

Yet it is lesse disgrace to fall with the horse, then to fall alone: and therefore, albeit a man doth runne neuer so well, if in the end he doth fall from the horse, he can by no meanes receiue honour for that day, but shal rather depart with disgrace.

Who so fighteth on foot at Barrier, or in any other exercise of Armes, is by the force of his Aduersary constrained with his hand to touch the ground, shall thereby lose all commendation.

He that on horsebacke directeth his Launce at the head, is more to be praised, then he that toucheth lower. For the higher the Launce hitteth, the greater is the Runners commendation.

Whoso runneth low is not onely vnworthy praise, but also meriteth reproch. And he who so carieth his Launce comely and firme, is more to be praised, although he breake not, then he who misgouerneth his horse, or vnskilfully handleth his Launce, although he doeth breake.

He that vseth to runne high, sitteth steadily and mooueth least in his course, accompanying his horse euenly and iustly, is in running worthy all commendation.

6 MISCELLANEOUS ANTIQUITIES.

He that falleth with the encounter of the aduersary, although (as is before said) the same be a great disgrace: yet is it more excuseable, then if he remaineth on horsebacke amazed, suffering his horse to wander he wotteth not whither.

He that with his Launce taketh away the rest of the aduersaries Armor, meriteth more honour, then he that taketh away any other ornament.

He that breaketh his Launce on the pomel or bolster of his aduersaries saddle deserueth worse than he who beareth his Launce well without breaking.

He that breaketh on the face or other part of the horse, meriteth worse than he that breaketh not at all.

He that hurteth an horse, shall not receive honor, although before he hath run well: for he that hurteth an horse is in like predicament with him that falleth, who cannot on that day receiue any honour.

He is worthy small estimation that cannot gouerne his owne horse, or that fitteth loose in his saddle: but much is he to be praised, that with his force disordereth his aduersary in the saddle.

He that letteth his Launce fall, can claime no commendation. And lesse worthy praise is he that knoweth not how it should be charged.

He that breaketh the Launce furiously in many pieces, is more reputed, then he that breaketh it faintly in one onely place.

He

MISCELLANEOUS ANTIQUITIES. 7

He that conueyeth his Lance into the Rest in due time, is worthy commendation : but he that carieth it shaking in his hand, or vnstayedly in the Rest, meriteth blame.

He that dexteriously carieth the Lance long on the arme, and skilfully conueyeth it into the Rest nere the time of encounter, is more allowed, then he that suddenly and at the first setting out doth charge it.

To conclude, he is worthy all commendation, that beareth himselfe wel on horsebacke, that fitteth comely, that fitteth his body well with armor, that hath his person so disposed, as if it were without Armor, that can endure to weare it long, and that till the end of the day disfarmeth not his head.

He that performeth not all his determined courses, ought not receiue any prize or honor.

He that hurteth or toucheth an horse with his Launce, shal neither haue prize nor praise, for he is in case as though he had fallen.

He that doth fall, may not run any more in that day, vnlesse he falleth on his feet standing right up, and be also a Challenger : for in that case he may returne to horse and answere all commers, because on that day hee is so bound to doe.

C H A P.

C H A P. III.*

*A Triumph in the reigne of King Richard the second,
1390.*

THIS noble Prince being aduertised, with what magnificence and pompe, the Queene *Isabella* of *France* had made her †entry into *Paris*, thought good to appoint a militarie triumph at *London*, wherein appeared fixty Knights, and so many faire young Ladies of his Court sumptuously apparelled.

With this troope, his Maiestie rode from the Tower of *London* vnto *Smithfield*: and passing thorow *Cheape*side a proclamation was made, that on Sunday and Munday next following, these Knights would attende there to challenge all comers.

For him that deserved best in this Iust (if he were a stranger) the Queene and her Ladies had prepared a crowne of golde: or if he were any of the fixty English Knights, he should receiue a rich bracelet.

The English Knights likewise promised to giue vnto the stranger of best desert, a faire horse with his furniture: or if he were an Englishman, he should receiue a Falcon.

This

* The 29th in the original.

† See a print of this procession in *Montfaucon's Monuments de la Monarchie Francoise*.

MISCELLANEOUS ANTIQUITIES. 9

This challenge and these prizes had bene by a King of Armes formerly proclaymed in *England, Scotland, France, Flaunders, Brabant, Henault, and Germany*: which mooued many persons of Honour and reputation to come hither. Among whom was * *William of Henault* Earle of *Oye* or (as some did call him) of *Ostrenant*, a young Prince much delighting in Armes.

This Noble Youth desirous to honour the King of *England* his kinsman, drew into his company many Gentlemen of his Nation, with whom hee passed into *England*.

Then resoluing to performe that iourney, thought good to take the consent of *Albert* his father, Count of *Henault, Holland, and Zeland*. Of whom with great difficultie he obtained leaue.

The like desire to honour the King, mooued the Earle of *S. Paul*, who had married the Kings sister.† And he brought
D with

* William Count of Oye and Ostrevant succeeded his father Albert of Bavaria as Count of Holland and Hainault in 1404. He was great nephew of Philippa of Hainault Queen of Edward III, and consequently second cousin of Richard II. William's sole daughter and heiress was the famous Jaqueline Countess of Holland, who deserting her second husband John Duke of Brabant, married her third cousin Humphrey Duke of Gloucester, but was obliged to return to her former husband.

† Louis de Luxembourg Count de St. Pol did not marry the King's sister, for Richard had no sister, but his cousin Joan of Barr, grand-daughter of the Princess Isabel, eldest daughter of King Edward III. and wife of Ingelram de Coucy. *V. Anderson's Geneal. Tables, and Sandford, p. 178.*

with him a great troope of gallant Knights.

These two Princes came first vnto *Calis*, where they found English ships readie to transport them. But the Earle of *Oye* passed ouer first: and being come to *London* had accessse to the King: of whom he was with great ioy embraced. The like courtesie he found in **Iohn Holland* the Kings brother, and all other Lords of the Court.

The day of triumph being come, the King and the Queene attended upon by the troopes of men at Armes and Ladies aforefaid, passed through *London* from the Tower to Smithfield.

Being come thither, the King, the Queene, the Ladies, and other honourable personages, setled themselues in such places as were prepared, and sorted with their degrees.

Then were the men of Armes marshalled, and set in such order, as they should runne.

The first courses were allotted to the Earle of *S. Paul* and his band: who were with great courage encountered by the English. Betweene them the first dayes Iusting was spent: and that night his Maiestie, the Queene and all the company supped and lodged in the Bishops house, neere to Saint Pauls Church.

The

* *John Holland* Earl of *Huntingdon*, and afterwards Duke of *Exeter*, was second son of *Joan* Princess of *Wales*, widow of the *Black Prince*, by her first husband *Sir Thomas Holland*.

The chiefe honour and commendation of that first fight, was (among the strangers) giuen vnto the Earle of *S. Paul*: and among the English the Earle of *Huntington* had the praise.

This magnificent supper ended, euery one resorted to his lodging (the Kinge and Queene onely excepted) who continued their lodging in that house all the time of that triumph.

The next day, after noone, King *Richard* himselfe in compleat Armour appeared in the felde, being followed with the whole band of English Knights.

Thither also came the Queene with her traine of Ladies, and was fet in that roome, where the day before she had bene placed.

The first (of the strangers) that offered to runne, was the Earle of *Oye*: who presented himselfe, and his companie most pompously furnished. And after him followed the Earle of *S. Paul*, with his troope of Frenchmen.

The Knights strangers, being entred and readie, were forthwith incoutried by the English. The conflict continued till darke night, with equall honour.

The Iusts of that day ended, the King returned to his lodging, accompanied with the Noble strangers, and there supped.

The chiefe commendation of that day (on the strangers part) was allotted to the Earle of *Oye*, who by his vertue, without fauour, so deserued.

Likewise.

Likewise among the English, a Gentleman named *Herwe Spencer* was highly prayfed.

On Tuesday also, the men at Armes resorted to the Tilt, and continued the exercise, with great admiration of the beholders.

On Wednesday the runners intermingled themselves, and euery one did runne as he thought good.

On Thursday the King conuited all the men: and all the women supped with the Queene.

On Friday the whole company was feasted by the Duke of *Lancaster*.

On Saturday the King and the Queene, accompanied with the Earles of *Oye* and *S. Paul* (in great state) rode to *Windsor*: where they were most honourably intertayned: and the Earle of *Oye* receiued the Garter. From thence euery one returned home.

C H A P. IV.*

A Militarie Triumph at Bruffels, Anno 1549.

Afained Fortresse, with Trenches, *Baracadoes*, and other furniture of defence was erected. On the rooffe whereof a sword of gold was set, adorned with precious stones.

This

* The 41st in the original.

This Castell was inuironed with water, like to an Iland: and impossible it was to movnt vnto the walls, but by degrees and staires exceeding steepe.

This yland was called *Insula Fortunæ*, which is the yle of Fortune: others named it *Insula periculosa*: the perilous yland.

Vpon the water which inuironed the Castell, a ship of gold did alwayes ride at anker, with sailes of red filke and gold. Neither was any thing else wanting to illustrate the beautie thereof.

On the first gate was painted a roaring Lion of gold, which picture shined very gloriously: and neere to it was a posterne gate, the name whereof was *Porta terroris*: which is the gate of terror.

Betweene the water and the gate was a large Court: and there hanged a large white Shield, and therein was painted a blacke Eagle.

Neere to that place was a Turret, whereinto no man could come, vntill he had passed many doores: it was called *Transitus periculosus*, which is, the perilous passage.

Not far from thence was a Pillar of no great height, yet broad and square, and thereon was painted a red Griffin, vnder which signe were graued the Lawes of that yland in three tongues.

The first passage to the Castell was kept by the Knight of the red Griffin: who was indeed the Earle *Arinberg*.

The second passage was kept by the Knight of the black Egle: that was the Earle *Hoochstrat*.

The third passage next the yland, was kept by the Knight of the golden Lyon: which was the Earle of *Egmond*.

Within this Castell, called *Arx tenebrofa*; remained the L. *Corbaron* gouvernor to the Prince **Aurafina*, who had before wonne it by art Magicke: and now by conuerting the letters of his name backwarde, named himtelfe *Norabroc*.

Before euery of the foresaid gates, a magnificent Pauilion was erected, and therein the Earles with their troupes attended their enemies.

Then was there a petition presented to the Emperour, against *Norabroc* the Magician, for that hee by his diuelish art and force of the enchanted sword, had surprised many noble personages and worthy Knights, now prisoners in the Castell of darknesse.

And forfomuch as it hath bene prophesied, that the glorious expugnation of this Castell is destined onely to the most vertuous and fortunate Prince liuing vnder the sunne (who can be no other then the excellent Prince of † *Spaine* sonne to the most inuincible Emperour *Charles*) they humbly desired, that he with his Knights might attempt the enterprife.

The Emperours license obtayned, the three Knights within the darke Castel came foorth to encounter all those that durst assayle them.

* The Prince of Orange.

† Afterwards Philip II.

The first that appeared, called himselfe the Darke Knight, followed with one onely seruant to carry his launce. His armour was blacke, and his apparell course: Of the same colour was the attire of his seruant, and the furniture of his horse. But the assault no sooner was made, but he retired into the Castle. *Norabroc* had euer fixe Gentlemen apparell-ed in red and yellow, readie to receiue such Knights as went out or in.

Those fixe were attired after the Hungarian fashion, wearing on their heads Turbants.

These men had charge of the bridge, to let in euery Knight that would fight. This Darke Knight was the Lord *Chaumont*: and he that encountred him was the Knight of the red Griffin, otherwise called the Earle of *Arenberg*. His armour was all gilded, and ouer it hee ware an arming coate of siluer cloth, very rich. In his crest he also ware feathers white and vermilion.

The Darke Knight thus retired to the Castle, three other Knights appeared in coates of blacke cloth of gold, and in their crests they ware feathers of many colours. Before them rode a young man apparelled like to a woman, after the most anticke fashion.

That woman was mounted vpon a fish, and by her a foot-man did runne. She complained and bitterly cursed one, by whom she had bene iniured.

Then

Then the Knights who accompanied her, promised to be reuenged, and presently determined to assault the Iland.

The first of these three Knights bearing many colours, was *Yuan Cunia* the Spaniard: who at the second course, hurt the Earle *Arenberg* very fore; and having lost the vse of one finger on his right hand, he ran no more. In his place therefore succeeded, a Knight vnknown, wearing the signe of an horne. Then came the Earle *Hochstrate* in white filuer: wearing on his breast a rose. And although he perfourmed his part well, yet was he forced to dismount.

The Earle *Arenberg* beeing wounded, in his place one other of three Knights errant, did come: who was the Lord *Hubermunt* of the Emperors Chamber.

The third Knight was *Peter Ernest* Earle *Mansfield*, calling himselfe Knight of the white * Moyle. Against him came the Knight of the golden Lyon: vpon whom the Earle *Mansfield* brake three swords: but the fourth sword by misadventure fell out of his hand, and thereby he forced to become prisoner. And this was the end of that dayes conflict.

The next day soone after dinner, out came the Lord *Pelous* of *Burgundy* called the Knight of the greene Shield: hee and his horse were furnished with gold and greene. The first three encounters he made against the Lord *Thourlo*, were to good purpose: but beeing come to the sword, it was by force wrested from him, and he caried to prison.

Then

* A Mule.

Then followed *Rodorigo Bassano* a Spaniard, called *Pedro Vermandefo*, who within three encounters was taken.

The Lo. *Courlan* a Burgundian, called Knight of the three Starres, all in greene, desiring to be reuenged, was also made prisoner.

The next day *Peter Ernestus Earle Mansfield* desired againe to try his fortune, calling himself the feathered Knight. But at the second encounter his aduersaries Launce brake the fight of his headpeece, and cut his nose, wherewith he fell downe dead: yet because the armour was good and the violence of the blow broken, he recouered.

After *Mansfield*, followed the L. *Noyel* a Fleming: who after a little fight before the tower of Terror, where he fought with great courage, was forced to yeeld.

Then *Iacomo di Leyua* a Spaniard (called the *Indian Knight*) attired in blacke, after the second course yeelded himselfe.

Next to the Spaniard entred two Knights in red cloth of Tissue, richly embrodered with gold: they called themselues Knights of *Hungary*. The one was the Prince of *Ascoli*, who at the first encounter yeelded himselfe: neither had *Giacobo a Cunia* (called also *Gonartus a Stella tenebrosa*) better fortune: for at the first course he was taken.

The first that entred the Iland by force, was *Iohn Guixada* surnamed *Gulielmus Superbus*: He, apparelled in blacke tissue embrodered about with gold, by force of Armes brake

into all the passages; and then by aid of the Lord *Bossuio* master of the Emperours stable, was receiued into a Barke, hauing sayles of white and red filke. So being landed in the Ile, he attempted to winne the precious sword. And though his attempt prooued vaine, yet in approbation of his valour, the Queene did giue him a crowne.

Next to him his brother, with equall fortune, entred the Iland: men called him *Iohn Lodouic Guixada*, who for his hardy enterprife receiued also a garland.

The like successe had the Duke of *Arscot* his brother, who with the Marquesse of *Cieura* (called Knight of the red Shield, whereon were painted three Mores heads) entred the Ile. Likewise *Ferdinando della Zerda* a Spaniard (called fortunes Knight) hauing slaine the guard, was also crowned.

The next day also *Monfieur de Chaumont*, called the sodaine Knight, and one other Knight named *Florestan* which was the Lord *Valous*, both Flemings, yeilded their charges.

The fift man that entred the Ile, was *Lodouico Zapatta* a Spaniard: his garments were of yellow cloth of gold. But *Iohn Zeuendio* a Spaniard also, called the sorowfull Knight, was forced in the first straight to alight, and was presently ledde into the darke fortresse. The like fortune had *Monfieur de Moncean* named Knight of the Mistie mountaine.

The sixt that entred the Ile was the Earle of *Megen*, otherwise the Knight of the Sunne. His apparell was blacke cloth of gold. The like good hap was like to befall vnto

Monfieur

Monfieur Champagni, but his horfe encountering an enemy at the chocke, amazed him fo much as he fell downe and was taken prifoner.

The feventh garland *Gaspero Roblesio* a Spaniard gained. He being called Knight of the Moone, recouered the fecond paffage, complaining vnto the Earle of *Egmont*, that the Iudges without desert had giuen honour to *Monfieur de Truilier* a Frenchman.

But *Monfieur Querenaut* a Knight errant, encountering *Monfieur Preux* called Knight of the Rose, took him prifoner. Then *Garna ab Ayala* a Spaniard, called the Knight of Death, all in blacke poudered white, came foorth to fight. Before him the Queenes Muficians went finging a funerall tune; which prognosticated his misadventure: for at the first encounter he was taken.

Then appeared one called Knight of the *Bafilisco*, being indeed *Monfieur Myngoual*, who in a fight on foot gained great honour: but at his first encounter on horfebacke he became prifoner.

The eight garland *Monfieur de Mally* a Flemish Gentleman, and a follower of the Duke of *Arscot*, obtained. That Knight was brauely furnished in white filuer, and called himfelfe the Furious Knight.

Last of all, the prince of *Spaine* with his Band of Knights appeared: their attire was vermilion cloth of gold, wrought with flowers of filuer, and garded about with lace of gold.

The

The Caparifons of their horfes were of the fame. Also the Saddles, the Petrels, Croopers, and Girthes were of vermilion filke, mixed with gold; fo was euery mans fcaberd, and all the fauours in their Creafts were made of white and vermilion red. The chiefe Knight of the princes company was the Marques of *Pefcara*, fonne to the Marqueffe of *Guafta* in *Italy*, who called himfelfe Knight *Anonius*; a beardlefle young man, yet fo valorous, as in that fight he receiued a crowne.

Next to him was the Baron *Noirquerk*, a Fleming, called Knight of the *Rofe*: a gallant Gentleman, yet at the firft encounter taken prifoner.

The third was the Marqueffe of *Monte*, Knight of the *Skie*, becaufe his armour was of that colour: Hee paffed the Strait, but further hee could not goe.

The fourth was the Prince of *Piemount* and Duke of *Sauoy*, whose vertue merited a garland, but his fword could not gaine more ground, but onely to enter the Iland.

The fift was the Prince of *Spaine*, who brake his two firft Launces with great courage: and the third was torne with fo great violence, as therof ten pieces were feen to lie on the ground.

Thefe courfes furiously perfourmed, he drew forth his fword, and with marueilous fpeede pearced further into the Iland: till in the end of three affaults, he gained the place where the fatall fword was: whereof hauing layd hold, he
flourifhed

flourished ouer his head, and forthwith the misty cloudes of darkenes vanished: so, as euery man might see all places of the Castel.

The darkenes of the fortresse thus driuen away, the Prince with his enchanted sword touched the wals: and immediately they fell downe.

The Castel thus demolished, the Inchanter *Norabroc*, with a Turkish cap on his head, came forth: and kneeling on his knees, desired the Princes pardon. Therewith also he set at libertie all the Knights whom he held in prison, and they being free, in triumphant wise followed the Prince to his Court.

C H A P. V.*

Of Iusts and Turneaments, how they were anciently iudged by Iohn Tiptoft Earle of Worcester, high Constable of England, in the reigne of King Edward the fourth.

FIRST, who so breaketh most speares, as they ought be broken, shall haue the prize.

Who so hitteth three times in the height of the helme, shall haue a prize.

G

Who

* The 51st in the original.

Who so meeteth cronall to cronall shall haue a prize.

Who so beareth a man downe with the force of his speare, shall haue a prize.

Here followeth wherefore the prize shall be lost.

First, who so striketh an horse, shall haue no prize.

Who so striketh a man, his backe turned or disgarnished of his speare, shall haue no prize.

Who so hitteth the toyle three times, shall haue no prize.

Who so vnhelmeth himselfe two times, shall haue no prize, vnlesse his horse faile him.

Here followeth how speares shall be allowed.

First, who so breaketh a speare betweene the saddle, and the charnell of the helme, shall be allowed one.

Who so breaketh a speare from the charnell vpward, shall be allowed one.

Who so breaketh and putteth his aduersary downe, or out of the saddle, or disarmeth him in such wise, as he may not runne the next course after, shall be allowed three speares broken.

Here followeth how speares broken shall be disallowed.

First, hee that breaketh on the saddle, shall be disallowed for a speare breaking.

Who so hitteth the toile once, shall be disallowed for two.

Who

Who so hitteth the toile twise, for the second shall be abated three.

Who so breaketh a speare within a foote of the charnel, shall be iudged as no speare, but a taynt.

Of prizes to be giuen.

First, who so beareth a man downe, and out of the saddle, or putteth him to earth horse and man, shall haue the prize before him that striketh curnall to curnall.

He that striketh curnall to curnall two times, shall haue the prize before him that striketh the fight three times.

He that striketh the fight two times, shall haue the prize before him that breaketh most speares.

At the Torney.

TWO blowes at passage, and ten at the ioyning ought suffice, vnlesse it be otherwise determined.

All gripes, shockes, and foule play forbidden.

How prizes at Turney and Barriers are to be lost.

HE that giueth a stroke with a pike from girdle downward, or vnder the barre, shall haue no prize.

He whose sword falleth out of his hand, shall haue no prize.

He that hath a close gauntlet, or any thing to fasten his sword to his hand, shall haue no prize.

He

He that stayeth his hand on the barre, in fighting shall haue no prize.

He that sheweth not his sword vnto the Iudges before he fighteth, shall haue no prize.

HAuing here spoken of forreine triumphs, I thinke it not impertinent (and haply my duety also) to remember what honour hath bene by like Actions done vnto the Kings of *England* our own natural Souereigns. For albeit the *Romans*, the *Persians*, and *Syrians* being heretofore the most mighty Monarches of the world, and consequently of greatest pompe, yet in later time (and chiefly within these 500 yeeres) no Prince Christian hath liued more honourably then the Kings of *England*. And as their prowesse in Armes hath bene great, so their Courts for magnificence and greatnesse needed not giue place to any, which may appeare by the often and excellent triumphes celebrated before Kings and Queenes of this land. Yea certaine it is, that neither *France*, *Spaine*, *Germany*, or other Nation Christian was euer honoured with so many Militarie Triumphes, as *England* hath bene, chiefly in the raigne of her Maiestie who now liueth: as hereafter shall appeare. For besides other excellent triumphal Actions, and Militarie Pastimes since her Maiesties raigne, a yeerely (and as it were ordinary) triumph hath bene celebrated to her Highnesse honour, by the noble and vertuous Gentlemen of her Court; a custome neuer before vsed nor
known

known in any Court or Countrey. And albeit (as hath bene formerly remembred) the Triumphes of *Germany* were of great pompe and notable, yet because they were furnished with the whole number of Princes and Nobilitie of that Nation, (and the celebration rare) they seeme to me lesse admirable then our owne, which haue continued more then 30 yeeres yeerely, without intermission; and performed chiefly (and in effect onely) by the Princes, Lords and Gentlemen dayly attendant vpon her Maiesties Royal person. Whereby the honour of those Actions is indeed due to her Highnesse Court onely.

C H A P. VI.*

*Triumphes Military for Honour and Loue of Ladies:
brought before the Kings of England.*

A Triumph before King Edward the Third, 1343.

THIS King being the most warlike and vertuous Prince that liued in his dayes, happened (as mine Author saith) to fall in loue with a noble Lady of his kingdome, and desiring both to honour her, and please himself with her
H presence,

* The 5d. in the original.

presence, conuited all noble Ladies, to behold a triumph at *London*, to be there performed by the Nobles, and Gentlemen of his Court. This intention his Maiestie did command to be proclaimed in *Fraunce, Henault, Flanders, Brabant*, and other places: giuing passeport and secure abode to all noble strangers, that would resort into *England*. That done, he sent vnto al Princes, Lords and Esquiers of the Realme, requiring that they with their wiues, daughters and cofins, should at the day appointed, appeare at his Court.

To this feast came *William* Earle of *Henault*, and *Iohn* his brother with many Barons, and Gentlemen. The triumph continued 15. dayes, and euery thing succeeded well, had not *Iohn* the sonne and heire of Vicount *Beaumont* bene there flaine.

In this triumph also appeared the Earle of **Lancaster*, and †*Henry* his son. The Earle of *Darby*. The Lord *Robert* of *Artoys*. The Earle of *Richmount*. The Earle of ‡*Northampton*. The Earle of §*Glocester*. The Earle of ||*Warwicke*. The Earle

* Henry Plantaginet Earl of Lancaster.

† Henry Duke of Lancaster, then Earl of Derby; the text therefore ought to run thus, Henry his son Earl of Derby. So in the next line we should read Robert of Artois Earl of Richmond. This was the famous Robert of Artois who revolting from Philip de Valois excited Edward III. to claim the crown of France, and was by him made Earl of Richmond.

‡ William de Bohun, High Constable of England.

§ Hugh de Audeley.

|| Thomas Beauchamp.

Earle of **Salisbury*. The Earle of †*Pembroke*. The Earle of ‡*Hartford*. The Earle of §*Arundel*. The Earle of ||*Cornwall*. The Earle of ¶*Norffolke*. The Earle of ***Suffolke*. The Baron of ††*Stafford* with others.

In the raigne of the same King *Edward*, a Royal Iust was holden at *Lincolne* by the Duke of *Lancaster*, where were present certaine Ambassadors sent by the King of *Spaine*, for the Lady *Ioane*, daughter to the King, who should haue bene married vnto that King of *Spaine*: but meeting her on the way, she died.

A triumph was holden at *Windsor* before the same King *Edward*, whereat was present *Dauid* King of *Scots*, the Lord
of

* William de Montacute. He was killed at this tournament, which was performed at *Windsor* on the 30th. of January; at what time, says Milles, King *Edward* did celebrate the solemnity of the Round Table. *V. Catal. of Honor*, p. 1041.

† Laurence Hastings.

‡ Humphrey Bohun Earl of Hereford, elder brother of the Earl of Northampton above-mentioned, in whose favour he resigned the office of High Constable.

§ Richard Fitzalan.

|| There was no such person; John of Eltham Earl of Cornwall, brother of the King, died in 1334, and the Black Prince had the following year been made Duke of Cornwall.

¶ This was probably John Lord Seagrave, first husband of Margaret, Countess and afterwards Duchesse of Norfolk, sole daughter of Thomas of Brotherton, son of *Edward* I.

** Robert de Ufford.

†† Ralph Stafford.

of * *Tankeruile*, and the Lord *Charles de Valoys*, who by the Kings license was permitted to runne, and had the prize.

Anno 1349.

In *Smithfield* were solemne Iusts in the same Kings raigne, where was present a great part of the most valiant Knights of *England* and *France*. Thither came also noble persons of other Nations, and *Spaniards*, *Cipriots*, *Armenians*, who at that time humbly desired aide against Pagans. *Anno 1361.*

A Triumph before King Edward the fourth.

Iusts were againe holden in *Smithfield*, where *Anthony Wooduile* Lord *Scales* did runne against the Bastard of *Burgundie*.† *Anno 1444.*

A Triumph before King Henry the sixth.

ONE other notable Action of Armes was personally performed in *Smithfield*, betweene a Gentleman of *Spaine* called Sir *Francis le Arogonoy*s, and Sir *Iohn Astley* Knight of the Garter. For after the said Sir *Francis* had wonne the honour from all the men at Armes in *France*, he came into *England* and made a generall challenge, but by the great valour of Sir *Iohn Astley* lost the same vnto him.‡

Triumphs

* *Tancarville.*

† See Royal and Noble Authors. Vol. 1.

‡ In *Dugdale's Warwickshire* is a large plate containing two combats of this Sir *John Astley*, with *Peter de Massé*, and Sir *Philip Boyle*; but he does not mention this with the *Spaniard*.

Triumphs before King Henry the seventh.

AT *Richmont* was holden a solemne triumph, which continued a whole moneth, where Sir *James Parker* running against *Hugh Vaughan*, was hurt and died. 1494.

One other triumph was in the same Kings daies performed in the Tower of *London*. Anno 1502.

Triumphs before King Henry the eight.

BV T farre exceeding all these, was that magnificent * Iust and Tournament at the meeting of the two excellent Princes, King *Henry* the eight of *England*, and *Francis* the French King, who chusing vnto them fourteen others, did challenge to run at the Tilt, and fight both at the Tourney and Barrier with all comers. The Challengers were, the King of *England*, the French King, the Duke of † *Suffolke* the Marquesse ‡ *Dorset*, Sir *William Kingston*, Sir *Richard Ierningham*, Master *Nicholas Carew*, and Master *Anthonie Kneuet*, with their Assistants, Sir *Rowland* and Sir *Giles Cappel*: with these were so many other French Gentlemen as made vp the number aforesaid.

I

For

* See the particulars of this and many other tournaments, coronations and ceremonies, in Hall's Chronicle.

† Charles Brandon.

‡ Thomas Gray, second Marquis Dorset.

For Defenders thither came *Monfieur Vandosme*, the Earle of * *Deuonfbire*, and the Lord † *Edmond Howard*, euery of them bringing in a faire band of Knights well armed.

This most noble challenge of these two mighty Kings accompanied with fourteene other Knights (of either nation feuen) they caused to bee proclaimed by *Norrey King* at *Armes*, in *England*, *France*, and *Germanie*. *Anno 12 Henrici 8.*

One other most memorable Challenge, was made by the same King: who in his owne royall person, with *William Earle of Deuonfbire*, *Sir Thomas Kneuet*, and *Edward Neuil Esquire*, answered all comers, at *Westminster*. The King called himfelfe *Cœur Loyal*: the Lord *William*, *Bon Voloir*: *Sir Thomas Kneuet*, *Valiant Defire*: and *Edward Neuil*, *Ioyeus Penfier*.‡

The Defenders were,

The Lord *Gray*, Sir § *William a Parr*, *Robert Morton*, *Richard Blunt*, *Thomas Cheney*, *Thomas Terrel*, *Christopher Willoughby*, the Lord *Howard*, *Charles Brandon*, the Lord *Marquesse*, *Henrie Guilford*, the Earle of || *Wiltfbire*, Sir ¶ *Thomas Bullin*,

* Henry Courtney Marquis of Exeter, afterwards beheaded.

† Father of Queen Catharine Howard.

‡ There are prints of this tournament in the first volume of prints published by the Society of Antiquaries.

§ Brother of Queen Catharine Parr.

|| Henry Stafford, second son of Henry Duke of Buckingham.

¶ Father of Queen Anne Boleyn.

*Bullin, Thomas Lucie, the Lord * Leonard, the Lord Iohn, Iohn Melton, Griffith Doon, Edmond Howard, Richard Tempest.*

After this Challenge was ended the prize appointed for the Challengers partie was giuen vnto *Cœur Loyal*: and among the Defenders to *Edmond Howard*.

Another solemne Challenge was proclaimed and perfourmed by certaine English Knights, viz. Sir † *Iohn Dudley*, Sir *Thomas Seimor*, Sir *Francis Poynings*, Sir *George Carew*, *Anthony Kingston*, and *Richard Cromwel*. Anno 1540.

Another Action of Armes published in the Chamber of Prefence at Westminster by a King of Armes, 25 of Nouember in the † 1. and 2. of Philip and Mary.

FORasmuch as euer it hath bene a custome, that to the Courts of Kings and great Princes, Knights and Gentlemen of diuers Nations haue made their repaire for the triall of Knighthood and Exercise of Armes, And knowing this Royall Court of England to bee replenished with as many noble Knights as any kingdome in the world at this day; It seemeth good to *Don Fredericke de Toledo*, the Lord *Strange*,
Don

* Lord Leonard & Lord John Gray were sons of the first Marquis Dorset. Lord Leonard was afterwards beheaded.

† Afterwards Duke of Northumberland.

‡ It does not mean that this tournament was held in two different years, but in the first year of Philip and second of Mary. An odd date; I do not know whether used on any other occasion.

Don Ferdinando de Toledo, Don Francisco de Mendoza, and Garfulace de la Vega, That seeing here in this place, better then in any other, they may shew the great desire that they haue to serue their Ladies by the honorable aduentures of their persons, They say that they will maintaine a fight on foot at the Barriers with footmens harnesse, three pushes with a pike, and seven strokes with a sword, in the place appointed before the Court gate on Tuesday the 4. day of December, from the twelfth houre of the day vntill fiae at night, against all comers, Praying the Lords, the Earle of * *Arundell*, the Lord † *Clinton, Gartilapex de Padilla,* and *Don Pedro de Cordoua* that they would be Iudges of this Triumph, for the better performance of the conditions following.

First, that he which commeth forth most gallantly, without wearing on himselfe or furniture any golde, or siluer, fine, or counterfeit, wouen embroidered, or of goldsmiths worke, shall haue a rich Brooch.

He that striketh best with a pike, shall haue a Ring with a Rubie.

He that fighteth best with a sword, shall haue a Ring with a Diamond.

He that fighteth most valiantly when they ioyntly fight together, shall haue a Ring with a Diamond.

He

* Henry Fitzalan, last Earl of Arundel.

† Edward Fines Earl of Lincoln, Lord High Admiral.

He that giueth a stroke with a pike from the girdle downward, or vnder the barrier, shall winne no prize.

He that shall haue a close gantlet, or any thing to fasten his sword to his hand, shall winne no prize.

He that his sword falleth out of his hand, shall winne no prize.

He that striketh his hand in fight on the barriers, shall winne no prize.

Whosoever shall fight, and not shewe his sword to the Iudges before, shall winne no prize.

The Prizes giuen.

The prize of the fairest and most gallant entry.

THE Marquesse *de Valle* came into the field very well appointed in armour and apparell. The Kings Maiestie better than he. *Don Fredericke de Toledo* best of all: to whome the Queenes Maiestie awarded the prize of the Brooch.

The prize for the pike.

THE Duke of *Medina Cæli* performed valorously, *Don Pedro de la Zerda* bettered him, *Don Diego Ortado di Mendoza* did best of all; to whome was giuen by the Queenes Maiestie a Ring of gold with a Rubie.

The prize for the sword.

SIR **George Howard* fought very well, *Don Adrian Garçias* performed better, Sir †*Iohn Parrat* best of all: to whome the Queenes Maiestie gaue a Ring of gold with a Diamond.

The prize at the pike in ranke.

THomas ‡*Percy* acquitted valiantly, *Carlo di Sanguine* with greater fortune, §*Ruygomez* best of all; to whome the Queene gaue a Ring of gold.

The prize of all together in ranke at the foyle.

LOrd || *William Howard* L. Admiral with high commendation, *Marquesse di Toro Mayore* exceeded him, the Kings Maiesty exceeded all: to whome the Queene gaue (in highest honour) a Ring of golde with a rich Diamond.

In

* Son of Lord Edmund Howard, mentioned above, and brother of Queen Catherine Howard.

† Sir John Perrot, afterwards Lord Deputy of Ireland.

‡ Thomas Percy, afterwards 7th. Earl of Northumberland; beheaded in the following reign.

§ This was the famous minister of Philip II. and I believe this is the only notice of his having been in England.

|| He had been indited and condemned to perpetual imprisonment on the affair of Queen Catharine Howard, was by Queen Mary created Lord Howard of Effingham, was Lord Chamberlain to her and Queen Elizabeth, and was father of the Lord Admiral Nottingham.

In all which, and other the like triumphant Gests performed by the English and Spanish Nobilitie, it was euer held honourable and prizeworthy to appear within Listes most gallant and fairest armed, and yet with least superfluous cost of golde, filuer, embroidery, or curiositie of workmanship.

C H A P. VII.*

Of the like Actions in Armes since the reigne of Queene Elizabeth.

ONE solemne Iust, Tournament, and fight at the Barrier was holden at Westminster, wherein the Duke of † *Norffolke*, the Earle of ‡ *Suffex*, the Earle of § *Warwick*, the Earle of *Leicester*, the Lord *Scroope*, the Lord *Darcie*, and the Lord || *Hunsdon* were Challengers, and with great honour answered all commers. The Defenders names are not extant. 1558.

A royall Challenge was also there proclaimed before her Maiestie; wherein were Challengers, the Earle of *Oxenford*, *Charles Howard* nowe Lord ¶ Admirall, Sir *Henrie Lea*, and
Sir

* The 53d. in the original.

† Thomas, beheaded on account of the Queen of Scots.

‡ Thomas Ratcliffe, Lord Chamberlain.

§ Ambrose Dudley, Earl of Warwick.

|| Henry Carey, first cousin to the Queen.

¶ And Earl of Nottingham.

Sir *Christopher Hatton*, now Knights of the Garter; the one Master of her Maiesties Armorie; the other (at his death) Lord Chancellor.

The Defenders were,

The Lord *Stafford*, the Lord * *Henrie Seamor*, *Edward Harbert*, Sir † *George Carie*, ‡ *Thomas Cecil*, *Henry Gray*, *William Howard*, Sir *Ierome Bowes*, *Henrie Knowles*, *Henry Kneuet*, *William Norris*, *Richard Bulkley*, *Thomas Kneuet*, *William Knowles*, *Rafe Lane*, *George Delues*, *Robert Colfel*, *Launcelot Bostock*, *Brian Ansley*, *Henrie Mackwilliam*, *Thomas Beddingfield*, *Thomas Moore*, *William Worthingtō*, *Richard Blunt*, *Thomas Connesby*, *Robert Alexander*, *Roger Clopton*.

This triumph continued three dayes: the first at Tilt, the second at Tourney, and the third at the Barrier.

On euery of the Challengers her Maiestie bestowed a prize, for the receiuing whereof, they were particularly led armed by two Ladies, vnto her prefence chamber.

The prize at the Tilt on the Defenders party was giuen vnto *Henry Gray*; at the Tourney, to the Lord *Henry Seamor*; at the Barriers, to *Thomas Cecil*. Before them went *Clarencieux* King of Armes, in his rich coate of Armes.

This magnificent triumph was performed, *Anno 1571*.

Ah

* Second son of the Protector Somersset by his second wife.

† Sir George Carew, afterwards Earl of Totnes.

‡ Thomas Cecil, eldest son of Lord Burleigh.

An honourable Challenge was likewise brought before her Maiestie, by the Earle of * *Arundell*, calling himselfe *Callophifus*, who with his assistant Sir *William Drurie*, challenged all commers. *Anno 1580.*

The Defenders were,

The Earle of † *Oxford*, the Lord *Windsor*, *Phillip Sidney*, *Edward Norris*, *Henrie Knowles*, *Robert Knowles*, *Fulk Greuill*, *Thomas Kneuet*, *Thomas Kellaway*, *Rafe Bowes*, *George Goring*, *George Gifford*, *Anthonie Cooke*, *Henry Bronkard*, *Edward Denny*, *Richard Ward*, *Thomas ‡ Parrot*. The prize was giuen to the Earle of *Oxford*.

To these actions of armes, we may adde a notable tourneament on horsebacke, solemnized within her Maiesties pallace at Westminster: which became the more rare and memorable, because it was performed in the night. The manner whereof in briefe was thus.

It pleased her Maiestie, (according to her princely custome in the intertainment of noble strangers) to conuite vnto supper the Duke § *Memorancie*, chiefe Marshall of *France*,

L at

* This must have been Philip Howard, eldest son of Thomas Duke of Norfolk, by Mary daughter and coheirefs of Henry Fitzalan, last Earl of Arundel of that line; for this latter died in this very year 1580, at the age of 68.

† Edward Vere the poet. The famous Sir Philip Sidney, and his friend Sir Fulke Greville, are too well known to want a note.

‡ Son of Sir John Perrot.

§ Henry Duke of Montmorency, Constable of France.

at that time come thither to receiue the honourable order of the Garder. This magnificent supper ended, it pleased her Highnesse (the weather being warme) to walke out of her chamber into the open Tarrace, whither also (awayting on her) went the sayd Duke, and all others of the French Nobilitie, with the Ambassadours, Lords and Ladies of the Court. At her Maiesties comming to the north side of the Tarrace, there were prepared and set rich chaires, cushions and carpets. In which place it pleased her to stay, enter-tayning most graciously the said Duke, and other noble strangers. Next vnto them were placed the Ladies, Lords, Counsellors, and other persons of reputation, according to their degrees and conuenience of the roome. So as the said Tarrace was on all sides beset with Lords, Ladies, and persons of qualitie, sumptuously apparelled, and richly furnished, and among them (both aboue and vnder) stood many of the Guard in their rich coates, holding an infinite number of torches: and so in the preaching place: by which meane, those that beheld the Tarrace in this sort furnished, deemed it rather a Theater celestially, than a Pallace of earthly building.

The place with this royall presence replenished, suddainly entred *Walter Earle of Essex*, and with him twelue Gentlemen armed at all peeces, and well mounted. The Earle and his horse was furnished with white cloth of siluer, and the
rest

rest in white sattin, who after reuerence done to her Maieſty, marched to the eaſt ſide of the Court, and there in troope, ſtood firme. Forthwith entred *Edward* Earle of *Rutland*, with a like number, in like ſort armed and apparelled all in blew: and hauing preſented his reuerence, ſtayed on the weſt end. Before either of theſe bands, one Chariot was drawen, and therein a faire Damſell, conducted by an armed Knight, who pronounced certain ſpeeches in the French tongue, vnto her Maieſtie. Theſe Ceremonies paſſed, the Queene commanded the armed men to fall vnto fight: which was performed with great courage, and commendation, chiefly in the Earle of *Effex*, a noble perſonage, valorous in armes, and all other wayes of great vertue. Truly this Action was marueilouſly magnificent, and appeared a fight exceeding glorious to thoſe that were below looking vpward to the Tarrace, where her Maieſtie, the Lords and Ladies ſtood, ſo pompouſly apparelled, iewelled and furniſhed, as hardly can be ſene the like in any Chriſtian Court, as myſelfe ſaw, and other the Actors (at occaſions ſtaying from fight) with great admiration did behold and thinke.

Of the Actors names in this Triumph (it ſeemeth) no note is kept: yet are many of them liuing.

Not inferiour, but farre exceeding in princely pompe and qualitie of Actors was that Royall combat and fight on foote before her Maieſtie the firſt of *Ianuarie*, *Anno* 1581, where
Moun-

* *Mounſieur* brother vnto the French King, the Prince of † *D' Aufine*, the Earle of *Suffex*, the Earle of ‡ *Leiceſter*, the Count *S. Aignon*, *Mounſieur Chamuallan*, and *Mounſieur Bacqueuile* were Challengers.

The Defenders were,

The Lord § *Thomas Howard*, Sir *William Ruſſell*, *Mounſieur Brunis*, *Mounſieur S. Vincent*, Sir *Thomas Cecill*, *Henry Gray*, *Iohn Borough*, Lord *Windſor*, *Walter Windſor*, *Le Boylere*, Le || *Cheualaiier*, *Ambroſe Willoughbbie*, Sir *William Drury*, *Thomas Radcliffe*, Lord *Sheffeld*, *Robert Gray*, *Rafe Lane*, *George Carew*, *Fulke Greuill*, *William Knowles*, *Francis Knowles*, *Thomas Bedingfeild*, *Thomas Kneuet*, Lord *Darcy*, *Anthonie Mildmay*, *Rafe Stauerton*, *Launcelot Boſtock*, *George Beeſton*, *William Worthington*, *Thomas Kellaway*, Sir *George Carey*, *Rafe Bowes*, *Henry Windſor*, *Iohn Wotton*, *George Goring*, *Edward Moore*, *George Gifford*, *Thomas Borough*, *Anthony Cooke*, *Hercules Meutas*, *Richard Skipwith*, *Henrie Bronkard*, *Iohn Parker*, *Francis Darcy*, *Iohn Tirrell*.

They are not here placed according to their degrees, but as they were called to fight: and with ſuch titles as they then had.

After

* Francis Duke of Alencon and Anjou, youngeſt ſon of Henry II.

† The Prince Dauphin, not the Dauphin of France.

‡ The famous Robert Dudley, the Queen's favourite.

§ Thomas Lord Howard of Bindon, younger brother of Henry Earl of Surrey the poet, and father of Frances Duchefs of Richmond and Lenox.

|| I ſuppoſe we ought to read Le Chevalier de la Boiliere.

After these particular Triumphes, we may not forget the ordinary exercises of Armes, yeerely vsed in memory of the applause of her Maiesties Subiects, at the day of her most happy ascension to the crowne of *England*. In which actions diuers chiefe Lords and Gentlemen of the realme (and some strangers also) appeared, though (indeed) the greatest number (and in effect all) were ordinary attendants vpon her Maiesties Court.

C H A P. VIII.*

The originall Occasions of the yeerely Triumphs in England.

HERE will we remember also (and I hope without enuie so may) that these annuall exercises in Armes, solemnized the 17 day of *November*, were first begun and occasioned by the right vertuous and honourable Sir *Henry †Lea*, Master of her Highnesse Armorie, and now deseruingly Knight of the most noble Order, who of his great zeale, and earnest desire to eternize the glory of her Maiesties Court, in the beginning of her happy reigne, voluntarily vowed (vnlesse infirmity, age, or other accident did impeach
M him)

* The 54th. in the original.

† Ancestor of the present Earl of Litchfield. There is a good portrait of Sir Henry at Ditchly.

him) during his life to present himselfe at the Tilt armed, the day aforesayd yeerely, there to performe in honour of her sacred Maiestie the promise he formerly made. Whereupon the Lords and Gentlemen of the sayd Court, incited by so worthy an example, determined to continue that custome, and not vnlike to the ancient Knighthood *della Banda* in *Spaine*, haue euer since yeerely assembled in Armes accordingly: though true it is, that the Author of that custome (being now by age ouertaken) in the 33. yeere of her Maiesties reigne resigned and recommended that office vnto the right noble *George Earle of * Cumberland*. The ceremonies of which assignation were publicquely performed in presence of her Maiestie, her Ladies and Nobilitie, also an infinite number of people, beholding the same, as followeth.

On the 17. day of *Nouember*, *Anno 1590*, this honourable Gentleman together with the Earle of *Cumberland*, hauing first performed their seruice in Armes, presented themselues vnto her Highnesse, at the foot of the staires vnder her gallery window in the Tilt yard at *Westminster*, where at that time her Maiestie did sit, accompanied with the *Vicount † Turyn* Ambassador of *France*, many Ladies, and the chiefest Nobilitie.

Her

* There is a curious print by White of this Earl in the habit he wore at the tournament.

† Turenne.

Her Maieſty beholding theſe armed Knights coming toward her, did ſuddenly heare a muſicke ſo ſweete and ſecret, as euery one thereat greatly marueiled. And hearkening to that excellent melodie, the earth as it were opening, there appeared a Paulion, made of white Taffata, containing eight ſcore elles, being in proportion like vnto the ſacred Temple of the Virgins Veſtall. This Temple ſeemed to conſiſt vpon pillars of Pourferry, arched like vnto a church, within it were many lampes burning. Alſo, on the one ſide there ſtood an Altar covered with cloth of gold, and thereupon two waxe candles burning in rich candleſticks, vpon the Altar alſo were layd certaine princely preſents, which after by three Virgins were preſented vnto her Maieſtie. Before the doore of this Temple ſtood a crowned Pillar, embraced by an Eglantine Tree, whereon there hanged a Table, and therein written (with letters of gold) this prayer following.

Elizæ, &c.

*PIÆ, Potenti, Fœliciffimæ virgini,
Fidei, Pacis, Nobilitatis vindici,
Cui Deus, Aſtra, Virtus,
Summa deuouerunt
omnia.*

*Poſt tot Annos, tot Triumphos,
Animam ad pedes poſiturus
Tuos,*

Sacra

*Sacra Senex
 affixit Arma.
 Vitam quietam, Imperium, famam
 Æternam, æternùm
 precatur tibi,
 Sanguine redempturus suo.
 Ultra columnas Herculis
 Columna moueatur Tua.
 Corona superet Coronas omnes,
 ut quam cælum fœlicissime
 nascenti Coronam dedit,
 Beatissima moriens reportes cælo.
 Summe, Sancte, Æterne,
 Audi, exaudi,
 Deus.*

The musicke aforefayd, was accompanied with these verses, pronounced and sung by M. Hales her Maiesties seruant, a Gentleman in that arte excellent, and for his voice both commendable and admirable.

My golden locks time hath to siluer turnd,
 (Oh time too swift, and swiftness neuer ceasing)
 My youth gainst age, and age at youth hath spurnd.
 But spurnd in vaine, youth waineth by encreasing.
 Beauty, strength, and youth, flowers fading beene,
 Duety, faith, and loue, are rootes and euer greene.

My

My helmet now shall make an hiue for bees,
 And louers songs shall turne to holy psalmes :
 A man at armes must now sit on his knees,
 And feed on pray'rs, that are old ages almes.
 And so from court to cottage I depart,
 My Saint is sure of mine vnspotted hart.

And when I sadly sit in homely cell,
 I'le teach my swaines this carrol for a song,
 Blest be the hearts that thinke my Souereigne well,
 Curs'd be the foules that thinke to doe her wrong.
 Goddesse, vouchsafe this aged man his right,
 To be your Beadsmen now, that was your Knight.

The gifts which the Vestall Maydens presented unto her Maiesty, were these: a vaile of white exceeding rich and curiously wrought: a cloke and safegard set with buttons of gold, and on them were grauen Emprezes of excellent deuise: in the loope of euery button was a noble mans badge, fixed to a pillar richly embrodered.

And here (by way of digression) let vs remember a speech which this noble Gentleman vsed at such time as these buttons were set vpon the garment aforesaid: I would (quoth he) that all my friends might haue bene remembred in these buttons, but there is not roome enough to containe them all;

N

and

and if I haue them not all, then (said he) those that are left out, may take exception. Whereunto another, standing by, answered: Sir, let as many be placed as can be, and cause the last button to be made like the Character of &c. Now Godamercie with all my heart (quoth the Knight) for I would not haue giuen the *Cætera* of my friends for a milion of gold.

But to returne to the purpose, These presents and prayer being with great reuerence deliuered into her Maiesties owne hands, and he himselfe disarmed, offered vp his armour at the foot of her Maiesties crowned pillar; and kneeling vpon his knees, presented the Earle of Cumberland, humbly beseeching she would be pleased to accept him for her Knight, to continue the yeerely exercises aforesaid. Her Maiesty graciously accepting of that offer, this aged Knight armed the Earle, and mounted him vpon his horse. That being done, he put vpon his owne person a fide coat of blacke veluet pointed vnder the arme, and couered his head (in lieu of an helmet) with a buttoned cap of the countrey fashion.

After all these ceremonies, for diuers dayes he ware vpon his cloake a crowne embrodered, with a certaine motto or deuice, but what his intention therein was, himselfe best knoweth.

Now to conclude the matter of assignation, you shall vnderstand, that this noble Gentleman by her Maiesties expresse commandement, is yeerely (without respect vnto his age) personally

personally present at these military exercises, there to see, survey, and as one most careful and skilful to direct them; for indeed his vertue and valour in arms is such as deserueth to command. And touching that point, I will let you know the opinion of *Monsieur de Champany*, a gentleman of great experience and notable obseruation, who at his being Embassadour in England for causes of the Low Countreys, and writing to his friends there, in one of his intercepted letters, among other occurrents these words were found: "I was (quoth he) one day by Sir *Christopher Hatton* Captaine of her Maiesties guard inuited to Eltham, an house of the Queenes, whereof he was the guardian: at which time I heard and saw three things that in all my trauel of France, Italy and Spaine, I neuer heard or saw the like. The first was a consort of musicke, so excellent and sweet as cannot be expressed. The second a course at a bucke with the best and most beautifull greyhounds that euer I did behold. And the third a man of armes excellently mounted, richly armed, and indeed the most accomplished *Cauelliero* I had euer seene. This Knight was called Sir *Henrie Lea*, who that day (accompanied with other gentlemen of the Court) onely to doe me honour, vouchsafed at my returne to Greenwich to breake certaine lances: which action was performed with great dexterity and commendation." Thus much was the substance (and well neere the whole circumstance) of Sir *Henry Lea* his last taking of armes: wherein he seemed to imitate

imitate the auncient Romanes, who hauing serued a conuenient time, and claiming the priuiledges due to old souldiers (whome they called *Emeriti*) did come into *Campo Martio*, euery man leading his owne horse; and there offered his armes vnto *Mars* in presence of the chiefe Magistrates: which ceremony, *Scipio*, *Cassius*, the great *Pompey*, with many other noble Captaines, disdained not to doe.

Summarily, these annual Actions haue bene most nobly perfourmed (according to their times) by one Duke, 19 Earles, 27 Barons, 4 Knights of the Garter, and aboue 150 other Knights and Esquiers.

F I N I S.

MISCELLANEOUS
ANTIQUITIES;
O R,
A COLLECTION OF
CURIOUS PAPERS:

Either republished from SCARCE TRACTS, or now
first printed from ORIGINAL MSS.

NUMBER II.

TO BE CONTINUED OCCASIONALLY.

*Invenies illic et festa domestica vobis.
Sæpe tibi Pater est, sæpe legendus Avus.*

OVID. Fast. lib. 1.

STRAWBERRY-HILL:
PRINTED BY THOMAS KIRGATE, M.DCC.LXXII.



Miscellaneous Antiquities.

N U M B E R II.

Life of Sir THOMAS WYAT, the elder.

I N T R O D U C T I O N.

THE following papers of Sir Thomas Wyatt were copied by Mr. Gray from the originals in the Harleian collection, now in the British Museum. The Parnassian Flame that had prophesied from the mouth of the Bards, could condescend to be a transcriber. In this instance his labour was the homage of justice paid to a genius, his predecessor. What Mr. Gray thought worth copying, who will not think worth reading?

Hitherto Sir Thomas Wyatt has been little known but as a poet. His speech on his defence will show him an orator; his letters, a statesman; in both he was a master. Yet with all these merits his real story remains in the dark, so obscurely has it been told. The cause of his misfortunes we find only hinted at; that of his death related diversly. Having collected

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collected every scattered passage that regards him, I shall endeavour by comparing them, to present the reader with the clearest sketch that I can form of his life and character. If his cotemporaries have transmitted to us but insufficient memorials, or if time and accident have destroyed more authentic testimonies, we can only blame the negligence or lament the loss. He deserved a better historian: all I pretend to, is to place a stone over what I could recover of his dispersed ashes.

Sir THOMAS WYAT, the elder,

WAS born in the year 1503 at Allynghton-Castle in Kent,* which residence, says Fuller, he afterwards repaired with most beautiful buildings. His family was ancient and † honourable----a circumstance I mention to his glory, only because he did not think it a dispensation from every other kind of merit. His mother's name was ‡ Anne Skinner; his father was Sir Henry Wyat, who Ant. à Wood tells us was a Knight and Baronet----a piteous mistake in a professed antiquary, who ought to have known that Baronets were first created by James I. Sir Henry was of the privy council to Henry VII. whose penetration in chusing his ministers was more admirable than the services in which he employ-
ed

* Fuller's Worthies in Kent, p. 81.

† Ex illustri profapia, says Bale.

‡ Wood's Athenæ, vol. 1, col. 56.

ed them. One of the last offices in which Sir Henry was * trusted by him, was in conducting to the Tower, in concert with Sir John Wiltshire comptroller of Calais, that unfortunate † Prince Edmund de la Pole Earl of Suffolk, whom Henry the King had basely extorted from Philip King of Castile, his guest, and as perfidiously consigned to execution with his dying breath. Wyatt was continued of the council by Henry VIII. and either by the father or son appointed master of the jewel-office. That he held that post under the latter appears by a book which was ‡ shown to the Antiquarian Society by Mr. Wise, one of their members, June 22, 1734. It was the original account of the king's jewels, every leaf being signed with Henry's own hand, and was intituled "A Vewe and accomptis of all and singular the Kinges Jewellis, stone, perle, plate of golde and of silver, in the custodye and keypyng of Sir Henry Wyatt Maister of the Kinges Jewellis, as well touching all and every parcellis by him receyved to the Kinges use and issuyng out of the same, as also such plate as is in the charge of such officers of the Kinges most honourable housholde and other by indenture, and the true poyz and waight of every parcel of the same, taken by the Rt. rev^d. Father in God John Archbp. of Armachan, Maister Thomas Magnus Archdeacon of Est-

B

riding.

* Stowe's Chron. 486.

† He was son of Elizabeth Duchefs of Suffolk, sister of King Edward IV.

‡ From the minutes of the society.

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riding, and Sir Wm. Kingston K^t. deputed commissioners by the Kinges highness for the same purpose the 14 daye of February the XII year of our soveraine Lorde Kinge Henry the VIII.”

Of Sir Henry I find but two more notices. Stowe says,* that at the coronation of Anne Boleyn, Thomas Wyat was chosen Ewerer for Sir Henry Wyat, his father. As master of the jewel-office it was probably his duty to serve the Queen with the ewer to wash; and his son executing the office for him, seems to imply that the father was too aged to attend such a ceremony. The other circumstance I alluded to, hangs solely on a tradition in the family, of which I find this notice in Vertue's MSS. collections. He was acquainted with a Mr. Wyat who lived in Charterhouse-yard, and was the representative descendent of that respectable family. In 1721 and at other times Vertue saw at that gentleman's house † portraits of his ancestors for seven descents, and other pictures and ancient curiosities. Among the rest were heads of
Sir

* Stowe, p. 566. Of that coronation it is remarkable that Archbishop Cranmer alone sat at the table with the Queen, while the Countesses of Oxford and Worcester stood all the time. Some other little circumstances may be also noted. Countesses wore plain circles of gold without flowers. Two maids sat *under* the table at the Queen's feet during dinner; and the two attendant Countesses “did hold a fine cloth before the Queene's face, when she list to spit or doe otherwise at her pleasure.” *Stowe, ib.*

† It would be fortunate if mention of these pictures should lead to the knowledge of the person who now possesses them.

Sir Thomas Wyat, and of Anne Boleyn, in rounds on board : of George Wyat, the son of the younger Sir Thomas ; of Sir Francis Wyat, by Isaac Oliver, and of Edmund Wyat serjeant at law, drawn by Sir Godfrey Kneller in 1686. There was besides the picture of Sir Henry Wyat of whom I have been speaking, painted in a furr gown with a chain of gold about his neck, in the manner of Holbein. Mr. Wyat told Vertue, that Sir Henry being prisoner in the Tower, was preserved from being starved by his cat who brought him a pidgeon. Of this imprisonment I can discover no trace or record. Whether tradition has confounded the father with the son, who certainly fell under the displeasure of the King, or whether the father was involved in his son's disgrace, I cannot pretend to decide ; but that a story of some vogue relative to the latter is confounded, [as I shall show hereafter] may be conjectured from another curiosity in Mr. Wyat's possession, which I shall mention, when I come to discuss the case of Sir Thomas Wyat. Were encomiums in epitaphs authority, I might quote what is said of Sir Henry on the tomb of Sir Henry Lee, who married his daughter Margaret, where her father is styled " that faithful and constant servant and counsellor to the two kings of famous memory, Henry VII. and VIII." and where that valiant Knight * Sir Henry
Lee

* Vide N^o. I. of this work ; and the epitaph of Sir Henry Lee in Collins's *Peerage*, under Earls of Litchfield.

Lee is said to have been educated by his highly honourable uncle Sir Thomas Wiat at Allington-castle---but seeking truth, I shall not hunt it in panegyrics. I now pass to the Son.

Where he received the rudiments of that excellent education which adorned his retired and illustrated his political life, we are not told. From Bale we know that he was of St. John's college at Cambridge, and Antony à Wood, ambitious that Oxford should have pretensions to him too, has enrolled him of that university, on the slight ground of Wyat's going thither to hear the new lectures which Cardinal Wolsey had just founded. He then travelled, and probably to Italy, being one of the first, if not the * first, who introduced the numbers used by the poets of that country into his own. That he had drunk deeply at the classic founts of ancient poetry, appeared in his Latin translations: the softer elegance of the Italian assisted him in refining our tongue; and he polished the language of the court, instead of imbibing politeness from it. Camden says he was splendide doctus; † Afcham, that he was one of the best translators of the Latin poets of the age he lived in; and ‡ Wood calls him the delight of the muses

* Leland calls Lord Surrey the conscript heir of Wyat: a proof of the latter's precedence.

† Upton, p. 184, 1711.

‡ Athens, vol. 1, col. 56.

musés and of mankind. Leland * published a book of elegies on his death. His brave and accomplished friend lord Surrey † composed an epitaph for him, and Sir Thomas Chaloner, one of the luminaries of that half savage, half Augustan age, another: both in verse. Sir John Mafon, Chancellor of Oxford, wrote one in prose.

Yet did not these engaging pursuits, nor even his success in them, absorb his mind in indolent delights. His soul was vigorous, his genius manly; and while his purpose was to polish his country, he meant to be fit to serve it with his sword or his councils. We ‡ are assured that he was skilled in the military arts of that age; his employments, his letters, his orations, speak how able a statesman he was, how acute an orator. Wood records his valour and the manly beauty of his person.§

C

With

* It is called *Nænia*. There is prefixed to it Sir Thomas's portrait cut in wood, with a very long beard. Wood says it was done by a Dutchman, commonly called Hans Holbein. Mr. Tyson, of Bennet-college Cambridge, has copied it.

† Lord Surrey made an encomium on his translation of the Psalter.

‡ By Wood ubi supra.

§ By the name of Thomas Wiat Esquire of the household he was one of a noble company "that entreprized a challenge of feats of armes against the feast of Christmas," which they performed at Greenwich, and in which the king himself took a part. See the account of that tournament in Hall's Chronicle, the 16th year of Henry VIII. p. 133.

With such parts, with such improvements, and with a shrewdness of wit, of which some instances are preserved, no wonder he ingratiated himself with his master, who was personally brave, had some taste for letters, and who, with all his faults, was certainly not apt to have a fool for his favourite. Wyat had so much interest with Henry VIII. and so ready was that King to receive his recommendations, that when a man was newly preferred,* it was usual to say, *that he had been in Sir Thomas Wyat's closet.*----A phrase, that without much refinement we may conclude implies how liberally and zealously he made use of his credit to serve his friends. Nor was his favour marked only by his patronage of others. Henry, after knighting, showered down graces on him---Lands,† which his Majesty dealt profusely to his courtiers, after having ravished them from the holy locusts that had engrossed them, were bestowed on Wyat amongst others: and embassies were heaped on embassies, even ‡ beyond his wish, as he owns in his defence. Let the few of his dispatches that remain, speak how judiciously they were conferred.

Young

* Loyd.

† It is uncertain whether Leland means Sir Henry or Sir Thomas Wyat, where he speaks of "Maſtar Wyat who hath now bought the lordſhip of Ailesford in Kent." *Itin. vol. 8, p. 92.*

‡ He was accused of having wished that the king had sent him to Newgate rather than on an embassy abroad. *See his defence.*

Young, favoured, trusted, a charming poet, an admired wit, an accomplished scholar, the ornament of his native court, and figuring in those of the galant Francis the First, and the sagacious Charles V. could ambition, self-love or vanity aspire to a brighter position? But tempests ever growled round Henry's palace; and weatherwise and crouching indeed were such of his ministers or such of his favourites as rode out the frequent storms. A man accustomed to hear his *bons mots* applauded, was not the most likely to use his discretion: with artful ingenuity Sir Thomas owns in his defence that his sayings, though perverted to a worse sense, were turned against him. From that oration it appears clearly that he was twice in disgrace. The causes of his second imprisonment he details in his defence, of which I shall say more anon. The grounds of the first have, I think, been misrepresented, and as the accounts disagree, I will state, and after comparing them, show from better authority that they were probably adopted from random tradition.

Fuller, in his * *Worthies of Kent*, says, "He [Sir T. Wyatt] fell, as I have heard, into King Henry's disfavour, about the business of Queen Anna Bullen, till by his industry, innocence and discretion, he extricated himself."

David Loyd, in his † *State-Worthies*, expresses himself thus in the life of Sir Thomas; "Queen Anne's favour towards

* Page 81.

† Page 77, edit. of 1679.

wards him raised this man; and his faithfulness to her ruined him."

There is yet another author who tells a third story, different from these, and in all probability still worse founded, though he wrote nearer to the epoch in question; but the vicinity of time being coupled with prejudices both of religion and party, renders the authority more questionable than that of two collectors of anecdotes.

In the Glossary, p. 641, vol. 2, at the end of Peter Langtoft's Chronicle mention is made of a history in MS. by *Dr. Nicholas Harpsfield, where among other passages of secret history it is said, that Sir Thomas Wyatt confessed to Henry VIII. that he had debauched Anne Bullen, before the king had any thoughts of espousing her, and therefore dissuaded him from that purpose.

I must observe, that Dr. N. Harpsfield, a zealous catholic, was imprisoned 20 years for denying Queen Elizabeth's supremacy; and when we recollect the scandalous latitude which the bigotted writers of that age allowed themselves in speaking of Henry, Anne Boleyn, and their daughter, we may well believe that personal sufferings had sharpened the pen of this monkish writer, and hurried it into unwarrantable falsehood. Amongst all the imputations cast on Queen Anne's

* He was principal of an ancient hostel at Oxford, called White-Hall. *Wood's Athen. vol. 1, col. 214.*

Anne's chastity, this obscure slanderer is the only one that lays Wyat to her charge, and yet perhaps was the author of the reports that reached Fuller and Loyd through different mediums.*

Were Harpsfield's legend true, Wyat lost the King's favour *by want of innocence and discretion*, rather than recovered it, as Fuller says, by exerting them. And if he made the confession above-mentioned, it is still less probable that he rose by Queen Anne's favour. Did she reward him for aspersing her? Did Henry promote him as a reward of that confidence? That he was attached to Anne Boleyn, I have no doubt. Vertue saw in the possession of Mr. Wyat in Charterhouse-Yard, above-named, besides the portraits, one of which represented that Queen, a small prayer-book MS. in vellum, set in gold enamelled black, which she gave at her execution to her Maid of Honour Mrs. Wyat, sister probably of Sir Thomas: this will confirm his connection with her, but destroys the tale of his improper familiarity and confession---but to set aside at once the whole story of his disgrace arising in any sort from the Queen, hear his own account of it. In the following oration he expressly imputes his first imprisonment to Charles Brandon Duke of Suffolk, who had

D done

* As I have met with an obscure but curious passage relating to the case of Queen Anne Boleyn, which with remarks necessary would be too long for a note, I shall insert what I have to say on that subject, by way of appendix to this life.

done him ill offices; and declares he never ascribed it to *the King's Highness*. Not a word of the Queen; nor can a vague imputation of malice in the favourite duke be supposed to include any business so serious as the affair of Anne Boleyn. That his second disgrace had, could have no relation to her, appears not only from his answers to the specific charges against him, but from the point of time, that disgrace happening after the death of Cromwell Earl of Essex. Thus his first misfortune flowed from a court-cabal, the second from the villainy, jealousy, and false accusation of that wretch Bonner, Bishop of London, whose clownish manners, lewd behaviour, want of religion, and malicious perversion of truth, Sir Thomas paints with equal humour and asperity. Bonner, that torturing inquisitor of a subsequent reign, had even the impudence to accuse Wyat of being too *papish*. It seems indeed by Sir Thomas's own account, that he was no bigot, but thought men ought to observe the decencies of the religion they professed. Thus he censures Bonner's neglect of the mass, and declares that while they were in France he himself exhorted his companions to appear at church, lest, * being reputed Lutherans, they should give scandal. Considering how ambiguous Henry had made his

* This I take to be the sense of the passage in his defence, which is not clear. Yet in Spain Sir Thomas had been so far from using the same discretion, that, as he tells us himself, he had been in danger from the inquisition.

his religion, it is not to be wondered at that two politicians should have seemed to act in contradiction to their belief, at least, to the sect they adhered to. Bonner affected zeal against popery, because, if he was any thing, he was a papist. Wyat, more a protestant, was cautious of offending the catholic court at which he resided: and, sensible that his master was but a rebel to his own opinions, was not sorry to retaliate on Bonner, by rendering the latter's orthodoxy suspected to the King. Henry's contradictions made more men than Wyat and Bonner dissemble; and the more his ministers were attached to either religion, the more their conscious fears made them affect the opposite extreme. In that and the three succeeding reigns good courtiers changed their religion *four* times.

Whatever was the calumny with which Suffolk loaded Sir Thomas Wyat, it is certain that he entirely recovered the King's favour, and was sent ambassador to the Emperor: and when that Prince entered into personal treaty with Francis the First, by the intervention of the Pope who passed into France for that purpose, Sir Thomas was instructed to keep a strict eye on what should pass in that negotiation. After it was concluded, and Charles intended to pass through France on his way to Flanders, Wyat in conjunction with Bonner and Mr. Mason had letters of credence both to the King and the Emperor. Bonner, who in the execution of that
that

that commission had conceived jealousy of Wyat, and * disgusted at the contempt which the latter felt, and from his vivacity, probably expressed for him, returning before Wyat to England, accused him on various heads, which were discussed in council, treated as frivolous, and not resented by the King, though one point was maliciously calculated to make the deepest impression on Henry's unpardoning temper: it was a charge of holding a treasonable correspondence with Cardinal Pole. Sir Thomas informed of these black machinations, begged to be recalled and put upon his trial. He came over and pressed to be heard on his defence, though Cromwell Earl of Essex, the then all-powerful minister, advised him to overlook what was passed, and not to push the matter any farther. A generous proceeding to Wyat, who had refused to be Cromwell's spy on Bishop Gardiner, or partiality to Bonner who had accepted that office, and was likely to be brought to shame by the discussion. That Cromwell really proved his friend is probable, for instead of trial or disgrace, Sir Thomas was rewarded with land, and remanded to his attendance † on the Emperor; and it was not till after that great minister's death, and Wyat's return again, that

* Bonner suspected Wyat's having prevented his receiving a present from the Emperor.

† He was told, he was used for the necessity there was of his services. After his imprisonment he was made Sheriff of Kent, and being of noted valour, employed against the rebels.

that he was committed to the Tower, and then brought to his trial for treason.

The only charges of importance, were that of connection with Pole, and some hypothetical words on the King's supremacy---yet *ifs* and *ands* were terrible articles in an indictment in such a reign. These accusations, as the reader will see, he repels with equal frankness and dexterity. The rest are impertinent and trifling; some calculated to defame him; others arrogantly grounded on his personal differences with his accusers, Bonner and his chaplain. All that gives colour to any part of the charge is, the petulance of Sir Thomas's wit. He seems to have guarded his words with little circumspection, while his enemies noted and treasured them up with due attention.

He seems to have been tried by a jury before a committee of lords of the council. Clear as his defence is, we should not be justified in presuming from thence that he was acquitted, though he artfully insinuates to the jurats that the peers who tried * Lord Dacre had dared to find a verdict in his favour. But there is better evidence of his acquittal, from the silence of historians, and from his having been again employed.

E

Weaver

* Vide note to a passage relating to the case of Lord Dacre in Sir Thomas Wyatt's ensuing oration. P. 25.

Weaver says he was going to Spain; others, that he was only ordered to receive the Emperor's * Embassador at Falmouth. Whatever the commission was, it proved fatal. Riding post in the heat of summer, he was attacked with a malignant fever, which carried him off at † Shireburne in Dorsetshire in the year 1541, when he had not completed the 38th year of his age. He married Elizabeth, daughter of Thomas Brook Lord Cobham, by whom he was father of the unfortunate Sir Thomas Wyatt, executed in the reign of Queen Mary.

His works that remain, which, in a life no longer and so busily employed, could not well be many, are a few songs and poems, printed with those of his entire friend the Earl of Surrey; the penitential Psalms in English metre, and the whole ‡ Psalter of David; his Defence on his trial, and some of his Dispatches during his embassy in France.

But as his celebrity arose not solely from his poetry or political talents, but from the acuteness of his wit, I will mention one or two instances preserved by Loyd, who compli-
ments

* Wood says he was conducting Montmorency to France; but it is not probable that Montmorency went to France through Dorsetshire.

† He was buried there.

‡ I do not know whether these translations were ever entirely printed, but I find in Ames's Catalogue of English Printers, p. 511, that some of his psalms were inserted in an edition of those by Sternhold.

ments him with more caution in his jests than he seems to have deserved, and who imputes more important consequences to his repartees than have often fallen to the lot of wits. According to Loyd, Sir Thomas Wyat commenced the reformation by a bon mot, and planned the fall of Wolsey by an apposite story. It was an apologue of curs baiting the butcher's dog, but the particulars are not told us. The other was a short reflection well expressed. Henry was lamenting the Pope's dilatoriness in the affair of the divorce--- "Lord! said Wyat, that a man cannot repent him of his sin, but by the Pope's leave!" He expressed as concisely very sound advice on church-lands; and if the policy of dispersing those lands among the nobility and gentry was embraced from that apothegm, Sir Thomas Wyat may justly be said to have placed the key-stone of the reformation, which holds the whole fabric together. Henry was afraid of seizing the estates of the popish clergy: "Butter the rooks nests, said Sir Thomas, and they will never trouble you." This, we are informed, meant, "sell and give their lands to considerable families, whose interest it will become to prevent the re-establishment of the Roman religion." I am glad we are told the meaning, for in truth I should not have understood the phrase---with its comment, it deserves remembrance.

His son Sir Thomas Wyat, called the younger, inherited his spirit, was a warmer champion of the reformation, and
 a true

a true patriot, with still less regard for his personal safety than his father had. He was sheriff of Kent in the 4th year of Edward VI. and seems to have succeeded to his father's consideration: at least I find a * book dedicated to him; a homage I believe seldom paid in that early age of printing but to persons of eminent rank. He married Jane, daughter and coheirs of Sir William Hawte of Bourn, by whom he had a son George, who was restored in the 13th. of Elizabeth: a circumstance that casts a little farther doubt on the doubtful story of the father's accusing the Princess Elizabeth and the Earl of Devonshire of being dipped in his revolt.

The great merit of the elder Sir Thomas demanded the foregoing discussion; yet his own oration will undoubtedly give the reader more satisfaction than the very limited success that has attended the pains taken to clear up his story. It would be unjust therefore to delay that entertainment any longer.

* Ames, 217.

SIR THOMAS WYAT'S DEFENCE,
after the Indictment and Evidence.

MY Lordis, yf yt were here the lawe, as hath byn in some comen welthes, that in all accusacions the defendante shulde have doble the tyme to saye and defende, that th' Accufars have in making there accusements; and yt the Defendante myght detayne unto hym councell, as in Fraunce, or where the civile lawe is usede; then myght I well spare some of my leasure to move your L^dship's harts to be favorable unto me; then myght I by councell helpe my trouthe, wch by myne owne witt I am not able agaynste such a prepared thyng. but in asmuch as that tyme, that your L^dships woll favorably give me without interruption, I must spende to instruct without help of councell there consciences, that must pronounce upon me: I beseeche you onlye (att the reverence of God, whose place in judgement you occupie under the King's Majesty, and whom you ought to have, whear you are, before your eyes) that you be not bothe my Judges and my Accufars, that is to say, that you aggravate not my cawse unto the Queste, but that alone unto their requests or unto myne, which I suppose to be bothe ignorant in the lawe, ye interpret lawe fyncerely. for altho it be these Men, yt must pronounce uppone me: yet I knowe right
of F well,

well, what a smale worde may of anye of your mouthes, that fyttē in your place, to these mene, that sekethe lyght at your handes. this done (with your L^d's leaves) I shall convert my tale unto those mene. I saye unto you, my good Maisters and christian Brotherene, that yf I might have had such helpe, as I spake of to my Lordes before, councell and tyme, I doubtē not but I shulde fullye have satisfied your conscience, and have perswaded you. nor I meane no suche tyme, as hathe byn had for the inventing, for the setting fourthe, for the Indictmente, for devysment of the dilatinge of y^e matters by my Maisters here of the Kings M^y's learned councell; for yt is 3 yeres yt this matter is first begone: but I wolde have wyshe onlye so much time, that I myght have redde that they have penned; and penned so, that you myght rede. but that may not be. therefore I must answer directely to th' accusation, w^{ch} will be harde for me to remember; th' accusation comprehending the indictment, and all these worshipful mens tales annexed thereunto. the length wherof, the conninge whereof, made by lerned Men, weavyd in and owte to perswade you and trouble me here and there, to seke to answerē y^t is in tone afore and in tother behynde, may both deceave you and amase me, yf God put not in your heads honest wysdome to waye these thyngs as muche, as yt ought to be. to avoyde the daynger of your forgettinge, and my trouble in the declaration, it is necessarie

to

MISCELLANEOUS ANTIQUITIES. 23

to gether the whole proceſſe into *theſe* Chyfe poynts, and unto them to aunſwer directlie, whereby ye ſhall perceave, what be the principells, and what be th' effectes, w^{ch} theſe Men craftely and wyttlinglie have weaved together, that a ſymple Man might hardlie trye the tone from the tother.

Surelie, but that I underſtonde myne own matter, I ſhulde be to myche to ſeke & acombred in yt. but, Maifters, this is more of lawe then of equite, of livinge then of uprightneſs, with ſuch intricate appearances to blynde mens conſciens; ſpeciallie in caſe of man's lyf, whear alwaye the naked trouthe is the goodlyeſte perſwaſion. but to purpoſe of the poynts, that I am accused of to my preavinge. theſe be the 2 marks, whear unto myn accuſars directe all ther ſhott of eloquence, a dede, and a ſayinge. after this ſorte in effecte is the dede, alleyed with ſo longe words: Wiatt in ſo great truſte with the King's Maj:y, that he made him his Imbaſſadoure, and for whom his Maj:y hathe done ſo much, beinge Imbaſſadoure hathe had intelligens with the Kings rebell and traytor *Pole*. touchinge the ſayeinge amountethe to this muche; that ſame Wiatt beinge alſo Imbaſſadoure maliciously, falſely, and traytoursly ſaide, yt he feryd, that the kinge ſhulde be caſt owte of a Cartes aſe; and that by goddis bloude, yf he were ſo, he were well ſerved, and he wolde he were ſo. the ſole apparell of the reſte of all this proceſſe pertaynethe to the proſſes of tone or tother of theſe
2 poynts.

2 poynts. but if these 2 poynts appere unto you to be more then false, maliciously invented, craftylye dysguised, and worse sette forthe, I doute not, I doute not, but the reste of there proffes will be but reproffes in everye honest mans judgemente. but let us come to the matter; and here I besyke you, yf any of you have broughte wyth you all reddie my Judgement by reasone of such tales as ye have harde of me abrode, yt ye will leave all suche determination asyde, and onlye waye the matter, as yt shall be here apparent unto you. and besyde that, thinke, I besyke you, yt, yf yt be sufficiente for ye condemnation of anye mane to be accusyd only, yt then there is no mane gilteles: but yf for condemnation is requisyte prof and declaration, then tayke me as yet not condemned, tell throughly, advysedly, and substantially, ye have harde and marked my tale. fyrste you muste understonde, yt my maisters here, fergeaunte . . . and other of the Kings councell, that allegge here agaynst me, were never beyond the See with me, that I remembre; theye never harde me saye anye suche words there, never sawe me have anye intelligens with Pole, nor my Indytours nother. whear in you must marke, that nother these mene, wch tauke here unsworne, nor th' endytement at large, is to be regarded as an evidens; for the Indytours have founde, yt I have done yt. yf that be trewe, what nede your tryall? but yf Questes feche there dyght at Indictments at large, then is a mane condemned un-
herde;

herde : then hade my Lord Dacres * byne founde giltye, for he was indyted at large by 4 or 5 quefts : lyke was his matter avowed, affirmyd, and aggravated by an helpe of learned mene. but on all this the honorable and wyfe nobylitie dyd not ons loke ; they loked at the evidens, in w^{che} (I fuppose) theie wayede the malice of his accusars, the unlyklyhode of the thynges hangyng together, and cheflye of all, the fubftance of y^e matter and the profes. who then accused me, that ever he harde me, or fawe me, or knewe me to have intelligence with Pole by worde, wrytinge, or message to or fro ? no mane. whye fo ? for ther is in fuche thyngs. whye art thou brought hithere ? then yt is but a bare condemnation to fay, yf I had not offended, I hade not byne hithere, that was ther fayinge agaynste Chrift, yt hade nothing to fay agaynft him els. but ther is other matter for proffes hereof agaynste me, there is the right reverende fathere in god the

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* William Dacres, Lord Dacres of the North (or of Gillesland) July 9, 1534, was arraigned at Westminster of high treason, but as the principal witness produced against him by his accusers, Sir Ralph Fenwick and one Mufgrave, were some mean and provoked Scotsmen, so his Peers acquitted him, as believing they not only spoke maliciously, but might be easily suborned against him, as one who having been Warden of the Marches by frequent inroads had done much harm in that country. And thus escaped that Lord to his no little honour and his Judge's, as giving example thereby how Persons of great quality brought to their tryal are not so necessarily condemn'd, but that they sometimes may escape, when they obtain an equal hearing. *Lord Herbert, p. 299.*

byshoppe of London, and Mr. Doctor Haynes the Kings Chaplayne, yt depose agaynst me. what sayest thou to this Wiatt? these men were beyonde the see *with* the, (whear thou sayeste, yt nother thie Indytours, nor we were there) these men of lerninge, of gravite, yt were Imbassadours wyth the to. to this I saye, this worde Intelligens concludethe a familiaritie or conferringe of divyses together, wch may be by worde, message, or wrytinge, wche the lawe forbidde to be had wth anye the Kings traytours, or rebels, payne of the lyke. reherse the lawe. declare, my Lords, I beseeke you, the meaninge therof. am I a traytor, because I spake with the Kings traytor? no, not for that. for I may byd him avaunte, traytor; or defie him traytor. no mane will tayke this for treason: but where he is holpen, counceled, advertysed, by my worde, there lyethe the treason, there lyethe the treason. in wrytinge, it is like; in message, it is like: for I may fende him bothe lettre and message of chalinge or defyance; but in anye of these the suspecte is dangerous. therefore, who so ever wolde do anye of these thyngs, I wolde advyse him, yt yt appere well. and yet nother Godds lawe, nor Mans lawe, nor no equite, condemnethe a man for suspecte: but for such a suspecte, such a word, or wrytinge, *that* may be so apparent by *conjectours*, or successe of thyngs afterwarde, by vehemente lykelyhodes, by conferringe of thynges, and suche lyke, yt yt may be a gre-
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vous matter. but whereto do I declare this poynt? it is far owte of my case. for yf I ever spake worde to hym by yonde the see (and yet to my remembrauns but ons a this syde) or yf ever I wrote to hym, or yf ever I sent hym worde or message, I confesse the action; lett it be imputed to me for treason. I say not of worde, message, or wrytinge, that shulde be abettinge, aydinge, comfortinge, or advertysment, but anye at all, but onlye bye his Servaunte Froginton at S. Daves in Fraunce, wch was in refusal of a present, that he wolde have sente me of wyne and of other gere, of wch thyng I advertysed, and yt appered by my lettres, how the matter went; and there was present Chambers, Knowles, Mantell, Blage, and Mason, yt harde what pleasaunte wordes I cherehed him withall. here were a grete matter to blere yr eyes withall, (say my accusars) yf you wolde believe Wiatt, yt is not ashamed to lye so manifestlye in Judgement. dydeste thou not sende Mason unto hym at Nice? hast thou not confesyd it thyself? hath not Mason confesyd it? hath not the byshope of London accused the therof? for sothe never a whytte. nethere sent I Mason, nor have confessed that, nor Mason so confesse the, nor (I suppose) nether of my accusars do so alledge. cawle for them, Bonar and Haynes: their spiritualitie lettethe not them from Judgemente owte of the Kyngs courte. let them be sworne. ther sayinge is, yt Mason spake with Pole at Genes. here do not
theie

theie accuse me, theie accuse Masone. call forthe Mason, swere hym. he is defendaut, his othe can not be taken. what sayethe he at the leste? he sayethe, that Bonar, Haynes, and Wiatt, being all thre the King's Imbassadours at * Villa-Franka besyde Nice, that sam Wiatt, being in great care for Intelligence howe the matters went there in great closenes, (being an Emperour, a Frenche King, a Byshope of Rome so nyghe together, yt all these laye within 4 myles, treatinge upon a conclusion of peace by the hands and meanes of a Byshope of Rome, the Kings mortall enemye; Pole also, hys traytour, beinge ther practysinge agaynst the Kg,) the said Wiatt at a dynner devysed and asked, what yf Mason dyd *undermynde* Pole to looke yf he culde serche owte anye thyng of hym, that were worthe the Kyngs knowledge. wch then all thre thought gode, and he acceptyd hyt, when he shulde see hys tyme. doth Masone here accuse me, or confesse the, that I sente hym on a message? what worde gave I unto the, Mason? what message? I defye all familiarite and fryndshipe betwexte us, say the worthe. my accusars themselfe ar accused in this tale, as well as I, yf

* The time and place of meeting were appointed at Nizza, about the beginning of June, 1538, where they all came, but so as the Emperour being lodged in Villa-Franca, and the French King in Villa-Nova, they neither saw one another in their severall courts, nor at the Pope's at Nizza—nevertheless the Pope concluded a truce betwixt them for ten years, and so the meeting dissolved. *Lord Herbert, p. 374.*

yf this be treason; ye, and more, for where as I confesse franklie, knowinge both my conscience and the thyng clere of treason; they, belyke mystrusting themselves, denie this. what they mene by denyng of this, mynister interrogatories. let them have suche 38, as were ministred unto me; and ther familiar frends examined in holde, and appere as well as I; and let us see, what milke these Mene wolde yelde. whie not? theie ar accused as well, as I: shall they be preveleged, bycause theie by suttell craft complayned fyrste, wher I knowinge no hurte in the thyng dyd not complayne lykewyse? but they ar 2. we ar also 2. as in spirituall courts mene ar wonte to purge there fames, lett us trie ovr fames for ovr honesties, and we will give them odds. and yf the thyng be earnestlie marked, theirs is negative, owrs is affirmative: ovr othes ought to be receaved, their's in this poynt can not. I say farther, theie ar not the fyrste openers of this matter, where by theie ought to be receaved: for what will theie say? Bonar wrote thys owte of Fraunce longe after he was gone from me owte of Spayne, and Haynes came home, where as He remayned Imbassadoure in Fraunce. but Mason wrote this to the late Erle of Estsex from Genes, where he had spoken with Pole, forthewithe upon the speakinge with him, I being here in Englande: for afore was I come from Villa-franka, sent to the emperour from the Kyngs Maj:ty in post. for what porpose, or what service I

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dyd, I knowe the Kings ma:te hathe esteemed more then I will ascribe unto my selfe; and yt shulde but occupie ye tyme, and instructe you lyttel the better in the matter. I saye then, Masone wrote of thys unto th' Erle of Estsex, and unto me also, wche lettres never came to my hands, nor unto th' Erle of Estsex' hands nother all a yere after. and when Masone was examined here upon the same a fore the Erle of Estsex, the Duke of Suffolke, and (as I remembre) the Byshope of Durham, I beinge in Spayne, his papers and his thynge were soughte and visited; and where Masone alledged these lettres sente to th' Erle of Estsex, he swore he never receaved them; and in that serche was found the mynuit of the same lettre. and I thynke Masone no suche foole, but in that lettre he reherfed, yt upon ovr consent he went to Pole, and so after what he dyd. upone thys so apparent was Masone demissed, and long after came the lettres to th' Erle of Estsex' handys, and this dyd the Erle of Estsex tell me after my cominge home owte of Spayne; and (as fare as I remembre) I lerned yt of Mr. Bartlett, wch was th' Erle's servaunt, yt brought the minuit with Masone's papers. this I say, for that paradventure the lettres cane not now be founde, yet let him saie, what he knowethe. so that it is not to be beleved, yt Masone, then not beinge in dowte of anie accusation, wolde have said in his lettre, that he wente by th' Imbassadoures consente, onles yt had byn so in dede. therefore

therefore I saie, yf ovr consents in this be treason, then are theie in this as far in, as I; and ther negative requerethe prouffe, and nother othe nor deniall. and ovr othes ar to be takein in the affirmative, and not therse in ye negative. nor theie ar not to be receavyd as the fyrste Openers, for Masone wrote yt longe before them, and theie, belyke condemninge them felves in takinge yt to be treason, wolde falselie lay yt unto us, that francklie confesse yt withowte thought of treason. but you may se, howe ther falskede hangethe together. these men thynkythe yt ynoughe to accuse, and as all these Sclaundersers use for a generall rule, whom thou lovest not, accuse: for tho he hele the wounde, yet the scharre shall remayne. but you will say unto me, what is it to theie declaration, whether they have offended, or no? thou confesseste, yt thou consentest to his going to the Kg's traytour. howe avoideste thou that? what dydste thou meane by that, or what auctorite haddeste thou so to do? this is yt, that I wolde ye sholde knowe, good maisters, as well as God knowethe; and it shall be clere ynoughe anone withowte suspekte unto you. but fyrste yt suspekte shulde have bene well and lawefullye grounded, before yt had come as fare as accusation. yt shulde have bene proved Pole and me kynne, acquayntans, familiarite, or th' accorde of opinions, wherbie yt might appere, yt my consent to Mason's goinge to him shulde be for noughtye purpose. or els ther shulde
have

have byn brought forthe sum successe sens, sum lettres (yf none of myne, at the leaste of sum others) sum confession of sum of his adherents, that have bene examined or suffrede. but what, ther is none. whie so? thow shalte as sone fynde owt gylt owt of a flynt-stone, as fynde any suche thyng in me. what I mente by yt, is declared unto you. yt was lyttel for my avayle. yt was to undermynde hym. yt was to be a spye upon hym. yt was to lerne an enemies counsell. yf yt myht have byn, had yt bene owt of purpose, trowe you? I aunswere now, as tho yt had bene done on my owne hede withowt ye counsell of two of ye Kyngs Councillors, and myselfe also the thyrde; there is also myne auctorite. I have receavyd often thanks from the Kyng's Mag:y and his counsel's for thyngs yt I have gotten by suche practyces, as I have in twenty lettres: use now all your pollicy, use now all your frends, use now all your dexterite to come to knowledge and intelligens. this and suche lyke were my pollicye, and by suche meanes afterwards, and setting two to be spyes on that same Pole in Toledo, when he came in poste to th' Emperor, I discoverd the treason of Brauncetor and the practyses of Pole in the Emperor's cowrte, and I dare saye the Kings ma:te was served by the same dede, and howe, my L^{ds} of ye counsell knowe, bothe by my lettres and declaration sens I have bene prysoner. but thys I shall beseeche you to note in thys matter, that now I speake of,

of, for that I spake before, that succesles declare suspectes : afore Pole came owte of Rome to go post to th' Emperoure, I had so good intelligens, yt I knew of yt and advertysed, that he shulde come : where in I desyred to know, what I shulde do. I harde no thyng. I wrote agayne, he is on the see, or els as fare as Genes by lande hetherwarde. I harde no worde agayne (this was ether by cawse it was not beleved, or els theye thought, yt was not lyke, yt I shulde gett the knowledge beinge in Spayne) I wrote agayne, he is in Spayne, and what I hade done : for I had laboured before his cominge importunatlye, yt he shulde have bene ordered accordinge to the tretis. I harde yet no worde. in conclusion, on my owne heade I dyd so myche, that he was nether sent agaynst, beinge the Byshope of Rome's Legate, nether receaved, nor dyd nothyng, yt he came for, nor rewarded (wth Princes use), nor accompaned owte agayne. and besydes yt, I knewe and advertysed all his doings, and sente a coppie of hys own chiefe matters ; and thus was he by my industrie dyspached owte of Spayne smally to his reputation or contentinge ; and the aunswere wth the Kinge, afore the lettres came to me by Ffraunce *that directed* how I shulde order myself in the busyness. this (I saye) hathe bene of the fruits of myne intelligens wth Pole. that (as God Judge me) this 7 yere, I suppose, came no gladder newes unto hym, then thys of my troble ; and one my trothe yt is no

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smale troble unto me, yt he shulde rejoyce in hyt. But to sett spies on traytors yt is I thinke no newe practys wth Imbassadours. he of Ffraunce, that is now here, had he not, trowe ye, them, yt knet companie wth *Cappps* afore he was delivered here? I myselfe the last yere at Parrys appoynted *Welden* and Swerder, 2 schollers there, to entertayne Brauncetor, yt by them I myght knowe, where he became alwayes, for his sodayne apprehension. the Byshope was made prevye unto yt; so was Mr. Totle: and I wolde have had Mason done thys, but presentlye afore the Byshope he refused yt, alleginge that he had ons swarved from him in suche a lyke matter. I had no warrant for all this gere, no more had the Byshope in this, yt I knowe of, other then of the auctōrite and truste, that an Imbassadour hathe and ought to have. besyde thys ye bringe in nowe, yt I shulde have thys intelligens with Pole bycawse of our opinions, yt are lyke; and yt I am papishe. I thynke, I shulde have more adoe with a great forte in Englande to purge myself of suspecte of a Lutherane, then of a Papyft. what men judge of me abrode, this may be a great token, yt the Kings Mag.^{te} and hys Councell know, what hazarde I was in in Spayne wth the Inquisition onely by spekinge agaynste the Byshop of Rome, wher peradventure Bonar woulde not have byd suche a brunt. th' Emprore had myche a doe to save me, and yet yt made me not holde my peace, when I myght defend the
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Kings deed agaynst him, and improve his naughtines. but in this case, good maisters, ye shall *bear* evidence: *what* the Kinge and his counsell thought in this matter, when theie demised Mafon at his fyrst examination, and for the smale wayght ther was ether agaynst hym or me. and what thyng hath there happened sens, yt was not then openyd? inquere, and ye shall fynde none. but now to the tother parte of my accusation, toching my *sayenge*. for the love of owre Lorde, waye yt substantiallie, and yet with all remembre the naughtie handlinge of my accusares in the tother poynte; and in this you shall see no les malicioufnes, and a great deale more *falsitie*. and fyrste lett us handle the matter, as tho I had so saide, excepte onlie that same *falsely*, *maliciouflic* and *traytorouflic* wth all. were yt so, I had saide the wordes: yet yt remaynethe unproved. (but tayke it not, yt I graunt them; for I meane not so) but onlye that I had so saide. reherse here the lawe of words. declare, my Lords, I beseke you, the meaninge therof. this includethe, yt wordes maliciouflic spoken or trayterouflic agaynste the Kinges persone shulde be taken for treason. yt is not mente, Maisters, of words, wch dyspyse the Kynge lyghtly, or wch are not all the most reverently spoken of hym, as a man shulde judge a *chaes* agaynste hym at the *tennis*, wher withe he were not all the beste contented. but suche wordes, as bere an open mallice, or suche wordes, as perswade commo-
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tions or feditions or fuche thynges. and what fay my Accufares in theife words? do theie fwere I fpake them trayterouſlie or maliciouſlye? I dare fay, theie be ſhamles ynoughe: yet have theie not ſo depofed agaynſt me. rede there depofitions. theie ſaye not ſo. confere ther depofitions, yf theie agre word for worde. that is harde, yf theie were examyned aparte, onleſſe they had conſpired more then became faithfull Accufars. yf they dyſagre in wordes, and not in ſubſtaunce, let us here the wordes theie varie in, for in ſome lyttel thyng maie appere the truthe, w^{ch} (I dare ſaie) you ſeke for conciens ſake. and beſydys that, yt is a ſmale thyng in alteringe of one ſyllable ether with penne or worde, that may make in the conceavyng of the truthe myche matter on error. for in thys thyng I *ſere* or I *truſte* ſemethe but one ſmale ſyllable chaunged, and yet yt maketh a great dyfferaunce, and may be of an herer wronge conceaved, and worſe reported, and yet worſte of all altered by an examiner. agayne *fall owte*, *caſt owt*, or *left owte*, maketh dyfferaunce, yea, and the ſettinge of ye wordes one in anothers place may mayke great dyfferaunce, tho' the wordes were all one, as a myll-horſe, and a horſe-myll. I beſyche you therefore, examen the matter under this forte; confere there ſeverall ſayinges together, confer examynations upone the ſame matter, and I dare warrante, ye ſhall find myſreportinge and myſunderſtandyng. but fyrſte for my owne
parte

parte lett this fayinge be interpreted in the hygheste kynde of naughtines and malicioufnes, yea, and alter them moſte, yt cane be, yt yt may be founde to that purpoſe, this is: (wche God forbede ſhulde be thought of anye man) yt by throwinge owte of a cartes-arſe I ſhulde mene that vile deathe, yt is ordayned for wrechede theves. beſydes this; put, that I were the naughtieſte ranck Traytour, yt ever the grounde bare. dothe any man thynke, yt I were ſo folyſhe, ſo voyde of wytt, that I wolde have told Bonar and Haynes, w^{ch} had alreddie lowarde at my faſhiones, that I wolde ſo ſhamfull a thyng to the Kyngs hyghenes. tho I were, I ſaye, ſo naughtie a Knave, and not all of the wyſeſte, yet am I not ſo verie a ſole, tho' I thought ſo abominablye, to make them previe of yt, with whome I had no great acquayntaunce, and myght les truſte. but yt is far from yt poynte; men may not be interpreted by aſmyche as may be evell wreſted and worſe conjectured. ther muſt be reaſon and appearanſe in everie thyng: but that waye ther is non. but ye knowe, Maiſters, yt is a comen proverbe, *I am lefte owte of y^e cartes arſe*, and yt is taken upon packinge gere for carriage together, yt yt is evell-taken heede to, or negligently flyppes owte of the carte, and is loſte. ſo upone this bleſſed peace, yt was handled, as partlye is touched before, where ſemed to be an union of moſt part of Chriſtendome, I ſawe, yt we longe yet in ſuſpens betwene the two prynces, that ware at

warre, and that nether of them wolde conclude wth us directly agaynste the Byshope of Rome, and y^t we also wolde not conclude else wth none of them : wherby I doubted that theie wolde conclude amongste themselves, and leave us owte, and in communicating with some peradventure *forecastinge these perils* I myght saie, I fere, for all these mene's fayer promyses the kinge shall be lefte owte of the carts ars ; and lament, y^t maynie good occasions had bene lett slype of concludinge wth one of *these* princes. and I thynk, y^t I have used the same proverbe wth some in tawlkinge ; but y^t I used *it* wyth Bonar and Haynes, I never remembre, and yf I ever dyd, I am sure never, as theie couche the tale. and yf I have used y^t with anye other, I thynke, y^t hathe bene with Blage or with Masone : let ther declarations be reherfed, yf theie have bene in that examyned, wher by it may appere, what I mente by the proverbe. but confyder the place and tyme, where my Accusars sayethe, y^t I shulde speake y^t, and therby ye shall easly perceave, y^t ether theie lye, and misreporte the tale ; or els that I cane *not* speake Inglyshe. At Barsolona (saye theie) after we were come from Nice and Villa-francka and Aquas-Mortis ; y^t was after the trues concluded, after the metinge of the Princes ; yea, and afore that, the Kyng's mag:^{te} was lefte owte of the packinge indede, wher of at Aquas-mortis I sente him the coppie of the conclusions, and chapters of y^e peace, wher
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in he was not mentioned, contrarie to th' Empror's promas and to the Frenche lettres. Iens we knewe all thre the same, yt is now lyke, yt after this I wolde use the future tens, in yt was past. and *shall*, ye *shall* see, and then *yf it be so*, by *goddys bloude*, *he is well served*; and then, *I wolde*, *he were so*. yt is more lyke, I shulde say (yf it were spoken at Barfelona) yt *he is* lefte owte of the carte's ars, and by *goddys bloude* *he is* well served, and I *am* glad of it. by thys you may perceave, that ether theie lye in the tyme and the place, or els theie lye in reportinge the thyng. but by cawse I am wonte some tyme to rappe owte an othe in an earnest tawke, looke, howe craftylie theie have put in an othe to the matter to mayke the matter seme myne, and by cawse theie have garded a noughtie garmente of thers with one of my nawghtie gardes, theie wyll swere and face me downe, that that was my garment: but bringe me my garment, as yt was. yf I faide anye lyke thyng, reherse my tale, as I faide it. no man can beleve you, that I mente yt, as you constere it; or that I spake, as you alledge yt; or that I understande Inglyshe so evell to speake so owte of purpose. therefore the tyme, the place, and other mens sayings upone the same matter, bewraye yowr crafte and yowr falchood. yt well apperethe, that you have a towarde will to hyt, but that you lacked in the matter practyse or wytt: for (theie saye) he that will lye well, muste have a good remembrance,

membraunce, yt he agre in all poynts with hym selfe, leste he be spied. to you, my good maisters; in this purpose I dowte not, but you see all reddie, yt in this sayinge (yf I had so faide) I mente not yt nowghtie interpretation, yt no Devell wolde have imagined upone me; nother is *proved* unto you, nor anie appearans therof alleged. byfydes howe unlyke yt is, that I shulde so fay, as yt is alleged; and finally, as I do graunte, I myght faie, and as I thinke, I dyd fay, that is no treason; for yt I shulde wyshe or will, that the kinge shulde be leste owte of the comprehension, the Kinge hymself and all the Councell, that were at that tyme understanding in the Kynge's affaires, know, what labour and what paynes I toke to have his matters comprehended; and I reporte me unto hym and them; and sume man wolde have thought yt myche to have faide so myche to his fellow, as I faide after to the Emperour and his counsellours, charginge them with that theie had broken promas with the Kyng. this was an evidente sygne of my will, that I wolde nothyng les, then the mysgoinge of the kynges affayres, namelye of these, that I had the handlyng of. yf theie wolde have proved that, theie shuld have brought in my negligens, my slowthfulnes, my false handlyng of myselfe, wherbye the King's matters had quayled: but I saye this much; yf theie have quayled for lacke of wytt, I am excusable. lett the Kyng blame hys choyse, and not me. but yf theie

theie have bene hyndered of one mynute of th'advancement, yt theie myght have had, by my untruthe, my slacknes, my negligens, my pleasures, myne eases, my meate, my healthe, lett any of this be provyd, and lett yt be treason unto me. but now comethe too places, the conjectures and lyklyhoods, that makethe proffes of myne intelligens with Pole, and of my maliciouse speakinge of yt same so dysguyfed sayinge. but howe cane anye thyng mayke a profe, or a conjecture of nothyng? ye see the principells are wyped away. what matter cane the apparences mayke? but yet let me aunswere unto them, ye shall se them mayke for my purpose. one and of the greatest is thys; Wyatt grudged at his fyrste puttinge in the Tower. ergo, saie theie, he bare malyce in his harte, and yt is lyke he sowght intelligens wth Pole, and also he wysshede the Kings affayres to myscarrie, by cause he wolde ton way or tother be revenged. paradventure my accusars frame not ther argument so much apparante agaynste me. but let us examen everie poynte therof. Wyat grudged at his fyrste puttinge into y^e Towere. yf theie tayke *grudginge* for beinge sorie or grevinge, I wyll not stycke wyth them, I graunte yt, and so I thynke it wolde do to any here. but yf they vse that worde *grudginge* includinge a desyer to revenge: I saye they lye, I never so grudged; nor theie nor anye other mane can ether profe that, or mayke a lyklyhood of a profe therof. Mason
L. sayethe,

fayethe, he hathe harde me complaine therof. what then? dothe Mafone fay, that therby he reckned, I mente revenging, beringe malice in my harte? I knowe hym fo well, that he wyll not fo interpret complayning or moninge to revenginge. but here come my 2 other honest men, and they fay, that I shulde fay, Godde's bloude, the Kyng sett me in the Tower, and afterwarde sent me for hys embaffadoure. was not this I praye you a pretie way to gett me credit, as *they* fay, I shulde thynke? now put yt, that I had spoken fo lyke an Idiote, as they seme to make me by this tale. what grudginge, or revenginge, fyndethe anye for my puttinge into the Tower in this sayinge? is there anye threatninge? is there anye grudginge? ye, and that yt is fare from my nature to studie to revenge, yt may appere by the manye great dyspyts and dyspleasures, that I have had done unto me, w^{ch} yet at this daye is no man alive, that can fay, that ever I dyd hurte hym for revenginge. and in this case yet muche lesse, for yt is so fare from my desyer to revenge, that I never imputed to the King's hyghness my impryfonmente, and herof cane Mr. Lieutenant here present testifye, to whom I dyd ever impute yt. ye, and farther, my Lorde of Suffolke hym selfe cane tell, that I imputed yt to him; and not onlye at the beginninge, but even that verie nyght before my apprehension nowe lasse: what tyme (I remembre) my *sueinge* unto hym for his favor to remytte his old unde-

undeservyd evill-will, and to remembre, lyke as he was a mortall mane, so to bere no immortall hate in his brest. altho I had receavyd the injurie at his hands, let hym saye, whether this be trewe. but what is there in this article of my fashion. marke yt (I pray you) here agayne they have garded my tale with an othe, bycawse yt shulde seme myne. but lett them be examined, yt have harde me tawlke of that matter, whearof theie seme to tere a pece or too, and pache them together, as yf a mane shulde tayke one of my dublet sleeves, and one of my cote, and sowe them together after a dysguised fashion, and then saye, loke (I praye you) what apparell Wyatt wereth. I say, lett other men be examined, and ye shall fynde, that after I came owte of the tower in the * commotion-tyme, that I was appoynted to go agaynste the Kynge's Rebels, and dyd, untill I was countermaundyd as speedilie and as well furnished, as I was well able; that after, I was made Shryf of Kente for a speciall confidence in suche a busye tyme; that after that agayne I was sente the Kinges Imbassadoure. I have dyvers tymes bosted therof, and taken yt for a great declaration of my truth, for all my puttinge in the tower the confydence and the credet the Kinge putt in me after. and of thys paradventure theie have malicyousslie perverted some pece of my tale, yf theie perchance

* He means the great insurrection of the northern counties in 1537, during Cromwell's administration.

chaunce were there *present*, or hard of yt; and yt maye easylie appere; for ther owne sayinge is, that I shulde saye, was not this (I praye you) a pretie way to gett me credet? howe thynke ye Maisters? I suppose, yt was a way to gett me credet. trowe ye, that anye man wolde thynke, that I shulde thinke, yt was not a waye to gett me credet? yt gatt me so myche credet, that I am in dett, yet in dett, for yt. marke (I besyke you) howe this gere hangythe together. this is one of ther proves, that I grudged at my last puttinge in the Tower: wch, yf by grudginge theie mene revenginge, you se, how substantially yt is proved; and yf by grudginge theie meene moninge, theie need not prove yt: I graunt yt. will anye man then, that hath honestie wyt or dyscretion, gather, that bycause I bemoned my imprysonment, that therefore I bare malice and wolde revenge? will anye man, that hathe Chrystiane charite and anye consciens, upon suche a malicious gatheringe frame an accusation upone a manes lyf? dothe anye man, that hathe anye preavinge, see not the malice of these mene? yf ther be anye of you, that dothe not, I bynd my selff, or my tale be done, to lett you see yt in great lettres. but unto this theie adde wyth all, that I shulde wyshe the Kinge had sent me to Newgate, when he sent me Embassadoure. I confesse franckly, I never begged the office; and, but for the obediens to my master, I wolde have utterlie refused yt. and how I excused the takinge of
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yt my L^{ds} of the Councell can bere me recorde, as well for that I knewe my owne unhabilitie, wherby I shulde *be* wonderouslye accombred, for that I was geven to a more pleasaunt kynd of lyf. my combraunce I founde agayne, when I had great matters in hande, medlinge with wyse men, had no councell but my owne folysh hede, a great zeale, that the Kinge myght be well served by me, a great fere lest any thinge shulde quayle through my fawte. this sollicitude, this care, trobled me. Masone, Blage, Mr. Hobbye, Mr. Dudeleye, and other,* that were with me, cane testifie, ye, and my lettres oftymes hether, that I wyshte a meter man then myselffe in the rowme; ye, and that I had bene at the ploughe on that condition. but I never remembre (in good faythe), that I shulde name Newgate in that matter. but yf I had so sayed, altho yt had byn foolyshelic spoken, what provethe this malice to revenginge for my beinge in the Tower? wolde he, trowe ye, that wolde revenge, wyshe himselffe in Newgate? ys yt not lyke, this matter? a man wolde thinke rather, he beinge an Imbassadour myght doe more dyspite towarde the kinge. ther he myght play the false Knave, and dyscover, mayke misrelation, and suche partes. but what thinge is yt, that these men wolde not wreste for there purpose, that wreste such thyngs? theie founde fawte, that I dyd not them the honor, that belonged to the King's Imbassadours: I lente not them my horse,

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when I went owte of Barfolona, nor I dyd not accompanie them on the waye. fyrste I reporte me to my seruautes, whearof some of them ar gentell men *and* ryght honest men; to ther own seruautes; ye, and lett them aunswere them selves. dyd ye not fytt all wayes at the upper ende of the table? went we abrode att any tyme together, but that either ton or tother was on my right hande? came any man to vyset me, whome I made not do ye reverence, and vysett ye to? had ye not in the gallye the most and best commodious places? had anye man a worse, then I? wheare ye wer charged with a grote, was not I charged with five? was not I for all this fyrst in the comyffion? was not I Embassadour resydent? a better man, than ether of ye bothe, shulde have gone without that honour, that I dyd you, yf he had looked for yt. I knowe no man, that did you dishonour, but your unmanerly behaviour, that made ye a laughehyng stocke to all men, that came in your companie, and me sume tyme to swete for shame to see you. yett lett other judge, how I hydd and cover'd your fawts. but I have not to do to charge you; I will not spend the tyme about it. but marke (I praye you) I lent not them my horses: they never desyer'd to go into the towne to walke or sterre owte of ther lodginge, but theie had mule or horse or bothe reddie for them, fot-clothe and harnessed wyth velvet of the best, that I had, for mule or hackney. Marye, yt was thoughte in-

dede

dede amongst us, that Bonar colde have bene content to have bene upone a genet with gylt harnes. these men came in post, and went againe in post at their partinge. my ser-vauntes had gotten ther post-horses redie. wolde theie have had wyth owt necessity my horse to have redden post? I brought them to ther horse. wolde theie, I shulde have companied them rydinge in poste? chyldren wolde not have played the fooles so notablie. was not this a pretie article towarde treason to be alleaged agaynst me by Bonar? some man myght thynke, that herby a man myght preave the malice, that hathe moved my troble: but yet yt shall be more manyfeste. an other occasion ther is; that I shulde say, theie wer more mette to be paryshe-prests, then Embassadours. by my truthe, I never leked them in deade for Embassadours; and no more dyd the mooste parte of them, that sawe thym, and namelye theie, that had to do with them. but yt dyd I not *talk* on my faithe with no straungers. but yf I sayd, theie were meter to be paryshe prests, on my faythe I never remembre yt; and yt is not lyke, I shulde so saye; for as fare as I coulde see, nether of them bothe had greatlie anye fancie to masse, and that (ye knowe) were requisite for a paryshe-prest: for this cane all, that were there, report, that not on of them all, while theie were there, said masse, or offer'de to here mass, *and* thoght yt was but a superstition. I say, bothe Masone and I, by-
cawse

cawse of the name that Inglyshe Men then had, to be all Lotherans, were fayne to intreate them that we myght some tymes shewe owrfelves in the Church together, that Men conceavyd not an evell opynion of us. let Mason be asked of this. yt was not lyke then, that the Byshope of London shuld sue to have the scripture in Inglyshe taken owte of the church. but I have not to do wyth all: I must here answer to interrogatories, that upon this occasion by lyke were mynistred agaynst me. whether he thought, that I coulde be a good Subjecte, that myslekethe or repugnethe his prynces procedings? I say here, as I saide unto yt, as fare as myslykinge or repugninge includethe violent dyfobediens or seditious perswasion, I thinke, he is no goode subjecte: but to myslike a bwyldinge, a choyse of an Embassadour, or the makinge of a lawe (obeyinge it never the les) or suche thynges procedinge, altho paradventure yt may be done owte of tyme and place, yet I thinke, yt may be with owte hurte of allegeans: onles ther be a lawe made to the contrarie, wch I knowe not. what saye I then to the *lawe of wordes*, wch Mason shulde saye, that me thought verie harde, and that the fyrst devysers were well served in fawlinge into yt, wch he thynkethe I ment by the Lorde Rocheforde or the Lorde of Estsex? this and yf yt were offens, yt is uncertayne by his own sayenge; and yet I never remembre, I sayde so unto hym. but what is yt to treason? do I mayntayne

tayne agaynst the lawe? do I perswade any violens agaynst the lawe? yt rather includethe allowance of the lawe, yf theie wer well ferved, yt theie sufferde for offendinge in that. agayne sayethe Masone, that I shulde saye unto hym, that yt was a godlie acte, the acte of supreme hede, speciouslye the Kg's Mag:^{te} being so vertuose, so wyse, so lernede, and so good a prynce: but yf yt shulde fall into an evell prince, yt yt were a fore roode. I suppose, I have not myssayde in that: for all powers, namelye absolute, ar fore roods, when theie fall into evell mens handes; and yet I saie, theie ar to be obeied by expres lawe of *God*; for that ther is no evell Prence, but for deferte of the people, and no hande over an evell Prynce, but the hande of God. this, upone examyninge of as maynie men, as have byne familiar with me, amonge whome some wordes myght have escaped, ar sucked owt bothe of them and of me wyth suche interrogatories: yet is no thyng founde of me of treason. ye, and when ther is anye towarde my maister within thys harte, a sharpe swerde go thether with all. but bycawse I bounde my selffe to mayke this malyce of my accusars to appere manifeste unto you, lett me come to an other poynte of ther accusinge, w^{ch} was by Bonars lettres to th' Erle of Estsex, that I leved viciously amonge the Nonnes of Barfelona. to th' ende ye be fully perswaded and enformed of yt matter, there be maynie *men* in the towne and most of them *gentlemen*, w^{ch} walke upone there horses, and here and there tawlke with those la-

dies; and when theie will, go and fyt, companie together with them, tawkinge in there chambers. Erles, Lordes, Dukes, vse the fame, and I amonge them. I used not the pastyme in companie of Ruffians, but wyth suche, or wyth Embassadours of *Ferrara*, of Mantua, of Venes, a man of 60 yeres old, and such viciouse compaynie. I praye you now, let me turne my tale to Bonar: for thys rysethe of hym, and so (I thinke) dothe all the reste: for hys craftie malice (I suppose in my consciens) abusethe the other's symplenes. come on now, my Lorde of Londone, what is my abominable and viciouse livinge? do ye knowe yt, or have you harde yt? I graunte, I do not professe chastite: but yet I vse not abomination. yf ye knowe yt, tell yt here, wyth whome, and when. yf ye harde yt, who is yowr autor? have you sene me have anye harlet in my howse, whilst ye were in my companie? dyd you ever see woman so myche as dyne or suppe at my table? none, but for your pleasure, the woman, that was in the gallye; w^{ch} I assure ye may be well seene, for (before you came) nether she, nor anye other came above the mafts. but, bycause the gentell men toke pleasure to see you intertayne her, therefore theie made her dyne and suppe wyth you; and theie leked well your lokes, your carvinge to Madonna, yowr drynking to her, and your playing under the table. aske Mason, aske Blage, (Bowes is dede) aske Wolf, that was my stuarde. theie cane tell, howe the gentell men marked yt, and tawlked of yt. yt

was

was a playe to them, the kepinge of yowr bottels, that no man myght drynk of but yowr selff; and that the lyttel fat prest were a jollye morsell for the *Signora*. this was there tawlike: yt is not my devyse. aske other, whether I do lye. but turne to my owne parte. what, thynke you, thys man ment syncerelye to accuse me of treason, when he sekethe the conjectures to prove my treason by my moninge the fyrste imprysonment, by not lendingge my horse, (whearin also he lyethe) by not accompanyinge hym owte of towne, by myslyking them for Embassadours, and by my vicious livinge with Nones. this man thought rather to *defame* me, then syncerelie to accuse me. lyke as (I truste) ye woll not condemne me for conjectures and lyklyhods, and namelye so owte of all apperance, alltho you here them: lykewise (I praye you) give me leave to shewe you my conjecture and lykelihoods upone these thynges, and then gesse: whether I go nerer the truthe. and yet I desyer not by them to be absolved, so that by the other I be not also condemned. th' Erle of Estsex by lyke desyred Bonarde to be a spye on me, and to advertyse hym. he, thynkinge, that yf he myght wipe me owte of that rowme, yt hymselfe myght come to yt (as in dede the man is desyerus of honor) and for my parte I wolde he had it with owte envie. that this might be a practyse of th' Erle of Estsex, I thynke, towarde me, not meaninge for anye treason, but to fynde, whether yt wer trewe, that I dyd so goode servyce, as was reported. I know
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by myfelff; for fo wolde he have had me done for hym towarde my * L^d of Wyncheſter, then beinge Embaſſadoure in Fraunce; and (I ſuppoſe) my ſaide Lorde culde tell, by Bonar's meanes and one Barnabe's, what a tragedie, and a ſuſpecte theie ſtur'd agaynſt hym. well, all thys is reconciled. but yet (I ſaye) yt is the lykelyar, that he wolde tayke that office towarde me, yt uſed yt to an other; and then, conceavyng in hys minde (and that, as God judge me, falſelye) yt I had letted hym in Spaine, that he had no rewarde of the Emperour, conceived ther wyth all a malyce, and by ſome inkellinge, that he had, that I myſliked hys faſhione; and upone this he hathe bylte this ungodlie worke, yt ye ſee, that ſtandythe all by invention, conjectures, lykelihoods, ſtreched, wreſted, and drawne owte of all *godd forbid*, wyth owte anye prof at all. this fare I have had to ſaye upone the fundation and reringe of this accuſation agaynſte me; and I do not myſtruſte yowr wyſedome never a whytte, but lyke as ye waye the cheſt pryncipells, ſo waye ye lyttell theſe horrible and ſclaunderus words, yt of ordinarie lerned Men uſe bothe in there indyctmentes and accuſations, as at the
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* In 1538 the King recalling from Spain Edmund Bonner, elect Biſhop of Hereford and his Ambaſſador then with the Emperour, he employed him in France in the place of Stephen Gardiner, who had ſoured all things, ſince being one, who both diſliked the King's late proceedings and ſecretly favoured the Emperour, he did his maſter little ſervice in that court. Bonner was roughly received by Gardiner, and coldly by the French King. *Lord Herbert, p. 372.*

begynninge I declared them to fatisfye your consciences: but a great dele better to fatisfye your myndes I tochede afore, that this mattere 2 yeres passed was afore the councell, Mason in holde detayned, and all thys reherfed, and he demysfed. I harde therof, and sued to come home for my declaration. after I came home, I was in hande with th' Erle of Estsex. he desyred me to lett yt pas: I was clered well ynoughe; and he tolde me myche of thys thinge, that I have in the matter reherfed. yf this wer not suffyciente to fatisfye yowr consciens, then tayke more wyth you. within 6 monthes after that I came home. so farre unlyke was yt, that anye of these gere, bothe then knowne, examyned, and dimiffed, shulde be tayken for treason, that I was sent agayne Embassadour to th' Emperour at hys comynge into Ffraunce, and the Kyng's grace had rewarded me with a good pece of landes above my deservinge; and then yt was sayde unto me, I was used for the necessite, ye, and my instrument of my treasons was sent with me, Mr Mason. I came home in the begynninge of y^e laste summer. I rane not away at none of all these goinges on. all thys whyle, tyll nowe, ther hathe byn no question of this recknynge. yf any thinge of newe be agaynste me, w^{ch} is not alleged, yf yt be nothyng but thys, yt hathe bene tryed and dysmyssed; you see, what evidens the Councillers geve agaynst me. the confidens put in my affares is for you to acqyte me. and yt is a nawghtie fere, yf anye Man have anye suche, to
 O thynke,

thynke, a Queste dare not acqyte a man of treason, when theie thinke hym clere : for yt were a fowle sclaunder to the Kyng's mag:^{te}. God be thanked, he is no tyraunt. he woll no suche thynges agaynst men's consciens. he will but his lawes, and his lawes with mercie. what displeasure bare he to the Lordes for y^e acqytinge the Lorde Dacres? never none : nor woll not unto you, yf you do as your consciens leads you. and for a great cause : the lawe mynstrethe betwyxte the Kynge and his subiecte an othe to the Queste in favor of the subiecte, for yt supposethe more favor to be borne to the Prynce, then to the partie, yf the othe bounde not Chrystian Men's consciens.

Thus myche I thought to saye unto you before bothe God and Mane to dyscharge me, that I seme not to peryshe in my owne fawte for lacke of declarynge my truthes; and afore God and all these mene I charge you with my innocent truthes, yt in case (as God defende) ye be gyltie of myne innocente bloude, that ye before hys tribunall shal be inexcusable. and for concludinge, our Lorde put in your hartes to pronounce upon me accordinge, as I have willed to the Kinge, my Master and Sovereigne, in harte, wyll, and wyshe.

T. W.

APPENDIX.

A P P E N D I X.

I Promised to quote a passage relative to the case of Anne Boleyn. It is not curious from containing any new *proof* of her Guilt or Innocence, though the charge is inflamed; but It is the person who bears Testimony against her that gives some appearance of weight to the accusation. It is a Protestant, a man who lived in the reigns of Henry VIII. of Edward VI. and of Mary; and who was put to death by the latter, if not for his religion, at least for disaffection to her, her Spanish husband, and government. This was William Thomas, Clerk of the Council to King Edward, a Prebendary of St. Paul's, and Parson of Presthend in South Wales---and yet I doubt whether he was in orders; it being more probable that he enjoyed the two latter preferments by the favour of the Crown, which in that unsettled state of religion often bestowed the emoluments of the church on lay favourites; a supposition I ground on a very uncreditable proceeding of this William Thomas, in procuring the Prebend above-mentioned---as may be seen in the Biographia Brit. vol. ii, p. 947, note [C]. He was a man of some parts and an author, having written an account of Italy, whither he * fled in the reign of Henry, and which is in print;

* We are not told on what account; he only says himself, Constrained by misfortune.

print; and some discourses in MS. still extant in the British Museum, whither they were carried with the remainder of the Cottonian MSS. It appears from two of them that he was consulted by the young King both on his foreign and domestic affairs, two of the treatises (each very short) being replies to his Majesty's questions on those subjects. But his principal work, principal at least for its singularity, is a Dialogue which he has entituled *Le Peregryne*. It is a professed defence of Henry VIII. and is addressed to the famous Peter Aretine, in an epistle as bold as singular, considering how formidable the pen of the person he writes to was esteemed in that age; a new mark of which appears by a legacy mentioned in that epistle, which I shall here transcribe.

A Defence of King Henrie the VIII. against the Slanders of Tyranny, &c.

Castigans castigavit me Dominus
Et Morti non tradidit me. W. T.

To Mr. Peter Aretine the right natural Poet.

LYKE as many tymes the wyld wodds and barrayne mountaynes yeld more delite unto the feldome traveyled Citizen, then do the pleasant orchardes & gardens whose bewtye & fruite he dayly receyveth; so hath it now pleased me rather

ther to direct this my litle Booke unto thee whose vertue consisteth onely in nature without any arte, then unto any other whome I know both naturall vertuous and learned withall, specyally because I understand that the Kynge (in defence of whose honour I have made it) hath remembered thee with an honorable Legacy by his testament,* which his enemies pretend proceded of the feare he had lest thou shouldest after his death defame hym with thy wonted evil speach; Butt to lett them wete that no man with right can slander hym, and to open also unto thee, parte of his worthy & glorious doings whereof if thou wylt thou mayist justly speake unto his greate Honour, I have in this litle Worke brefely declared the most parte of such Successes as have happened in his Life daies with the occasion that thereunto moved me, and have thought good to participate unto thee, to the entent, that if any person should repugne against it, thou with the mountaigne of thy naturall reasons shouldest have matter sufficient accordingly to defend it. In which doinge thou shalt partely satisfie bothe unto the verie truth, and allso unto the good memorie that so noble a Kynge hath deserved of thee.

Farewell.

* There was a notion at that time that severall Princes gave pensions to Aretine, to buy off the severity of his invectives: I do not believe that Henry VIII. was one of the number. He certainly left no legacy to Aretine, as may be seen by his will in Fuller's Church History.

P

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The book itself begins thus,

VESPASIAN, D. XVIII. Page 48.

P E R I G R I N.

Perigrine made by William Thomas.

He that dieth wyth Honour lyveth for ever,
And the defamed dead recovereth never.

CONSTRAYNED by misfortune to abandon the place of my nativitie, and to walke at the random of the wyde world in the moneth of Februarye, and after the Church of England 1546, it happened to me to arryve in the Citie of Bononie, &c.

The Author feigns himself to have fallen into company with bigotted Papiſts, who pour forth their accusations against Henry, and tax him with cruelty, as he juſtly deſerved, even to their enemies the Proteſtants. W. Thomas goes through their objections and answers them; yet though he juſtifies the Reformation, on the enormous abuſes committed by the Popes, he ſpeaks with even more than partiality in behalf of Catharine of Arragon, extolling her beauty

as

as well as her virtues. Could this be flattery to her daughter the Princess Mary, who was in disgrace with her brother? And would the same man load the memory of the mother of another Princess, [Elizabeth] more dear to his master? The man is said, and in truth appears, to have been of a warm temper and not very consistent in his opinions; yet from these and other circumstances, he seems to intend to be impartial, and was perhaps more culpable from want of information than from design.

His antagonist in the Dialogue having fallen on Henry's rigour to Anne Boleyn, Thomas makes the following defence for him.

Page 70. ----- Now incontinently after that divorce the Kynge married (as I have sayde) his second Wyfe named the Lady Anne Bolene, whose liberal Lyfe were so shamefull to reherse. Once she was as wyfe a woman endued with as many outward good Qualities in playing on instruments syngyng & suche other courtly Graces as few wemen were of her tyme, with such a certayne outward profession of gravitie as was to be mervayled at. Butt inward she was all another dame than she seemed to be; for in satisfieng of her carnal appetite she fled not so muche as the company of her owne naturall Brother besides the company of 3 or 4 others of the gallantest Gentylnen that were nere aboute the Kynges proper person, who were all so familiarly drawn in to her traine
by

by her owne develysh devices that it should seme she was alway well occupied. The busye doying wherof gave the Kynge greate Cause of Suspicion, so that fyndyng by search the ymagined mischiefs to have effect, he was enforced to procede therein by way of open Justice, where the matter was manifested unto the whole World, and the Sentence given agaynst them, in so much, that both She & her Brother with the other 4 Gentylnen were beheaded. For adultery in a Kynge's Wife weieth no lesse, then the wronge Reigne of a Bastard Prince, which thinge for a Commonwealth ought specially to be regarded: and besides this it was layed unto her Charge, that she with some of the rest had conspired the Princes Death to avoyde the danger of their Wyckedness, which they perceyved could not long be kept secret, and this second Wyfe lyved wyth the Kynge aboute the tyme of foure Yeres havynge issue a Daughter by him named the Lady Elizabeth which is at this of the age of XIII Yeres, or there aboutes, a very wittye and gentyll yonge Lady.

It is certainly very extraordinary that a warm Protestant should thus speak of Queen Anne's guilt as notorious. He had lived at the time; Catherine was dead; and if the latter's daughter was living, so was Anne's too, and of the same religion that he himself as well as the reigning King professed. Had the Guilt of Anne been even doubtful, one
 should

should not suppose that he would have ventured in the face of so many cotemporary and living witnesses, to have spoken of her Criminality as uncontroverted---and yet as he alone has charged her with conspiring against Henry's life, an accusation that would not have been forgotten by his Majesty or the Papiſts, one knows not how to allow the authority of a man who seems wantonly or ignorantly to have grievously exaggerated the accusation. Yet he does not appear to be propenſe to slander---of Queen Catherine Howard he speaks with far more moderation, and insinuates a doubt whether she was guilty with the persons laid to her charge, *after* marriage. Should it be urged, that Thomas's accusation of Anne Boleyn is good authority, as it would certainly have been refuted if false; I answer, that on diligent enquiry, I cannot learn that the book was ever printed or published, though the author of the note I have quoted from the Biographia, makes a quære whether a Dialogue called *Le Peregrin*, printed at Paris in the gothic letter, 1540, be not the same. If the author of the note had consulted the original MS. in the Museum, he would have found that Thomas did not begin to write his *Peregrine** till the year 1546, six years after the date of the printed book he mentions: a date

Q which,

* V. Beginning of the book quoted above. The Writer of the Biographia says himself that Thomas did not fly till 1544; how then could he have a conversation in Italy before he went thither? How could his book be printed six years before it was written?

A P P E N D I X.

which, pretending the death of * Henry by a whole
to be an account of the frank avowal of Queen Anne's
to be I know, after Henry's death, printed his
and suppressed, though he left behind
to Henry: I am inclined on the whole
that Minister William Thomas had intended to
his peace with Henry, and
his court, perhaps his peace with Henry, and
weight very impudently the authority on which he grants
his compliments. The dedication to Aretine, must,
merely the King's will, have been written after Henry's
death: and was probably the effect of the author's
thought on hearing the rumour of the legacy. His be-
ing it enough to insert it seriously in a dedication, with-
out further inquiry, reduces his deposition against Anne Bolingbroke
of whose treason nobody else ever heard, to the lowest rank
of credibility.

* He died January 28, 1547.



F I N I S.

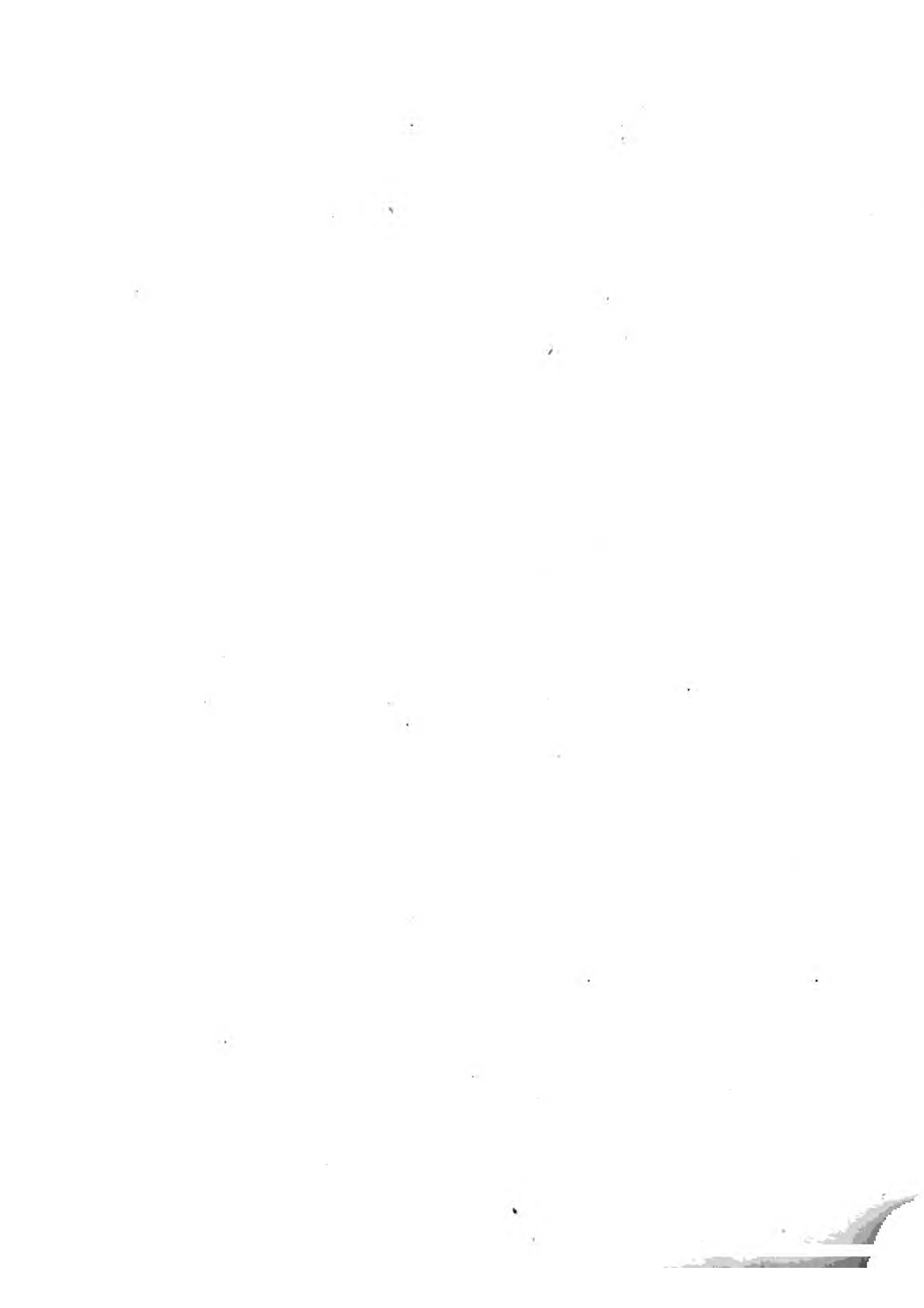
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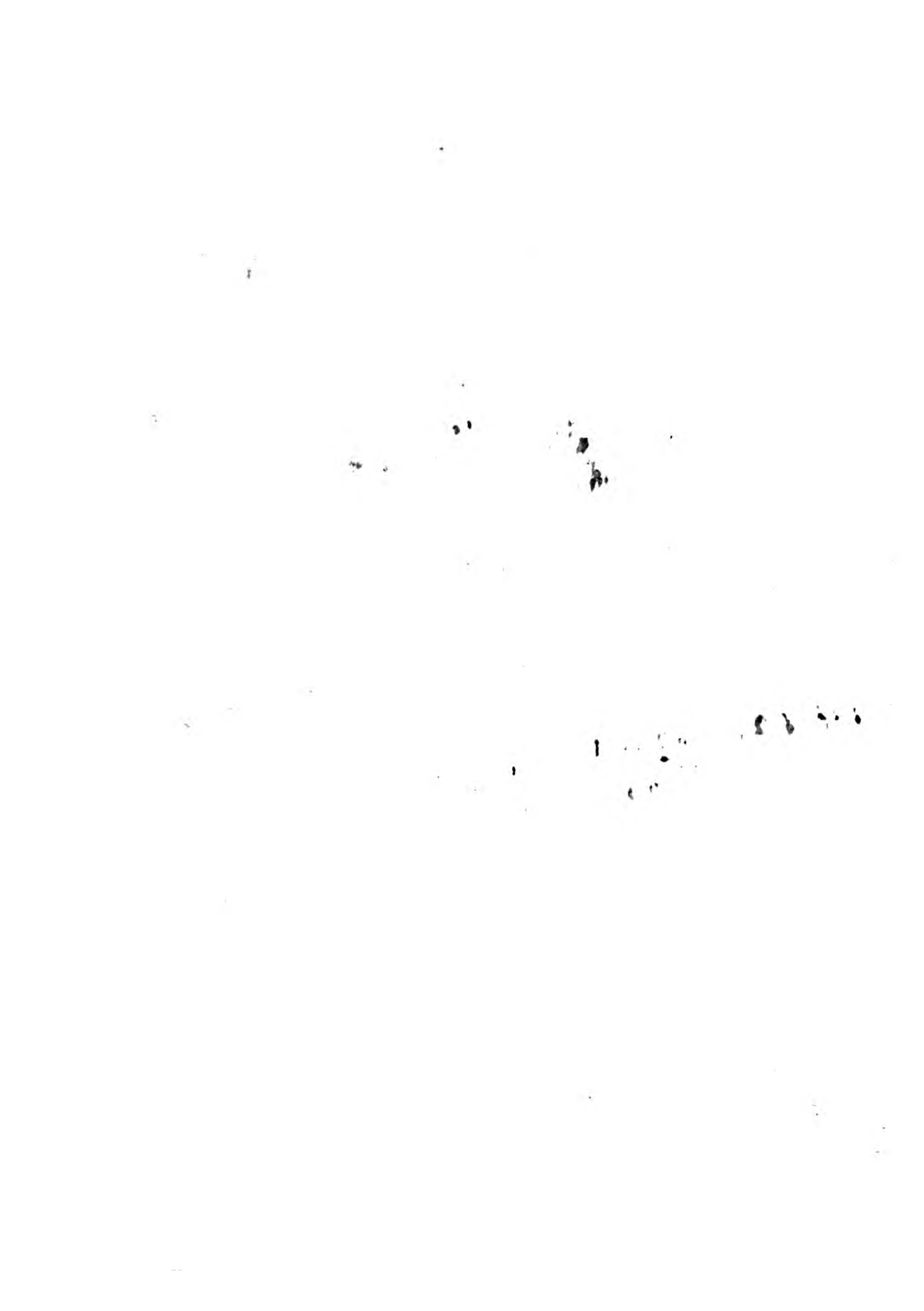
which, preceeding the death of * Henry by a whole year, can alone account for the frank avowal of Queen Anne's guilt.--- And as Thomas, after Henry's death, printed his Observations on Italy, and suppressed, though he left behind him, his Defence of Henry; I am inclined on the whole to believe, that Master William Thomas had intended to make his court to, perhaps his peace with, Henry, and did not weigh very scrupulously the authority on which he grounded his compliments. The dedication to Aretine, must, as it mentions the King's will, have been written after Henry's death; and was probably the effect of the author's first thought on hearing the rumour of the legacy. His believing it enough to insert it seriously in a dedication, without farther inquiry, reduces his deposition against Anne Boleyn, of whose treason nobody else ever heard, to the lowest rank of credibility.

* He died January 28, 1547.



F I N I S.





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Ref^d H.C. 8.7.47



