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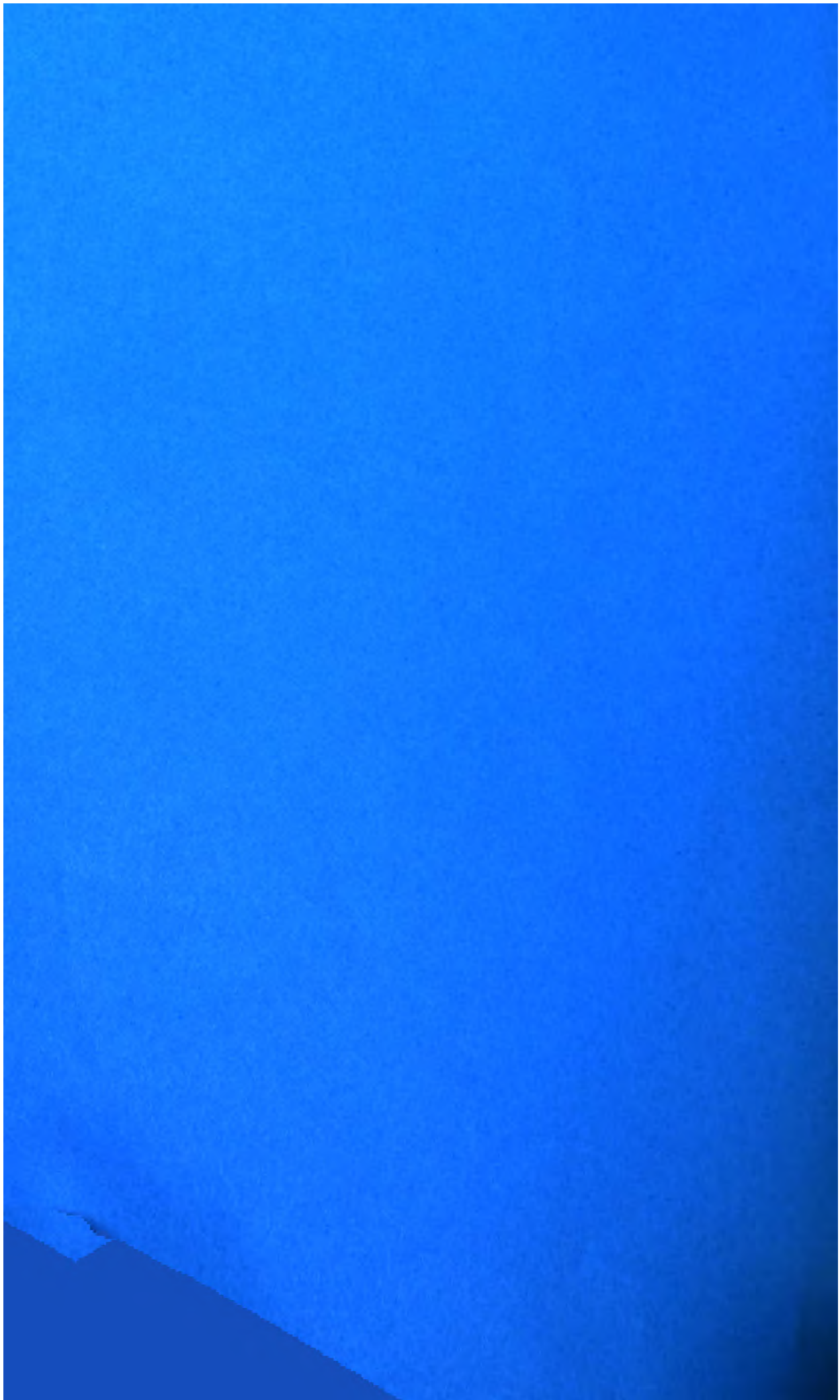
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English Reprints.

SIR ROBERT NAUNTON.

Master of the Court of Wards.

Fragmenta Regalia.

Probably written about 1630.

REPRINTED FROM THE THIRD POSTHUMOUS EDITION OF 1653

BY

EDWARD ARBER.

Associate, King's College, London, F.R.G.S., &c.

LONDON:

5 QUEEN SQUARE, BLOOMSBURY, W.C.

Ent. Stat. Hall.]

15 January, 1870.

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NOTICES OF SIR ROBERT NAUNTON.

1. JOHN WEEVER, a contemporary, in his *Ancient Funerall Monuments, &c.*, describing those in 'the Diocesse of Norwich' states,

In the Priorie Church here at Letheringham, diuers of the ancient familie of the *Nantons* lie buried. Of whom out of their pedegree, I haue these notes following. Master *William Smart* affirmeth that he hath seene an ancient Euidence, dated before the Conquest of England, wherein the *Nantons* are named, who saith they were written by the name of *Nawnton*. *Roger Awston* reporteth that *Nawnton* came in with the Conqueror, and that he hath seene Records of the same, who for seruice done had then giuen him in marriage a great inheritrix. It is reported that *Nawntons* lands were at that time 700 markes, *per annum*. These *Nauntons* are Patrons of the Church of Alderton in this County, as appeares by this Epitaph there.

Here lieth *Henry Naunton* Esquire, late Patron of this Church, and *Tristram Naunton*, both sonnes of *William Naunton* Esquire, and of *Elisabeth* his wife; and *Elisabeth* wife to the said *Henry*, daughter of *Euerard Asheby* Esquire, and *Elisabeth* daughter to the said *Henry Naunton*, and *Elisabeth Asheby*.

*Patruus ignotus, Genetrix vix nota, sororque
Occumbunt sequeris tu mihi sancte Pater
Chara Domus terras fugitis neque sic me fugitis
Vos sequar in caelos.*

This is likewise
in the Priory
Church here at
Letheringham.

*Patri, Patruo, Matri, Sororulae charissimis
Posui, fleuque Robertus Naunton. 1600.*

Now Sir *Robert Naunton* knight, one of his Maiesties most Honourable priuie Councill, and master of the Court of Wardes and Liueries. Of which Office, will it please reade thus much out of the Interpreter, as followeth.

Master of the Court of Wards and Liueries, saith he [*D. Cowell lit. m.*] is the chiefe and principall officer of the Court of Wards and Liueries, named and assigned by the King, to whose custody the Seale of Court is committed. He at the entring vpon his Office, taketh an Oath before the Lord Chancellor of England, well and truly to serue the king in his Office, to minister equall Justice to rich and to poore, to the best of his cunning, wit, and power, diligently to procure all things which may honestly and iustly be to the kings aduantage and profit, and to the augmentation of the right and prerogatiue of the Crowne, truly to vse the Kings Seale appointed to his office, to endeavour to the vttermost of his power, to see the King iustly answered of all such profits, rents, reuenues, and issues, as shall yearely rise, grow, or be due to the King in his office, from time to time, to deliuer with speed such as haue to doe before him, not to take or receiue of any person any gift or reward in any case or matter depending before him, or wherein the King shall be partie, whereby any preiudice, losse, hinderance, or disherison shall be, or grow to the king. *Ann. 33. Hen. 8. cap. 33. WEEVER, pp. 756-7. London. 1631.*

2. The Rev. T. FULLER, D.D., in *The Worthies of England, Part iv. p. 64*, Ed. 1662: among the Worthies of Suffolk, gives the following account of the present Writer.

Sir *Robert Naunton*, was born in this County, of Right ancient Extraction, some avouching that his Family were here *before*, others that they came in *with the Conqueror*, who rewarded the chief of that Name for his service with a great *Inheretrix* given him in marriage. In so much that his Lands were then estimated at (a vast sum in my Iudgment) *seven hundred pounds* [Fuller quotes Weeuer as above, for this] a year. For a long time they were *Patrons of Alderton* in this County, where I conceive Sir *Robert* was born.

He was first bred Fellow Commoner in *Trinity Colledge*, and then Fellow of *Trinity-Hall* in *Cambridge*. He was *Proctor* of the Vniversity, Anno Domini 1601, which Office according to the *Old Circle* returned not to that Colledge but once in *fourty four* years. He addicted himself from his youth to such studies, as did tend to accomplish him for *Publick employment*. I conceive his most excellent piece called *Fragmenta Regalia*, set forth since his death, was a *fruit* of his *younger* years. [This is a mistake, see p. 7.]

He was afterwards sworn *Secretary of State* to King *James* on *Thursday* the eighth of *January*, 1617, which place he discharged with great ability and dexterity, and I hope it will be no offence here to insert a pleasant passage.

One Mr. *Wiemark* a wealthy man, great Novilant, and constant *Pauls* walker, hearing the News that day of the beheading of Sir *Walter Raleigh*:

His head (said he) *would do very well on the shoulders of Sir Robert Naunton, Secretary of State.* These words were complained of, and *Wiemark* summoned to the Privy Council, where he pleaded for himself, that he intended no dis-respect to *Mr. Secretary*, whose known Worth was above all detraction; Only he spake in reference to an *old Proverb*, *Two heads are better than one.* And so for the present he was dismissed: Not long after, when rich men were called on for a *Contribution* to *St. Pauls*, *Wiemark* at the Council-Table subscribed a hundred pounds, but *Mr. Secretary* told him *two hundred* were better than *one*, which betwixt *fear* and *charity* *Wiemark* was fain to subscribe.

He died Anno Domini 163 . . leaving one daughter, who first was married to *Paul* Vicount *Banning*, and after to the Lord *Herbert*, eldest son to *Philip* Earl of *Pembroke*.

4. Rev. T. BIRCH, D.D., in his *Memoirs of Queen Elizabeth*, i. 369-370, Ed. 1754, thus writes:—

Mr. Naunton, who carried this letter to France, and whom the earl [of Essex] stiles in it his *friend*, was descended from an antient family in Suffolk, and educated a fellow-commoner of Trinity College in Cambridge, and afterwards chosen a fellow of Trinity Hall. When his uncle *William Ashby*, esq., was sent ambassador from queen ELIZABETH into Scotland in the year 1589, he attended him thither, probably in the office of secretary, and was sometimes sent by him on affairs of trust and importance to the court of England, where he was in July that year, discontented with his unsuccessful dependance on courtiers, and resolv'd to hasten back to his uncle, to whom he return'd in the beginning of the month following, and continued with him till January 1590, when *Mr. Ashby* was revok'd from his embassy, in which he was succeeded by *Robert Bowes*, esq. *Mr. Naunton* was in France during the years 1596 and 1597, whence he corresponded frequently with the earl of Essex, who does not appear to have had interest enough to advance him to any civil post; for which reason it is probable, that, after his lordship's disgrace, *Mr. Naunton* retired to his college, and was in 1601 elected orator of the university of Cambridge. However he was afterwards call'd forth again into the world, being made first a master of the requests, then surveyor of the court of wards, and in January 1617-8, secretary of state, and at last master of the court of wards, which post he resign'd in March 1634-5, and died in the same month. He was a man of considerable learning, and well qualified for political affairs, and his letters contain many curious facts and just observations on the characters of persons and parties, but obscur'd, as well as his *Fragmenta regalia*, by an affectation of style less frequent under the reign of queen ELIZABETH, than her immediate successor.

3. Rev. D. LLOYD, Canon of St. Asaph, in a work, possibly suggested by the present one, entitled *The States-men and Favourites of England since the Reformation*, London, 1665, makes some observations on the present writer; beginning thus:—

Sir Robert Naunton is the Author of one Book of observations upon the States-men of Queen *Eliz.* times, and must be the subject of another of king *James his*: He noted then in his youth, what he was to practice afterwards in his more reduced years. His University-studies at *Trinity-Colledge*, whereof he was Commoner; and at *Trinity-Hall*, whereof he was Fellow; His Speeches both while Proctor and Orator of *Cambridge*, discovered him more inclined to publick Accomplishments, than private Studies: He improved the opportunity of the speech he was to make before King *James* at *Hinchinbrook* so well, that as His Majesty was highly affected with his Latine and Learning, so he exactly observed his prudence and serviceableness; whereupon he came to Court as *Sir Thomas Overburies* Assistant first, and then as *Sir George Villiers* friend, who promoted him to be Secretary of State, Jan. 8 1617. as his Majesty did a while after to be Mr. of the Wards. The first place whereof he discharged with as much ability and dexterity, as he did the second with integrity; onely he was observed close-handed. . . . pp. 569-70.

5. See also J. NICHOL'S *Hist. of Lecestershire*, iii. 515. Ed. 1800: and J. CAULFIELD'S *Memoirs of Sir R. Naunton*. Ed. 1814.

Fragmenta Regalia.

INTRODUCTION.



His 'Essay' is an A. B. C. book in the History of Queen Elizabeth's Court: a Primer, but hardly anything more. Naunton lived too near the times he wrote of, to write all he knew.

I cannot say, I have finished it; for I know how defective and unperfect it is. . . . I took it into consideration, how easily I might have dashed in too much of the stain of pollution, and thereby have defaced that little that is done. For I profess, I have taken care so to master my Pen, that I might not (*ex animo*, or of set purpose) discolour truth, or any of the parts thereof, otherwise than in concealment. . . . Modesty in me forbids the defacements of men departed, whose Posterity yet remaining, enjoys the merit of their virtues, and doe still live in their Honour. And I had rather incur the censure of abruptness, than to be conscious, and taken in the manner of eruption, and of trampling upon the graves of Persons at rest; which living, we durst not look in the face, nor make our addresses to them, otherwise than with due regard to their Honours, and renown to their Vertues. *p.* 64.

The softened character of these 'Courtly Chips' being taken into account: Naunton expresses therein the strongest possible censure of the Earl of Leicester. No evil thing seems to him to be of too hard a belief concerning 'The Gipsy': and there is a thread of derisive disparagement traceable in every allusion that he makes to him.

The Sketch is brief, very closely written, has frequent obscure allusions, and is conspicuous for its perfect absence of dates. If it was all written at one time, it

was written after the death of Edward Somerfet, Earl of Worcester, in 1628.

And as I have placed him laft, fo was he the laft liver of all the Servants of her favour, and had the honour to fee his renowned miftrefse, and all of them laid in the places of their reft. *p.* 63.

Again, it was written while Sir Willam Knollys enjoyed the title of the only Earl of Banbury that there has been [created 18 Aug. 1626—d. 1632]. Internal evidence would therefore seem to fix the date of its composition about the year 1630.

These Observations—however they may have circulated in MS. during Naunton's lifetime—were not printed until six years after his death, which occurred on Good Friday 1635.¹ Never has such a popular work received harder usage. The first and second posthumous editions in 1641 and 1642, were apparently printed without any supervision. It is hard to choose which is the more corrupt text: or in which there is a larger proportion of jumbled nonsense. The text of 1653 seems to have had more care spent upon it, and has therefore been chosen for the present Reprint. The reader will, however, in perusing it, sometimes wish that Naunton were by to explain his own meaning.

Of this 'little Draught of this great Princess, and her Times, with the servants of her state and favour,' written by a whilome Favourite of King James; the following may be noted:

1. There is a continuous sketch of the Queen's reign, running through the tract. The reader may follow it especially on *pp.* 18-21, 23, 24, 31-34, 59, 60.

2. An interesting sketch is given of the rise of the House of Dudley, under the heading *Leicester*.

The account of Sir Walter Raleigh is dispassionate, considering Naunton was Secretary of State at the time of his execution; and it was evidently written after the death of James I.

Naunton was very well acquainted with Lord Essex: and his account of him is mingled with a hearty denunciation of his bad advisers.

The particulars given of Sir Charles Blount, the last Lord Mountjoy, are related with the circumstantial fulness of an Eye-

¹ J. Caulfield, *Memoirs*, *p.* 16. Ed. 1814.

Witness. Sir Charles' first coming to Court ;¹ his excellent Tilt-
ing ; Lord Essex's insult to him, with their subsequent duel and
friendship ;² his stealing away to the Army under Sir John Norris,
with the rating the Queen gave him on his recall ;³ &c., &c.

3. "The principall note of her Reign will be, that she ruled
much by faction and parties, which her self both made, upheld,
and weakened, as her own great judgement advised. For I dis-
assent for the common received opinion, that my Lord of *Leicester*
was absolute and above all in her grace. . . . I know it from
assured intelligence, that it was not so."⁴ So Naunton herein
refers to the following standing Court feuds, viz. :—of

- | | | | |
|---|----------|---|-----------|
| (1) ROBERT DUDLEY, <i>Earl of</i>
LEICESTER | } with { | THOMAS RADCLIFFE, <i>Earl of</i>
SUSSEX, | 17, 29-30 |
| (2) The same assisting the en-
tire KNOLLYS family | } with | the entire NORREYS family, | 39-41 |
| (3) Sir JOHN PERROT | } with | Sir CHRISTOPHER HATTON, | 41-44 |
| (4) ROBERT DEVEREUX, <i>Earl</i>
of ESSEX | } with { | General Sir JOHN NORREYS
or NORRIS, | 53 |
| (5) The HOWARDS and the
CECILS | } with { | ROBERT DEVEREUX, <i>Earl of</i>
ESSEX | 56, 54 |

4. As in the Essay, the same Noblemen are often referred to under
different names, with the view of preserving their identity and in
some degree supplying dates, their successive titles are given at
pp. 2-4. Naunton divides his worthies into *Togati* and *Militia* :
Gown-men and Swords-men. We have there distinguished such of
them as he has done, by prefixing to their names *M* or *T* respectively.

5. 'The Queen was never profuse in the delivering out of her
treasure, but payed many, and most of her servants part in money,
and the rest with grace, which as the case stood, was taken for
good payment, leaving the Arrear of recompence due to their
merit, to her great Successor, who payed them all with advan-
tage.'⁵ In support of this statement, it may be mentioned that
James I. created 2373 Knights during his reign, whereof 900
were made during its first year. For their names, see *J. Philipot's*
A Perfect Collection of all the Knights Bachelors, &c. London,
1660. In this list Sir R. Naunton's name appears under date
Sept. 7, 1614.

Fragmenta Regalia naturally deals more with the
Court than the People : but strangely omits all notice
of Drake, Hawkins, and the other Sea Heroes of that
time, although they were well known at Court, and
often in the Queen's favour. In it there is Contem-
porary Evidence as well as Hearsay ; and we cannot
spare any truth of that momentous age, in the midst of
which our *Faery Queen* ruled the hearts and destinies
of some of the wisest, bravest, and best of Englishmen.

¹ *p.* 57.² *p.* 52, 53.³ *p.* 33.⁴ *p.* 16.⁵ *p.* 50.

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(a) Issues in the Author's lifetime.

None.

(b) Issues since the Author's death.

I. As a separate publication.

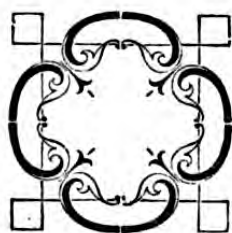
1. 1641. [London.] *Editio Princeps*. FRAGMENTA REGALIA. 1 vol. 4to. Written by Sir ROBERT NAUNTON, Master of the Court of WARDS. Printed Anno Dom. 1641. [Contains 43 numbered pp.]
2. 1642. [London.] *Fragmenta Regalia* Written by Sir Robert Naunton, Master of the Court of Wards. Printed. Anno Dom. 1642. [Contains 40 numbered pp.]
3. 1653. London. 1 vol. 12mo. See title upon opposite page.
10. 1814. London. The Court of Queen Elizabeth originally written by Sir 1 vol. fol. Robert Naunton, under the title of *Fragmenta Regalia* With considerable biographical additions by JAMES CAULFIELD [a bookseller in Wells Street, Oxford Street]. With Portraits. [A Reprint of No. 1.]
11. 15 Jan. 1870. Lond. 1 vol. 8vo. *English Reprints*: see title at p. 1.

II. With other works.

4. 1694. London. *Arcana Aulica*: or Walsingham's Manuel of Prudential Maxims, for the *States Man* and *Courtier*. To which is added *Fragmenta Regalia*. . . . [This latter has a separate title and occupies pp. 157-247. It is apparently a reprint of No. 3.]
5. 1707-8. London. *The Phenix*: or a Revival of Scarce and Valuable Pieces of Remote Antiquity down to the Present Times [projected by JOHN DUNTON]. *Fragmenta Regalia* is Art. VII. and occupies i. 181-221. [Apparently printed from No. 3.]
The first volume, Naunton's tract included, was reissued in 1721, under a fresh title.
6. 1721. London. A collection of Choice, Scarce, and Valuable Tracts. 1 vol. 8vo. . . . By a Gentleman who has search'd after them for above Twenty Years.
7. 1797. London. Paul Hentzner's *Travels in England*. . . . To which is now added Sir Robert Naunton's *Fragmenta Regalia*. . . . With Portraits and Views. Price 15s. in Boards; and 1l. 1s. bound in Morocco. [This Reprint of No. 1 occupies pp. 77-151 of the volume.]
8. 1808. Edinburgh. *Memoirs* of ROBERT CAR[E]V; [Son of Lord HUNSDON, see p. 3] Earl of MONMOUTH. Written by himself. And *Fragmenta Regalia* being a History of Queen Elizabeth's Favourites by Sir Robert Naunton. With explanatory annotations. [By Sir W. SCOTT.] *Fragmenta Regalia* occupies pp. 169-301.
9. 1808-13. London. *The Harleian Miscellany*. Ed. by T. PARK. F.S.A. 10 vols. 4to. [A Reprint of No. 1. It occupies ii. 81-108, published in 1809.]

Fragmenta Regalia:
OR,
OBSERVATIONS
on the late Queen
ELIZABETH
Her Times, and Favourites.

Written by Sir ROBERT
NAUNTON, Master of
the Court of Wards.



LONDON,
Printed by *G. Dawson*, for *William*
Sheares, at the Bible near the Little North-
door of *S. Pauls Church*. 1653





Fragmenta Regalia,

O R,

Observations on the late Queen

ELIZABETH,

Her Times, and Favourites.



Take her in the Originall, She was daughter to *Henry* the eighth, by *Anne Bullen*, the second of six Wives which He had, and one of the Maids of Honour to the divorced Queen *Katherine of Austria* (or as they stile it) *Infanta* of *Spain*, and from thence taken into the Royall Bed.

That She was not of a most Noble and Royall extract by Her Father, will not fall into question: for on that side there was disimbogued into her veines by a confluence of Blood, the very abstract of all the greatest houses in Christendome; and remarkable it is concerning that violent desertion of the Royall House of the *Britains*, by the invasion of the *Saxons*, and afterwards by the Conquest of the *Normans*, that by the vicissitude of times, and through a discontinuance (almost a thousand yeares) the Royall Scepter should fall back into the Current of the old British blood, in

the person of her renowned Grandfather *Henry* the Seventh, together with whatsoever the *German, Norman, Burgundian, Castalian,* and *French* Achievements, with the intermarriages, which eight hundred years had acquired, incorporated, and brought back into the old Royall Line.

By her Mother she was of no Sovereign descent, yet Noble, and very ancient in the Name and Family of *Bullen*, though some erroneously brand it with a Citizens rise or originall, which was yet but of a second Brother, who (as it were) divining the greatness and lustre to come to his House, was sent into the City to acquire wealth, *ad ædificandum antiquam domum*. Unto whose achievements (for he was Lord Mayor of *London*) fell in, as it was averred, both the blood and inheritance of the eldest Brother, for want of issue Male, by which accumulation, the House within a few descents mounted *in Culmen honoris*, and was suddenly elated into the best Families of *England* and *Ireland*, as *Howard, Ormund, Sackvile*, and divers others. Having thus toucht, and now leaving her stirp, I come to her Person; and as she came to the Crown by the decease of her Brother and Sister. Under *Edward* She was his, and one of the darlings of Fortune: for besides the consideration of Blood, there was between these two Princes a concurrency and sympathy in their natures and affections, together with the Celestiall (conformity in Religion) which made them one, and friends; for the King ever called her his sweetest and dearest Sister, and was scarce his own man, She being absent, which was not so between him and the Lady *Mary*. Under his Sister She found her condition much altered: For it was resolved, and her destiny had decreed to set her an Apprentice in the School of Affliction, and to draw her through the Ordeall fire of tryall, the better to mould and fashion her to rule and Sovereignty; which finished, and Fortune calling to mind, that the time of her servitude was expired, gave up her Indentures, and therewith

delivered up into her custody a Scepter, as a reward for her patience, which was about the twenty sixth year of her Age; a time in which (as for externals) she was full blown, so was she for her internals grown ripe, and seasoned with adversity, and in the exercise of her Vertue; for it seems Fortune meant no more, than to shew her a piece of her variety, and changeableness of her Nature, and so to conduct her to her destined Felicity. She was of personage tall, of hair and complexion fair, and therewith well favoured, but high nosed, of limbs and feature neat, and which added to the lustre of those exterior Graces, of Stately and Majestick comportment; participating in this more of her Father than Mother, who was of inferior allay, plausible, or as the French hath it, more *debonnaire* and affable, virtues which might well suit with Majesty; and which descending, as Hereditary to the daughter, did render of a more sweeter temper, and endeared her more to the love and liking of the people; who gave her the name and fame of a most gracious and popular Prince; the atrocity of her Fathers nature, being rebated in hers, by the Mothers sweeter inclinations. For to take, and that no more than the Character out of his own mouth; He never spared man in his anger, nor woman in his lust.

If we search further into her intellectuals and abilities, the whole course of Government deciphers them to the admiration of posterity; for it was full of magnanimity, tempered with Justice, and Piety; and to speak truly, noted but with one act or taint; all her deprivations either of life or liberty, being legall, and necessitated: She was learned (her sex, and the time considered) beyond common belief; for letters about this time, and somewhat before, began to be of esteem and in fashion, the former ages being overcast with the mists and fogs of the Romane ignorance; and it was the maxime that over-ruled the foregoing times, that ignorance was the mother of devotion. Her warres were a long time more in the auxiliary part, in assist-

ance of forraign Princes and States, than by invasion of any, till common policie advised it for a fafer way, to strike first abroad, than at home to expect the warre, in all which she was felicious and victorious. The change and alteration of Religion upon the instant of her accession (the smoak and fire of her Sisters Martyrdomes scarcely quenched) was none of her least remarkable accounts: But the support and establishment thereof, with the meanes of her subsistence, amidst so powerfull enemies abroad, and those many domestique practises, were (me thinks) works of inspiration, and of no humane providence, which on her Sisters departure she most religiously acknowledged, ascribing the glory of her deliverance to God alone: for she received the news both of the Queens death, and her Proclamation, by the generall consent of the House, and the publike suffrage of the people, whereat, falling on her knees (after a good time of respiration) she uttered this Verse of the Psalms, *A Domino factum est istud, et est mirabile in oculis nostris*, which we find to this day on the stamp of her gold, with this on her silver, *Posui Deum adiutorem meum*. Her Ministers and Instruments of State, such as were *participes curarum*, and bear a great part of the burthen, were many, and those memorable, but they were onely Favourites, not Minions; such as acted more by her own Princely rules and judgements, than by their own wills and appetites, which she observed to the last: for we find no *Gaveston*, *Vere*, or *Spencer*, to have swayd alone, during forty four yeares, which was a well settled and advised Maxime; for it valued her the more, it awed the most secure, and it took best with the people, and it starved all emulations, which are apt to rise and vent in obloquious acrimony (even against the Prince), where there is onely *Amator Palatii*.

The principall note of her Reign will be, that she ruled much by faction and parties, which her self both made, upheld, and weakened, as her own great judgement advised. For I disassent from the common re-

ceived opinion, that my Lord of *Leicester* was absolute and above all in her Grace: and though I come somewhat short of the knowledge of those times, yet (that I might not rove, and shoot at randome) I know it from assured intelligence, that it was not so. For proof whereof (among many that I could present) I will both relate a short, and therein a known truth, And it was thus. *Bowyer*, a Gentleman of the Black rod, being charged by her expresse command to look precisely to all admiffions into the Privy-Chamber, one day stayed a very gay Captain, and a follower of my Lord of *Leicesters*, from entrance; For that he was neither well known, nor a sworn servant to the Queen: at which repulse, the Gentleman bearing high on my Lords favor, told him, he might perchance procure him a discharge: *Leicester* coming into the contestation, said publikely (which was none of his wont) that he was a Knave, and should not continue long in his office; and so turning about to go in to the Queen, *Bowyer* (who was a bold Gentleman, and well beloved) stept before him, and fell at her Majesties feet, related the story, and humbly craves her Graces pleasure; and whether my Lord of *Leicester* was King, or her Majesty Queen? Whereunto she replied with her wonted oath (Gods death) my Lord, I have wisht you well, but my favour is not so lockt up for you, that others shall not partake thereof; for I have many servants, unto whom I have, and will at my pleasure bequeath my favour, and likewise resume the same; and if you think to rule here, I will take a course to see you forth-coming: I will have here but one Mistrefs, and no Master, and look that no ill happen to him, lest it be severely required at your hands. Which so quelled my Lord of *Leicester*, that his fained humility was long after one of his best vertues. Moreover the Earl of *Suffex*, then Lord Chamberlain, was his profest Antagonist to his dying day. And for my Lord of *Hunfdon* and Sir *Thomas Sackvile*, after Lord Treasurer, (who were all Contemporaries) he was wont to

fay of them, that they were of the Tribe of *Dan*, and were *Noli me tangere's*; implying, that they were not to be contended with, for they were indeed of the Queens neer kindred. From whence, and in more instances I conclude, that she was absolute and soveraign Mistrefs of her Graces; and that all those, to whom she distributed her favours, were never more than Tenants at will, and stood on no better ground than her Princely pleasure, and their own good behaviour. And this also I present as a known observation, that she was (though very capable of Counsell) absolute enough in her own resolutions, which was ever apparent even to her last, in that her averfation to grant *Tirone* the least drop of her mercy, though earnestly and frequently advised, yea, wrought only by the whole Councell of State, with very many pressing reasons, and as the state of her Kingdome then stood, (I may speak it with assurance) necessitated Arguments. If we look into her inclination, as it is disposed either to magnificence or frugality, we shall find in them many notable considerations, for all her dispensations were so poyfied, as though discretion and justice had both agreed to stand at the beam, and see them weighed out in due proportion, the maturity of her years and judgement meeting in a concurrency, and at such an age as seldom lapseth to excess. To consider them apart: We have not many presents of her liberality, or of any large donatives to particular men; my Lord of *Effex* Book of *Parks* only excepted, which was a Princely gift, and some few more of a lesser size to my Lord of *Leicester*, *Hatton*, and others. Her rewards consisted chiefly in grants of Leafes of Offices, Places of Judicature: but for ready money, and in any great summes, she was very sparing; which we partly conceive was a vertue rather drawn from necessity, than her nature, for she had many layings out, and to her last period. And I am of opinion with *S. Walter Rawliegh*, that those many brave men of our times, and of the *Militia*, tasted little more of her

bounty than in her grace and good word, with their due entertainment, for she ever paid the Souldiers well, which was the honour of her times, and more than her great adversary of *Spain* could perform. So that when we come to the consideration of her frugality, the observation will be little more, than that her bounty and it were so inter-woven together, that the one was suited by an honourable way of spending, the other limited by a necessitated way of sparing. The Irish action we may call a malady, and a consumption of her times, for it accompanied her to her end; and it was of so profuse and vast an expence, that it drew near a distemperature of State, and of passion in her self: For toward her last she grew hard to please; her Arms being accustomed to prosperity, and the Irish prosecution not answering her expectation and wanted success for a good while, it was an unthrifty and inauspicious war, which did much disturb and mislead her judgement, and the more, for that it was a precedent which was taken out of her own pattern: For as the Queen (by way of diversion) had at the coming to the Crown supported the revolted States of *Holland*, so did the King of *Spain* turn the trick on her self towards her going out, by cherishing the Irish rebellion. Where it falls into consideration, what the State of the Kingdome and the Crown-Revenues were then able to embrace and endure; if we look into the establishment of those times, with the list of the Irish Army, considering the defeatments of *Blackwater*, with all precedent expences, as it stood from my Lord of *Essex* undertaking to the surrender of *Kingfale* under the Generall *Mountjoy*, and somewhat after; we shall find the Horse and Foot Troops were for three or four yeares together, much about 20000. Which besides the Navall charge, which was a dependant of the same Warre, in that the Queen was then forced to keep in continuall pay a strong Fleet at Sea, to attend the Spanish Coasts and Ports, both to allarm the *Spaniard*, and to intercept his Forces designed for the Irish assi-

stance: so that the charge of that Warre alone did cost the Queen 300000*l.* *per annum* at least, which was not the moiety of her disbursements, an expence which (without the publique ayd) the State and the Royall receipts could not have much longer endured; which out of her own frequent Letters and complaints to the Deputy *Mountjoy*, for casheering part of that List as soon as he could, may be collected, for the Queen was then driven into a strait.

We are naturally prone to applaud the times behind us, and to vilifie the present: for the current of her fame carries it to this day, how Royally and victoriously she lived and dyed, without the grievance and grudge of the people; yet that truth may appear without retraction from the Honour of so great a Princeesse, it is manifest she left more debts unpaid, taken upon the credit of her Privy Seales, then her Progenitors did, or could have taken up that way, in a hundred yeares before her; which was an enforced piece of State, to lay the burthen on that horse, that was best able to bear it, at the dead list, when neither her receipts could yield her relief at the pinch, nor the urgency of her affaires endure the delays of a Parliamentary assistance: And for such ayds it is likewise apparent, That she received more, and with the love of the people, than any two of her Predecessors, that took most; which was a Fortune strained out of the Subject, through the plaufibility of her Comportment, and, as I would say without offence, the prodigall distribution of her Graces to all sorts of Subjects: For I believe, no Prince living, that was so tender of Honour, and so exactly stood for the preservation of Sovereignty, that was so great a Courtier of her people, yea, of the Commons, and that stoopt and descended lower in presenting her person to the publique view, as she past in her Progresses and Perambulations; and in the ejaculation of her prayers on her people. And truly, though much may be given in praise of her magnanimity, and therewith comply

with her Parliaments, and for all that come off at last with honour and profit; yet must we ascribe some part of the commendation to the wisdoms of the times, and the choice of Parliament men: for I find not that they were at any time given to any violent or pertinacious dispute, elections being made of grave and discreet persons, not factious and ambitious of fame; such as came not to the House with a malevolent spirit of contention, but with a preparation to consult on the publique good, rather to comply than contest with her Majesty: Neither doe I find, that the House was at any time weakned and pestered with the admission of too many young heads, as it hath been of later times; which remembers me of Recorder *Martins* Speech, about the tenth of our late Sovereign Lord King *James*, when there were accounts taken of forty Gentlemen, not above twenty, and some not exceeding sixteen; which moved him to say, That it was the ancient custome for old men to make Lawes for young ones, but that then he saw the case altered, and that there were children elected unto the great Councell of the Kingdome, which came to invade and invert nature, and to enact Lawes to govern their Fathers. Sure we are, the House alwayes took the common cause into their consideration, and they saw the Queen had just occasion, and need enough to use their assistance; neither doe I remember that the House did ever capitulate or preferre their private to the publique, the Queens necessities, etc. but waited their times, and in the first place gave their supply, and according to the exigency of her affaires; yet failed not at last to obtain what they desired, so that the Queen and her Parliaments had ever the good Fortune to depart in love, and on reciprocall tearmes which are considerations which have not been so exactly observed in our last assemblies, as they might, and I would to God they had been: for considering the great debt left on the King, and in what incumbrances the House it self had then drawn him, his Majesty was

not well used, though I lay not the blame on the whole suffrage of the House, where he had many good friends ; for I dare avouch, had the House been freed of half a dozen of popular and discontented persons, such as (with the fellow that burnt the Temple at *Ephesus*) would be talked of, though but for doing of mischief, I am confident the King had obtained, that which in reason, and at his first accession, he ought to have received freely, and without any condition. But pardon the digression, which is here remembered, not in the way of aggravation, but in true zeal to the publique good, and presented in caveat to future times ; for I am not ignorant how the spirit of the Kingdome now moves to make his Majesty amends on any occasion, and how desirous the Subject is to expiate that offence at any rate, may it please his Majesty graciously to make tryall of his Subjects affection, and at what price they now value his goodnesse and magnanimity. But to our purpose, the Queen was not to learn, that as the strength of her Kingdome consisted in the multitude of her Subjects, so the security of her person rested in the love and fidelity of her people ; which she politiquely affected (as it hath been thought) somewhat beneath the height of her spirit, and natural magnanimity. Moreover it will be a true note of her providence, that she would alwayes listen to her profit, for she would not refuse the informations of mean persons, with purposed improvement, and had learned the Phylosophy of *Hoc agere*, to look into her own work ; of the which there is a notable example of one *Carwarden*, an under-Officer of the Custom-house, who observing his time, presented her with a paper, shewing how she was abused in the under-renting of her Customes, and therewithall humbly desired her Majesty to conceal him, for that it did concern two or three of her great Councillours, whom Customer *Smith* had bribed with 200l. a man, so to lose the Queen 2000l. *per annum*, which being made known to the Lords, they gave strict order, that *Carwarden* should

not have access to the back-stairs ; till at last, her Majesty smelling the craft, and missing *Carwarden*, she sent for him back, and encouraged him to stand to his information ; which the poor man did so handsomely, that within the space of ten yeares, he brought *Smith* to double his rent, or to leave the customs to new Farmers. So that we may take this also into observation ; that there were of the Queens Councell, that were not in the Catalogue of Saints.

Now as we have taken a view of some particular notions of her times, her nature, and necessities : It is not without the text, to give a short touch on the helps, and advantages of her reign, which were without parallell, for she had neither husband, brother, sister, nor children to provide for, who as they are dependants of the Crown, so doe they necessarily draw maintenance from thence, and do oftentimes exhaust and draw deep, especially when there is an ample fraternity of the blood Royall, and of the Princes of the Blood, as it was in the time of *Edward* the third, and *Henry* the fourth ; for when the Crown cannot, the publique ought to give them honourable allowance ; for they are the honour and hopes of the Kingdom, and the publique, which enjoyes them, hath a like interest in them with the Father that begot them : and our Common-Law, which is the heritage of the Kingdome, did ever of old provide ayds for the *Primogenitures*, and the eldest daughter. So that the multiplicity of Courts, and the great charge which necessarily follow a King, and Queen, a Prince and the Royall Issue, was a thing which was not *in rerum natura*, during the space of forty yeares, and which by time was worn out of memory, and without the consideration of the present times. Infomuch, that the aydes given to the late and right noble Prince *Henry*, and to his Sister the Lady *Elizabeth*, were at first generally received for Impositions of a new Coynage. Yea, the late Impositions for Knighthood (though an ancient Law) fell also into the imputation of a tax of

novelty, for that it lay long covered in the embers of division, between the Houses of *York* and *Lancaster*, and forgotten, or connived at by the succeeding Princes: So that the strangeness of the observation, and difference of those later reigns is, that the Queen took up beyond the power of the Law, which fell not into the murmure of the people; and her successors nothing, but by warrant of the Law, which nevertheless was conceived (through difuse) to be injurious to the liberty of the Kingdome.

Now before I come to any further mention of her Favourites, (for hitherto I have delivered but some obvious passages, thereby to prepare and smoothe a way for the rest that follows) it is requisite that I touch on the reliques of the other reign, I mean the body of her Sisters Council of State, which she retained intire; neither removing, nor discontenting any, although she knew them a[d]verse to her Religion (and in her Sisters time perverse towards her person) and private to her troubles and imprisonment; A prudence which was incompatible with her Sisters nature, for she both dissipated and persecuted the major part of her Brothers Council. But this will be of certainty, that how compliable soever and obsequious she found them, yet for a good space she made little use of their Counsels, more than in the ordinary course of the Board, for she held a dormant Table in her own Princely breast: yet she kept them together, and their places, without any sudden change: so that we may say of them, That they were of the Court, not of the Counsell. For whilest she amazed them with a kind of promissive disputation concerning the points controverted by both Churches, she did set down her own reservations without their privity, and made all her progressions gradations. But so, that the tenents [tents?] of her secrecy, with intent of her establishment, were pitch before it was known where the Court would sit down. Neither doe I find, that any of her Sisters Council of State were either repugnant to her Religion, or opposed

her doings (*Englefield* Master of the Horfe excepted, who withdrew himself from the Board, and shortly after from out her Dominions) so plyable and obedient they were to change with the times, and their Princes. And of this there will fall in here a relation both of recreation, and of known truth.

Paulet Marquesse of *Winchester*, and Lord Treasurer, having served then four Princes in as various and changeable season, that I may well say, time nor any age hath yielded the like president. This man being noted to grow high in her favour (as his place and experience required) was questioned by an intimate friend of his, how he stood up for thirty years together, amidst the changes and raignes of so many Chancellors and great Personages; Why, quoth the Marquesse, *Ortus sum ex salice, non ex quercu*, I was made of the plyable Willow, not of the stubborn Oak. And truly the old man hath taught them all, especially *William* Earl of *Pembroke*, for they two were ever of the Kings Religion, and over-zealous professors. Of these it is said, that being both younger Brothers (yet of Noble Houses) they spent what was left them, and came on trust to the Court; where upon the bare stock of their Wits they began to traffick for themselves and prospered so well, that they got, spent, and left more than any Subjects from the *Norman* Conquest to their own times: whereunto it hath been prettily replied, that they lived in a time of dissolution.

To conclude then, of any of the former raign, it is said, that these two lived and dyed chiefly in her favour. The latter, upon his sonnes mariage with the Lady *Katherine Grey* was like utterly to have lost himself: But at the instant of the consummation, apprehending the insafety and danger of an inter-mariage with the Bloud-Royall, he fell at the Queens feet, where he both acknowledged his presumption with teares, and projected the cause and the divorce together; and so quick he was at his work, (for it stood him upon) that

upon repudiation of the Lady, he clapt up a marriage for his Son the Lord *Herbert*, with *Mary Sidney* daughter to Sir *Henry Sidney*, then Lord Deputy of *Ireland*; the blow falling on *Edward* late Earl of *Hereford*, who to his cost took up the divorced Lady, of whom the Lord *Beauchamp* was born, and *William* Earl of *Hereford* is descended. I come now to present those of her own Election, which she either admitted to her secrets of State, or took into her grace and favour: of whom, in their order, I crave leave to give unto posterity a cautious description, with a short Character or draught of the persons themselves. For without offence to others, I would be true to my self, their memories and merits distinguishing them of the *Militia* from the *Togati*; and of these she had as many and those as able Ministers, as any of her Progenitors.

Leicester.



IT will be out of doubt, that my Lord of *Leicester* was one of the first whom she made Master of the Horse: he was the youngest Sonne then living of the Duke of *Northumberland*, beheaded *primo Mariæ*; and his Father was that *Dudley*, which our Histories couple with *Empson*; and both so much infamed for the Caterpillars of the Common-wealth, during the reign of *Henry* the seventh, who being of a Noble extract, was executed the first year of *Henry* the eight: but not thereby so extinct, but that he left a plentiful Estate, and such a Son, who, as the vulgar speaks it, could live without the teat; for out of the ashes of his Fathers infamie, he rose to be a Duke, and as high, as subjection could permit, or Sovereignty endure; and though he could not find out any appellation to assume the Crown in his own Person, yet he projected, and very neerly effected it for his Son *Gilbert*, by inter-marriage with the Lady *Iane Grey*, and so by that way to bring it

about into his loynes. Observations, which though they lie behind us, and seem impertinent to the Text, yet are they not much extravagant: for they must lead, and shew us how the after-passages were brought about with the dependances, and on the hinges of a collaterall workmanship: and truly, it may amaze a well settled judgement, to look back into those times, and to consider how this Duke could attain to such a pitch of greatnesse; his Father dying in ignominie, and at the Gallows, his Estate confiscate, and that for peeling and polling, by the clamour, and crucifige of the people; but when we better think upon it, we find that he was given up, but as a Sacrifice to please the people, not for any offence committed against the person of the King; so that upon the matter he was a Martyr of the Prerogative, and the King in honour could doe no lesse, than give back to his Son the priviledges of his blood, with the acquisitions of his Fathers profession, for he was a Lawyer, and of the Kings Counsels at Law, before he came to be *ex interioribus consiliis*, where besides the licking of his own fingers, he got the King a masse of riches, and that not with the hazard, but the losse of his fame and life for the Kings Fathers sake. Certain it is, that his sonne was left rich in purse and brain, which are good foundations, and full to ambition; and it may be supposed, he was on all occasions well heard of the King, as a person of mark and compassion in his eye: but I find not that he did put up for advancement, during *Henry* the eights time, although a vast aspirer, and provident storer. It seems he thought the Kings reign was given to the falling sicknesse: but espying his time fitting, and the Sovereignty in the hands of a pupil Prince, he thought he might as well then put up for it as the best, for having then possession of blood, and a purse, with a head-piece of a vast extent, he soon got honour, and no sooner there, but he began to sive it with the best, even with the Protector, and in conclusion got his, and his Brothers

heads ; still aspiring, till he expired, in the losse of his own : so that posterity may by reading the Father and Grandfather, make judgement of the Son ; for we shall find, that this *Robert* (whose originall we have now traced, the better to present him) was inheritor of the genius and craft of his Father, and *Ambrose* of the estate, of whom hereafter we shall make some short mention.

We take him now as he was admitted into the Court, and the Queens favour, where he was not to seek to play his part well, and dexteriously. But his play was chiefly at the fore-game ; not that he was a learner at the latter, but he loved not the after-wit, for they report (and I think not untruly) that he was feldome behind hand with his Gamesters, and that they alwayes went away with the losse.

He was a very goodly person, and singular well featured, and all his youth well favoured, and of a sweet aspect, but high-foreheaded, which as I should take it, was of no discommendation : but towards his latter end (which with old men, was but a middle age) he grew high-coloured and red-faced. So that the Queen in this, had much of her Father, for (excepting some of her kindred, and some few that had handsome wits in crooked bodies) she alwayes took personage in the way of her election ; for the people hath it to this day in proverb, King *Harry* loved a man. Being thus in her grace, she called to mind the sufferings of his Ancestors, both in her Fathers and sisters reigns, and restored his and his brothers blood, creating *Ambrose*, the elder, Earl of *Warwick*, and himself Earl of *Leicester*. etc. And he was *ex primitiis*, or of her first choice ; for he rested not there, but long enjoyed her favour : and therewith much what he listed, till time and emulation (the companions of great ones) had resolved on his period, and to cover him at his setting in a cloud at *Cornbury*, not by so violent a death, and by the fatall sentence of Judicature, as that of his Fathers and Grandfathers was ; but as it is suggested,

by that poyson which he had prepared for others, wherein they report him a rare Artift. I am not bound to give credit to all vulgar relations, or to the libels of the times, which are commonly forced, and falsified fuitable to the moods and humours of men in passion and discontent: But that which leads me to think him no good man, is amongst others of known truth, that of my Lord of *Effex* death in *Ireland*, and the marriage of his Lady yet living, which I forbear to presse, in regard that he is long since dead, and others living whom it may concern.

To take him in the observations of his Letters and Writings (which should best set him off) for such as fell into my hands, I never yet saw a style or phrase more seeming religious, and fuller of the streames of devotion; and were they not sincere, I doubt much of his well-being; and I may fear he was too well seen in the Aphorismes and principles of *Nicholas* the *Florentine*, and in the reaches of *Cæsar Borgia*. Hitherto I have touched him in his Courtship; I conclude him in his Lance. He was sent Governour by the Queen to the United States of *Holland*; where we read not of his wonders; for they say that he had more of *Mercury* than of *Mars*; and that his device might have been, without prejudice to the Great *Cæsar*, *Veni, vidi, redii*.

Suffex.



Is Corrivall before mentioned, was *Thomas Radcliffe* Earl of *Suffex*, who in his constellation was his direct opposite; for he was indeed one of the Queens Martialists, and did very good service in *Ireland* at her first accession, till she recalled him to the Court, where she made him Lord *Chamberlain*; but he played not his game with that cunning and dexterity as *Leicester* did, who was much the more facete Courtier, though *Suffex* was thought much the honestest man, and far the better souldier: but he lay too open on his guard.

He was a goodly Gentleman, and of a brave Noble nature, true and constant to his friends and servants: He was also of a very Noble and ancient lineage, honoured through many descents by the title of Viscounts *Fitzwalters*. Moreover there was such an Antipathy in his nature to that of *Leicesters*, that being together in Court, and both in high employments, they grew to a direct frowardnesse, and were in continual opposition; the one setting the watch, the other the sentinell, each on the others actions and motions; for my Lord of *Suffex* was of a great spirit, which backt with the Queens speciall favour, and supported by a great and ancient inheritance, could not brook the others Empire: Infomuch as the Queen upon fundry occasions had somewhat to doe to appease and attain them, untill death parted the competition, and left the place to *Leicester*, who was not long alone without his rivall in grace and command. And to conclude this Favourite: it is confidently affirmed, that lying in his last sicknesse, he gave this caveat to his Friends: I am now passing into another world, and I must now leave you to your Fortunes, and to the Queens grace and goodnesse: but beware of the Gipsie, meaning *Leicester*, for he will be too hard for you all, you know not the beast so well as I do.

Lord *Burleigh*.



Now come to the next, which was Secretary *William Cecil*; For on the death of the old Marques of *Winchester*, he came up in his room. A person of a most subtile and active spirit, who though he stood not altogether by the way of constellation and making up of a part and faction, for he was wholly intente to the service of his Mistris, and his dexterity, experience, and merit challenged a room in the Queens favour, which eclipsed the others over-seeming greatnesse, and made it appear, that there were others that steered and stood at the Helm besides himself, and

more Starres in the Firmament of her grace than *Ursa major*, or the Bear with the ragged staffe.

He was born, as they say, in *Lincolnshire*; but as some upon knowledge averre, of a younger Brother of the *Cecils* of *Hartfordshire*, a family (of mine own knowledge) though now private, yet of no mean antiquity. Who being exposed, and sent to the City, as poor Gentlemen use to do their younger Sons, he came to be a rich man on *London bridge*; and purchasing in *Lincolnshire*, where this man was born, he was sent to *Cambridge*, then to the Innes of Court, and so he came to serve the Duke of *Sommerfet* in the time of his Protectorship as Secretary; and having a pregnancy to great inclinations, he came by degrees to a higher conversation with the chiefest affairs of State and Councils: but on the fall of the Duke he stood some yeers in umbrage, and without imployment, till the State found and needed his abilities: and though we find not that he was taken into any place, during *Maries* raign, unlesse (as some have said) towards the last; yet the Council on severall occasions made use of him, and at the Queens entrance he was admitted Secretary of State, afterwards he was made Master of the Court of Wards, then Lord Treasurer: A person of most exquisite abilities. And indeed the Queen began then to need, and to seek out for men of both Garbs, and so I conclude, and rank this great Instrument of State amongst the *Togati*, for he had not to doe with the Sword, more than as the great Pay-master, and Contriver of Warre, which shortly followed, wherein he accomplished much through his Theoricall knowledge at home, and intelligence abroad, by unlocking the Councils of the Queens enemies.

We must now take (and that of truth) into observation, That untill the tenth of her reign her times were calm and serene, though sometimes a little over-cast, as the most glorious Sun-risings are subject to shadowings and droppings in. For the clouds of *Spain*, and vapours of the Holy League, began then to disperse

and threaten her serenity ; Moreover she was then to provide against some intestine stormes, which began to gather in the very heart of her Kingdome ; all which had a relation and correspondencie each with other, to dethrone her, and to disturbe the publike tranquillity, and therewithall (as a principall work) the established Religion ; for the name of Recufant began then, and first to be known to the world, and till then the Catholiques were no more than Church Papists ; but were commanded by the Popes exprefs Letters to appear, and forbear Church-going, as they tender their holy Father, and the holy Catholique Church their Mother : so that it seems the Pope had then his aimes to take a true muster of his children ; but the Queen had the greater advantage, for she likewise took tale of her apostate Subjects, their strength, and how many they were that had given up their names unto *Baal*. He then by the hands of some of his Profelytes, fixed his Bulls on the Gates of *Pauls*, which discharged her Subjects of all fidelity, and laid siege to the received faith, and so under the vail of the next Successor, to replant the Catholique Religion ; so that the Queen had then a new task and work in hand, that might well awake her best providence, and required a muster of men and Armes, as well as Courtships and Councils ; for the times began to be quick and active, and fitter for stronger motions, than those of the Carpet ; and it will be a true note of her magnanimity, that she loved a Souldier, and had a propension in her nature to regard, and alwayes to grace them : which the Courtiers taking into observation, took it as an invitation to win honour, together with her Majesties favour, by exposing themselves to the Warres ; especially, when the Queens and the affairs of the Kingdome stood in some necessity of a Souldier : For we have many instances of the Sallies of the Nobility and Gentry : yea, and out of the Court, and her privy Favourites (that had any touch or tincture of *Mars* in their inclinations) and to steal away without License, and the Queens privity, which had like to have cost

some of them dear; so predominant were their thoughts and hopes of honour growing in them; as we may truly observe in the dispositions of Sir *Philip Sidney*, my Lord of *Effex*, *Mountjoy*, and divers others, whose absence, and the manner of their eruptions was very distastefull to her: whereof I can here adde a true and no impertinent story, and that of the last *Mountjoy*; who having twice or thrice stoln away into *Britain* (where under Sir *John Norris* he had then a Company) without the Queens leave and privity; she sent a Messenger unto him, with a strict charge to the Generall to see him sent home: when he came into the Queens presence, she fell into a kind of reviling, demanding how he durst goe over without her leave; Serve me so (quoth she) once more, and I will lay you fast enough for running; You will never leave it untill you are knockt on the head, as that inconsiderate fellow *Sidney* was; You shall go when I send you, in the mean time see that you lodge in the Court (which was then at *White-hall*) where you may follow your Book, read and discourse of the Wars.

But to our purpose: It fell out happily to those, and (as I may say) to those times, That the Queen, during the calm of her Reign, was not idle, nor rockt asleep with security; for she had been very provident in the Reparation and Augmentation of her Shipping and Ammunition: and I know not whether by a fore-sight of policy, or an instinct, it came about, or whether it was an act of her compassion; but it is most certain, That she sent Levies, and no small Troops to the assistance of the revolted States of *Holland*, before she had received any affront from the King of *Spain*, that might deserve, or tend to a breach in Hostility; which the Papists to this day maintain, was the provocation and cause of the after-wars: but omitting what might be said to this point, those Netherland wars were the Queens Seminaries, and the Nurseries of very many brave Souldiers; and so were likewise the Civill wars of *France* (whither she sent five severall Armies) the Fence-schools that inured the youth and Gallantry of

the Kingdom, and it was a *Militia* wherein they were daily in acquaintance with the discipline of the *Spaniards*, who were then turned the Queens inveterate enemies.

And this have I taken into observation of her *Dies Halcionii*, those yeares of hers which were more serene and quiet than those that followed; which though they were not lesse propitious, as being touched more with the point of honour and victory, yet were they troubled, and ever clouded over both with domestique and forraign machinations; and it is already quoted, they were such as awakened her spirits, and made her cast about how to defend, rather by offending, and by the way of diverting to prevent all Invasions, then to expect them, which was a piece of policy of the times: and with this I have noted the causes or *principia* of the Warres following, and likewise pointed to the seed-plots from whence she took up those brave men, and plants of honour, which acted on the theatre of *Mars*, and on whom she dispersed the rayes of her grace, which were persons in their kindes of rare vertues, and such as might (out of height of merit) pretend interest to her favour; of which rank, the number will equall, if not exceed that of the Gown-men. In recount of whom I proceed with Sir *Philip Sidney*.

Sir *Philip Sidney*.



HE was sonne to Sir *Henery Sidney*, Lord Deputy of *Ireland*, and President of *Wales*; a person of great parts, and in no mean grace with the Queen; his mother was sister to my Lord of *Leicester*, from whence we may conjecture, how the Father stood up in the place of honour and imployment, so that his descent was apparently noble on both sides: For his education, it was such as travell, and the University could afford, or his Tutours infuse; for after an incredible proficiency in all the species of Learning; he left the Academicall life, for that of the Court, whither he came by his Uncles invitation, famed afore-hand by a

noble report of his accomplishments, which together with the state of his person, framed by a naturall propension to Armes, he soon attracted the good opinion of all men, and was so highly prized in the good opinion of the Queen, that she thought the Court deficient without him: And whereas (through the fame of his deserts) he was in the election for the Kingdom of *Pole*, she refused to further his advancement, not out of emulation, but out of fear to lose the jewell of her times: He married the daughter and sole heir of Sir *Francis Walsingham*, then Secretary of State, a Lady destined to the Bed of honour, who (after his deplorable death at *Zutphen* in the *Netherlands*, where he was Governour of *Flushing* at the time of his Uncles being there) was married to my Lord of *Effex*, and since his death to my Lord of Saint *Albans*, all persons of the sword, and otherwise of great honour and vertue.

They have a very quaint and facetious figment of him, That *Mars* and *Mercury* fell at variance whose servant he should be. And there is an *Epigrammist* that saith, that Art and Nature had spent their excellencies in his fashioning; and fearing they should not end what they begun, they bestowed him on Fortune, and nature stood musing and amazed to behold her own work; but these are the fictions of Poets.

Certain it is, He was a noble and matchless Gentleman, and it may be justly said without hyperboles of fiction, as it was of *Cato Uticensis*, That he seemed to be born to that onely which he went about. *Verfatilis ingenii*, as *Plutarch* hath it. But to speak more of him, were to make him lesse.

Sir *Fr. Walsingham*



Sir *Francis Walsingham* (as we have said) had the honour to be Sir *Philip Sidney's* Father in law: He was a Gentleman (at first) of a good house, but of better education, and from the University travelled

for the rest of his Learning. He was doubtlesse the best Linguist of the times, but knew best how to use his own tongue, whereby he came to be employed in the chiefest affaires of State. He was sent Ambassadour into *France*, and stayed there a Lieger long, in the heat of the civill warres, and at the same time that Mounfier was here a Suitor to the Queen; and, if I be not mistaken, he played the very same part there, as since *Gundamore* did here: At his return, he was taken principal Secretary, and was one of the great Engines of State, and of the times, high in the Queens favour, and a watchful servant over the safety of his Mistresse.

They note him to have had certain curiosities, and secret wayes of intelligence above the rest: But I must confesse I am to seek wherefore he suffered *Parry* to play so long on the hook, before he hoysed him up; and I have been a little curious in the search thereof, though I have not to doe with the *Arcana Imperii*. For to know is sometimes a burthen; and I remember that it was *Ovid's crimen aut error*, That he saw too much. But I hope these are Collaterals of no danger. But that *Parry* intending to kill the Queen, made the way of his accessse by betraying of others, and impeaching of the Priests of his own correspondency, and thereby had accessse and conference with the Queen, and also oftentimes familiar and private conference with *Walsingham*, will not be the Quære of the mystery; for the Secretary might have had end of discovery on a further maturity of the Treason: but that after the Queen knew *Parries* intent, why she should then admit him to private discourse, and *Walsingham* to suffer it, considering the condition of all affairs, and permit him to go where and whither he listed, and onely on the security of a dark sentinell set over him, was a piece of reach and hazard beyond my apprehension.

I must again professe, That having read many of his Letters (for they are commonly sent to my Lord of *Leicester*, and *Burleigh*, out of *France*) containing many

fine passages and secrets; yet if I might have been beholding to his Cyphers, whereof they are full, they would have told pretty tales of the times. But I must now close up, and rank him amongst the *Togati*, yet chief of those that laid the foundation of the *Dutch* and *French* wars, which was another piece of his fineness, and of the times; with one observation more, That he was one of the great allayes of the Austerian embracements: For both himself, and *Stafford* that preceded him, might well have been compared to the fiend in the Gospel, that sowed his tares in the night; so did they their feeds of division in the dark. And it is a likely report that they father on him, at his return, That he said unto the Queen, with some sensibility of the Spanish designs on *France*: Madam, I beseech you be content not to fear; The *Spaniard* hath a great appetite, and an excellent digestion, but I have fitted him with a bone for this twenty yeares, that your Majesty shall have no cause to doubt him; provided that if the fire chance to slack which I have kindled, you will be ruled by me, and now and then cast in some English fewel, which will revive the flame.

Willoughby.



Y Lord *Willoughby* was one of the Queens first Sword-men: He was of the ancient extract of the *Bartues*, but more ennobled by his mother, who was Dutcheffe of *Suffolk*.

He was a great Master of the Art Military, and was sent Generall into *France*, and commanded the second of five Armies that the Queen sent thither in aid of the *French*. I have heard it spoken, that had he not slighted the Court, but applyed himself to the Queen, he might have enjoyed a plentiful portion of her grace: And it was his saying, (and it did him no good) That he was none of the *Reptilia*, intimating, that he could not creep on the ground, and that the Court was not in his Element; for indeed, as he was a great

Souldier, so was he of a fuitable magnanimity, and could not brook the obsequiousnesse and assiduity of the Court; and as he then was somewhat descending from youth, happily he had an *animam revertendi*, and to make a safe retreat.

Sir *Nic. Bacon.*




Come to another of the *Togati*, Sir *Nicholas Bacon*, An arch-piece of Wit and Wisdom. He was a Gentleman, and a man of Law, and of great knowledge therein; whereby, together with his other parts of learning and dexterity, he was promoted to be Keeper of the Great Seal: and being of kin to the Treasurer *Burleigh*, had also the help of his hand to bring him into the Queens favour; for he was abundantly factious, which took much with the Queen, when it was suited with the season, as he was well able to judge of his times. He had a very quaint saying, and he used it often to good purpose; That he loved the jest well, but not the losse of his friend. He would say, That though he knew, *Unusquisque suæ fortunæ faber*, was a true and good principle; yet the most in number were those that marred themselves. But I will never forgive that man, that loseth himself, to be rid of his jest.


He was father to that Refined Wit, which since hath acted a disastrous part on the publique stage, and of late fate in his Fathers room as Lord Chancellor. Those that lived in his age, and from whence I have taken this little Modell of him, give him a lively Character; and they decipher him for another *Solon*, and the *Synon* of those times, such a one as *Oedipus* was in dissolving of Riddles. Doubtlesse he was as able an Instrument; and it was his commendation, that his head was the Mawl (for it was a great one) and therein he kept the Wedge that entred the knotty pieces that came to the Table. And now I must again fall back to smooth and plain a way to the rest that is behind, but not from the purpose.

There were about these times two Rivals in the Queens favour; Old Sir *Francis Knowls* Controller of the House, and Sir *Henry Norris*, whom she called up at a Parliament to sit with the Peers in the higher House, as Lord *Norris* of *Ricot*, who had married the daughter and heir of the old L. *Williams* of *Tame*, a Noble person, and to whom in the Queens adversity she had been committed to safe custody, and from him had received more than ordinary observances. Now such was the goodnesse of the Queens nature, that she neither forgot good turns received from the Lord *Williams*, neither was she unmindfull of this Lord *Norris*, whose Father, in her Fathers time, and in the businesse of her Mother, dyed in a Noble cause, and in the justification of her innocencie.

Lord *Norris*.

Y Lord *Norris* had by this Lady an ample Issue, which the Queen highly respected: for he had six Sonnes, and all Martiall brave men: The first was *William* his eldest, and Father to the late Earl of *Berkshire*; Sir *John*, vulgarly called Generall *Norris*; Sir *Edward*, Sir *Thomas*, Sir *Henry*, and *Maximilian*; Men of an haughty courage, and of great experience in the conduct of Military affaires: And to speak in the Character of their merit, they were persons of such renown and worth, as future times must out of duty owe them the debt of an honourable memory.

Knowls.

Ir *Francis Knowls* was somewhat of the Queens affinity, and had likewise no incompetent Issue; for he had also *William* his eldest, and since Earl of *Banbury*, Sir *Thomas*, Sir *Robert*, and Sir *Francis*; if I be not a little mistaken in their names and martialling; and there was also the Lady *Lettice*, a Sister of these,

who was first Countesse of *Effex*, and after of *Leicester*. And these were also brave men in their times and places; but they were of the Court and Carpet, not led by the genius of the Camp.

Between these two Families, there was (as it falleth out amongst Great ones, and Competitors for favour) no great correspondencie: and there were some seeds, either of emulation or distrust cast between them, which had not been disjoyned in the residence of their persons, (as it was the fortune of their employments, the one side attending the Court, the other the Pavilion) surely they would have broken out into some kind of hostility, or at least they would have wrestled one in the other, like Trees incircled with ivy: For there was a time when (both these Fraternities being met at Court) there passed a challenge between them at certain exercises, the Queen and the old men being spectators, which ended in a flat quarrell amongst them all. And I am perswaded (though I ought not to judge) that there were some reliques of this feud, that were long after the causes of the one Families (almost utter) extirpation, and of the others improsperty. For it was a known truth, that so long as my Lord of *Leicester* lived, who was the main pillar of the one side, as having married the Sister, none of the other side took any deep rooting in the Court, though otherwise they made their wayes to Honour by their swords: And that which is of more note, (considering my Lord of *Leicester's* use of Men of Arms, being shortly after sent Governour to the Revolted States, and no Souldier himself) is, that he made no more accompt of Sir *John Norris*, a Souldier then deservedly famous, and trained from a Page, under the discipline of the great Captain of Christendome, the Admirall *Castillon*, and of Command in the French and Dutch wars almost twenty yeers. It is of further observation, that my Lord of *Effex* (after *Leicester's* decease) though initiated to Armes, and honoured by the General in the *Portugal* expedition, whether out of instigation (as it hath been thought) or out of ambi-

tion, and jealousie to be eclipsed and overshadowed by the fame and splendour of this great Commander, loved him not in sincerity. Moreover, certain it is, he not onely crusht, and upon all occasions quell'd the growth of this brave man, and his famous Brethren ; but therewith drew on his own fatall end, by undertaking the Irish action, in a time when he left the Court empty of friends, and full fraught with his profest enemies. But I forbear to extend my self in any further relation upon this subject ; as having left some notes of truth in these two Noble Families, which I would present ; and therewith toucht somewhat, which I would not, if the equity of the Narration would have admitted an intermission.

Sir *John Perrot*.



Sir *John Perrot* was a goodly Gentleman, and of the Sword: And as he was of a very ancient descent, as an heir to many abstracts of Gentry, especially from *Guy de Bryan* of *Lawhern*, so was he of a vast Estate, and came not to the Court for want. And to these adjuncts, he had the endowments of courage, and height of spirit, had it lighted on the allay of temper and discretion ; the defect whereof, with a native freedom and boldnesse of speech, drew him on to a clouded setting, and laid him open to the spleen and advantage of his enemies, amongst whom Sir *Christopher Hatton* was profest. He was yet a wise man, and a brave Courtier ; but rough, and participating more of active than sedentary motions, as being in his constellation destinated for Armes. There is a quære of some denotations, how he came to receive his foyle, and that in the Catastrophe ; for he was strengthened with honourable Alliances, and the privy friendships of the Court ; My Lord of *Leicester*, and *Burleigh*, both his Contemporaries, and Familiars ; but that there might be (as the Adage hath it) falsity in friendship ; and we may rest satisfied, that there is no disputing against fate.

They quote him for a person that loved to stand too much alone, and on his own legges; of too often recesses, and discontinuance from the Queens presence; A fault which is incompatible with the wayes of Court and favour.

He was sent Lord Deputy into *Ireland*, (as it was thought) for a kind of haughtinesse of spirit, and repugnancy in Councils; or as others have thought, the fittest person then to bridle the insolency of the *Irish*; And probable it is, that both these (considering the sway that he would have at the Board, and head in the Queens favour) concurred, and did a little conspire his remove, and his ruine: But into *Ireland* he went, where he did the Queen very great and many services, if the surplussage of the measure did not abate the value of the merit; as after-times found that to be no paradox: For to save the Queens purse, (which both her self, and my Lord Treasurer *Burleigh*, ever took for good services) he imposed on the *Irish* the charge of bearing their own armes; which both gave them the possession, and taught them the use of weapons; which proved in the end a most fatall work, both in the profusion of blood and treasure.

But at his return, and on some account sent home before touching the state of the Kingdome, the assiduous testimonies of her grace were towards him; till by his retreat to his Castle at *Cary*, where he was then building, and out of desire to be in command at home, (as he had been abroad) together with the hatred and practice of *Hatton*, then in high favour, whom not long before he had too bitterly taunted for his dancing, He was accused for high Treason, and for high words and a forged Letter, condemned; though the Queen on the newes of his condemnation, swore by her wonted oath, That they were all knaves. And they deliver with assurance, That on his return to the Tower, after his Triall, he said in oathes and in fury to the Lieutenant Sir *Owen Hopton*, What, will the Queen suffer her Brother to be offered up as a sacrifice to the envy of my frisking adversaries? Which being made known

to the Queen, and the Warrant for his execution tendered, and somewhat enforced; she refused to sign it, and swore he should not die, for he was an honest and a faithfull man. And surely, though not altogether to set up our rest and faith upon tradition, and upon old report, as that Sir *Thomas Perrot* his Father was a Gentleman of the Privy-Chamber to *Henry* the eight, and in the Court married a Lady of great honour, of the Kings familiarity, which are presumptions of some implication: But if we goe a little further, and compare his picture, his qualities, gesture, and voyce, with that of the Kings, which memory retains yet amongst us, they will plead strongly, that he was a subrepticious child of the blood Royall.

Certain it is, that he lived not long in the Tower; and that after his decease, Sir *Thomas Perrot* his Son (then of no mean esteem with the Queen) having before married my Lord of *Effex* Sister, since Countess of *Northumberland*, had restitution of all his lands; though after his decease also (which immediately followed) the Crown resumed his Estate, and took advantage of the former Attainder. And to say the truth, the Priests forged Letter was at his arraignment thought but a fiction of envy, and was soon after exploded by the Priests own confession. But that which most exasperated the Queen, and gave advantage to his enemies, was (as Sir *Walter Rawleigh* takes into his observation) words of disdain. For the Queen by sharp and reprehensive Letters, had netled him; and shortly after sending others of approbation, commending his service, and intimating an invasion from *Spain*; which he no sooner perused, but he said publicquely in the great Chamber at *Dublin*: Lo, now she is ready to pisse her self for fear of the *Spaniard*; I am again one of her White-boyes.

Words which are subject to a various construction, and tended to some disreputation of his Sovereign: and such as may serve for instruction to persons in place of honour and command, to beware of the vio-

lences of nature, but especially of the exorbitances of the tongue. And so I conclude him with this double observation, The one of the innocency of his intentions, exempt and clear from the guilt of treason and disloyalty ; The other, of the greatnesse of his heart : For at his arraignment, he was so little dejected by what might be alledged and proved against him, that he rather grew troubled with choler, and in a kind of exasperation despised his Jury, though of the Order of Knighthood, and of the speciall Gentry, claiming the priviledge of triall by the Peeres and Baronage of the Realm : so prevalent was that of his native Genius, and the haughtinesse of his spirit, which accompanied him to his last, and till (without any diminution of courage) it brake in pieces the cords of his magnanimity, for he dyed suddenly in the Tower, and when it was thought the Queen did intend his enlargement, with the restitution of his possessions, which were then very great, and comparable to most of the Nobility.

Hatton.



SIR *Christopher Hatton* came into the Court as his opposite, *Sir John Perrot*, was wont to say by the Galliard, for he came thither as a private Gentleman of the Innes of Court in a Mask ; and for his activity and person, which was tall and proportionable, taken into favour : he was first made Vice-Chamberlain, and shortly afterward advanced to the place of Lord Chancellor : a Gentleman, that besides the graces of his person, and dancing, had also the adjectaments of a strong and subtill capacity, one that could soon learn the discipline and garb both of the times and Court ; the truth is, he had a large proportion of gifts and endowments, but too much of the season of envy ; and he was a meer vegetable of the Court, that sprung up at night, and funk again at his noon.

Lord *Effingham*.

MY Lord of *Effingham*, though a Courtier be-
times, yet I find not, that the sun-shine of
her favour broke out upon him, untill she
took him into the Ship, and made him
High-Admirall of *England*. For his ex-
tract, it may suffice, that he was the son of a *Howard*,
and of a Duke of *Norfolk*: And for his person, as
goodly a Gentleman as the times had any; if Nature
had not been more intente to compleat his person,
than Fortune to make him rich: For the times con-
sidered, which were then active, and a long time after
lucrative, he dyed not wealthy, yet the honestest man;
though it seemes the Queens purpose was to tender the
occasion of his advancement, and to make him capable
of more Honour: which at his return from *Cadize*-
Accounts she conferred on him, creating him Earle of
Nottingham; to the great discontent of his Colleague,
my Lord of *Effex*, who then grew excessive in the ap-
petite of her favour; and in truth, was so exorbitant in
the limitation of the Sovereign aspect, that it much
alienated the Queenes grace from him, and drew others
together with the Admirall to a combination, and to
conspire his ruine. And though I have heard it from
that party, (I mean of the Admiralsfaction) that it lay not
in his proper power to hurt my Lord of *Effex*, yet he had
more Followers, and such as were well skilled in setting
of the gyn. But I leave this to those of another age.

It is out of doubt, that the Admirall was a good, honest,
and a brave man, and a faithfull servant to his Mistresse, and
such a one as the Queen, out of her own Princely judge-
ment, knew to be a fit Instrument for that service, for she
was no ill Proficient in the reading of Men, as well as Books;
and his sundry expeditions, as that aforementioned, and
88. doth both expresse his worth, and manifest the Queens
trust, and the opinion she had of his fidelity and conduct.

Moreover, the *Howards* were of the Queenes alli-
ance and consanguinity by her Mother, which swayd
her affection, and bent it toward this great House; and
it was part of her naturall propension, to grace and

support ancient Nobility, where it did not intrench, neither invade her interest ; for on such trespasses she was quick and tender, and would not spare any whatsoever ; as we may observe in the case of the Duke, and my Lord of *Hereford*, whom she much favoured and countenanced, till they attempted the forbidden fruit ; The fault of the last, being in the severest interpretation but a trespass of incroachment ; But in the first, it was taken for a Ryot against the Crown, and her own Sovereign power : and as I have ever thought, the cause of her aversion against the rest of the House, and the Dukes great Father-in-law *Fitz Allen* Earle of *Arundel*, a person of the first rank in her affections, before these ; and some other jealousies made a separation between them ; this Noble Lord, and the Lord *Thomas Howard*, since Earl of *Suffolk*, standing alone in her grace, the rest in umbrage.

Sir *John Packington*.



SIR *John Packington* was a Gentleman of no mean family, and of form and feature no way despisable ; for he was a brave Gentleman, and a very fine Courtier ; and for the time he stayed there, (which was not lasting) very high in her grace ; but he came in, and went out, and through disaffiduity, drew the Curtain between himself and the light of her grace ; and then death overwhelmed the remnant, and utterly deprived him of recovery : And they say of him, that had he brought lesse to the Court than he did, he might have carried away more than he brought ; for he had a time on it, but an ill husband of opportunity.

Lord *Hunsdon*.



MY Lord of *Hunsdon* was of the Queens nearest kindred ; and on the decease of *Suffex*, both he and his Son took the place of Lord Chamberlain ; he was a fast man to his Prince, and firm to his friends and

fervants; and though he might speak big, and therein would be born out, yet was he not the more dreadfull, but lesse harmfull, and far from the practise of my Lord of *Leicesters* instructions, for he was down-right; and I have heard those that both knew him well, and had interest in him, say merrily of him, that his Latine and his dissimulation were both alike; and that his custome of swearing, and obscenity in speaking, made him seem a worse Christian than he was, and a better Knight of the Carpet than he should be: As he lived in a ruffling time, so he loved sword and buckler men, and such as our Fathers were wont to call men of their hands; of which sort, he had many brave Gentlemen that followed him; yet not taken for a popular and dangerous person. And this is one that stood amongst the *Togati*, of an honest stout heart, and such a one (as upon occasion) would have fought for his Prince, and his Country, for he had the charge of the Queens Person, both in the Court, and the Camp at *Tilbury*.

Rawleigh.



IR *Walter Rawleigh* was one, that (it seems) Fortune had pickt out of purpose, of whom to make an example, or to use as her Tennis-Ball, thereby to shew what she could doe; for she tost him up of nothing, and too and fro to greatnesse, and from thence down to little more than to that wherein she found him, (a bare Gentleman) Not that he was lesse, for he was well descended, and of good alliance, but poor in his beginnings: and for my Lord of *Oxfords* jest of him, (the Jack, and an upstart) we all know, it favours more of emulation, and his humour, than of truth; and it is a certain note of the times, that the Queen in her choice, never took into her favour a meer new man, or a Mechanick, as *Comines* observes of *Lewis* the eleventh of *France*, who did serve himself with persons of unknown Parents; such as was *Oliver* the Barber, whom he created Earle of *Dunoyes*, and made him *ex*

secretis consiliis, and alone in his favour and familiarity.

His approaches to the University and Innes of Court, were the grounds of his improvement; but they were rather excursions, than sieges or settings down, for he stayed not long in a place; and being the youngest brother, and the house diminished in Patrimony, he foresaw his own destiny; that he was first to roul (through want and disability to subsist otherways) before he could come to a repose, and as the stone doth by long lying gather mofs: He first exposed himself to the Land service of *Ireland*, a *Militia* which then did not yeeld him food and rayment, (for it was ever very poor) nor had he patience to stay there, though shortly after he came thither again under the command of my Lord *Grey*; but with his own Colours flying in the field; having in his interim cast a new chance, both in the Low-Countries, and in a Voyage to Sea; and if ever man drew vertue out of necessity, it was he: therewith was he the great example of industry; and though he might then have taken that of the Merchant to himself, *Per mare, per terras, currit mercator ad Indos*, He might also have said, and truly with the Phylosopher, *Omnia mea mecum porto*; For it was a long time before he could brag of more than he carried at his back; and when he got on the winning side, it was his commendations, that he took pains for it, and underwent many various adventures for his after-perfection, and before he came into the publike note of the World: And that it may appear how he came up (*Per ardua*) *Per varios casus, per tot discrimina rerum*, not pulled up by chance, or by any gentle admittance of Fortune; I will briefly describe his native parts, and those of his own acquiring, which were the hopes of his rising.

He had in the outward man, a good prefence, in a handsome and well compacted person, a strong naturall wit, and a better judgement, with a bold and plausible tongue, whereby he could set out his parts to the best advantage; and to these he had the adjuncts of some

generall Learning, which by diligence he enforced to a great augmentation, and perfection; for he was an indefatigable Reader, whether by Sea or Land, and none of the least observers both of men and the times; and I am confident, that among the second causes of his growth, that variance between him, and my Lord *Grey*, in his descent into *Ireland*, was a principall; for it drew them both over the Councell Table, there to plead their cause, where (what advantage he had in the cause, I know not) but he had much better in the telling of his tale; and so much, that the Queen and the Lords took no flight mark of the man, and his parts; for from thence he came to be known, and to have access to the Queen, and the Lords; and then we are not to doubt how such a man would comply, and learn the way of progression. And whether *Leicester* had then cast in a good word for him to the Queen, which would have done no harm, I doe not determine: But true it is, He had gotten the Queens eare at a trice, and she began to be taken with his elocution, and loved to hear his reasons to her demands: and the truth is, she took him for a kind of Oracle, which netled them all; yea, those that he relyed on, began to take his suddain favour as an Allarum, and to be sensible of their own supplantation, and to project his, which made him shortly after sing, *Fortune my foe, &c.* So that finding his favour declining, and falling into a recess, he undertook a new peregrination, to leave that *Terra infirma* of the Court, for that of the Warres, and by declining himself, and by absence, to expell his, and the passion of his enemies, which in Court was a strange device of recovery, but that he knew there was some ill office done him, that he durst not attempt to mind any other wayes, than by going aside; thereby to teach envy a new way of forgetfulness, and not so much as to think of him; howsoever, he had it alwayes in mind, never to forget himself; and his device took so well, that at his return he came in (as *Rammes* doe, by going backward) with the greater strength, and so

continued to her last, great in her grace, and Captain of the Guard, where I must leave him ; but with this observation, That though he gained much at the Court, yet he took it not out of the Exchequer, or meerly out of the Queens purse, but by his wit, and the help of the Prerogative ; for the Queen was never profuse in the delivering out of her treasure, but payed many, and most of her servants part in money, and the rest with grace, which as the case stood, was taken for good payment, leaving the Arrear of recompence due to their merit, to her great Successor, who payed them all with advantage.

Grevil.



SIR *Foulk Grevil*, since Lord *Brook*, had no mean place in her favour, neither did he hold it for any short term ; for if I be not deceived, he had the longest lease, and the smoothest time without rub, of any of her Favourites. He came to the Court in his youth and prime, for that is the time, or never : He was a brave Gentleman, and honourably descended, from *William Lord Brook*, and Admiral to *Henry* the seventh. Neither illiterate ; for he was, as he would often professe, a friend to Sir *Philip Sidney*, and there are of his now extant, some fragments of his Poem, and of those times, which doe interest him in the Muses ; and which shewes, the Queens election had ever a noble conduct, and its motions more of vertue and judgement, than of fancy.

I find, that he neither sought for, or obtained any great place or preferment in Court during all the time of his attendance, neither did he need it ; for he came thither, backt with a plentiful Fortune, which as himself was wont to say, was the better held together by a single life, wherein he lived and dyed a constant Courtier of the Ladies.

Effex.

MY Lord of *Effex* (as Sir *Henry Wotton* a Gentleman of great parts, and partly of his time and retinue, observes) had his introduction by my Lord of *Leicester*, who had married his Mother, a tie of affinity, which, besides a more urgent obligation, might have invited his care to advance him, his Fortune being then (and through his Fathers infelicity) grown low. But that the son of a Lord *Ferrers* of *Chartley*, Viscount *Hartford*, and Earle of *Effex*, who was of the ancient Nobility, and formerly in the Queens good grace, could not have room in her favour, without the assistance of *Leicester*, was beyond the rule of her nature, which as I have elsewhere taken into observation, was ever inclinable to favour the Nobility: Sure it is, That he no sooner appeared in Court, but he took with the Queen and Courtiers; and I believe, they all could not choose but look through the Sacrifice of the Father, on his living Sonne, whose image, by the remembrance of former passages, was afresh (like the bleeding of men murdered) represented to the Court, and offered up as a subject of compassion to all the Kingdome. There was in this young Lord, together with a most goodly Person, a kind of urbanity or innate courtesie, which both won the Queen, and too much took upon the people, to gaze upon the new adopted son of her favour.

And as I goe along, it were not amisse to take into observation two notable quotations. The first was, a violent indulgencie of the Queen (which is incident to old age, where it encounters with a pleasing and suitable object) towards this Lord; all which argued a non-perpetuity: The second was, a fault in the Object of her grace, my Lord himself, who drew in too fast, like a childe sucking on an over-uberous Nurse; and had there been a more decent decorum observed in both, or either of those, without doubt the unity of their affections had been more permanent, and not so

in and out as they were, like an Instrument ill tuned, and lapsing to discord.

The greater error of the two (though unwillingly) I am constrained to impose on my Lord of *Effex*, or rather on his youth; and none of the least of his blame on those that stood Sentinels about him, who might have advised him better, but that like men intoxicated with hopes, they likewise had sucked in with the most, and of their Lords receipt, and so like *Cæsars* would have all or none; A rule quite contrary to nature, and the most indulgent Parents, who though they may expresse more affection to one in the abundance of bequests, yet cannot forget some Legacies, just distributives, and dividents to others of their begetting: And how hatefull partiality proves, every dayes experience tells us, out of which common consideration might have framed to their hands a maxime of more discretion for the conduct and management of their now graced Lord and Master.

But to omit that of infusion, and to doe right to truth: My Lord of *Effex* (even of those that truly loved and honoured him) was noted for too bold an ingrosser both of fame and favour; And of this (without offence to the living, or treading on the sacred urne of the dead) I shall present a truth, and a passage yet in memory.

My Lord *Mountjoy*, (who was another child of her favour) being newly come to Court, and then but Sir *Charles Blunt*, (for my Lord *William* his elder brother was then living) had the good fortune one day to run very well a Tilt; and the Queen therewith was so well pleased, that she sent him in token of her favour, a Queen at *Cheffe* of gold richly enameled, which his servants had the next day fastned on his Arme with a Crymson ribband; which my Lord of *Effex*, as he passed through the Privy Chamber espying, with his cloak cast under his Arme, the better to commend it to the view, enquired what it was, and for what cause there fixed? Sir *Foulk Grevil* told him, that it was the Queens favour, which the day before, and after the Tilting she had sent him; whereat my Lord of *Effex*,

in a kind of emulation, and as though he would have limited her favour, said, Now I perceive every fool must have a favour.

This bitter and publike affront came to Sir *Charles Blunts* eare, who sent him a challenge, which was accepted by my Lord, and they met near *Mary-bone-park*, where my Lord was hurt in the thigh and disarmed: the Queen missing the men, was very curious to learn the truth; and when at last it was whispered out, she swore by Gods death, it was fit that some one or other should take him down, and teach him better manners, otherwise there would be no rule with him. And here I note the inition of my Lords friendship with *Mountjoy*, which the Queen her self did then conjure.

Now for fame, we need not goe farre; for my Lord of *Effex* having borne a grudge to Generall *Norris*, who had (unwittingly) offered to undertake the action of *Britain* with fewer men, than my Lord had before demanded: on his return with victory, and a glorious report of his valour, he was then thought the onely man for the *Irish* Warre; wherein my Lord of *Effex* so wrought, by despising the number, and quality of Rebels, that *Norris* was sent over with a scant force, joynd with the reliques of the veterane Troops of *Britain*, of set purpose (as it fell out) to ruine *Norris*; and the Lord *Burrowes*, by my Lords procurement, sent at his heels, and to command in chief; and to confine *Norris* onely to his Government at *Munster*, which brake the great heart of the Generall, to see himself undervalued and undermined by my Lord and *Burrowes*, which was as the Proverb speakes it, *Imberbes docere fenes*.

My Lord *Burrowes*, in the beginning of his prosecution dyed; whereupon the Queen was fully bent to have sent over *Mountjoy*, which my Lord of *Effex* utterly disliked, and opposed with many reasons, and by arguments of contempt against *Mountjoy*, his then professed friend and familiar; so predominant were his words, to reap the honour of closing up that Warre, and all other.

Now the way being opened and plained by his own workmanship, and so handled that none durst appear to stand for the place, at last with much ado he obtained his own ends, and withall his fatall destruction, leaving the Queen and the Court (where he stood firm and impregnable in her grace) to men that long had sought and watcht their times to give him the trip, and could never find any opportunity but this of his absence, and of his own creation. And these are the true observations of his appetite and inclinations, which were not of any true proportion, but carried and transported with an over-desire and thirstinesse after fame, and that deceitfull fame of popularity. And to help on his Catastrophe, I observe likewise two sorts of people that had a hand in his fall ; the first was the Souldiery, which all flockt unto him, as foretelling a mortality ; and are commonly of blunt and too rough counsels, and many times dissonant from the time of the Court and the State. The other sort were of his family, his servants, and his own creatures, such as were bound by the rules of safety, and obligations of fidelity, to have looked better to the steering of that Boat, wherein they themselves were carried, and not have suffered it to float and run on ground, with those empty Sailes of Fame and Rumour of popular applause. Me thinks one honest man or other, that had but the office of brushing his clothes, might have whispered in his ear, My Lord, look to it, this multitude that follows you, will either devour you, or undoe you ; strive not to rule, and over-rule all, for it will cost hot water, and it will procure envy ; and if needs your Genius must have it so, let the Court, and the Queens presence be your station. But as I have said, they had sucked too much of their Lords milk, and instead of withdrawing, they blew the coales of his ambition, and infused into him too much of the spirit of glory ; yea, and mixed the goodnesse of his nature with a touch of revenge, which is ever accompanied with a destiny of the same fate. And of this number there were some insufferable Natures about him, that towards his last

gave desperate advice, such as his integrity abhorred, and his fidelity forbade ; Amongst whom, Sir *Henry Wotton* notes (without injury) his Secretary *Cuffe* a vile man, and of a perverse nature : I could also name others, that when he was in the right course of recovery, and setting to moderation, would not suffer a recess in him, but stirred up the dregs of those rude humours, which by time, and his affliction, out of his own judgement he sought to repose ; or to give them all a vomit. And thus I conclude this Noble Lord, as a mixture between prosperity and adversity ; once the Childe of his great Mistresse favour, but the son of *Bellona*.

Buckhurst.

MY Lord of *Buckhurst* was of the Noble House of the *Sackvils*, and of the Queens consanguinity ; his Father was Sir *Richard Sackvil*, or as the people then called him, Fill-sack, by reason of his great wealth, and the vast patrimony which he left to this his Son ; whereof he spent in his youth the best part, untill the Queen by her frequent admonitions diverted the torrent of his profusion. He was a very fine Gentleman of person and endowments both of art and nature ; but without measure magnificent, till on the turn of his humour, and the allay that his yeares and good counsels had wrought upon those immoderate courses of his youth, and that height of spirit inherent to his House. And then did the Queen, as a most judicious and indulgent Prince, when she saw the man grow stayered and settled, give him her assistance, and advanced him to the Treasurership, where he made amends to his House for his mis-spent time, both in the increase-ment of Estate and Honour, which the Queen conferred on him, together with the opportunity to remake himself, and thereby to shew that this was a Childe, that should have a share in her grace, and a taste of her bounty.

They much commend his Elocution, but more the excellency of his Pen, for he was a Schollar, and a

person of a quick difpatch, (Faculties that yet run in the bloud) And they fay of him, that his Secretaries did little for him by the way of Inditement, wherein they could feldome please him, he was fo facete and choice in his phrafe and ftile : And for his Difpatches, and the content he gave to Suiters, he had a decorum feldome fince put in praftife ; for he had of his Attendants that took into Roll the names of all Suiters, with the Date of their firft Addreffes ; and thefe in their Order had hearing ; fo that a fresh man could not leap over his head, that was of a more ancient edition, except in the urgent affaires of State.

I find not, that he was any wayes infnared in the factions of the Court, which were all his times ftrong, and in every mans note ; The *Howards* and the *Cecils* on the one part, My Lord of *Effex*, etc. on the other part. For he held the ftaffe of the Treafury faft in his hand, which once in the year made them all beholding to him, And the truth is, (as he was a wife man, and a flout) he had no reason to be a partaker ; for he flood fure in bloud, and in grace, and was wholly intentive to the Queens fervice ; and fuch were his abilities, that fhe received affiduous proofes of his fufficiency ; and it hath been thought, that fhe might have had more cunning instruments, but none of a more ftrong judgement and confidence in his wayes, which are fymptomes of magnanimity and fidelity ; whereunto me thinks this Motto hath fome kind of reference, *Aut nunquam tentes, aut perfice*. As though he would have charaetered in a word the Genius of his Houfe, or expreffed fomewhat of an higher inclination, than lay within his compaffe. That he was a Courtier, is apparent, for he flood alwayes in her eye and favour.

Lord *Mountjoy*.



Y Lord *Mountjoy* was of the ancient Nobility, but utterly deceived in the fupport thereof, Patrimony ; through his Grandfathers excefs in the action of *Bullen*, his Fathers vanity in the fearch of the

Philosophers stone, and his Brothers untimely prodigalities ; all which seemed by a joynt conspiracy to ruine the House, and altogether to annihilate it.

As he came from *Oxford*, he took the *Inner-Temple* in his way to Court ; whither he no sooner came, but (without asking) he had a pretty strange kind of admission, which I have heard from a discreet man of his own, and much more of the secrets of those times. He was then much about twenty yeares of age, of a Brown hair, a sweet face, a most neat Composure, and tall in his person. The Queen was then at *White-Hall*, and at dinner, whither he came to see the fashion of the Court : the Queen had soon found him out, and with a kind of an affected frown, asked the Lady Carver what he was? she answered, She knew him not ; Infomuch as enquiry was made from one to another, who he might be ; till at length it was told the Queen, he was Brother to the Lord *William Mountjoy*. This inquisition, with the eye of Majesty fixed upon him, (as she was wont to doe, and to daunt men she knew not) stirred the bloud of this young Gentleman, infomuch as his colour came and went ; which the Queen observing, called him unto her, and gave him her hand to kisse, encouraging him with gracious words, and new lookes ; and so diverting her speech to the Lords and Ladies, she said, That she no sooner observed him, but that she knew there was in him some Noble bloud, with some other expressions of pity towards his house : And then again demanding his name, she said, Fail you not to come to the Court, and I will bethink my self how to doe you good. And this was his inlet, and the beginnings of his grace. Where it falls into consideration, That though he wanted not wit and courage, (for he had very fine Attractions, and being a good piece of a Schollar) yet were they accompanied with the retractivenesse of bashfulnesse, and a naturall modesty, which (as the tone of his house, and the ebbe of his fortune then stood) might have hindred his progression, had they not been re-inforced by the infusion of Sovereign favour, and the Queens gracious invitation. And that

it may appear how low he was, and how much that heretique Necessity will work in the dejection of good spirits, I can deliver it with assurance, that his exhibition was very scant untill his Brother dyed, which was shortly after his admission to the Court, and then was it no more than 1000 Marks *per annum*, wherewith he lived plentifully in a fine way and garb, and without any great sustentation, during all her times. And as there was in his nature a kind of backwardnesse, which did not befriend him, nor fuit with the motion of the Court, so there was in him an inclination to Armes, and a humour of travelling: which had not some wise men about him laboured to remove, and the Queen her self laid in her commands, he would (out of his naturall propension) have marred his own market: For as he was grown by reading (whereunto he was much addicted) to the Theory of a Souldier, so was he strongly invited by his Genius to the acquaintance of the practise of the Warre; which were the causes of his excursions; for he had a company in the Low-Countries, from whence he came over with a Noble acceptance of the Queen; but somewhat restlesse in honourable thoughts, he exposed himself again and again, and would presse the Queen with the pretences of visiting his Company so often, that at length he had a flat deniall; and yet he stole over with Sir *John Norris* into the action of *Britain*, (which was then a hot and active Warre) whom he would alwayes call his Father, honouring him above all men, and ever bewailing his end: so contrary he was in his esteem and valuation of this great Commander, to that of his friend, my Lord of *Effex*. Till at last, the Queen began to take his decessions for contempts, and confined his residence to the Court, and her own presence: And upon my Lord *Effex* fall, (so confident she was in her own Princely judgement, and opinion she had conceived of his worth and conduct) that she would have this noble Gentleman, and none other, to finish and bring the Irish Warre to a propitious end: For it was propheticall speech of her own, That it would be his fortune, and his honour, to cut the

thred of that fatall Rebellion, and to bring her in peace to the grave. Where she was not deceived; for he atchieved it, but with much paines and carefulnesse, and not without the feares and many jealousies of the Court and times, wherewith the Queens age, and the malignity of her setting times were replete.

And so I come to his dear Friend in Court, Master Secretary *Cecil*, whom in his long absence from Court he adored as his Saint, and courted for his onely *Mæcenas*, both before and after his departure from Court, and during all the time of his Command in *Ireland*, well knowing that it lay in his power, and by a word of his mouth, to make or marre him.

Cecil



SIR *Robert Cecil*, since Earle of *Salisbury*, was the son of the Lord *Burleigh*, and the inheritor of his wisedome, and by degrees, Successor of his places and favours, though not of his Lands; for he had *Thomas Cecil* his elder brother, since created Earle of *Exeter*. He was first Secretary of State, then Master of the Wards, and in the last of her raign came to be Lord Treasurer; all which were the steps of his Fathers greatnesse, and of the honour he left to his Houfe. For his person, he was not much beholding to nature, though somewhat for his face, which was the best part of his outside: but for his inside, it may be said, and without solœcisme, that he was his Fathers own son, and a pregnant proficient in all discipline of State: He was a Courtier from his Cradle, (which might have made him betimes) yet at the age of twenty and upwards, he was much short of his after-proof; but exposed, and by change of climate, he soon made shew what he was, and would be: He lived in those times wherein the Queen had most need, and use of men of weight; and amongst able ones, this was a chief, as having his sufficiency from his instructions that begat him, the Tutorship of the times, and Court, which were

then the Academies of Art and Cunning; for such was the Queens condition from the tenth or twelfth of her Raign, that she had the happineffe to stand up (whereof there is a former intimation) though invironed with more enemies, and assaulted with more dangerous practises, than any Prince of her times, and of many ages before. Neither must we in this her preservation attribute too much to humane policies: for that God in his omnipotent providence had not onely ordained those secundary meanes, as instruments of the work, but by an evident manifestation, that the same work which she acted, was a well-pleasing service of his own, out of a peculiar care had decreed the protection of the work-Mistresse, and thereunto added his abundant blessing upon all, and whatsoever she undertook; which is an observation of satisfaction to my self, that she was in the right; though to others now breathing under the same form, and frame of her Government, it may not seem an animadversion of any worth: but I leave them to the perill of their own folly.

And so again to this great Master of State, and the Staffe of the Queens declining age; who though his little crooked person could not promise any great supportation, yet it carried thereon a head, and a head-piece of a vast content, and therein it seemes nature was so diligent to compleat one, and the best part about him, as that to the perfection of his memory, and intellectuals, she took care also of his fences, and to put him into *Linceos Oculos*, or to pleasure him the more, borrowed of *Argus*, so to give unto him a prospective sight; and for the rest of his sensitive vertues, his predecessor *Walsingham* had left him a receipt, to smell out what was done in the Conclave; and his good old Father was so well seen in the Mathematicks, as that he could tell you through all *Spain*, every part, every Ship, with the burthens, whither bound with preparation, what impediments for diversion of enterprises, counsels, and resolutions. And that we may see (as in a little Map) how docible this little man was: I will present a taste of his abilities.

My Lord of *Devonshire*, (upon the certainty the *Spaniard* would invade *Ireland* with a strong Army) had written very earnestly to the Queen and the Councell, for such supplies to be sent over, that might enable him to march up to the *Spaniard*, if he did land, and follow on his prosecution against the Rebels. Sir *Robert Cecil*, (besides the generall dispatch of the Councell, as he often did) wrote this in private; for these two began then to love dearly.

My Lord, *Out of the abundance of my affection, and the care I have of your well-doing; I must in private put you out of doubt, (for of fear I know you cannot be otherwise sensible, than in the way of Honour) that the Spaniard will not come unto you this year; for I have it from my own, what preparations are in all his parts, and what he can doe: for be confident, he beareth up a reputation by seeming to embrace more than he can gripe; but the next year, be assured, he will cast over unto you some forlorn hopes, which how they may be re-inforced beyond his present ability, and his first intention, I cannot as yet make any certain judgement, but I believe out of my intelligence, that you may expect their landing in Munster, and the more to distract you, in severall places, as at Kings-Saile, Beer-haven, Baltimore, where you may be sure (coming from Sea) they will first fortifie and learn the strength of the Rebels, before they dare take the field; howsoever (as I know you will not) lessen not your care, neither your defences; and whatsoever lies within my power to doe you and the publike service, rest thereof assured.*

And to this I would adde much more, but it may (as it is) suffice to present much as to his abilities in the Pen, that he was his Crafts-master in forraign intelligence: And for domestique affaires, as he was one of those that fate at the Stern to the last of the Queen, so he was none of the least in skill, and in the true use of the Compasse.

And so I shall onely vindicate the scandall of his death, and conclude him: For he departed at S. *Mar-*

garets neer *Marleborough*, in his return from the *Bath*; as my Lord Viscount *Cranborne*, my Lord *Clifford* his Son, and Son-in-law, my self, and many more can witnesse. But that the day before he fwounded in the way, was taken out of the Litter, and laid into his Coach, was a truth, out of which that falshood, concerning the manner of his death, had its derivation, though nothing to the purpose, or to the prejudice of his worth.

Vere.



IR *Francis Vere* was of the ancient and of the most Noble extract of the Earles of *Oxford*: And it may be a question, whether the Nobility of his House, or the Honour of his Atchievements might most commend him; but that we have an authentique Rule to decide the doubt:


*Nam genus et proavos, et quæ non fecimus ipsi,
Vix ea nostra voco.*

For though he were an Honorable Slip of that ancient Tree of Nobility, (which was no disadvantage to his vertue) yet he brought more glory to the Name of *Vere* than he took of Bloud from the Family. He was amongst the Queens Sword-men inferior to none, but superior to many: Of whom it may be said, To speak much of him, were the way to leave out something that might adde to his praise, and to forget more that could adde to his Honour.

I find not that he came much to the Court, for he lived almost perpetually in the Camp: but when he did, no man had more of the Queens favour, and none lesse envied; for he seldome troubled it with the jealousie and allarums of supplantations; his way was another sort of undermining. They report, that the Queen (as she loved Martiall men) would Court this Gentleman as soon as he appeared in her pefence. And surely he was a Souldier of great worth, and commanded thirty yeares in the service of the States, and

twenty yeares over the *English* in chief, as the Queens Generall: and he that had seen the Battail of *Newport*, might there best have taken him, and his Noble Brother my Lord of *Tilbury*, to the life.

Worcester.

Y Lord of *Worcester* I have here put last, but not least in the Queens favour. He was of the ancient and noble Bloud of the *Bewfords*, and of her Grandfathers line by the Mother; which the Queen could never forget, especially where there was a concurrence of old bloud with fidelity, a mixture which ever sorted with the Queens nature. And though there might appear something in this House which might avert her grace, (though not to speak of my Lord himself, but with due reverence and honour) I mean contrariety or suspition in Religion; yet the Queen ever respected this House, and principally this Noble Lord, whom she first made Master of the Horse, and then admitted of her Councill of State. In his youth (part whereof he spent before he came to reside at Court) he was a very fine Gentleman, and the best Horsfeman and Tilter of the times, which were then the manlike and noble recreations of the Court, and such as took up the applause of men, as well as the praise and commendation of Ladies. And when yeares had abated these Exercises of Honour, he grew then to be a faithfull and profound Counciller. And as I have placed him last, so was he the last liver of all the Servants of her favour, and had the honour to see his renowned Mistresse, and all of them laid in the places of their rest: And for himself, after a life of a very noble and remarkable reputation, he dyed rich, and in a peaceable old age. A fate (that I make the last, and none of the flightest observations) which befell not many of the rest; for they expired like unto lights blown out, with the snuffe stinking, not commendably extinguished, and with offence to the standers by.

And thus I have delivered up this my poor Effay; A little Draught of this great Princess, and her Times, with the Servants of her State and favour. I cannot say, I have finished it; for I know how defective and imperfect it is, as limbed onely in the originall nature, not without the active blemishes; and so left it as a task fitter for remote times, and the fallies of some bolder Pensil to correct that which is amisse, and draw the rest up to life. As for me to have endeavoured it, I took it to consideration, how easily I might have dashed in too much of the strain of pollution, and thereby have defaced that little which is done: For I profess, I have taken care so to master my Pen, that I might not (*ex animo*, or of set purpose) discolour truth, or any of the parts thereof, otherwise than in concealment. Happily there are some which will not approve of this modesty, but will censure me for pusillanimity, and with great cunning Artists attempt to draw their Line further out at large, and upon this of mine; which may with somewhat more ease be effected, for that the frame is ready made to their hands; and then happily I could draw one in the midst of theirs. But that modesty in me forbids the defacements of Men departed, whose Posterity yet remaining, enjoys the merit of their virtues, and doe still live in their Honour. And I had rather incur the censure of abruption, than to be conscious, and taken in the manner of eruption, and of trampling upon the graves of Persons at rest; which living, we durst not look in the face, nor make our addresses to them, otherwise than with due regard to their Honours, and renown to their Vertues.

F I N I S.

