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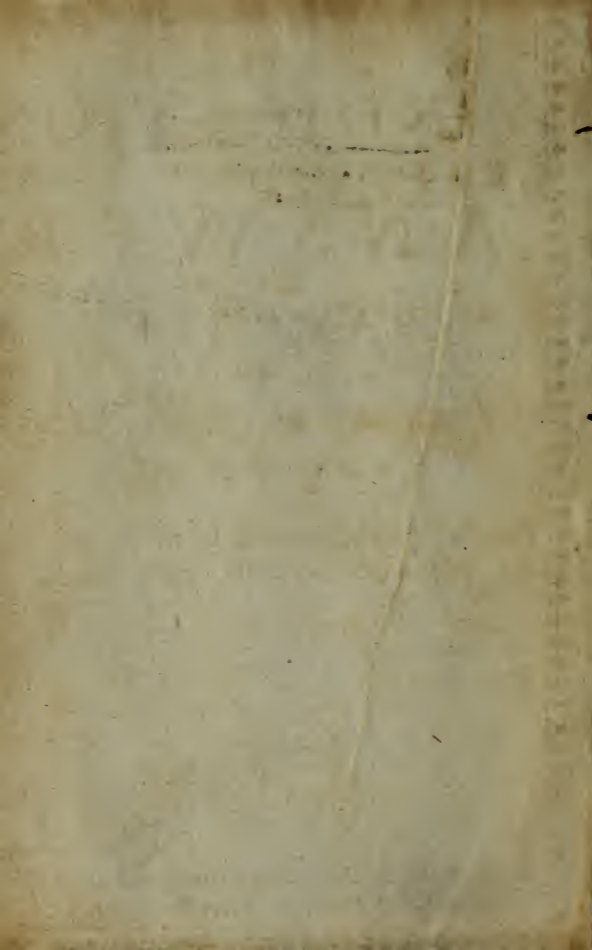
This said to be written by
~~Andrew~~ Godfrey Goodman
Bishop of Gloucester who
died a Papist.

William Sanderson

W. 243

39

45



Aulicus Coquinariae:
OR A
VINDICATION
IN
ANSWER
TO A
PAMPHLET,
ENTITLED
The Court and Character of
KING JAMES.

Pretended to be penned by Sir A. W. and
published since his death, 1650.

Auribus oculisq; recepta.

Nemesis à tergo.

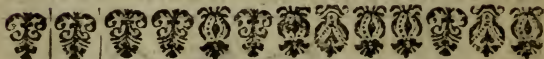


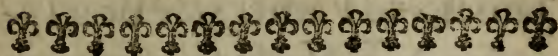
London, Printed for Henry Saile, over against St.
Dunstons Church in Fleetstreet, 1650.



ERRATA.

Page 5. line 20. which read with. p. 7. l. 24. *Chimstry*
r. *Chimistry*. p. 11. l. 15. *Turnpike*. p. 36. l. 24. *fore*.
p. 39. l. 10. *Tercera's*. p. 45. l. 1. *deserve*. p. 52. l. 14.
Assassinations. p. 54. l. 5. to. p. 54. l. 7. *Exception*. p. 67.
l. 15. *the*. p. 82. l. 2. *leave*. p. 97. l. 6. *of*. p. 105. l. 24.
was. p. 120. l. 11. *her*.





Preface.



*Here are some Men
so delight in sinne,
who rather than be
idle from doing evil,
will take much pains to scandall
the Dead.*

*My fear to offend, hath with-
held my hand a convenient time,
lest I should fall into the like error
with Him that published the
Pamphlet, Entituled, The
Court & Character of King
James,*

James, and Father's the Brat upon Sir A. VV; And if common fame mistake not the meaning, His Parent took rise from Q. Elizabeth's Kitchen, and left it a Legacy for preferment of his Issue.

This Man went the same way, and by grace of the Court got up to the Green-cloth. In which place attending King James into Scotland, he practised there to libell that Nation, which at his return home was found wrapt up in a Record of that Board, and by the hand being known to be his, he was deservedly removed out,

as unworthy to eat of his bread, whose Birth-right he had so vilely defamed. Yet by favour of the King, with a piece of money in his Purse, and a pension to boot, to preserve him loyall during his life, though as a bad creditor, he took this course to repay him to the purpose.

And I have heard, that in his life, he discovered a part of this Peece to his fellow Courtier, who earnestly diswaded him not to publish so defective and false a scandall, which as it seems in Conscience he so declin'd.

And therefore my Exception

willingly falls upon the practice of the Publisher, who by his Additions may abuse us with this false Story; which he discovers to the Reader in 5 Remarkable Passages, and gives me the occasion to spare my censure on the deceased person: but to bestow my unkindness (which necessarily intervenes in this Vindication) on him, who yet lives, to make out his bad act with a Reply (if he please) more Pestilent, upon Me.

The

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Anlicus Coquinariae:

OR THE

CHARECTER

Of Him who

SATARIZ'D

KING JAMES

AND HIS

COURT.



Queen Elizabeth died, Queen Elizabeth.
Anno Domini 1602.
having bin long sick;
and indeed desperate; which gave this
State, time enough, to conclude
for his reception, the undoubted,

B

Heir

Heir to these Crownes; *JAMES* then King of *Scotland*; She hath been *highly valued*, since Her death; the best of any former *Sovereigne* over us. She was fitted for fortunes *Darling*, but with some *Imprisonment*, the better to mould Her, for the *Rule* and *Sovereignty* of a Kingdome; and for the custody of a *Scepter*. She shewed Her *Justice* and *Piety* as a *President* to posterity. She was a *Princesse* learned, even then, when Letters had estimation, and began them into *fashion*; which brought forth many rare and excellent *Men*, both of the *Gowne*, and of the *Sword*. Some say, She had many *Favorites*, but in truth She had none. They were neer, and dear to Her, and to Her affaires, as *Partners* of her care; not *Minions* of phansey. And yet such as they were, she ever *mastered*, by her own *Rules*; not they Her, by their
 OWN

own *Wills*. And she wanted not *many* of them at need, or pleasure. She was *Magnificent*, (*comparative* with other *Princes*;) which yet she disposed frugally; Having alwayes *much* to do with *little* money: for truly, those, either *Wise* or *Gallant* Men, were never cloied with her *Bounty*, more then in her *Grace*; which with her *Mannage*, passed for good *payment*.

The *Irish* affaires was to her *Maligne*, which drew her *Treasure* almost dry; the only cause of distemper in the State, and ended not, but with her life. At which time, she left her *Coffers* empty, and yet her *Enemies* potent; Pamp. 34. And therefore it could be no *Treason* in them, that afterwards *coun- celled* the *Peace*, but rather in such who indeavoured then, and after, the re-establishing a *New War*.

Amongst Her *Favourite*s of the *Sword*, none could *boast* more of

Effex.
Pamp. 10.

her *Bounty* and *Grace*, then the Earle of *Effex*; whose *ingrate* disposition, *blown* beyond the *Compass* of his *steere*, by too much *Popularity* and *Pride*, cosened him into that absolute *Treason* against his *Soveraigne*, that notwithstanding many *forewarnings* of his nearest friends, and unwilling *Resentments* of his dearest *Mistresse*, his open *Rebellion* at last brought him to *publique tryall*, condemned and executed as the most *ingrate* that former times could produce. (Of which we shall take occasion hereafter in some particular.) Wherein Sir *Robert Cecill* acted no more, then a dutiful *Subiect*, *Councelour* and *Judge* ought to have done against him, and such like of her time, evermore attempting by *Assassination* or *Poyson* to take away her life. As were also the like attempts, by others in *Scotland*, (witness the forewarning of the Duke

Duke of *Florence*, by expresse
 Message of Sir *Henry Wootton*, to
 King *James*, a year before his
 coming to these *Kingdomes*) a-
 gainst Her beloved and undoubted
Heir; and in Them to destroy the
 Protestant Religion.

The most remarkeable, was,
 that of *Gowries Conspiracy*, in *Scot-
 land*. And I never read or hear'd
 (till our Pamphlet) That Sir *George
 Hewms* his gravity and *Wisdome*
 ushered him into the *Secrets* of the
 KING [therefore] and chiefly to
 make good that story]. For of that
Nation, both the wisest and most
 honest, gave great *Credit* thereto;
 And the commemoration, was
 advisedly settled, by *Acts* of their
Parliament; which *Anathematize*
 upon *Gowries* House and Name.
 And *Solemnized* there and here,
 with *Narratives* in print, of each
 particular *Circumstance*, and the
 ground and cause inviting that
Treason.

Gowries
 Conspira-
 cie.

Pamph. 8.

The first
 passage of
 the Pre-
 face Re-
 markable.

And truly, the *Anniversary* feast-day in *August*, was usually solemnized to God's Glory, by the most *Reverend Preachers*: witness those rare *Divine Sermons* of our *Bishop Andrew's* and others; whose *Consciences* no doubt were not so large, to cozen God Almighty with a *fained tale*. Indeed there might have been more *additionall truths*, annexed to the relation, which I have heard, to make it more *apprehensive* to our *Pamphleter*; whose *Speculations*, in this as in other his stories of *Court and State*, took *Information* (belike) but in his *Office, Below-staires*; And which makes his faith drawe downe the effects of those *Sermons* for the *Father*, as a *Cause* of the *sad Events*, and *sufferings* of the *Sen*, and us all to this present.

Pamp. 10.

The Name of *Ruthen* in *Scotland* was not notorious, until *Anno 1568*. when *Ruthen* amongst

mongst others, *confederates*, in those divided times of trouble, laboured, much, for the *Impri-soning* Queene *Mary* Mother to King *James*. In 1582. his sonne *William* was created Earle *Gowry*, in the time of that King's *minority*. Though the father bore deadly hatred to the King's prosperity. And in 1584. himselfe was in actuall *Rebellion*, in which he suffered at *Dondee*. His eldest son *John*, then in travell in *Italy*, returns home to inherit his lands and honours; But not one jot changed in disposition, from the *traiterous* wayes of his *Predecessors*: For not long after, he falls into this *Conspiracy*. Which is not so *antient*, but that many then and now living can relate, and my self, have often heard the repetition.

The House of *Gowry*, were all of them, much addicted to *Chimistry*. And these more, to the

Practise; often publishing (as such professors usually do) more *rare experiments* then ever could be performed; wherein the King (a general scholar) had little faith. But to *infuse* more credit to the practise, *Alexander Ruthen* the second Brother takes this occasion; and withall *conspires* with *Gowry* to *assassinate* the King; and taking opportunity in his hunting, not far from his house, *St. Johnstone*; invites the King, to be an eye-witnesse, of his *productions*. In their way, *Sir Thomas Erskin* (after *Lord Kelly*), overtakes them and others, Demanding of the Duke of *Lenox*, then present; why *Alexander* had *ingrossed* the King's eare, to carry him from his sports? *Peace man*, said the Duke, *Wee's all be turned into gold*. Not far they rid, but that the Earle *Gowry*, made good by *pro-estimation* his Brother's story. And thus

thus was the King brought to *Guest*. Neere the end of *Dinner*, at his *fruit*, and the *Lords* and *Waiters* gone to eat: *Alexander* begs of the King, at this opportunity, to *withdraw*, and to be partaker of his *Production*; to the view of that, which yet he could not believe.

And up he leads the King, into by-lodgings, locking each door behind them, till they came into a *back-Roome*: Where no sooner entered, but that *Alexander* claps on his *Bonnet*, and with *sterne Countenance*, faces the King; and saies: *Now, Sir, you must know, I had a father, whose blood calls for revenge, shed for your sake.* The King *amazed*, deales gently with his *fury*, excuses the *guilt* of his death, by his then *Infancy*. Advising him, not to lay *violent hands* on the sacred *Person* of his *Anointed* Sovereigne; Especially, in a
cause

cause of his *Innocency*. Pleading the *laws* of God and Man: which so much wrought upon him, that he said: well, I will speak with my *Brother*; And so put the King into a *Lobby Room*, next the *Chamber*, where no sooner entered, but that there appeared a fellow, *weaponed*, ready for *execution*; to whose *custody* the King is committed till his *return*.

Alexander gone downe; the fellow trembles with *Reverence*, puts down his *sword*, and craves pardon; which gave the King occasion to worke upon that passion; and to aske him whether he resolved to *murther him*? Being assured to the contrary, the King gets leave, to open a *window*, that looked into a back *Court*. When presently *Alexander* returns, and tells the King, that he must *dy*. But much *affrighted*, at the fellowes *countenance*, with his sword, offers
violence

violence to the King. Which the fellow seemingly opposes; and betweene them began a scuffle; which gave advantage to the King, to cry *Treason*, at the *Window*, which looked into a *back Court*; where Sir *Thomas Erskin*, and one *Herries*, were come, In pursuite of the King, who was rumored, to be gone out, the back way to his *hunting*.

At the cry of *Treason*, and known to be the King's *voice*; they both hastened up a back staire, called the *Turnepike*; being directed by a servant of the house, who saw *Alexander* ascend that way. And so forcing some doores, they found them above, panting with the *fray*; And up comes also, at heeles of them, *John Ramsay* (after Earle of *Holderness*) by them *Alexander* was soon dispatched.

Not long after, came the Earle *Gowry* (by his double key) the first way,

way, with a case of *Rapiers*, his usu-
 all *weapons*; and ready drawn.
 To whom, *Erskin* said, as to di-
 vert his *purpose*; what do you
 meane my Lord, the King is kil-
 led? (for the King was *shadowed*,
 having cast himselte, upon a *Bed*,
 from his sight: and his cloak was
 thrown upon the Body of *Alex-*
ander, bleeding on the ground.)
 At which *Gowry* stops, sincking
 the points of his *weapons*; when
 suddainly *Herries* strickes at
 him, with a hunting *favchion*.
 And *Ramsay* having his *Hawke*
 on his fist, casts her off, and steps
 into *Gowry*, and *stabs* him to the
heart; and forthwith, more *Com-*
pany came up.

And the truth, very notorious,
 then, to every eye and care-wit-
 nesse, not a few.

There remained but one *young-*
er sonne of that House, who
 though a *childe*, was from that
 time

time Imprisoned, by Act of their Parliament. And so continued afterwards, here in the *Tower* of *London*, until that King's death; and the grace of the late King *Charles*, restored him to liberty; with a *small pension*, which kept him like a Gentleman, to these times. But now failing, he walks the streets, poore, but well experienced, also, in *Chimicall Physick*, and in other parts of Learning.

Not long after this Conspiracy, *Herries* dies well rewarded. *John Ramsey* hath the Honor of *Knight-hood*, with an additional bearing to his Cote of Armes, *A Hand holding forth a Dagger, reversed proper, piercing a bloody heart, The point crowned Emperiall*; with this Distick, *Hec Dextra Vindex Principis & Patriæ*. Afterward he was created Lord *Haddington*, and Earle of *Holdernesse*.

And our Pamphlet, bestowes
on

on him this Character, *A very good Gentleman by nature, but (in this Story) a Lier by practise: for which all these favours were too little Reward.*

Sir *Thomas Erskine* was afterwards created *Earl of Kelly*, *Knight of the Garter*, *Captain of the King's Guard*, and *Groome of the Stool*. And the *Fellow*, designed for the *Murtherer*, had a large *Pension* confirm'd, by *Act* of their *Parliament*.

And all these men (*but Herries*) were living, with other witnesses at King *JAME'S* journey, when he went from hence to visit *Scotland*; and met together by direction at the same House, with Ceremony; and all of them with a number of *Courtiers*, ascended into the same *Roome*, the blood yet remaining; where the King related the *Story*; and confirmed by them. And afterwards kneeling down,

down, with tears of Contrition for his *Sinnes* to God, and thankfulness for this *Mercy*; using many pious Ejaculations, embraced all these *Actors* in the former *Tragedy*; when the poor fellow, also kist the King's hand.

These circumstances gave occasion then, that this whole story was freshly revived, to the common *Satisfaction* of the whole *Countrey*, and our *English* Courtiers. And in especiall, unto the very Reverend Bishop, and Nobly borne, *James Mountegue*, then present; to whom the King addressed himself, in this *Relation*, and from whose *Mouth*, I received these *particulars*, at his return into *England*.

And thus much we have by word of mouth: somewhat I shall add out of writings for more satisfaction.

This Treason was attempted
the

the 4. of *August* 1600. And though there followed sundry Suspitions and Examination of several other Persons; supposed *Abbetters & Contrivers*; yet it lay undiscovered, *tanquam è postliminio* untill 8. years after, by the circumspection principally of the Earle of *Dunbar*, a man of as great wisdom as those times and that Kingdome could boast of. Upon the person of one *George Sprot*, Notary-publick of *Ayemouth* in *Scotland*. From some words which at first he sparingly or *unawares* expressed, and also by some papers, which were found in his House; whereof being examin'd, with a little adoe he confessed, and was condemned and executed at *Edenburgh* the 12. of *Aug.* 1608.

A Relation I conceive not common, but in my hands to be produced, and written by that learned Gentleman *Sir William Hart*,
then

then Lord *Justice* of Scotland, and *Principall* in all the Acts of Judicature herein.

And first *George Sprot* confesseth, That he knew perfectly that *Robert Logane* late of *Restalrig*, was privy and upon foreknowledge of *John* late Earl of *Gowrie's* Treasonable Conspiracy: That he knew, there were divers Letters interchanged betwixt them, anent their Treasonable purpose July 1600. which Letters *James Bour*, called *Laird Bour*, *Servitor* to *Restalrig* (imployed betwixt them, and privy to all that arrand) had in keeping, and shewed the same to *Sprot* in *Fast-Castle*. That *Sprot* was present, when *Bour*, after 5. daies absence, returned with answers by letter from *Gowry*, and staid all night with *Restalrig* at his house *Gunnegreen*, & rode the next morne to *Lothiane*, where he staid six daies, then to *Fast-*

C

Castle

Castle, where he abode a short space.

That he saw and heard *Restalrig* read these letters, which *Bour* brought back from *Gowry*, and all their Conference there anent. And that *Bour* said, *Sir*, if you think to get *Commodity* by this dealing, lay your hand on your heart: and that *Restalrig* answered, though he should lose all in the world; yet he would passe through with *Gowry*: for that matter would as well content him as the *Kingdome*. To whom *Bour* said, you may do as you please *Sir*; but it is not my Councill that you should be so suddain in that other matter. But for the Condition of *Darltou*, I would like very well of it. To this *Restalrig* answered, content your self, I am not at my *wits end*.

That *Sprot* himself entered into conference with *Bour*, demanding what was to be done between the
the

the Earle and the Laird? *Bour* answered, that he beleev'd, that the Laird would get *Darlington* without gold or silver: but he fear'd it would be dearer to him.

That *Sprot* inquiring further, how that should be done? *Bour* said they have another pie in hand then buying and selling of land: But pray'd *Sprot* for God's sake, that he would let be, and not be troubled with the Lairds business: for he fear'd, that within few daies the Laird would be landlesse and livelesse.

And *Sprot* being demanded afterwards, if all these *Confessions* were true, as he would answer upon the salvation of his soul, seeing his death was neer approaching? *Sprot* said,

That he had no desire to live, and had care only of clearing his Conscience in the truth. And that all the former points

and circumstances were true, with the depositions made by him the 5. of July last, and the whole confession made by him since, as he hoped to be saved, and which he would seale with his blood.

And further being deposed; where was now the letter of *Restalrig* to *Gowry*? He answered, That he had this letter amongst other of *Restalrig's* papers which *Bour* had in keeping, and which *Sprot* copied out, and that he left the principall letter in his Chest amongst his writings when he was taken and brought away, and that it is closed and folded in a sheet of paper.

These depositions made by *George Sprot* the 10. of *August* 1608. and others before (being all included in his Indictment following, to which for brevity I shall remit the Reader) and written by *James Primrose*, Clerk of the King's Council,

cell,

cell, and subscribed *George Sprot*.

Present

Earl of *Dunbar*, Earl *Lothiane*,
Bishop of *Rosse*, Lord *Schone*, Lord
Hallo-rod-boise, Lord *Blantire*,
Sir *William Hart* Lord Justice, Mr.
John Hall, Mr. *Patrick Galloway*,
Mr. *Peter Hewet*, Ministers of
Edenburgh; and subscribed with all
their hands.

The next day 11. of *August*, *Sprot*
was re-examined, and to him de-
clared the assurance of his death,
and was advis'd not to abuse his
Conscience to witnesse untruths,
and upon the Innocency of the
dead or living. To which he de-
posed, That being resolved to
die, and as he wishes to be parti-
cipant of *Heaven*, upon the sal-
vation or damnation of his Soul,
that all that he had deposed were
true in every point and circum-
stance, and no untruth in them.

The next day being the 12. of

August 1608. Sprot was presented in Judgement upon Pannell within the Talboth of Edenburgh; before Sir William Hart, Knight Lord Justice of Scotland assisted with these Persons, viz.

Alexander, Earle of Dunferling, Lord Chancelour. George, Earle of Dunbar, Lord Treasurer. John, Arch-bishop of Glascoe. David, Bishop of Rosse. Gawen, Bishop of Galloway. Andrew, Bishop of Brechine. David, Earl of Crawford. Mark, Earl of Lotharine. James, Lord Abernethie of Saltonne. James, Lord of Balmerinoth Senitapie. Walter, Lord Blautire. John, Lord Burley. Sir Richard Coburn, Knight. Master John Preston, Collector Generall. Sir John Skewe, Knight, Register.

And he was declared, accused and pursued by Sir Thomas Hamilton, Knight, Advocate to the King, for his Highnesse entries of the
Crimes

Crimes contained in his Indictment; whereof the tenure follows viz.

George Sprot, Notary in *Ayemonth*, You are indicted and accused, forasmuch as *John* sometime Earle of *Gowry*, having most cruelly, detestably and treasonably conspired in the moneth of *July* the year of God 1600. to murder our deere and most gracious Soveraigne the King's most excellent Majesty. And having imparted that divelish purpose to *Robert Logaine* of *Restalrig*, who allowed of the same, and most willingly and readily undertook to be partaker thereof. The same comming to your knowledge, at the times and in the *manner* particularly after specified. You most unnaturally, maliciously and treasonably concealed the same, and was art and part thereof in manner following.

ing. And first, In the said moneth of July 1600. after you had perceived and known, that divers letters & messages had past betwixt the said *John* somtimes Earl of *Gowry* and the said *Robert Logane* of *Restalrig*, you being in the house of *Fast-Castle*, you saw and read a letter written by the said *Restalrig* with his own hand to the said Earle of *Gowry*. viz.

My Lord, &c. At the receipt of your letter I am so confuted, that I can neither utter my joy, nor find my selfe sufficiently able to requite your Lordship with due thanks. And perswade your Lordship, in that matter I shall be as forward for your honour as if it were my own cause. And I think there is no Christian, that would not be content to revenge, that *Machiavilian Massacring* of our deer Friends: yea howbeit it should be to venture and hazard
 lite,

life, lands and all things else. My heart can bind me to take part in that matter, as your *Lordship* shall find proof thereof. But one thing would be done ; namely, that your *Lordship* should be circumspect and earnest with your *Brother*, that he be not rash in any speeches touching the purpose of *Padua*.

And a certain space after the execution of the aforesaid *Treason*, the said *Robert Logane* having desired the *Laird* of *Bour* to deliver to him the said *letter* or else to burn it; and *Bour* having given to you all tickets and letters, which he then had either concerning *Restalrig* or others to see the same, because he could not reade himself, you abstracted the above-written letter, and retained the same in your own hands, and divers times read it, containing further, to wit,

My *Lord* you may easily understand,

stand, that such a purpose as your *Lordship* intendeth, can not be done rashly, but with deliberation. And I think for my self, that it were most meet, to have the men your *Lordship* spake of, ready in a *bote* or *bark*, and ad-dresse them as if they were taking pastime on the Sea in such faire *Summer-time*. And if your *Lordship* could think good, either your self to come to my house *Fast-castle* by sea, or to send your *Brother*; I should have the *house* ve-ry quiet, and well provided after your *Lordships* advertisement. And no others shall have accessse to haunt the place, during your being here. And if your *Lordship* doubt of safe landing, I shall provide all such necessaries, as may serve for your arrival, with-in a flight-shot of the house. And perswade your *Lordship*, you shall be as sure and quiet here, while
we

we have settled our *Plot*, as if you were in your own *Chamber*. For I trust, and am assured, we shall have word within few daies from them your *Lordship* knowes of. For I have care to see what ships come home by. Your *Lordship* knows, I have kept the Lord *Bothwell* quietly in this house in his greatest extremity, in spite of *King* and *Councell*. I hope if all things come to pass (as I trust they shall) to have both your *Lordship* & his *Lordship* at a good *Dinner* ere I dy. *Hæc jocosè*. To animate your *Lordship*, I doubt not but all things will be well: and I am resolved thereof, your *Lordship* shall not doubt of any thing, on my part: Peril of life, lands, honor and goods; yea, the hazard of hell shall not affray me from that; yea, though the *scaffold* were already set up. The sooner the *Matter* were done, it were the better. For the *King's*

Buck-

Buck-hunting will be shortly, and I hope it will prepare some daintier cheer for us to live the next year. I remember well my *Lord*, that merry sport which your *Lordship's* Brother told me, of a Noble-Man at *Padua* : for I think that a *Parasceve* to this purpose.

My *Lord*, think nothing that I commit the secret hereof to this bearer : for I dare not onely venture my life, lands, honour, and all I have else on his credit ; but I durst hazard my soule in his keeping : I am so perswaded of his fidelity. And I trow (as your *Lordship* may ask *him* if it be true) he would go to *Hell-gates* for me, and he is not beguiled of my part to him. And therefore I doubt not, but this will perswade your *Lordship* , to give him trust in this matter as to my self. But I pray you direct him home again with all speed possible ; and give him
him

him strait command, that he take not a winck sleep, till he see me again after he comes from you. And as your *Lordship* desireth in your letter to me, either rive or burn this letter, or send it back again with the bearer : for so is the fashion I grant.

Restalrig.

Which letter writ every word with the said *Robert Logane's* own hand, was also so subscribed with this word, *Restalrig.*

And albeit by the contents of the aforesaid letter, you know perfectly the truth of the said most treasonable conspiracy, and the said *Logane* his foreknowledge, allowance and guilt thereof, like as you were assured of the same by his receiving divers letters sent by *Gowry* to him, and by his returning letters to *Gowry* for the same purpose, and by sundry conferences

ferences betwixt *Logane* and *Bour*, in your presence and hearing, concerning the said *Treason*, as well in *July* preceding the attempt thereof, as at divers other times shortly thereafter: as likewise by *Bour* his revealing thereof to you; who was upon the knowledge and devise of the *Treason*, and was employed as ordinary Messenger by *Logane* to *Gowry*; whereby your knowledge, concealing and guilt of the same was undeniable.

Yet for further manifestation thereof, about *July* 1602. the said *Logane* shewed unto you, that *Bour* had told him, that he had been somewhat rash, to let you see a letter which came from *Gowry* to *Logane*, who then urged you to tell what you understood by the same. To whom you answered, That you took the meaning thereof to be, that he had been upon the coun-
cell

cell and purpose of *Gowrie's* Conspiracy: And that he answered you, what e're he had done, the worst was his own: But if you would swear to him, that you should never reveale any thing of that matter to any person, it should be the best sight that ever you saw. And in token of further recompence, he gave you twelve pounds of Silver. Nevertheless, albeit you know perfectly the whole practise and progresse of all the said *Treason*, from the beginning to the end; as also by your Conference with *Bour* and *Logane*, during all the daies of their lives, who lived till the year 1606. or therabouts: and so by the space of 6. years you concealed the same, and so you was and is art and part of the said *Treason*, and of the concealing, and so you ought to suffer under the pain of *High Treason*. To the token, that
you

you have not only by your depositions subscribed by you, and solemnly made in presence of many of the *Lords of his Majesty's Privy Councell*, and the Ministers of the *Borough of Edenburgh*, of the dates of the 5, 15, and 16. daies of *July* last past, and 10. and 11. of *August* instant, confessed every head, point and article of the *Indictment* abovesaid, but also by divers other depositions subscribed by you; you have ratified the same, and sworn constantly to abide thereat, and to seal the same with your bloud, Which *Indictment* being read openly, before *Sprot* was put to the knowledge of *Inquest*, he confess'd the same and every point to be true; And therefore the *Indictment* was put to the *Inquest* of the honest, famous and discreet Persons, that is to say,

William Trumball of Ardre. William
liam

liam Fisher Merchant and Burgesse of *Edenburgh*, *Rob. Short* there, *Ed. Johnstone* Merchant Burgesse there, *Harb. Maxwell* of *Cavens*, *Ja. Tennent* of *Linchouse*, *Wil. Trumbill* Burg, of *Edenburgh*, *Geor. Brown* in *Gorgy Mill*, *Joh. Hucheson* and *John Lewes* Merch. Burg. of *Edenburgh*, *Ja. Sommervill*, & *Wil. Swinton* of the same, *John Crnison* of *Dirlton*, *Th. Smith* & *John Cowtis* Burg. of *Edenburgh*.

Which Persons of Inquest sworn and admitted, and reading over the same Indictment again in his and their presence, the said *George Sprot* confessed the same to be true. Whereupon the said *Sir Thomas Hamilton*, his Majesties Advocate, asked act and Instrument; and therefore the Inquest removed to the Inquest-House, and elected *Harbert Maxwell* to be their Chancelour or Foreman. And after mature deliberation, they all re-entred againe in Court, where the said

D

Fore-

Foreman declared the said *George Sprot* to be guilty, filed and convicted of *Art* and *Part* of the said *Treason*; for which cause the said *Justice* by the mouth of the *Demister* of *Court*, by sentence and *Doom* ordained, the said *George Sprot* to be taken to the *Market-Crosse* of *Edenburgh*, and thereto be hanged upon a *Gibbet* till he be dead, and thereafter his head to be stricken off, and his body to be quartered and demeaned as a *Traytor*, and his head to be set up upon a prick of *Iron* upon the highest part of the *Talboth* of *Edenburgh*, where the *Traytor Gowrie* and other *Conspiratours* heads stand, and his lands and goods forfeited and escheat to our *Soveraign Lord* the *King's* use.

Extractum de Libro Actorum Adjournalis S. D. N. Regis per me D. Johannem Coburne de Ormeston Militem, Clericum

ricum Inſtitiarum ejusdem generalem. Sub meis ſigno & ſubſcriptione manualibus.

And ſo was George Sprot conveyed to a private houſe, remaining at his *Meditations*; and afterwards conferred with the Miniſters, confeſſing all aforeſaid with extreame humiliation and prayer. Afterwards ganging up the ladder, with his hands looſe and untyed, he was again put in mind of the truth of his *Confeſſions*. He for the greater aſſurance thereof, perform'd an act marvelous; promiſing by God's aſſiſtance to give them an evident *Token* before the yielding up of his *Spirit*; which was, when he had hung a very good while, he left up both his hands a good height, and clapped them together three ſeverall times, to the wonder of thouſand Spectators, and ſo dyed.

For more *Confirmation* of the

afore Narration, there was present *George Abbot*, then Doctor in *Divinity*, and *Dean of Winchester*, after *Arch-Bishop of Canterbury*, who was present both at his *Examination & Execution*, & hath made the same writing and observance even almost *verbatim*, as all the afore specified Relation intends ; which I can produce also.

And more one ---- Dr. of *Divinity* present also, saies as much; which no doubt is sufficient satisfaction to all reasonable Men, that there was such a Conspiracy and not fained.

Earle of
Essex his
Treason.

And now we come to remember the *Earl of Essex*; the universal *Love* of whose memory, was but of such whom he formerly caught, by his affected *Popularity*; or of others, that followed his *Treasonable* practises, which were grosse enough to be fore apprehended, by every faithful *Subject*, especially,

especially, being prosecuted against the *Person* of that glorious *Sunne*, his obliging *Mistresse*, whom Pamp. 10 a little before, our *Pamphlet* commemorates with much *passion*, till now, that he comes to *Treason*; a *small fault*, belike, and *pardonable* in *Essex*. For he saith, that *King James* hated *Sir Robert Cecil*: it seemes, for but prosecuting amongst other *Councelours* and *Peers* a *Traytor's death*: Intimating no doubt the *King's* impatient desire to inherit these *Crownes* by any *Treason*. But he spares no *Invectives* against any of worth or honor that comes in his way.

This Earle was eldest Sonne to Robert E. of Essex. *Walter Devoreux*, (of a *Norman* family) *Viscount Hereford*, and *Bowrchier*; *Lord Ferrers* of *Chartley*: and by *Queen Elizabeth* created Earle of *Essex*, and *Ewe*; *Anno 1572.* and *Knight of the Garter*.

He was sent into *Ireland*, Lord *Marshall* against the *Rebells*; and as if but sent of an *arrand*, he presently falls sick, and dies at *Dublin*, 1576. His body brought over, and intomb'd at *Carmarthen* in *Wales*.

This *Robert* succeeded his Father's *Honours*; and was looked upon in *Court*, by all with *pitty*, through the *sacrifice* of his Father: But by the *Queen* with great affection; whome she advanced (his fortunes being lowe), with many gifts of grace and bounty. At his *Arraignement*, accounted to the Lord *Treasurer Dorset* to be 300000. l. sterling, in pure gift for his only use; besides the fees of his offices and the disposition of the treasure in his *Armies*. Of all which he soon became a bold *ingrosser* both of *fame* and *favour*.

And first in *Anno* 1585. he receives *Knighthood*. In 1588.

Knight

Knight of the *Garter*. In 1589. he had command in chief; in an Expedition into *Portingal* against *Lisbone*. In 1595. sworn *Councellour of State*. In 1596. he was sent with a *Navy* to the *Isle Cadiz* in *Spain*; and presently after made *Lord Marshall of England*. In 1597. he commanded in another *Fleet*, to the *Islands Sercera's*; his *Contemporaries* who stood in *Competition* with him for fame, were, *Sir Charles Blunt*, afterwards *Earle of Devonshire*, and *Generall Norris*, his neer friends; and yet whom he envied, the last to his ruine; *Men*, of greater merit and truer value. And after the destruction of *Norris*; He takes upon him the Expedition into *Ireland*; the place of *Exercise* for the best of the *Militia*.

Blunt late
E. of Dev.

And who durst oppose him?
Though the *Queen* had an eye of
favour upon *Blunt*, often saying,

D 4

That

That *She* presaged him, the *Man*,
to end *Her* cares in that *Kingdome*.
And *She* was a true *Prophetesse*,
though not in *Her* time, but in
Her *Succeſſor*, *King James*.

This *Blunt* was a *Gallant Gentleman*, and learned, on whom
She bestowed a *Jewell* for his beha-
viour at a *Tilting*, which he wore
after, tackt with a *scarlet Riband*,
upon his *Arme*; and for no other
cause, *Essex* mult needs fight with
him, and was runne through the
Arme, for his labour.

But *Essex* got *Employments* from
them all; offering the *Service*
evermore, at lesſe charge of *Men*
and *Money*, then others his *Com-
petitors*.

Deputy
of Ireland
and Ge-
nerall.

And over he goes, *Deputy* of
Ireland, and *Generall* of all the
forces there: with *Commiſſion*
ſtrickt enough, to imbound his
Popularity with the *Souldiery*, and
his own *family*, which followed
him

him in *Troops*, either to devour or undo him.

No sooner landed, but ere he drew sword on the *Enemy*, he dubb's *Knighthood* upon seven *Gentlemen*, *Volunteers*; which honour, he had very lavishly bestowed at *Cadiz*; and was therefore soundly chidden by the *Queen*.

And now restrained by his *Commission*, with much a-do, unlesse to *Men* of known *Merit*, and those after *Battaile*.

For this first Act, the *Queene* swore he began his *Rant*: Of which he had present *Intelligence* from his deereſt Friend and Uncle, Sir *Francis Knowles*, a *Councelor of State*, and *Controwler* of Her *Houſhold*, and after *Earl of Banbury*: Who ſpared not his adviſe and *Council* at all times. And between them there paſſed *Intelligence*, with every *diſpatch*; whoſe letters and papers,

Sr. Francis Knowles his Cor-
reſpon-
dent.

papers, *Principall* from *Essex*, and *Copies* to *him* I have seen; by which there appears, even from the beginning of that *Imployment*, a very plaine and *Intentional resolution* in *Essex*, to make himself *Master* of his own *Ambition*, and by this way and meanes to effect it; grounding all his *discontents* and *dislikes*, that the *Queens* care was open to his *Enemies* at Court. And therefore it behooved him, to guard himself; which he resolv'd to do, by help of his *Friends* and *fate*; And indeed having fallen into *remarkable offences*, together with the *Treaties* with *Tyrone* the *Arch-Rebell*, without Order from *England*, and without acquainting his *Councell of Warre*, with whose advise he was limited to act.

Trears
with Ty-
rone.

'Tis true, he advanced against the *Enemy*, and soon accepts an *Invitation* to a *Treaty* accompanied with his *Councell of Warre*. But

com-

comming to the *brinck* of a *River*, the place assigned, he plunges his *Horse* to the *Midde stream*, alone; and there meets him *Ty-rone* on *Horseback*; where their private discourse gave sufficient *Caution*, to all that looked on a-loof-off, that *Essex* meant no fair play for his *Mistresse*. For which fact, and no blow stroock in all this time, *Men* and *Money* wasted; He was soundly blamed by the *Councell* at home; and no more letters from the *Queens own hand*, which he usually received afore.

In great *choler*, as to *Dispute* or *Revenge*; and without leave from hence, he leaves his *Command* to a *Lieutenant*; and comes over with a hundred *Gentlemen*, his best *Confidents*; hastens to *Court*, ere it was known to any, but to his dear *Uncle*, to whom he writes, *Deer Uncle*; *Receiving your last*, at my *entring on ship-board*, I return
the

Returns
home.

the accounts thereof, at my Landing; being resolved with all speed, (and your Silence) to appear, in the face of my Enemies ; not trusting a farre off to my own Innocency, or to the Queens favour, with whom they have got so much power &c.

At sight of him, with amaze to the Queen, She swore, God's death my Lord, what do you here? Your presence is most unwelcome, without Tyrone's head in your Portmantle. But he, falling more to a Dispute, then any Excuse: She, in disdain to be taught, but what She pleased to do: Bid him begone, his bootes stunck.

is committed & censured.

And so was he presently commanded, and committed to the Arch-Bishop of Canterbury, to Lambeth; where not long after, he was convented before a Committee of the Council, *ad Correctionem, not ad destructionem.* The Queen very gracious, hoping his offences

offences might discern favour. for according to his *Examinations then*, and the *merit* of his *cause*. I have seen his *Uncles papers*, *breviares*, (who was one of his *Judges*) intended as his *Censure*, to *condemnation*, and so fitted for further *Tryall*. But the day before, they had other *direction* from the *Queen*, saying, he was young enough to mend, and make amends for all.

And so their *Censures*, shew'd him his *Errors*, and left him to Her grace and *mercy*; only *restraining* him to his own *House*, against *Saint Clements*. Not without *dayly letters* from *Knowles*; with *advice* to be rid of his *ranting followers*; *Captaines* and *Sword-men* of the *Town flocking*, and *Incouraging* him, to a *Revenge* on his *Enemies*.

It was not long that he could contain; saying, he was engaged to go on. And on a Sunday morning

His rebellious ri-
sing

ing, the Councell sat; (which was usuall, untill the late Arch-Bishop Lawd in honour of the Morning Sacrifice, altered that course, to the Afternoon.) Then the first flame brake out.

Imprisons
the Clerk
of the
Councell,

To him, they sent their Clerke of the Councell, to know the reason from his Lordship, of the meeting of so many weaponed Men at his house; But the Messenger not returning, being kept Prisoner, the chiefeft Councelours commanded by the Queen, came to him; and no sooner entered Essex house, but the Gates were clapp'd too, all their Train kept out, the Court-yard full of Gallants. Some cryed kill them; Imprison them; To the Court; seise the Queen, and be our own Carvers. Essex comes down with all reverence, ushers them up, resolving to detain them Prisoners, and pledges for his Successor.

and the
Lords of
the Councell.

In-

Indeed in this hurly burly of advice he took the worst. For leaving them in safety with *Sir Ferdinando Gorges* ; He with the *Earle of Southampton*, in one boat ; and some others in other boats, took water at his *Garden staires* ; and landing near the *Bridge*, went on foot, up the streets, with such stragling company as came in their way ; To whom he protested, that the *Queen* should have been murthered, and his, and other good *Councillors* lives, in perill, by enemies of the *State*, that forced a power from the *Queene*, to the eminent destruction of the *Kingdome*. These speeches with their swords drawne, took little effect with the people, who came running out of the *Churches*, being *Sermon-time* ; without weapons, or any offensable assistance, contrary to his expectation.

But on he goes to *Sir Thomas Smith's*, where he kept his *Shreeve-
alty*

alayneere Fan-church, his confi-
 ding friend; by whose counte-
 nance he hoped to worke with
 the *Multitude*. He being absent,
 at *Paul's Crosse Sermon*, *Ejex* staid
 no longer, then to shift his shirt;
 and so passed through *Cheape-side*
 to *Paul's west-end*; where he found
 his first *opposition* by some forces
 got together, by the *Bishop of Lon-*
don, and the *trained band*: And
 after *Proclamation*, That *Essex and*
Southampton were Traitors, & all
 those that followed their faction:
 Many dropping from the *Crowd*,
 there was little defence by his
 party, though some were killed;
 and *himselfe forsaken* of the wi-
 fest. He retires back to *Queen-*
hithe, and so to *Essex-house* by wat-
 er; where finding the *Birds flow-*
en, the *Councillors* released, by
 their *Keeper*; who in hope of par-
 don, accompanied them to the
Queenes presence; discovering
 so

so much as he knew, concerning his Lord; who finding himselfe too weake, to withstand the force of a peece of Cannon, mounted upon the Church, to batter his House; He and Southampton yielded themselves Prisoners to the Tower; where being arraigned and condemned, Southampton had reprieve, and after pardon; But Essex the reward of his merits, and Executed in March 1601. upon the Inner Hill in the Tower; to the regret of None either wise or honest: Leaving behind him one onely Son, the last of his Line.

Arraigned
and executed.

William Cecill, illustrate from the family of Cecils (who suffered persecution in the times of Henry 8. Edward 6. and Queen Mary) he was knighted by Queen Elizabeth, so soone as she was setled in her Crowne, then Secretary and Councillor of State. Afterwards created Baron of Burleigh. Then made

Cecils.
Pamp. 10.

E

Lord

Lord Treasurer of England, and Knight of the Garter: and died Chaucellor. of the University of Cambridge, Anno 1598. Intomb'd at Westminster, leaving two Sons. The elder *Thomas*, was then Lord President of the North; And afterwards created Earle of Exeter by King James, and privy Councillor of State. He died Anno discreet and honourable, whom the world could never tax with any taint.

Sr. Robert
Cecill.

The other son *Robert*, was the second; But a true Inheriter of his Fathers wisdome, and by him trained up to future perfections, of a Judicious States-man: after his Knighthood, the first employment from Court (for he was not at all bred out of it) sent him Assistant with the Earle of Darby Embassadour to the French King. At his returne, the Queen took him second Secretary with Sir Fr. Walsingham,

ham, after whole decease, the continued *Paincipal*, and so kept it to his death; Not relinquishing any *Preferment*, for the Addition of a *Greater*. A remarkable Note; which few men of the *Gowne* can boast of. His Father liv'd to see him settled in these *preferments*, and after *Master of the Wards and Liveries*. These he held to the *Queenes death*: Being in all Her time ued amongst the *Men of weight*, as having great *sufficiencies* from his *Instruction* who begat him. Those offices here in public, with perpetual *Correspondence* by *Emissaries* of his own into *Scotland*, might no doubt make him capable of *Reception* with *King James*, who was to be advised by him, how to be received here of his people. Without any necessity, then, to make use of *Sir George Hewmes* or his *Initiation* afterwards, with any *juggling trickes*, his *merrits* cer-

Pamp 13.

tainly appeared to the King, who not onely not *diminished* his former *preferments* ; But often *added* to them, even to the day of his death.

As first *Baron of Effenden*; then *Viscount Cranborne*; after *Earle of Salisbury*, and *Knight of the Garter*; and lastly *Lord Treasurer of England*.

He was a *Councillor* of singular merit. A very great *discoverer* of the late *Queens enemies abroad*, and of private *Assinations* at home: For which *She* valued him, and the *Papists* hated him ; which they published by several *Manuscripts*, (which I have seen,) and printed *Libels* ; and that most pestilent against his birth and honour, threatening to kill him, which himselfe answered wisely, learnedly and religiously, Extant in *English* and *Latine Adversus Perduelles*.

Indeed

Indeed, It behoved the *King* to bestow upon him the waight of the *Treasurers Staffe*. The *Cofers* then in some want; which the *King* was not likely soon to *Recover*, but rather to *increase in debt*: having the addition of *wife* and *children* to boot. And being now come, with common opinion into the *Capacity*, (by his *additional Crownes*) to reward his *old servants*; and to appear obliging unto *new Ones*.

The world wondering at the *worth* of this *great Councillor*, I know not upon what score, our *Pamphleter* should endeavour to scandal his *memory*.

Which he rancks into *Numbers of ill Offices to his Nation*; as the *burning of a whole cart-load of Parliaments Presidents*; which no man can be so *sottish* as to beleeve, that knowes the strict *concerning* of those *Records* by *sworne Officers*. Pamp. 12.

Baronets.

As for the *Baronets*, It was the earnest suite of two hundred prime *Gentlemen of Birth and estates* to my knowledge; for I copied the list before ever it came this Lord. And as true it is, That this Lord's Reception thereto, was in the same words which our Pamphlet puts upon the King, That it would discontent the Gentry; to which themselves replied, Nay my Lord, It will rather satisfie them, in advance of Dignity, before others; who now, come behind those Meaner Men, whom the King was forced to Knight for his own honor, and some merits of theirs, having no other Reward, or money to spare: and therein not much to blame, to oblige them that way.

Pamp. 13.

As for that supposed *jugling*, which the Duke of Bullion should discover: As it was never known to wiser men; So we may take it, a devise of his, who in these, as in other
other

other such like, of his own, may truly merit that Character, which he bestowes before [*On the good Gentleman.*] Pamp. 9.

I desire pardon, if I speake much and truth, in the memory of this Noble Lord; being somewhat concerned, to speak my owne knowledge.

I know, that this Earle of Salisbury, declining his health, with continuall labour for the good of this Nation, both in the former, and in this his Sovereign's Service; And am willing to give some light thereof, to such as are pleased to read these particulars, being an Account of his concernments:

For first, he found the King's Mannors, and fairest possessions, most unsurveyed, and uncertain, rather by report, then by Measure. Not more known, then by ancient Rents; the Estate granted rather by chance, then upon knowledge.

Salisbury
his service
to the
State.
Mannors,
Lands.

Custody-
hands.

The *Custody-Lands*, (antiently termed *Crown-Lands*) much charged upon the *Sheriffs*; yearly discharged by annual *pensions*. A *Revenue* which seemed decayed, by descent of times, and worne out of all remembrance: these he evermore revived, by *Commissioners* of *Asserts*.

Woods.

The *Woods*, were more uncertain than the rest. No man knew the *Copices*, *Number of acres*, *growth* or *value*; nor of *Timber-Trees*, either *Number* or *worth*. So as truly he might well find himself in a *Wood*, indeed. The *Trees* wasted without controwle, because no *Record* kept thereof. These he caused to be *numbred*, *marked* and *valued*, easily to be questioned, when thereafter *missing*.

Copy-
holds.

The *Copy-hold Lands*, where the arbitrary fines ceased, by the discretion of the *Stewards*; and did seldome yeeld the *Parsons* part;

part; and that also vanish'd, in fees and charges. The State was then after like to raise of these Natures, the true values; and to receive equal benefit, with the rest of the Subjects; if the Book had bin since observed, which he caused in print.

And for the Copy-holders of Inheritance, who by many Records, prove their fines certain; they did hereupon, offer for their freedome 20. 30. 40. and 50. years purchase, where they could shew probable Records, without fine; to free themselves. The Wastes and Commons, were tender Titles; full of murmuring and Commotion; which truly he never durst offer to inclose; Nor to urge the Tenants to become Suitors themselves; with whom Commissioners were to be appointed, to compound for a part; and so he made a good President for the rest. The

Wastes &
Commons.

Casual
fines.

of The Casual fines, due to the King, out of the private possessions, (as other *Lords* have by their Courts of *Leets*, Court *Barons* and such like) and out of publique offences, as the King was Parent of the Common-Wealth; unto whom belong'd *Et premium Et pena*. These being natures, left for the King's bounty, he commended them also to Commissioners, for a better Revenue, to be raised; being till his time utterly neglected and almost lost.

As for the extended Lands; where the *Officers* became indebted to the Crown; and made it an Art, to have their Lands extended, at easy rates; He caused the most of these to be surveyed; commended the Improvement to Commissioners, and commanded the Tenants to appear before them.

The Improvements of the Customs,

stomes, he advanced from 86000. l. to 120000. l. and from that to 135000. l. by the year.

He bargained, for the River-water to be brought to *London*, and so to the driest parts, which brought a great yearly value.

River water.

He alwaies incouraged all Industry of *Manufactures*. Such Inventions as the Statutes admit and countenance. As home-making of *Allome*; Salt by the Sunne; Buffes for fishing; Salt upon Salt, by new fires and Inventions; *Copper* and *Coperas* of *Iron*, and of *Steele*; That the Subjects at home, might be set on work; and the small Treasure of the Nation kept within.

Manufactures.

It concerned him as *Secretary* to have *Intelligence* from all parts of the World; and Correspondence with all Embassadours and Forreigne States; not to be neglected at any hand; which he did

Intelligence.

at

at his own cost. So did all parts grow confident of such a Coun-
celour. And so he kept Rules
with the united Provinces, whose
Friendships he would say, much
concerned this State.

Ireland
improved.

I may not forget his Christian
care, for poor *Ireland*; Planta-
tions there, and transplantations
of the Natives; to advance the
Customes there, and to abate the
charges of the Garisons. And
he did endeavour, and in manner
did effect an universall course of
Law and Justice, in the most bar-
barous and remote parts of that
Nation.

Wards &
Liveries.

And now concerning the Court
of Wards and Liveries; By con-
stitution of this State, all the lands
of this Nation, are holden by two
Tenures: By Soccage or by
Knights Service. By the Plough
to feed us; or by the Sword to
defend us. And who so died,
leaving

leaving an Heir within age, unable to do this service, his Heir and Lands, fell both to the Protection of the Sovereign. And this in antient time, was promiscuously carryed, in the Court of Chancery; until the middle time of *Hen. the 8.* when this Court of Wards, was first erected. Since which time the Masters thereof, by favour of the Sovereign, did accustome (as a bounty of State) to grant unto Noble Men; the King's Servants and their owne followers, both the marriag of the body, and the lease of the Lands for a third peny, of their true worth.

But in all humility, his Lordship finding the estate in a Retrograde Consumption, did with all obedience present his Patent, at the Kings feet: and so the whole benefit became the profit of the Crown.

Thus,

Thus, he wrought in the Mine of the State-affaires, and wasted his Carkasse with desire, to have done better Service, in these his offices of *Treasurer, Secretary* and *Master of the Wards* : And yet these were sufficient, just and true merits; Without Friends, Wit, or Wealth, to raise him so much, in his Master's esteem : Or without ill offices done by him, to this Nation, as our *Pamphlet* will make us believe, in many absurd particulars.

Pam. ij. 12.

And truly, his studious labours in the State, brought him the sooner to sicknesse, a Consumption of the Lungs; wherein he wasted some years, and at last, by advise for cure at the *Bath*; he took leave of the King, who came to visit him at *Salisbury-House*; and with tears, at his parting, protested to the Lords attending, his great losse of the wisest *Councellour* and

and best Servant, that any Prince
in *Christendome* could Paralel. Of
whom one saies,

*Tu Pater & Patriæ Princeps, Pru-
dentia cujus Extulit immensum Re-
ges, Populosque Britannos.*

His time at the *Bath* was short;
being spent to extremity, ere he
came thither; and returning back
by the way, he was taken out of
his Litter, and put himself in his
Coach, and died afterwards at
St. Margarets, in the House of
that worthy Gentleman *Mr. Da-
niel*, in *May 1612*. My Lord *Vis-
count Cramborne*, now Earle of
Salisbury, and the Lord *Clifford*,
Sir *Robert Manton*, and many more
Gentlemen of quality then pre-
sent, whom I saw there; He was
Imbalmed, and after Intomb'd,
at his Princely Mannor of *Hart-
field*. A fairer Corps then any Pamp. 14.
brasen face, that belies his dis-
ease. His death was extreame
sadness

Pamp. 14.

fadness to the King, and to all his friends, and others of worth and honour. For in spite of the *Pamphleter*, he will be valued, as he does confesse

Never came a Better.

Henry
Howard
Earle of
Northam-
pton.

The next we meet with is *Henry Earle of Northampton.*

The *Antient and Illustrious family* of the *Howards*, were here more *Eminent*, then any other, that ushered the King to his *Additional Crownes.*

This *Henry Howard* was Brother unto *Thomas Duke of Norfolk*; who suffered for his attempt of marriage with the *Queen of Scots*, whilst she was *Prisoner* here in *England.* Which might be some *Motive* to induce the King to consider the advance of that *family*, though they were indued, with large *possessions* from their *Ancestors.*

The *Duke* left two Sons *Philip Earl of Arundell* & *Thomas Howard Earl*

Earle of Suffolk afterwards Lord
Treasurer.

Henry Howard their Uncle, was ^{Pamp. 15} more wedded to his Book, than to the Bed: for he died a Bachelor; and so had the lesse occasion, to advance his fortune, by Court-flattery, or State-employment: nor indeed was he ever any Suitor for either.

He was accounted both wise and learned; and therefore out of the Kings great affection to Letters, especially when they are met in a Noble Person, he was advanced, in his Creation of Baron of Marnhill and Earle of Northampton; then Pryvy Councelor, Lord Pryvy Seale, and Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports, and Knight of the Garter. He had very plentisfull for his single life, and to spare for his friends.

In his expence not over frugal; maintaining his Port, the most remarkable (like the Ancient NO

BLE MAN) in his family and Dependants; of any other Lord then, or since his time. He assisted his Nephew the Earl of Suffolk by his designing and large contribution, to that excellent *Fabrick Awaley-end*. He built the Noble structure at *Charing-Crosse*, from the Ground, *Northampton House* and presented it a New-years-gift to the Lord *Walden*, *Suffolkes* eldest Sonne, and now called *Suffolk-House*: and yet left his other Nephew, the Earl of *Arundell*, the rest of his estate; so to appear to the world, his equall distribution to such even kinred. He was Religious, and gave good testimony thereof in his life, built that handsome *Covent* at *Greenwich*, and indued it with *Revenue* for ever, for maintenance of decayed Gentlemen a sufficient number; and for women also considerable. He died in *Anno 1613*. full of years and

Honourable fame : though Our Pamphleter wil not know so much; and yet no doubt must needs be Intimate with his Person : for he tells us his thoughts, That he had assuredly promised to himself the *Treasurers staff*. Although we can produce this *Lord's Letters*, and other testimonies, imploying all his own and his Friends Interest, for that preferment, upon his Nephew *Suffolke*, and excusing himself, of the burthen and weight of that Office, by his known *Infirmity* of Stone of the which he died.

Pamp. 16.

Indeed; It is no matter upon what Score, that the King gave his affection, to this Favorite *James Hay*.

James Hay Earle of Carlile. Pamp. 18.

The Scots were never very eminent, with Neighbour-Princes; what credit they had, came by the French, to keep ballance with England and them. The beginning might then be hoped, when

their *Union* with these *Crownes*, should afford the meanes, to set them forth.

And it was *prudentiall* in the King, to pick out one of his own to *splendour* that Nation, in our way of peace and Court-ship : Especially when all was done at the Master's cost. For *Hay* was poor, unlesse what he got by his first Match, with the Lord *Dennis heir*, for by his last he had nothing; the great spirit of *Pearcy Earle of Northumberland*, disdainning the Marriage, and refused to afford a *Groat*, to a beggerly Scot, as he call'd him.

His vaine
expences.

And now this Lord (for so was he soon made *Lord Hay*, then *Viscount Doncaster*, and *Earl of Carlile*) did most vainely prodigallize, what he often begg'd. And in truth, he had it granted for no other purpose; to put down the *English Courtier* at that vanity.

And

And which, both abroad and at home, was often paid for, by the *King's Privy Purse*. As that feast at *Essex-House*, and many his *Masqueradoes* at *Court* (for he medled not with the *Tilt-Staff*, as being no *Sword-man*) but in the other, and such like, he never escaped, to act *One part*.

Pamp. 19.

And these expences, fam'd him with little credit; how ere he appears to our *Pamphleters* *Judgement*; who cries up, the bounty of his *Mind*, beyond the *Moon* at least; who in truth, was never good, to *Man* or *beast*.

Pamp. 21.

His *Embassies*, were not so weighty when he posted so long through *Germany*, to find out the *Emperor*; who afforded him the *Wild-Goose-Chase*, as knowing his *Arrand*, before he came at him. Which in truth was purposely so designed by the *King*; only to spend time, and to amuse

His Embassies to Germany.

mens expectations (who were wild after a Warre) to beget a Treaty, concerning the lost *Palatine*. The effects wherof, (as the King wisely prophesied,) would produce distemper, through all *Christendome*, if not destructive to his Son in law.

France.

He went into *France Extraordinary*; it was to treat with that King, in favour of the *Hugenots* (the Religion as they account it) being risen to a *Civill Warre*, by management of the *Duke d' Rohau*, *Count Sobeeze*, and others; to a dangerous consequence, in severall places, almost over *France*: which to allay, that King had raised a great Army; resolving with countenance of his own Person, to give end thereto: But *King James*, being invited by severall troublesome *Commissioners*, their *Agents*, to implore for their cause, and take upon him their
pro-

protection, which he (a wise Prince in that) declined, yet not to neglect them; and the rather to satisfy some of our People, of the like *Gang*, medled thus farre to mediate by *Embassy of Hay*; who as in that of *Germany*, did nothing with effect, but went up to *Montaban*, and so come home again.

'Tis true, he went into *Spain*, ^{Spain.} with a *message* to our Prince; with no more matter, then others that came after, to waite on him in that Courtship. For there as in other Kingdomes, his *Scots Vanity* must also be blazon'd.

And for his last *Embassy* in *France*, about *Our Match with that Daughter*, and our *Queen*; he came not into *Commission*, till the *Treaty* was confirmed, and the *Marriage* concluded, by *Embassy*, only of the *Earle of Holland*; and *Cir- lile* put in afterwards, to dance

Again in-
to France.

Earle of
Holland.

out the *Measures*; His name, being used in the *Proxie*, for that *Ceremony*; and at this time, the *Earl of Holland*, had some colour for his expence which he lavished without reason, to the weakening of his unsettled fortunes; being forced to follow the other then, in all his fashions. And which *Infection*, by after-Custom, became his disease also, and almost if not overmastering, yet over-shadowing his Natural, eminent parts, with which his inside was habited, and perspicuous to such as knew him.

But I am not delighted, to urge out this story of the *Earl of Carlile*: as not willing to speak ill of any; unlike our *Pamphlet* that spares none, but *Him*. For I should know; that vertue and vice, are *Inherent* in *Man*. And as it becomes us to tell truth, when we speak their vertue: yet with modesty and compassion to discover their
their

their vices : either being *Examples* for the future ; that, to *imitate*; this, to *shun*. And I cannot but with *Compunction* remind, That the monstrous *excesse* of the belly, and the *back*, by his first *President*, became then the *Mode* of those times, for *great Persons* (the most part) to *follow*, and for the *Common People* to this hour to *practise*.

And truly, a *wise* and a good *Man*, ought justly to have hated his *condition* in this without suspicion of *malice* or *envy*; as it is said PAMP. 21. *Northampton* did, who yet, as may be remembered, took leave of this *life*, ere *Hay* was settled on *horsback*.

And that other marke of *Reproach* also, may without partiality be taken off the *Score* from that *Noble Northampton*; who on my conscience (for I knew him well) disdained the *Guilt* in that *frivolous story* of *Sir Robert Mansell*. Nor is it material, to credit
the

the rest of that *Rant*, in his *Vice-Admirall Voyage*.

Second
Remark.
Pamp. 30

The *Second Remark* of the *Preface*, falls upon the *Treason* of *Sir Walter Raleigh*, which the *Pamphlet* calls an *arrant trick of State*; and *Cecil* the *Imenire facias* thereof.

Sr. Walter
Raleigh.

Sir Walter Raleigh was a *Gentleman* of good alliance, in the *west* of *England*, and very well descended. He began his *Improvements*, by the *University*, and *Inns of Court*; the latter was alwaies the place of esteem with the *Queen*; which, she said, fitted *youth* for the future. But he staid not there. And as his fate would have him, of the *Sword* first; so his *destinie* drew him on, to have a *mixt reputation*, with the *Gown*: For he was often called to *Councell* but never *sworn*. He was twice in *Expeditions* of *Land-service* into *Ireland*, under *Generall Norris* and *Grey*, a *Volunteer* in either, as also in the *Low-Countries*,

Countries, and a voiage at Sea ere he was known at Court.

And such waies as these, were his *Introductions* (the best hopes of his rising:) some *Naturall parts* he had, a good *wit* and *judgement*; but his best *weapon* was his *tongue*, which gave him repute to be learned then; but after he improved to a great *value*, in his future *troubles*; the best *School* to a *wise man*.

He had a quarrel with *Grey* in *Ireland*, which being referred to a *Councell of Warre*, it had like to cost him his *life*: But by reference came afterwards to repetition, at home before the *Lords*. *Grey* had the better cause, but *Raleigh* the advantage in pleading; who so took them, especially *Lester*, that the *Queen* was told the *tale*; and somewhat more of him. And no sooner he came to be known to *Her*, but *She* took him, to *grace*. In whom (as in other of the like form)

form) their alwaies meet oposites, Enemies of greater ranck, and they kept him under, sometimes in, sometimes out, which when it fell out to be so, he would wisely decline himselte, out of the Court-rode. And then you found him not but by fame. In voyages to the *West Indies*, *Gueana*, *New Plantations*, *Virginia*, or in some *Expeditions* against the *Spaniard*: Against whom, his and other the like successe, of *Drake*, *Candish*, *Forlisher*, *Hawkins*, with other *Island-voyages*, neer home, confirm'd *Raleigh*, a grand Opposer of the generall peace which *King James* brought in with him; and that brought *Raleigh* to his ruin.

And for all these his good parts, he rose to no more, then *Governor* of *Jersey*, *Lord Warden* of the *Stanneries* in the *West*, and *Captain* of the *Guard* to the *Queens person*; which last place, brought him to
esteem

esteem in the Court, but not in the State at all.

Yet busie he had been heretofore, to speak his mind, of the *Generall affaires*; and therein he pleased his late *Mistresse*. For then his *inclination* went with the *humour* of those times of *War*; But now, his *Councell* came out of *season*. For at the entrance of the *King*; He was presented by *Raleigh* with a *Manuscript* of his own, against the *peace* with *Spain*. It was alwaies his table-talk, to beget the more esteem, which took accordingly. And the way to make him the contrary, was the work of the *Spanish faction*. Either to *buy* him out of that humour, or to *abuse* him, into a *worse condition* which was thus effected.

And indeed to mould this Treason, there was a medly of divers conditions; but the contrivers were two *Priests*, *Watson* and *Clarke*. and
His Treason.
Count,

count *Arembergh*, *Embassedor Extraordinary* for the *Arch-Duke*, who brought in the *Lord Cobham*; and he, his brother *George Brooke*; and he, *Parham*; and these, the *Lord Grey of Wilton*. Then came in *Sir Walter Raleigh*, the wisest of them all; who dallied like the *flie* with the *flame*, till it consumed him. Willing he was (it seemes) to know it, and thought by his *wit*, to over-reach the *confeederates*, whom he *knew* well enough; though none but *Cobham*, for a good while, *dealt* with him. And with him, *Raleigh* plaid *fast and loose*, till himselfe was caught in the *Gin*.

There was one *Mathew De Lawrence*, here at *London* a *Merchant* of *Antwerpe*; with whom *Cobham* held *Intelligence*, for many years before; & for some reasons of State, connived at, by the late *Queen* and her *Council*. This Man, was the
 property,

Property, whom *Arenbergh* made use of, to *Cobham*; who now was much discontented.

These 3. made the first step to the contrivement: And it hath bin my jealousy, that *Lawrency* betrayed it, to this State: for I never, could be assured, how it was discovered; though I have bin often present with *Sir Walter*, in his Imprisonment, when he privately discoursed hereof.

But being ripe, they were severally examined, & restrained, first to their owne homes, not without watchful eyes, on either of them; then to Imprisonment, and lastly, to their Tryals at *Winchester*; whether the Terme removed, out of this evermore Pestienciall City.

And on the 17. November 1602. the day of Arraignment for *Raleigh*, and the Jury called to the Bar. Against whose Persons he did not except; nor could: for they were
His arraignment
 the

the most able, sufficient, in *Middlesex*, (where the fact had its scene.)

I shall name them. Sir Ralphe Conisby, Sir Thomas Fowler, Sir Edward Peacock, Sir William Roe, Knights. Henry Godwin, Robert Wood, Thomas Walker, Thomas Whitley, Thomas Highgate, Robert Kempton, John Chalke and Robert Bromley Esquires.

The *Indictment* was managed, by the King's Atturney Sir Edward Cook, Serjeant Heal, and Ser. Philips; and drawne from the 9. Jun. 1603.

The accusation was double, against the King, and the State. The personall, had 2. parts, first against his life.

Secondly to disable his title to this *Crowne*.

To the first, was read Brookes confession; That his Brother Cobham used these speeches, That it would never be well, till the King and his cubs were taken away, and said

said, that he thought it proceeded
from *Raleigh*.

To this *Raleigh* answered, That
Brookes was his enemy. It was
replied, but *Cobham* was ever
your friend; and it would seeme a
strange malice in *Brookes*, to ruin his
brother, to undo you.

To the second part, there was
produced a *Booke*, (which I have
read) a defence of the *Queens* pro-
ceedings, against *Mary Queen* of
Scots; which *Cobham* confessed
Raleigh had delivered to him, and
he to *Brookes*, and *Brookes* to
Gray, upon *Cobham's* discontent.

Raleigh acknowledged, that it
contained matter of scandal to
the *Kings* title. And that he had
leave of *Sir Robert Cecil*, after his
Fathers death, to search his study,
for *Cosmographical Manuscripts*, of
the *West-Indies*, and so lighted
on this *Book*.

Sir Robert Cecil then present

G

upon

Sir Robert Cecil's words.

upon the Bench acknowledged this lease: and said, He would then as really have trusted him, as any man; though since for some Infirmities of Sir Walter the bonds of affection were crackt; and yet, reserving his duty to the King, which may not be dispensed withall, in this his Masters service, he swore by God, he loved him; and had a great conflict in himself, that so compleat a member was fallen from this State.

And this passage, needs no soothing, to excuse Cecill either for the Father or the Son. For I have heard Sir Robert Cecil, when he was Salisbury, say publickly at his own table, That he had intercepted and kept all the considerable Libells, against the late Queen and this King. But though Justifiable in them, as Councelours of State; yet it was a crime in Raleigh, who never was any. And this Book, as I remember, was of one Bragg or Stagg

a Jesuite. But Sir *Walter* excused it; That there was nothing acted thereby, to the *Kings* prejudice; for the *Book* was burnt.

But to insist hereupon; *Cobham* had confessed, That *Ralegh* had agreed; That *Cobham* should treat with *Arenburgh*, for 600. thousand *Crownes*, to the intent, to advance the title of the *Lady Arabella*, to this *Crown*. That *Cobham*, under pretence of travelling should prosecute this designe; in the *Low-countries*, *France* and *Spaine*; and to carry 3. letters from her, to the *Arch-Duke*, *Duke of Savoy*, and to the *King of Spaine*, and to promise toleration of *Religion*, and her *Marriage* to be disposed of, by them. That at his returne; he should meete *Ralegh* at *Jersey* the place of his command; and there agree, to dispose the money to *discontents*. And *Ralegh* should have 7. thousand *crownes* from *Arenberge*, for himselfe. G 2 And

And further confessed, that Raleigh had instigated him to all these Treasons.

And that Raleigh should say; that he thought the best way to trouble England, was to cause division in Scotland.

To this, onely of Scotland, he answered & confessed the words; and that he had so thought, these 20. yeares. It seemes by the sequel, since he was not mistaken.

Lawrencie confessed that he and Cobham and Raleigh being together, he delivered a letter to Cobham, from Arembergh; and presently Raleigh went with Cobham in private, to conferre thereof.

To all these confessions, Raleigh craved that Cobham might appeare, to accuse him face to face.

I may not omit one passage acted heretofore, which comes in properly here to be considered.

When the confederates had suffered

ed under some *Examinations*, and were *restrained* to their several houses: And *Raleigh* knew well that *Lawrency* was then *suspected*, but not *examined*; then did *Raleigh* discover in a letter to *Sir Robert Cecil*, where *Cobham* was with *Lawrency*; and that then was the time, to *apprehend Lawrency*, and so to intercept their *Intelligence*, ere matters were ripe.

What *Raleigh's* design was herein, I must confesse, my conceipt is very blunt. But this use was made of it to *Raleghs* ruine. For after that *Cobham*, had denied much of the former *stuffe*, upon his first *Examinations*; this letter was shewed *him*, under *Ralegh's* hand, & upon mature & often deliberation, to be assured, that it was his hand: Then *Cobham* in an *Extasie*, calling *Ralegh* *Villain*, *Traitor*; delivered his positive *Accusation* of *Ralegh*, as aforesaid: and added,

That *Raleigh*, after his first *Examinations*, before the *Lords*, had writ to *Cobham*, that although he had bin examined of many things, yet that he had cleered *Cobham* of all, when (as the *Lords* protested) he had not at all, been examined concerning *Cobham*. And thereby this was inferred, by the *Councell*) to confirm *Cobham* to deny all, when he should be examined; *Sir Walter* said, That *Cobham* had not signed his accusation, and that he was at the worst but *singularis Testis*. To which my *Lord Chief Justice* gave it for law, that it was not necessary, to signe, nor to have more then *One* witnessse: after much pleading herein; and *Raleigh* alledging law and *Scripture*, for not admitting a *single* witnessse, to condemn one, yet the *Court* was satisfied therein, by the *Judges* to the contrary.

Raleigh said, Then prove it by
One

One witnesse face to face, and I will confesse my self guilty: but the Judges were of opinion, that it was not to be permitted by law: yet *Raleigh* insisted hereupon, with many stories which took up much time: Then being asked, if he would be concluded thereby if *Cobham* would now justify his accusation, under his hand. To this it may be observed that *Raleigh* made no answer at all but consented that the Jury should go together.

Then was produced *Cobham's* letter to the Lords, writ but the day before, in effect thus.

That *Sir Walter*, had writ a letter to him wrapt in an apple, and cast in at his window ten daies since, in the Tower, to intreate him for God's sake to write to him, under his own hand, that he had wronged him in his accusations: and advised him to be constant in denialls, rather then to appeale to the King. And now

(writes Cobham) It is no time to dissemble; and therefore protested before God and his Angells, that all and every part of his accusation, of Sir Walter Raleigh, was substantially true. And added; That Raleigh had dealt with him, since the King's comming to procure him a pension from Spain, for Intelligence &c.

Then Raleigh, rayling against Cobham, confessed this letter was in an Apple, to which Cobham returned an answer; which Raleigh produced, and desired that it might be read. But the Attorney opposed Sir Robert Cecil's consent thereto. To whom Cecil replied: Sir, you are more preremptory then honest, come you hither to direct us? And so read it. Which in effect was a confession that he had wronged Sir Walter, and that he was Innocent. This bore date 10. dayes before. And here Raleigh confessed, That Cobham had offered

ferred to him a *Pension* from *Spain*, to the effect before confessed. And that he had *concealed* it, as loath to ruine *Cocham*.

Then the *Jury* went out, and returned in halfe an houre, with their *Verdict*; *Guilty*. So was *sentence*, as in *Case of Treason*. And he was returned, to the *Tower of London*, and there lay upon *Reprive* 12. yeares, and 3. years after was *executed* in *October 1618*.

And because this *Second Remarke* in the Pamphleter and this *Prefacer*, stickes in their *stomacks*, with which they indeavour to *choke* the *Readers*; I have therefore bin the more *prolix*; that thereby the whole world may judge, with the *Jury*, of his *guilt* or *Innocency*. *Vide* page 35.

Observations upon this Tryall.

Pam p. 35.

Ralegh's rise of preferment, was occasioned upon a contest with the *Lord Grey* in the *Queenes time*, which they were to plead *face to face*,

face: Where indeed, but not in *truth*, Sir *Walter* had the better by the *tongue*, telling his tale to advantage; which tooke the *Queen*, who tooke him from that instant into favour as before remembred. Belike he expected the same providence at this time, when so oft he desired to plead *face to face*, with *Cobham*.

Pamp. 35.

How could *Wade* the *Lieutenant* of the *Tower* (as is surmized) tamper with *Cobham*, to write his name to a *blanck*, to which *Wade* framed the accusation against *Raleigh*. When it appears, *Cobham* never signed at all, to his *Examinations*; which therefore was so much insisted upon, at his *tryall*, for his advantage.

But in truth; besides the confession of *Cobham*, the fatal evidence was *Cobham's* own voluntary last letter of accusation, or confession overnight, writ every whit with his own hand.

The

The King commanded (as the **C O U R T** was assured at the triall) that upon any *examination*, there should none be rackt, which made Captaine *Kemish* (who was the *Instrument* of messages and letters betweene *Raleigh* and *Cobham*) often to protest, in my hearing, That in truth, he was threatened with the *Rack*, which was shewed to him, but had he tasted therof, he said, that he should have bin inforced, to tell an odd tale, *meaning of discovery*.

Sr. *Walter* was admitted a *chair*, *pen*, *Inck* and *paper* for his *memory*. And truly he rather tyred the *Court* and *Jury*, with *Impertinences*.

Reprev.
ed.

And thus was Sr. *Walter Raleigh* reprevied to the *Tower*, and many years of *Imprisonment* in that liberty, till his future *merits*, and fame of *learning*, begat many to *pitty* his *sufferings*; So that at last, by meanes of the *French Embassadour*, with others of our own *Lords*,

he had freedome to repair for his health, to his house at Saint James, and after a year or two, he procured a Commission, to make a Voyage to *Guana* in the *West-Indies* for the return of *Gold Oare* or *Mine*. But was expressly limited, not to trench upon the *Spaniards*, to the breach of *Peace*.

His landing was at *St. Tomaz*, a Town of the *Spaniards*, upon the opening of the *Great River Orenoque*, in *America*. Where he killed many of them, and there lost his eldest son *Walter*, under the *Walls*. Then sends he *Captain Kemish*, his old Servant, (upon whose confidence it appears this voyage was resolved) up this River, to the foot of a *Mountain*, where heretofore, and also during *Raleigh's Imprisonment*, he had been sent, and returned, with wonderfull *Remarks* of a rich *Mine*, or rather *Madre-del-Ore*. But now comes from

from thence. And all the account came to no more, but that the *Mountain* was fled away, he could not find it.

Upon this, the whole fleet 4. or 5. saile *mutiny*, forces him home again as a *Prisoner*: in the return, *Kemish* kills himself, in his own *Cabin*, & so no tales could be told.

Raleigh's ship were first cast upon the south of *Ireland*: then they land in the West of *England*; where warrants were ready to apprehend him *Prisoner*, to the *Tower*. In the West, he is discovered to deal with a *French Master* of a ship, to steal away into *France*. Then in his journey to *London*, he combines, with a *French Mountebank*, who assisted him with ingredients, (which he desired) that would without danger of life, bring him to breake forth into *Blanes*: Purposely done, by this meanes to get longer time, to work
 oppor-

opportunities to save his life; which he knew he had so deeply forfeited.

Then being delivered into the hands of Sir John Stukely, Lieutenant of the Tower, he deales with him for a sum of Money, part in hand being paid, to join with him in Escape both of them, into France. Stukely yields to all, and accompanies him by water, in the way to Gravesend; where (by designe of Stukely's treachery, in that, and so it prospered with him, being hang'd afterwards, for clipping of Gold) they were seized and brought back to the Tower. From whence, very speedily, Raleigh was commanded to the King's Bench-bar at Westminster, before the Lord chief Justice Mountague; where the Records of his former Sentence only were read; & he demanded, why Execution should not be done? Sir Walter acknowledged that Sentence, and the King's Mercy for his
his

his life thus long: And that he hoped, seeing he had bin imployed by Commission, with power of life and death, over the King's *Liege People*, it did make void that former sentence.

He was told to the *contrary*, and that his time of *Execution*, was the next morning: and so the *Sheriff* of *Middlesex*, took him into custody to the *Gate-House*, and to *Execution* the next day, in the old *Palace yard*, at *Westminster*; where he had the favor of the *Ax*, which he said (smilingly touching it) was a sharp *Medicine*, but a true *Physitian*, to cure all diseases: and so it proved to him, at this very time in his *Ague-fit*.

At his death, himselfe endeavoured; to cleere some points, (which it seemes our *Pamphleter* knew not of, otherwise he would have done it for him.)

To have had often plots with
France,

France, which he denied, but confessed, that he had bin solicited thence; and induvoured to escape thither at twice: That the French Agent, came oft to him, with Commission from that King to him; But he returned the Commission.

That he should speake disloyally of the King: his accuser, he said, was a base runagate, Frenchman, and perfidious, whom he trusted being sworne to secrecie, which he betrayed; much he said in these particulars, which he did not deny, but traversed.

So then there were, other businessse of charge, to which he was liable to a new Tryall. But the prudence of the King would not hazard further proceedings, having a sufficient upon the *old score*. And now for that additional tale of the Pamphleter concerning Sir Walters recovery of *Queen Anne*; for which he

he begg'd the boone, viz. for the Examination of the Lord Cobham by 4. Earles and 2. Councelors.

I never heard nor read thereof before, nor can beleve it. For this I know by severall relations of those great Ladies of her Bedchamber; and of her Chirurgians and Physitians now living, that She was never cured of her disease, but by death, that ends all Maladies.

It followes in the Pamphlet, That after he hath ranted his Stories of Mansell and Monson, and of the peace, ratifyed and sworne; He makes Cecill the chief Kingleader of the King by the Nose.

But to say truth, The King was alwaies brought up to his ease, though the fore-part of his Raigne in Scotland, proved troublesome enough to his Councell. And therefore now, he was to follow his affaires, in peace, and his own Inclination, in a Sportfull life. The

rather; He being much Subject to *unwildines or weaknes* in his *Limbs*, and which because of his extream *dis-affection to Physick*, he was advised to the best *Aire*, most *agreable to the Nature of Scotland*, *fresh and bleak*: and for that end, he chose *Roystan*, and *Newmarket*.

Without, that *Scandalous Intimation*, of *leaving his Queen*, *without any love or liking*.

Sir Tho.
Lake.
Pamp. 54.

We are forced to fall upon *One Lake*, whom we find to be that *learned Gentleman Sir Thomas Lake*, apted in his youth with *rudiments of the Book*, to attend *Sir Francis Walsingham* (that *subtile Secretary of State to Queen Elizabeth*) as *Amanuensis* to him: And after good experience of his *desarts*, he was recommended to the *Queen*, and read to her *French and Latine*. In which tongues, she would say, that he *surpassed her Secretaries*, and was so im-
ployed

ployed to her death; for he was reading to her, when the **COUNTESS** of **WARWICK** told him, that the *Queen* was departed.

But not long before; he received him *Clarke* of her *Signet*. And he was chosen, by this State in that place to attend the *King* from **B A R W I C K**. And so sufficient he was, that the *King* made use of his present service, in some *French* affaires, after he came into *England*. Which indeed *Secretary Cecil* had reason to resent, as too much trenching on his *Office*. And therefore craved leave of the *King*, that he might not attend beyond his *Month* to prejudice the other *Clarks*. Which was excused, and he kept still at *Court*.

These *sufficiencies* of his, enabled him in those times of gaining, with much repute, and direct

honesty, to purchase large *possessions*.

as secreta-
ry.

His In-
agement
with his
wife and
daughter.

After *Ccils* death, the *Place of Secretary*, was joyned in two *Principals*. And not long after he was one of them, & so continued, with *Honourably esteem* of all men; until that *Malice* and *Revenge*, two violent *passions*, over-ruling the *Weaker Sexe*, concerning his *wife* and *daughter*, involved him into their *quarrel*, the chiefe and onely cause of his *ruine*. He had by his *Wife*, sons and daughters. His *eldst* married unto the *Lord Baron Rosse* (in right of a *Grand-mother*) the son of *Thomas Earle of Exeter* by a former venter. And upon the credit of *Sir Thomas Lake*, he was sent *Embassadour Extraordinary into Spaine*, in a very *galant Equipage*, with some hopes of his own, to continue *Leiger*, to save charges, of transmitting any other.

In

In his absence there fell out an extreame deadly feud (tis no matter for what) betweene the *Lady Lake* and the *Countesse of Exeter*. A youthful widow she had bin and *vertuous*; and so became *Bedfellow* to this aged, *gowty*, *diseas- ed* but *noble Earle*. And, that *preferment* had made her subject to *Envy* and *Malice*.

Against
the Coun-
tesse of
Exeter.

Home comes the *Lord Rosse* from his *Embassy*, when being fallen into some neglect of his *wife* and *his kindred*; I conceive, upon refusal of an increase of *allowance* to her *settlement* of *joynture*, which was promised to be compleated at his returne.

Not long he staies in *England*, but away he gets into *Italy*, turnes a professed *Romane Catho- lick* being couened into that *Re- ligious*, by his publick *confident*, *Gondamore*.

In this his last absence (*never*

the accusation. *to returne) the Mother and daughter, accuse the Countesse, of former Incontinencie with the Lord Rosse, whilst he was here, and that therefore, upon his wives discovery, he was fled from hence, and from her Marriage-Bed, with other devised Calumnies by severall designs and contrivements, to have poisoned the Mother and daughter.*

This quarrel, was soone blazon'd at Court, to the King's eare, who as privately as could be, singly, examines each party. The Countesse, with teares and Imprecations, professeth her Innocency, which to oppose the Mother and her daughter, counterfeit her hand, to a whole sheet of paper; wherein they make the Countesse, with much contrition, to acknowledge her selfe guilty, craves pardon for attempting to poison them, & desires friendship with them all.

The

The King gets sight of this, as in favour to them, and demands, the *place, time, and occasion*, when this should be writ. They tell him, that all the parties met, in a visit at *Wimbleton*, (*the house of the Lord of Exeter*) where, in dispute of their *differences*, she confesses her guilt of attempting their poison. And being desirous of absolution and friendship, (being required thereto) consents, to set down all *Circumstances* therein, under her own hand, which presently she writ, at the *Window*, in the upper end of the great *Chamber*, at *Whimbleton*, in presence of the *Mother and Daughter*, the *Lord Rosse*, and one *Diego a Spaniard* his confiding *Servant*. But now they being gone, & at *Rome*, the King forthwith sends *Mr. Dendy* (one of his *Serjeants at Armes* sometime a domestick of the *Earl of Exeters*,

an *honest* and worthy *Gentleman*)
 post to *Rome*, who speedily re-
 turnes with *Rosse* and *Diego's* hand,
 and other testimonialls, confirm-
 ing, That all the said *accusation*,
 and *confession*, *Suspitions* and *pa-*
pers, concerning the *Countesse*,
 were notorious *false* and *Scanda-*
lous, and confirmes it by recei-
 ving the *Hoast*, in assurance of her
Honour and his *Innocency*. The
King well satisfyed, sends to the
Countesse friends and trusties, for
 her *Jointure* and *Estate*; who com-
 paring many of her *letters*, with
 this writing, do conclude it *conn-*
terfeit.

Then, He tells the *Mother* and
Daughter, that this writing, being
 denied by her, and their testimo-
 nies being parties, would not pre-
 vaile, with any belief. But any
 other *Additionall* *Witnesse*, would
 give it sufficient credit. To which
 they assure him, That one *Sarah*
Swarton, their *Chamberesse* stood

behind the hanging, at the entrance of the *Room*, and heard the *Countesse* reade over, what she had writ: and her also they procure, to swear unto this, before the *King*.

To make further *tryal*, the *King* in a hunting journey, at *New Park* near *Wimbleton*, gallops thither, views the *Room*; observing the great distance of the *Window*, from the lower end of the *Room*, and placing himself, behind the hanging, and so other *Lords* in turn; they could not hear one speak a loud, from the window.

Then the *House-Keeper* was call'd, who protested those hangings had constantly furnisht that room, for 30. years; which the *King* observed, to be two foot short of the ground, and might discover the woman, if hidden behind them. I may present also, the *King* saying, Oaths cannot confound my sight.

Besides all this, the *Mother* and
Daughter

Daughter, counterfeit another writing, a Confession of one Luke Hutton, acknowledging for 40. l. annuity, the Countesse hired him to poison them; which Man, with wonderful providence, was found out privately; and denies it to the King.

And thus prepared, the King sends for Sr. Thomas Lake, whom in truth he very much valued; tells him, the danger to imbarke himself, in this quarrel; advising him, to leave them to the law, being now ready for the Star-chamber. He humbly thanked his Majesty, but could not refuse to be a Father and a Husband, and so puts his Name with theirs, in a crosse Bill. Which at the hearing, took up 5. several daies, the King sitting in Judgement. But the former testimonies, and some private confessions, of the Lady Rosse, and Sarah Wharton; which the King kept

comes to
Hearing
in Star-
chamber.

kept in private, from publick proceedings, made the cause, for some of the daies of triall, appeared doubtful to the Court, untill the King's discovery, which concluded the *Sentence*; and was pronounced upon severall *Censures*. Sr. *Thomas Lake* and his Lady fined 10000, l. to the King; five thousand pounds to the Countesse; 50. l. to *Hutton*, *Sara Wharton* to be whipt, at a Cart's taile, about the streets, and to do penance at *Saint Martin's Church*; The Lady *Rosse* for confessing the truth and plot in the midst of the triall, was pardoned by the Major Voices, from penall *Sentence*.

and sentenced.

The King, I remember, compared their crimes, to the first plot of the first sin in *Paradise*: the Lady *Lake* to the Serpent, her daughter unto *Eve*, & *Sir Thomas* to poor *Adam*, whom he thought in his conscience, that his love to his wife had be-

beguiled him. I am sure, he paid for all, which as he told me, cost him *thirty thousand pounds*; and the losse of his *Masters* favour, and offices of *gaine* and *honour*; but truly with much *pitty* and *compassion* of the *Court*.

Pamp. 57.
concern-
ing the
Scots.

Our *Pamphleter*, enters upon the *Scots*, pa. 57. and would coufen us, to credit their *Story*, where he begins a *division*, between the *English* and them at *Court*, & goes smoothly on, to the middle of these *last times*, when it seemes he writ this: And, as he saies, *saw all our happinesse derivative, from their favours, by their own valour, and bravery of spirit. Good Man! He beleeves, what he thought he saw; But wanting the eye of faith to forsee this great Alteration, which he lived not to find; but We, now to feele: Our late gude Presbyterian Brethren, turne false Loones, and become the traiterous*
Rebells

Pamp. 58.

Rebells to that reformation, which not long ago they professed, & he, & others beleev'd, and so disunit'd the union of all our quiet, and happines.

He tells us of a trick, that the Earle of Salisbury had, to compound with the Scots Courtiers for their Books of Fee-farmes, which they bought at 100:1. per annum for a thousand pound. Then would he fill up these bookes with prime land, worth 20. thousand pounds.

Pamp. 60.
Scandal
upon E.
of Salis-
bury.

A pretty trick indeed to make himselfe Lord Para-Mount, of the best lands in England; but it had bin a gainful trade of our Author, to have turn'd Informer to the State, in the particulars of these Tricks; and so the return of these lands so deceitfully got, would prove now as hard a bargain to his son (as the Lord-like purchasers of Debenturs have done latly) & to his son, that may succeed him.

We

Remar. 3. We are come to the consideration of
 the third Remark in the Preface;
 Pamp. 61. and so we fall into the History of
 Robert Rob. Car, after E. of Summerset,
 Carre and Sir Tho. and intermixed with that of Sir
 Sir Tho. Thomas Overbury.
 Overbury.

Ro. Car, was a *Scottishman*, of no
 eminent birth, but a *Gent.* and had
 bin a *Page of honor*, to the King in
 Scotland. And in truth, he became
 the first *Favorite* that we find; that
 is, one whom the *Ki.* fancied, meerly
 for his *fashion*; upon no other score,
 nor plot of design. His *Confident*, was
 one *Sr. Tho. Overbury*, a man of good
 parts, whom our *Author*, hath well
 characterized; and his policy, was to
 please the *English*, by intertaining
 them his *Domestiques*.

There was amongst other persons
 of honor & quality in Court, a young
 L. of great birth and beauty, *Fra.* the
 daughter of *Tho. Howard*, then *E. of*
Suffolk, & *L. Treasurer of Eng.* mar-
 ried in under-age, unto the late and
 last *E. of Essex*. Of

Of him, cōmon fame had an opinion (grounded upon his own suspition) of his insufficiency, to content a wife. And the effects of this Narration, with the sequell of his life and conversation with his second wife, is so notorious, as might spare me and the Reader our severall labours, for any other convincing arguments. But with his first, when both were of years, to expect the event and blessing of their Marriage-bed; He was alwaies observed, to avoid the company of Ladies, and so much to neglect his own, that to wish a Maid into a Mischief, was to commend her to my Lord of Essex: Which increased the jealousie of such Men, whose interests were, to observe him; That he preferred the occasion himself, to a separation. And which indeed from publique fame, begat private disputation, amongst Civilians of the legality thereof, wherein those Lawyers are boundlesse.

This

This Case followed the *heel* of a former Nullity, fresh in memory, between the L. Rich, and his fair Lady, by mutual consent. But because the E. of Dev. married her, whilst her Husband lived, the King was so much displeas'd thereat, as it broke the E. heart: for his Majesty told him, That he had purchased a fair woman with a black soul. And this is a known truth, That before Viscount Rochford (for so was Carre lately created) had made any *addresse* to this Lady, her own friends in Justice and honor to her birth, expos'd her to the plaint of her Husband, & to the severest triall in a Course of judicature.

And 'tis as true, that the King knew hereof, our Pamphlet saies: [A party in this bawdy businesse] for, what was *le-gall* for the meanest Subject, could not in justice be denied unto Her: Which in fine, sentenced them both, by Divine and Civil Canon, loose from their Matrimoniall bands.

And

And, because the Nullity gave freedom to either, and so the means to the Countesses after-*Mariage*, with the sad occasions of all the sequell mishaps, and suspected scandalls, so unruly expressed by the *Pamphlet*; I have with some diligence, laboured out the truth, precisely and punctually, as it was acted, and proceeded by Commission *Delegative*; not easily now otherwayes to be brought to light.

Upon Petition of the Earl of Suffolke and his Daughter Francis to the King.

Proceedings of Nullity.

That Whereas his Daughter *Francis*, Countesse of *Essex*, had been *Married* many years, unto *Robert Earle of Essex*, in hope of comfortable effects to them, which contrarywise, by reason of certaine latent, and secret im-

I per-

perfections, and impediments of the said *Earl*, disabling him in the rights of *Marriage*, and most unwillingly discovered to him by his daughter; which longer by him to conceale, without remedy of *Law*, and the practice of all *Christian* policy, in like cases, might prove very prejudiciall.

And therefore pray the King,
 To commit this cause of *Nullity* of *Matrimony*, which she is forced to prosecute against the said *Earl*, to some grave and worthy persons, by Commission under the great Seal of *England*, as is usuall, &c.

Which accordingly was granted unto foure Bishops, two Privy Counsellors learned in the *Law*, and to foure other Civill Lawyers; with Clause to proceed *Cum omni, qua poterint, celeritate, & expeditione*

xpeditione, Summarie, ac de plano,
 sine strepitu, ac figura Judicii, sola
 rei & facti veritate inspecta, & me-
 ra equitate attenta. And with this
 Clause also, *Quorum vos præfat.*
Reverendissimū patrem Cant. Archi-
episcopum, Reverendissimum patrem
Lond. Episcop. & Iul. Cesar.
Mil. Aut duos vestrorum, in fe-
renda sententia, interesse volumus.
 But for some exceptions concer-
 ning the *Quorum* by the Commis-
 sioners in the words *sententia esse,*
 not *interesse,* A second Commis-
 sion was granted and adjoyned
 two Bishops more, with this *Quo-*
rum. Quorum ex vobis præfat. Re.
Pa. Georg. Cant. Archiepis. Ioh.
Lond. Episc. Tho. Winton Episc.
Launcelot Eliens. Episc. Richard
Covent. & Lich^e. Episc. Ioh. Ross.
Episc. Iulio Cesare, Tho. Parry
Mil. in ferenda sententia, tres esse
volumus.

Upon this the Lady procures
 I 2 Proesse

The Ladies
Libell.

Processe against the *Earl* to Answer her in a cause of *Nullity* of *Matrimony*.

The *Earle* appears before the Commissioners, by his Proctor, And She gives in her *Libell*, viz.

That the *Earl* and the *Lady*, six years since, in *January Anno Dom. 1606.* were *Married*, her age then thirteen, and his fourteen, and now she is 22. and he 23 years old.

That for three years since the *Marriage*, and he 18. years old, they both did cohabit as *Married* folke, in one bed naked and alone, indeavouring to have carnall knowledge each of others Body.

Notwithstanding, the *Earl* neither did, nor could ever know her Carnally; he being before, and since, possessed with perpetuall incurable Impediment, and Im-

Impotency, at least in respect of her.

That the *Lady* was, and is apt, & fit, without any defect, & is yet a Virgin, and Carnally unknown by any man.

That the *Earl* hath confessed often times to persons of great credit, and his nearest friends, that he was never able Carnally to know her, though he had often attempted, and used his utmost endeavour.

And therefore prayeth the Commissioners upon due proof hereof, to pronounce for the *Invalidity & Nullity* of the *Marriage*.

The *Earl* by his Proctor, denies the said Contents, *Contestatio Litis negativè*.

His Answer is required by Oath, by second Process, where, in open Court his Oath was administred, with so great care,

His Answer upon Oath.

and effectuall words, to minde him of all Circumstances, as the like hath been seldome obserued.

Viva voce.

The *Earl* confesseth the *Marriage*, and Circumstance, (as in the Libell.) And were not absent above three moneths, the one from the other, in any of the said 3. years.

That, for one whole yeare of the three, He did attempt divers times, carnally to know Her. But the other two years, he lay in bed with her nightly, but found no motion to copulation with Her.

That in the first year, She shewed willingnes, and readines thereto.

That he did never carnally know Her, but did not find any impediment in himself, but was not able to penetrate or enjoy Her.

And beleeveth, That before and
after

after the *Marriage*, he found in himself ability to other Women; and hath sometimes felt motions that way.

But being asked, Whether he found in himself a perpetuall, & incurable Impediment towards Her? He answered, that in 2. or 3 years last, He hath had no motion to Her; and beleeveth, He never shall, nor that She is apt as other women: And that **S**he is *Virgo integra & incorrupta*.

And confesseth, That He hath often, before Persons of credit, confessed thus much.

Notwithstanding this his Oath, She produced sundry Witnesses of the *Marriage*, Time, Age, Cohabitation at Bed and at Board; as before in the *Libell*, &c.

So then that period of time. limited by the Civill and Canon Law, proved his Cohabitation;

and Condormition, for consummation.

The next was, That notwithstanding, She remained *Virgo integra, incorrupta*. But, because the Earl beleev'd not the Lady to be fit and apt for copulation, Therefore her Councell desired, *Matronas aliquas probas & honestas, fide dignas, & in ea parte peritas, per dominos assignari, ad inspicendum Corpus dictæ domine.*

Whereupon it was decreed, That six Midwives of the best Note, and ten other Noble Matrons, fearing God, and Mothers of Children, out of which themselves would choose 2 Midwives and 3 Matrons; and out of which the Delegates did select 5. *ut sequitur.*

Tunc Domini viz. Arch. Cant. London: Eliens: Coventry & Lichf: Cas. r, Parry, Dun, Bennet, Edwards,

wards, *habita inter eos privata de-
 liberatione, ex numero Matronarum
 prædict. eligerunt*, The Lady
*Martha Terwhite, wife of Sir Ph:
 Terwhite, Baronet*; the Lady
Alice Carew, wife of Sir Mathew,
 the Lady *Dalison, wife of Sir
 Roger. Et in supplimentum Casu
 earum impedire. The Lady Anne
 Waller Widdow, & ex obstetri-
 cum numero, &c. Margaretam
 Mercer, & Christianam Cleft. Et
 assignarunt procuratorem dictæ do-
 minæ Francis. ad sistendum cujus-
 modi Inspectatrices, coram Reve-
 rendissimo patre Lond. Episc. Julio
 Casar, & Daniele Dun, &c. Inter
 ceteros nominat. isto die, inter horas
 quintam & sextam post meridiem,
 juramentū in hac parte subdituras,
 atq; inspectione facta fideliter rela-
 turas; earū judiciū juxta earū sci-
 entiā et experiētiā, &c. Corā dictis
 dominis, delegatis, sic ut præferunt,
 assignatis, quam cito fieri possit,
 ante*

ante horam quartam, post meridiem diei Iovis prox. alioquin, ad comparandum, hoc in loco coram Commissariis, dicto die Iovis, inter horas quartam et sextam post meridiem ejusdem diei earum Iudicium in hac parte, tunc relaturus, et interessendum diebus, hora & loco, respectare predict. ad videndum inspectatrices predictas, Iuramento in hac parte onerari. Nec non quibuscunq; aliis diebus, hora & loco per dictos Dominos Commissarios nominat. dictis inspectatricibus ad referend. earum Iudicium assignatum.

Accordingly, between the hours of five and six in the afternoon that day, were presented before the said Delegates, London, Cesar, et Dun; the said Lady Terwhite, Lady Carew, Lady Anne Waller, Margarec Mercer, and Christian Chest Midwives, sworn ad Inquirend. & Inspect.

I Whether

1. Whether the *Lady Francis* were a Woman, apt and fit for carnall Copulation, without any defect that might disable Her to that purpose.

2. Whether she were a Virgin, unknown carnally by any man.

Whereupon, they went from the presence of the Commissioners, into the next room, where the *Lady* was, accompanied then with the Councell of both sides; into which room was no entrance but at one dore, whereout the Councell came forth, and only the *Lady* left with the said women, who after some convenient time returned their report under their hands; the Commissioners having first sequestred from their presence, the Councell of the *Earle* and *Lady*, who had been present in all these passages, and all other persons except the Register, that so the Ladies and Midwives might
more

more freely deliver their secret reasons, &c. though it was not fit to insert them in the Record.

And this is their sum of their relation, *viz.*

1. That they believed the said *Lady* fitted with abilities to have Carnall copulation, and apt to have Children.

2. That she is a Virgin incorrupted.

And to corroborate all this, the *Lady* in open Court produced 7 women of her Consanguinity;

That, in as much as the truth of all was best known to her selfe, She might by vertue of Her Oath discover the same, and Her Oath shold be no further regarded, than it was confirmed by the oathes of these her kinswomen.

The Law presuming that such kindred should be best acquainted with

with the inward secrets of their kinswoman.

In order hereto, the *Lady Francis*, in open Court, had an Oath administred to her, with all the like grave admonition, as before to the *Earl*.

And so She affirmed;

That, since the *Earl* was 18. years old, for three years, He and She had divers times layn naked in bed all night; And fundry times there, the *Earl* had attempted, and indevoured to consummate *Marriage* with her, & She accordingly yielded, and willing thereto, and yet he never had Copulation with Her.

And then these seven Noble Women, viz. *Katherine Countesse of Suffolke*, *Francis Countesse of Kildare*, *Elizabeth Lady Walden*, *Elizabeth Lady Knevet*, *Lady Katherine Thinn*, *Mistris Katherine Finos*, *Mistris Dorothy Neale*

Neal, her Kinswomen, being charged by the Court to speak without partiality what they beleev'd as to the *Ladies* deposition, they did all depose, that they believed the same to be true.

1 And in particular. That *post plenam pubertatem utriusq̃*, they both endeavoured Copulation.

2 That notwithstanding this Cohabitation, and ability on his part. *per Inspectatrices*; she remained a Virgin incorrupted.

3 That the *Earl* had Judicially sworne, that he never had, nor could, nor should ever know her carnally.

And this the Law being; That *Impotentia coeundi in viro*, howsoever, whether by naturall defect, or accidentall means; and whether absolute towards all, or respective to his wife alone; If it precede *Matrimony*, and be perpetuall, as by Law is presumed, when

when by 3 yeares continuance, after the Mans age of 18 years, there having been *nil ad copulam*, the *Marriage* not consummated. the Law allowing the said proofs, &c. was abundantly sufficient to convince the said Earle of Impotency.

Because, *Canonum Statuta custodiendi debent ab omnibus; & nemo in actionibus, vel iudiciis Ecclesiasticis, suo sensu, sed eorum auctoritate duci debet.*

The said Reverend, and grave Judges *Delegates*, gave this sentence unanimously, as followeth.

Idcirco nos Episcopi, &c. in dicta causa Iudices, Delegati, & Commissarii, Christi Nomine (primitus) invocato, & ipsum solum Deum, oculis nostris proponentes, et habentes, deq; et cum consilio Iurisperitor. cum quibus in hac parte communicavimus; maturéq; aeliberavimus presatum Domi-
num

num Comitem Essex, dictam dominam Franciscam, ob aliquod latens, & incurabile impedimentum perpetuum; predictum contractum, & solemnizationem, precedens, citra solemnizationem, et contractum predictum, nunquam carnaliter cognovisse, aut carnaliter eandem, cognoscere potuisse, aut posse, et eundem dominum Comitem quoad carnale copulam, cum eadem domina Francisca, exercend omnino inhabilem, et impotentem fuisse, et esse: Pronunciamus, decernimus, et declaramus presatum pratensum Matrimonium, sic inter predictum virum Robertum Devoreaux, Comitem Essex, Et predictam prenobitem feminam, Franciscam Howard, de facto contractum, et solemnizatum, Omniaque exinde sequentia, ratione premissorum, omnino invalidum, ac nullum, nulla fuisse, et esse, viribusque juris caruisse, et carere debere; atque nullo ei nullis; et invalido et invalidis;

ad omnem Iuris effectum, etiamque pronunciamus, decernimus et declaramus, dictum matrimonium præensum, omniaq; ex inde sequentia, cassamus, annullamus, & irritamus; Memoriamque Dominam Franciscam Howard, ab aliquo vinculo, huiusmodi præensi Matrimonii, inter Eam, & dictum dominum Robertum Comitem (ut præfatur) de facto contracti, & solemnizati, liberam, & solutam fuisse, & esse. Et sic tam liberam, & solutam insuper pronunciamus, decernimus & declaramus. Eademque dominam Franciscam, ab eodem domino Comite Essex, quoad vinculum Matrimonii præensi prædicti, omniaq; ex inde sequentia, liberandam & divortiamdam fore debere, pronunciamus, & sic liberamus, & divortiamus; eosdem quo ad transfum ad alias nuptias, conscientiis suis, in domino relinquere per hanc nostram sententiam definitam, sive hoc nostrum finale

K decretum

decretum, *quam si ve, quod fecimus,*
 & promulgamus *in his scriptis.*

And these *Records* extant, doe mention the proceedings (you see) modest and legall; parallell with any former of the like kind; though our *Pamphleter* with his bawdy tale, pleaseth himself to defame thole *Reverend Bishops*, whose dignities gave them place of Judges; acting no more, or otherwayes, than the Ecclesiasticall *Canons* in such cases prescribe. *Nemine contradicente.*

Pamph.
78.

Yes sayes He [*Archbishop Abbot, who was therefore excluded the Councell Table, and so dyed in disgrace of that King, though in favour with the King of Kings.*]

The truth is otherwise. For the *Archbishop* (providence permitting) ayming with a *Crossebow* to strike a *Deere*, kill'd his *Game keeper*; for which Act, having
 His

His hand in blood, by the *Canons* of the *Church*, he cannot be admitted to officiate at the *Altar*; and so, He not being admitted to the full use of his spiritual *calling*; Himself forbore the *Councell Table*, as He told me in these words. [*Since they will have it so, that I am incapable of the one, I shall spare myself the trouble of the other.*]

But he enjoyed the benefit of that *See*, whilst he lived, and retyred in that time (most constant) to his *Palace at Lambeth*.

Much displeas'd he was (as I well remember) with the *Court* and *Clergy*; and upon that *Score*. And, forsooth, to justifie, that his *Function* was not weakned, by his *Mischance*, quarrelling with the *Canons*, he fell upon down-right *Puritan Tenents*; which gave occasion to many *Discontents* of our *Church* and *State*, to visit him

so frequent, that they called themselves, *Nicodemites*, and his *Disciples*.

And I observed very often, perhaps therefore, (for I could not meet with a better reason) that the *Archbishop*, constantly with *Candell light* in his Chamber and Study, made it *Midnight* at *Noon day*.

And here he began to be the *first Man* of Eminency in Our *Church*, a *Ringleader* of that *Faction*, for I can name those, then his private *Disciples*, which lately appear desperate *Profelites*. And thus He lived, but [*died not in displeasure of King James*] for the *Phamphlet* perswades us afterwards to believe [*him to be the Kings confessor*] living long after in the late *Kings* time, from whom no evil *Resentment* could passe in relation to this former *Story*; it being buried in *Oblivion*

Pamph.
175.

to *Him* and all good Men, till that *Our Pamphletter*, rakes in the *Embers*, to light His owne *Candel*.

And thus, after all the former *proceedings*, and the *Nullity* pronounced, a *Marriage* was solemnized, with *Vilcount Rockford* then *Earl of Somerset*.

And truly, here I should be unwilling to prosecute this *Story*; but our *Pamphletters* foule mouth leads me back to *Master Copinger*, whose birth, breeding and behaviour deserves no lesse of fame, than to leave him quiet in the silent *Grave*. [*But He knew Him otherwise deserving.*] I am sure many men now living know, that *Our Author* may give himselfe *Copingers Character*; faces about, and in truth you have *Him* to a haire bredth.

Pamph. 6c
Mr. Cop-
pinger.

Master Copinger had been heretofore, *Master of a larger fortune*,

which yet, fell not so low, [*as to turne Baud for want of better maintenance*] Indeed he was entertained a *Dependent* on *Rochford*, a *favourite*, and *Lord Chamberlaine*, and so no dishonour, for Him, or other Men, of better *Ranke*, and *Birth*, than Our *Authors* family, to be near attending so great a *Person*, as *Gentleman* of his *Bed Chamber*; and thereby, the more proper to be trusted, with the *Secrets* and *Civilities* of his *Masters* lawfull *Affection*, and *addresse* to so great a *Lady*; which might then, well become Him, or any other honest *Man* to *advance*; and I may believe, he afforded the *conveniency* [*of His own house for their meeting and consent of Marriage*] which was not long after solemnized with much honour and magnificence. And *Sr. Thomas Overbury*, congratulating the *Ceremony*,

Sir Tho-
mas O-
verbury.

Ceremony, with as publique profession as others in Court expressed. And it concerned this great *Favourite*, to look upon *Him* with respect of preferment; and as he failed not the *meanest*, so it became *Him*, to advance his *Confident Overbury*, most eminent. (*Whose Character Our Pamphlet bath more deservedly hit upon, than any other.*)

Pamph.
65.

And therefore, it was his own seeking, as best fitting his excellent parts, to present the *Kings Person* in *Embassie to France*, which to my knowledge he accepted and seemingly prepared to advance.

69.

Conceiting, perhaps, that the power which he usurped over *Somerset*; and the *Interests of eithers affection*, (which *Overbury* knew best how to *Master*) could not endure *absence*, without much *regret*, which accordingly had for

some time, the true effects, as *Overbury* intended.

But when *Somerset* had wisely considered, that there would be no great loss of so loose a friend; Then *Overbury* would not goe; no, though I know his *Instructions* were drawn, and *Additionalls* thereto, by his own consent.

And this was a just, and true ground, for the King and Councell, to punish so great Insolency, with Imprisonment in the Tower, which *Somerset* heartily endeavoured in due time to release.

But *Overbury* (to shadow his own demerits,) devised the reason and cause, from his disaffection of the former Marriage, and which he published, with much dishonor, though not the tythe which is studied in our Pamphleters Libell. For which, the Malice of Women, (as it often meets) sought Revenge by Poyson, to punish him, to the death.

death. And for which *Fact*, they were *arraigned*, and some suffered *death*.

In prosecution of which, it behoved the Kings *Piety* and *Iustice*, to be *severe* and *serious*, without [*any King-craft.*] And therefore needed not such an additionall falsehood [*as to kneel down to the Judges*] when then, as usuall he gave them their *Charge*, upon their *Itinerate Circuits*.

For then, the truth of *Over-buries poysoning* was but *suspected*; And therefore it was not *unnaturall* nor *wonderous* [*for the King to take his leave of his Favorite and friend, with expressions of great kindness*] who yet in *Iustice* he exposed to *Persecution*.

And truly, in this much *forced story* of our Author, take him at his own *dimension*, an ingenious good Nature, may find out much *strugling* in the *King*, to make
Iustice

Justice and Mercy, kiss each other.

I was present at their *Arraignments*, and the [*Pictures, Pappets, for Magick spells*] were no other, but severall French Babies, some Naked, others Clothed; which were usuall then, and so are now a dayes, to teach us the fashions, for dresse of Ladies *tyring* and *apparrell*.

And indeed [*Foremans Book was brought forth*] wherein the *Mountebanck* had formerly for his own advantage and credit, sawcily [*inserted the Countesses name, so of many others that came to seek Fortunes*] which she cleared by her own *Protestation*, and *Foremans confession*, that she was never with him.

Sir Thomas
Monson.

Sir Thomas Monson was brought to the Bar, and began his *Tryall*, but was remitted to the *Tower*, with as much *Civility*, as is usuall to other *Prisoners*.

And

And Sir *Geo. More* then *Lieutenant* of the *Tower*, took him from the *Bar*, and both together were carried in his *Coach* to the *Tower*. I say the truth, for I saw it.

But I cannot pick out the meaning, why [*so much pains is taken to tell out Monsons tale*] was he Guilty, or No? By the story, he had hard measure. So perhaps had some of the others; for *He* was a *Creature* of that *Family*. And yet for some (no doubt) private respects of our *Author* (for he was his *Companion*) He is in, and out, and out, and in, and in, and out again.

And now comes *Somerſet*, who he ſayes [*being warned to his trial, absolutely refused, and was assured by the King, never to come to any*] when was this assurance? For he tells us, [*At their parting at Roſton, they never met after*] but we muſt conceive it by *Message*.

Pamph.
115.

And

And why for this, mult
 [*More a wise man be at his wits
 end?*]

The warrant for Tryall came o-
 ver night late; and it is so usual
 as it never failes, that the Lieute-
 nant of the Tower hath freedome
 of access [*to waken his Sovereign*]
 at any hour.

The importance of his Place and
 Trust, having that consequence
 annexed. And in speciall to give
 Knowledge of Warrants, either of
 Tryalls, or of Execution of Prisoners.
 And this, of Course he did. [*When
 the King intears, is told a tale in his
 Eares*]: that none knew, but he that
 was furthest off.

[*A trick of wit brings him to
 the Barre, and a desperate plot by
 two men placed at his Elbow, with
 Clokes to clap over him, made him
 calm at his Tryall*] And thus it
 was, that the Lieutenant on his
 right, and the Gentleman Tailor
 on

on his left hand, with Clokes on their backs, [*but not on their armes*] might colour our Authors conceipt.

It had appeared a mad *President*, when a *Prisoner* at his tryall, upon Life and Death, hath Freedome to speak for himself, in publique Course of Justice, [*to be snatch'd from the Bar, and from the power of the Iudge, at the pleasure of a Jaylor.*] But to make out this Monument, [*the King rewards him with 1500 l.*] Pamph. 119.
 And for a truth [*More tells all this to the Author, of whom (himselfe confesses) he had no assurance of his honesty*] nor I beleeve any body else.

The Conclusion of all is, That due execution was done upon Sir *Iervice Ellowayes*, Mrs. *Turner*, *Weston* and *Franklyn*. *Mosses* cleared, the *Countesse* and
Earl

Earl repriv'd, [our Author and most men cleer him of the Poyson, and condemn him only in the high point of friendship, for suffering his imprisonment] which he could not release, And the Countesse only guilty of connivance.

And now comes this.

Our Prefacers 3. *Remarke* to the *Judgment Seat* for sentence. Let him pick out a greater *President* in any *History*, more *Remarke*, than this of the King, to make good this His former *Protestation*, wherein by the way He may take leave, to be allowed, His owne even *Conscience*, for *Iustice* and *Mercy* both.

Which no doubt, hath found acceptance at Gods *Tribunall*, in behalfe of Him and His, His own death being *Ordinary*, not forced by any *Poyson*. And His posterity in due time, by our *Saviours* merits, shall be gathered up in the mystery of

everlasting salvation.

But by the way how smoothly we are told a Story of the *Pittifull Palsgrave* [how He Married a Kings Daughter, with much joy, and great misfortune to all the Princes of Christendom; but fayling of that, and all the rest, how He was cast out, He and His, to beg their bread, But had His Father-in-law been half so wise, (with our Authors good Counsell to boot) and had He bought swords, with a quarter expence of words, He had bin —] What? As his Sonne that succeeds him; *Palsgrave*.

But we hasten; having much matter to meddle with, confusedly put together in our *Pamphlet*; which wee must take leave to separate, for each single story: and Re-mind back, the death of that Heroick Prince HENRY (in the midst of Somerset's Greatnes) [who had he liv'd to have bin King would

Pamph.
82
Palsgrave

Prince
Henry.

The 4th.
Remarke
in the
Preface.

would no doubt (with our Authors Pamph.85 leave) have been so gracious as to leave alive, one HOWARD, to piss against the wall.] When as with reverence to His *Memory*, it was a notorious truth, that He made Court to the *Countesse of Essex* before any other *Lady* then living.

But He is dead, [and poysened too, as we shall have it in his following discourse] and yet speaks not one word more of Him afterwards.

Prince Henry was borne in *Scotland*, at *Striveling Castle*, in *February 1594*. the first sonne unto *King JAMES* and *Queene ANNE*.

His breeding, apted his excellent *Inclination*, to all *Exercises* of *Honor*, and *Arts* of *Knowledge*, which gave him *fame*, the most exquisite, hopefull *Prince* in *Christendome*.

His Sick-
ness.

In the nineteenth yeare of his Age, appeared the first *Symptome* of *change*; from a full round face, and pleasant disposition, to be *paler* and *sharpe*, more sad and retired; often complaining of a *giddy heaviness* in his *for-head*. Which was somewhat eased, by *bleeding* at the Nose; and that suddenly stopping, was the first of his *distemper*, and brought him to extraordinary qualms, which his Physicians recovered, with Strong waters.

About this time, severall *Ambassadors Extraordinary*, being dispatched home, He retired to his House at *Richmond*; pleasantly seated by the *Thames River*; which invited him to learn to swim, in the *Evenings* after a full supper: the first immediate pernicious *cause* of stopping that gentle *flux of blood*, which thereby putrifying, might ingender that fatall *Feaver* that

L

ac-

accompanied Him to his Grave. His active Body, used violent *Exercises*; for at this time, being to meet the King at *Bever*, in *Nottinghamshire*, he rode it in two dayes, neer a hundred miles, in the extremity of heat in Summer. For he set out carly, and came to *Sir Oliver Cromwells* neer *Huntingden*, by ten a clock before Noon. neer 60 Miles, and the next day bet mes to *Bever*, 40 Miles.

There, and at other places, all that *Progress*, He accustomed to *Feasting*, *Hunting* and other *Sports* of *Balloon* and *Tennis*, with too much *violence*.

And now returned to *Richmond*, in the Fall of the Leaf, He complained afresh of His *pain* in the *Head*, with increase of a meager complexion, inclining to *Feverish*; And then for the rareness thereof called the *New disease*.

Which

Which increasing; the 10th of *Octob.* He took His Chamber, and began Council with His *Physician* Doctor *Hammond*, an honest and worthily learned Man. Three dayes after He fell into a loosness (by cold) 15 times a day.

Takes His Chamber,

Then removes to *London*, to *St. Iame's* contrary to all advise. And (with a spirit above his Indisposition) gives leave to His *Physician* to go to his own home.

And so allowes Himselfe too much liberty, in accompanying the *Palsgrave*, and Count *Henry* of *Nassaw*, (who was come hither upon *Fame* to see him) in a great Match at *Tennis* in His *Shirt*, that winter season, his looks then presaging sickness. And on *Sunday* the 25 of *Octob.* He heard a *Sermon*, The text in *Iob*; *Man that is born of a woman, is of short continuance, and is full of trouble.* After that, He presently went to *White-*

Hall, and heard another *Sermon* before the King, and after dinner being ill, craves leave to reure to his own *Court*, where instantly he fell into sudden sicknes, faintings; and after that a shaking, with great heat and *Head.ach*, that left Him not, whilst He had *Life*.

And His
Bed.

Instantly He takes His *Bed*, continuing all that night in great *drought* and little rest; The next day *Head-ache* increasing, his Body costive, pulse high His water thyn and whitish.

Doctor *Mayern* prescribes Him a *Glisters*; After which he rose, playd at *Cards*, that, and the next day: But looked pale, spake hollow, dead sunk eyes, with great drought.

And therefore Mr. *Nasmitb* should have let him bleed by *Mayerns* Counsell. But the other *Physicians* disagreeing it was deferr'd; yet He rose all this day,
had

had His fit, first cold, then a dry great heat.

On his 4th. day comes Doctor *Butler*, (that famous Man of *Cambridge*) who approved what had bin ministred, gave hopes of recovery, and allowed of what should be given Him.

Mayern, *Hammond* and *Butler*, desired the assistance of more *Doctors*; but the *Prince* would not, to avoid confusion in *Counsell*. His *Head-ache*, drought, and other accidents increased.

This *Evening* there appeared 2. hours after *Sun set*, A *Lunar Rainbow*, directly cross over the *House*, very ominous.

The 6. 7. increasing His disease.

The 8th. His *Physicians* bleed the *Median of his right arm*, 8. ounces, thin and putride: After which He found ease, with great hopes; and was visited by *King*, *Queen*,
L 3
Duke

Duke, Palsgrave, and Sister.

His disease

The 9th. worse than before ; and therefore, Doctor *Atkins*, assisted their opinions, That his Disease was, a corrupt putrid Fever; seated under the Liver, in the first passage. The Malignity, by reason of the Putrefaction, (in the highest degree) was venemous.

The 10th. increasing Convulsions, greater ravings, and Fever violent. And therefore *Mayer* advised more bleeding: But the rest would not ; but applyed Pigeons and Cupping glasses, to draw away the pain.

The 11th. small hopes, All accidents violently ineteasing, no applications giving ease. His Chaplains continuing their daily Devotions by His Bed side. The Archbishop of Canterbury, and Doctor *Melborn*, Dean of *Reche-ster*, and others, with whom He daily prayed.

The

The 12. No hope. The King with excessive grief, removes to *Kensington House*.

There were added Doctor *Palmer*, and Doctor *Guifford*, all imaginable helps, *Cordialls*, *Dia-phoretick* and *Quintessentiall spirits*; & a water from *Sir Walter Raleigh* Prisoner in the Tower: all these were by Consent administred; without any effect.

And so He died at 8 a Clock at night, Friday the 6. of November 1612.

His death.

The Corps laid upon a Table, the fairest, cleereft and best proportioned, without any spot or blemish.

Corps laid out,

The next day was solemnly appointed, for imbowelling the Corps, in the presence of some of the *Counsell*, all the *Physicians*, *Chirurgions*, *Apothecaries*, and the *Palsgraves Physician*.

And this is the true Copy of
L 4 their

And view-
ed by Cer-
tificate.

their view, under their hands as followeth.

Skin,

The *Skin*, as of others, *Blackish*, but no way spotted with *Blacknesse*, or *Pale* marks, much lesse purpled, like *Flea* bites, could shew any *Contagion*, or *Pestilenticall Venome*.

kidnies.

About the place of His *Kidnies*, *Hipps*, and behind His *Thighs*, full of rednesse; and because of his continuall lying upon his *back*, his *belly* somewhat *swollen*, and stretched out.

mach.

The *Stomach* whole & handsom, within and without; having never in all his sicknesse, been troubled with vomiting, lothing or yelping; or any other accidents which could shew any *taint*.

iver.

The *Liver* marked with small spots above; and in the Lower parts, with small lines.

Gall.

The *Gall Bladder*, void of any humour; full of wind.

The

The *Spleen* on the top, and Spleen.
in the lower end, blackish, fill'd
with black heavy blood.

The *Kidnies* without any blemish. Kidnies.

The *Midriffe*, under the Filme
or Membrane, containing the
Heart (wherein a little moysture) Midriffe,
spotted with black leadish colour
by reason of the bruising. Heart.

The *Lungs*, the greatest part
black, the rest all spotted with
black, imbrewed and full of a-
dust blood, with a corrupt, and
thick Serocity, which by a vent
made in the *Lungs*, came out fo-
ming in great abundance. In
which doing, and cutting a small
Skin, which environeth the *Heart*
to shew the same, the *Chirurgian*
by chance cutting the Trunck of
the great Veine, the most part of
the blood issued out into the
Chest, leaving the lower Veins
empty; upon sight whereof, they
concluded an *extream heat* and
fullnesse

fullnesse; & the same more appeared, that the windpipe, with the Throat. Throat & Tongue, were covered with thick blacknesse.

Tongue. The Tongue cleft and dry in many places.

Piamater. The hinder Veins called *Piamater*, in the Inmost Filme of the *Braine*, swolne, abundance of blood, more than naturall.

Braine. The Substance of the *Braine*, faire and cleere; but the ventricks thereof, full of cleere water, in great abundance, which was engendred by reason of the *Feaver Maligne*, divers humors being gathered together, of a long time before. He not being subject to any dangerous Sicknesse by Birth.

Without poyson. The other part, by reason of the Convulsions, resoundings and benummings, and of the fullnesse, choaking the naturall heat, and destroying the vitalls, by

by their *Malignity*, have conveyed Him to the Grave without any *riken* or accident of *Poyson*.

His admirable patience, in all his sicknesse, might deceive the *Physicians* never dreaming danger.

The *Urines* shewd none. And the unknown state of His greatest griefe, lay closely rosted in His head, which in the opening was discovered.

But the Picture of *Death* by a strange extraordinary Countenance, from the beginning, possessing him, hath been the cause, that some vainely rumored, that He was *Poysoned*.

And vainly surmised.

But no Symptome appearing, it is surmised, that He might be *Poysoned* by a *Sent*.

By sent.

But indeed, He died in the Rage of a *Malicious Extraordinary Burning Fever*.

The seventh of *December*,
He

He was Interred at *Westminster*
1612.

His Motto's *Fax mentis, Honestæ*
Gloria.

Juvat ire per Altum.

Descripti-
on,

and

He was comely tall; five Foot
eight Inches high; *Strong* and well
made; somewhat *broad Shoulders*;
a small *Waiste*, *Amiable* with *Ma-*
jesty. His *Haire* *Aborn* colour.
Long Faced, and broad *For-head*,
a *pearcing* grave *Eye*; a *gracious*
Smile; but with a *Frowne*, *danc-*
ting.

Character.

Courteous and *affable*; naturall
Shamefast and *modest*. *Patient* and
slow to *Anger*. *Mercifull* and *ju-*
dicious in *punishing* offenders.
Quick to *conceive*, yet not *rash*.
Very constant in *resolves*. *Won-*
derfull secret of any *trust*, even
from his *Youth*. His *Corage* *Prince-*
like, *fearless*, *noble*, *undaunted*; *saying*
that there should be nothing
impossible to *Him*, that had bin

done

done by another. Most Religious and Christian, Protesting His great desire to compose differences in Religion.

In a word; He was never heard, by any body living to swear an oath, And it was remembred at his Funerall Sermon by the Archbishop, that He being commended by one for not replying with passion in Play, or swearing to the truth; He should answer, That He knew no Game, or Value to be won or lost, that could be worth an Oath.

To say no more, Such and so many were His Virtues, that they covered Sin.

We are told by our Pamphlet [that his death was foretold by Bruce, who was therefore banished] Pamph. 85
And if so, he deserved rather to be hanged.

But in truth, He was not banished at all, but wisely removed

ved himself into *Germany*, where his Profession of *Propheſſing* gained moſt profit. And from whence all *Chriſtendome* are fill'd with ſuch *lying foretellings*. But in this particular he needed not much *Art* or *Devills* help to ſay [*That Salisburies crazy body ſhould yeeld to Nature before Prince Henry's.*]

Pamph. 86

And this true ſtory of Prince Henry, may answer the fourth Remarke in the Preface, that he came not to untimely death.

Sir Arthur
Ingram.Sir Lionell
Cranfield.

Sir Arthur Ingram, and *Sir Lionell Cranfield*, our Pamphlet couples upon the ſcore of *Merchants*; though the latter being of merit and was rank'd with the *Peers*.

Ingram was bred a *Merchant*, and for his wit and wealth employed as a *Customer*: and afterwards came to that eſteem, as to be preferred *Cofferer* in the *Kings* houſe;
and

and with much *Reason* and *Policy*,
 so to be. For the vast expence of
 the *State*, kept the *Treasury* dry;
 Especially, the needfull *disburse-*
ments of the *Court*, divided into
Severalls, of *King, Queen, Prince,*
Princess, and Palsgrave, and Duke.
 And at this time also of the *Mar-*
riage, and who more proper to
 assist (the *Revenue* failing) but such
 able men as these, who could, and
 honestly might, discover the *cun-*
ning craft of the *cosening Mer-*
chant. And it was high time so
 to doe, or the *Customers* had *In-*
gros'd all the *wealth* of the *Com-*
monweal.

Though our *Pamphlet* bestowes Pamph. 87
 on them the *Characters* [of *evill*
Birds defiling their own *Nests*]
 what is our *Author* then? who de-
 fi'd the *Court* that gave him *breed-*
ing, defamed the *King* that gave
 him *bread*?

And this I know, That the *King*
 most

most prudent, put this course in practice at Court (somewhat differing I confess in the Line of *Ascent*, to the *Household* preferment, which rises by *Order* and *Succession*.)

This Man Sir *Arthur Ingram* a stranger in Court, stept in to discover the concealments of the *Green Cloath* also, and when this Tyde had its Ebb, it returned again to its wonted Chanell. And 'tis true, that the *King* shifted the fault upon his *Favorit*. An ordinary fate, which often follows them, to beare the burthen of their *Masters* mistakes. Which yet was but an *Experiment*, proper enough for the *Lord Chamberlain* to put in practice.

Sir *Lionell*
Cranfield.

He being layd aside, Sir *Lionell Crausfield* came into publick, upon such like *Design*, but in a nobler way.

I find him of an antient Family

ly in *Glocestershire*, as by their bearing of Arms in the *Heralds office* appears.

This *Gentleman*, a Brother unto *Sir Randall Cranfield*, who inherited his fathers possessions there, and in other *Counties*, of good value; And in *Kent*; Neighbouring Our Authors habitation.

He was bred, a *Merchant Adventurer*, in *London*, and by his extraordinary qualities, and the blessing of God upon his *indeavours*, in that most commendable way of *Adventure*, (besides his great understanding in the affairs of the *Customes*) became usefull to the *State*.

And first, had the honour of *Knighthood*; then the *Custody* of the *Kings wardrobes*; afterwards *Master of the Court of Wards and Liveries*; and lastly succeeded *Suffolke*, in the place of *Treasurer*

M of

of *England* ; and in that time ,
created *Earle of Middlesex* .

In all which Offices of *Trust* ;
I never knew then , nor can find
sithence , any suspicion , unlesse
in that of the *Treasury* . The ground
whereof is hinted unto us by our
Author . But in truth , in this He
hath but *Scumm'd the Pot* , to cleere
the *Broth* . For indeed , who more
fit (for the reasons I have shewed)
than this man of *experience* , in
Stating the *Accompts* , for the
Revenues of the *State* , which I
knew he improved , and not
unlikely thereby , purchased *Envy*
for his *Eminency* . And to say
truth , according to his *Place* , He
did indeavor to *Husband* the same
to piece out with the expence ,
which the *Princes Journey* into
Spain , had wonderfully and unne-
cessarily exhausted ; as by the *Printed*
accompt thereof lately divul-
ged by *Parliament* , doth manifestly
appear .

Famph.
165.

appeare. Then which no better Evidence can be produced to acquit the *Treasurer*, together with what the *Pamphletter* publishes as a supposed crime, [*His refusall to supply that journey and Buckingham's folly and prodigality;*] and this [*He did deny*] as the duty of his Office required, and which He well understood, as being [*of Counsell and acted as a Counsellour in that undertaking*] to My knowledg; and as indeed being then the Statesman at the *Counsell Table*.

Pamph.
166.

But his refusall of *supplying Buckingham*, upon that *Score only*, wrought him (no doubt) at his returne home, the *Treasurers* great enemy.

And whom He opposed [*a small accusation might serve the turne, to turne any Man out of all*] as He did, Him.

And yet to the Honour of his

M 3

Memory;

Memory; though they raked into all his *actions*, and raked all mens *discoveries*, to the height of *Information*, the power of *Buckingham* could never produce any *Crime*, (though mightely attempted) against his *exact accempts*, in that boundlesse trust of the tempting *Treasury*.

And in spite of *Malice*, though they divested him of that *Office*, yet He lived long after in *Peace*, *Wealth*, and *Honour*; And died since these times of inquiry, leaving to his *Heire*, his *Honors untaint*; with a plentifull *Estate* to all his *Children*; enabling them to beare up the worthy *Character* of their *Fathers meritts*.

And thus, having digressed in our *matter* beyond our *time*; we returne to the first *appearance* of our new *Favorite*, *George Villiers*, who was of an *Ancient Family* in *Leicestershire*. His *Father* Sir *Edward*

George
Villiers,
89
His di-
scant.

ward Villiers, begat him, upon a second wife, *Mary Beomont*, of Noble birth; whom for Her beauty and goodnesse He Married. He had by Her three Sonnes, *John Viscount Purbeck*, *George Duke of Buckingham*, and *Christopher Earle of Anglesey*; and one Daughter, *Susan Countesse of Denbigh*.

Our Pamphlet tells us. [That He came over by chance, from his French Travells; and sought his preferment in Mariage with any body, but mist of his match, for want of a hundred Marks Ioynture.] And so pieces him for the Court (like in the Story of *Dametas Caparisons*) borrowing of every one piecemeal, to put him forward for the Kings Favourite.

The truth is thus, His Mother a Widdow, was lately Married unto *Sir Thomas Compton*, second Brother to the *Lord Compton*; who by chunce falling upon a wonder-

full match (for matchless wealth) with *Alderman Sir John Spencers* Daughter and Heir.

And his Father then lately dead, this *Lord* was *Master* of all, which was of more than credible; and so might be enabled bountifully to set up a *Kinsman*, without help, or alms of the *Parish*.

And it was plotted long before, and *Villiers* sent for to the same purpose. And this indeed, was done by practice of some *English Lords*.

And I can tell him the *time* and *place*. There was a great, but private *Entertainment* at Supper, at *Baynards Castle*, by the Family of *Herberts*, *Hartford* and *Bedford*, and some others; By the way in *Fleet-street*, hung out *Somersets picture*, at a *Painters Stall*; which one of the *Lords* envying, bad his *Footman* fling dirt in the face; which he did: and gave me occasion there by,

by, to ask my Companion upon what *score* that was done. He told me, That this meeting would discover. And truly, I waited neer, and opportune, and so was acquainted with the *Design*, to bring in *Villiers*. And thus backt. [*Our new Favourite needed not to borrow, nor to seek out many Bravoes to second his Quarrels,*] which at first, I confesse he met with.

For, having bought the place of *Cup bearer* to the *King*, his right was, to have the upper end of the *Table*, at the reversion of the *Kings Diet*; only during his monthely wayting. But he, not so perfect a *Courtier* in the *Orders* of the *House*, set himself first (out of his month) when it was not his due; and was told of it, and so removed: which was not done with over much *kindnesse*; for indeed, the *Other* was *Somersets Creature*.

But not long after, this party by chance, (rather than by designe) spilt upon *Villiers* cloaths, as he carried meat to the *Kings Table*; and returning to Dinner, *Villiers* gave him a *box* on the *Eare*; For which the *Custom* of the *Court* was to have his hand cut off, and which belonged to *Somerset*, as *Chamberlain*, to prosecute the *Execution*, as he did. And here the *Kings* mercifull *pardon*, without any satisfaction to the party, made him appear a *Budding Favorite*.

Favorite.

Pamph.
91.

And now we are fallen upon a story [of fooling and fiddling] sometime used for *Courtlike recreations* I confesse; but alwayes, with so much *wit* as might well become the *Exercise* of an *Academy*; which our Author misconstrues, and calls [a *Brothel-y*] to usher in the *New Favorite*, and to cut the *Old One*. (whose Misfortunes with his Lady, brake out, even

Not Ger-
victs.

even now as we have told of before.

And now indeed, all the browſe boughs cut downe, or removed, to plain the *Stemms*; our *Favorite* appears, like a proper *Palm*.

Pamph.
124.

His first ſtep into honourable *Office*, was in the *Admiralty*, to ſucceed a good and gallant *Old Lord of Nottingham*, who being almost *Bed ridd*, made ſure to the King, That himſelf might diſpoſe his place, as a *Legacy*, in his life time upon *Villiers*: which was ſo done; and who, to my knowledge, went in *Perſon* to acknowledge the *Kindneſſe*, and preſented his *Young Lady*, with a very noble and valuable reward, which my *Lord Compton* paid for, and beſides a *Penſion* therefore, during his life. And all this was done with ſo much love and liking, that I have often obſerved *Villiers* his great *Civility*,

Admiralls.

Civility to him ever after, at each meeting to call him *Father*, and bend his knee, without the least regret of the *Lord*, that gained more than he lost by the bargain, and did not cost the *King* a penny.

And because Sir *Robert Mansell* (a dependant of *Nottingham*) had the place of *Vice-Admirall* at pleasure only; *Villiers* (for his *Lords* sake) continued him by *Patent*, during life.

For which *Courtesie*, the good *Old man* came himself to give thanks, (as I remember) the last *Complement* his age gave him leave to offer.

And thus was this *Office* of Honor and Safety to the Kingdom, Ordered from the Command of a decrepid old Man to a proper young Lord, and strengthened with the abilities of an experienced *Assistant*, without deserving the least quarrelling *Item*, of
our

our *Carping Pamphleter*.

The next in our way, is that of the Lord *Egerton*, He was *Chancellor of England*, a man very aged, and now with sicknesse fallen on his *death-bed*.

Chancel-
lor Eger-
ton.

Pamph.
125.

The *Term* come, and the *Seal* to be disposed, In order thereunto, the King sent *Secretary Winwood* (not *Bacon*) for the *Seal*, with this *Message*, That himself would be his *under keeper*, and not to dispose it whilst he lived, to bear the name of *Chancellor*. Nor did any receive the *Seale*, out of the Kings sight, till *Egerton* was dead, which followed soon after.

Sir Francis Bacon succeeded him in the *Chancery*. He was *Attorney Generall*, and as others by that *Place*, and the usuall way of pre-ferment (time without incemory) come to high *Office of Judicature*, either in *Chancery*, or to the other *Benches*, so did he rise.

Chancel-
lor Bacon.

He

He was a man of Excellent parts, of all other learning, as of that of the Law; and as proper for that place as any man of the Gown. His merits made him so then, which in after time his vices blemished, and he justly removed to his private Studies, which render him to the world full of worth: and with the small Charity of our Author, might merit the Bayes, before any Man of that age.

And so we shall spare our labor, to observe his entrance into that Honor; by the idle Message from Buckingham, made up only by our Authors mouth. [who tells us of his growings, height and pride. Particularly intimated afterwards to the King in Scotland, by Letters from Winwood, which the King read unto our Author.] At which [he says, they were very merry.] Good God! The King opens his bosome to him, at that

Pamph.
127.

Pamph.
131.

that instant (not usuall to any of the *Green-cloth*) when this *Man*, so vilely studied, and plotted his *Soveraigns*, and that *Kingdoms* dishonor? for which he was turned out of the *Court*. Was the King so gracious to him, & he so graceless, then, and since, in the Pamphlet to defame him, and his Posterity? *He that eats of his bread, lifts up his hand to destroy him.* vide Preface.

And afterwards we are told his downfall: *which he says, at last bumbled him to a Horse boy.*

He did (as became him to do to the House of Peers) prostrate himself and sins, which ingeniously he acknowledged, craving pardon of God and *Them*, promising with Gods mercy to amend his life; which he made good to the worlds Eye. Those excellent works contrived in his *Retirements*, see manifest.

And let me give this light to His better Character; from an observation of

of the late King, then Prince; returning from hunting, He espied a Coach, attended with a goodly Troop of *Horsemen*, who it seems were gathered together, to wait upon the *Chancellour* to his House at *Gorembury*, at the time of his *decession*.

At which, the *Prince* smiled; Well! do we what we can, said He, This *Man* scorne, to go out like a *Snuffe*. Commending his undaunted *Spirit*, and excellent parts; not without some regret, that such a *Man* should be falling off. And all this, much differing from *Our Authors Character of Him*.

Pamph.
129.

Those times are complained of. [What base courses our *Favourite* took to raise moneys for advance of his *beggerly Kindred*.] Heretofore we are told, that the *Great Men* mastered all: & now, the affairs are *Managed* with *beggerly fellows*; & concludes

concludes against himselfe, that
*Riches make Men Cowards, and
Poverty Valiant.*

'Tis true, *Plenty* makes Men
Proude, and *Industry* brings a *Man*
to *Honour*. Had our *Author* lived
to these our *dayes*, and observed as
much now, as he pried into then;
He must have spoke other Lan-
guage; unlesse (as likely He
could) hold with the *Hare*, and run
with the *Hounds*.

We all know the *Duke of
Buckingham* had many *Kindred*,
for his *Family* were *Antient*. And
dispersed by time, into severall
Matches with the Gentry; who no
doubt, did addressse to the *Favou-
rite* for preferment. And what
strange, or new device was it in
Him, to raise them, that were
neere in *Blood*, by *Noble*
and worthy wayes, as he did;
and if our *Author* had liked, to
lick after the *Kitchen-maid*, had

it been handsome for a *Kinsman*,
to have kickt at his kindnesse?

Pamph.
129, 130.

Good God, what a Summary
Bead-roll of *Pensioners* are listed
in our *Authors Account*; Sure He
became *Register*, to the *Revenue* of
that *Rabble*. *Chancellour*, *Attorney*,
Deans, *Bishops*, *Treasurers*, *Rich*
and Poore, raking upon the rates
of *Offices*, *Bishopricks*, *Deaneries*
with Fines and Pensions. Other-
wise he sayes *It had been impossible*
that three Kingdomes could have
Maintained His Beggerly Kin-
dred.

Pamph.
7.

Oh, but He must tell us, He made
them all *Lords*, w^{ch.} got him much
hated. He did so, and he did well.
He made his two *Brothers Peers*,
his *Mother and Sister Countesses*,
the rest of his kindred, by his
Countenance, got means to live
like their *Birth-rights*, being
a *Race Handsome and Beauti-*
full.

An

And yet let me tell him, I have been often present, when it hath been urged as a *Crime* to this great Man, the neglect of his owne; when the discourse hath been prest, for preferment of his Freinds. And this I know, for I acted therein. The Late King in honour of *Buckinghams Memory* supplied the necessities of his Kindred, which his untimely death left without support.

As for the base Observations, through and through the Pamphlet, though I liv'd in the shadow of the Court reasonable years, to see many turns of State; Yet I confesse, my time other wayes diverted, than to rake after so much Ribaldry, and beastly bawdery, as now to question this his peeping, pimping, into each Petticoat Placket; and for his sufficiency therein, he might have been made *Master of the Game*.

Pamph.
139.
Doctor
Williams
Lord Kee-
per.

In *Bacons* place, comes to pre-
ferment *Doctor Williams* (by the
title of *Keeper of the Seal*, during
pleasure, which the *Chancellor* hath
for life.) He was also *Dean of West-*
minster, and *Bishop of Lincolne* ;
brought in (sayes he) [to serve
turns, to do that, which no *Layman*
was found bad enough to undertake.]

Former Ages, held it more
consonant to Reason, to trust the
Conscience of the Clergy, with the
Case of the *Layman* they best know-
ing a Case of Conscience.

And antiently, the *Civill Law*
was allwayes judged by the *Mi-*
nisters of the Church ; and the *Chan-*
cery, and *Courts of Equity*, in charge
of a *Divine Minister*.

So ran that *Channell*, till *Bacons*
Father had it from a *Bishop*, and now
a *Bishop* has it again.

And had *King James* lived to
have effected his desires, the *Cler-*
gy had fixed firm footing in *Courts*
of

of Iudicature, (out of the rode of the Common Law.)

And this was the true Cause of Williams Initiation thither. How he fell from that, and other his wayes since, from worse to worse of all, we leave him, if he be living, to lead a better life, and make a Godly end, Amen.

'Tis no new matter to tell us, That the Spanish Iesuit is more than our Match, in the intricate way of Treaty, being enabled to Out-wit us and all the world besides. Of which we made tryall, upon trust of our Emissaries, and now the King was minded to put it to the touch.

Pamph.
143.
Spanish
Match.
Fift Re-
mark.

And so resolved, That the Prince. with Buckingham and Cottington, and a domestick of the Dukes, should hazard a Journey into Spain; Being invited thither by secret Intimation of Sir Walter Aston, Ambassador Extraordinary, with the Earl of Brislow, Leizer. Which was

to put period to that business of a *Marriage*, that had lasted long enough in *Design*, to weary both *Parties*. Nor was it held such a *Ranting* journey by wise Men, that knew more perhaps, than our *Author* would make us believe he did.

For the great business *Inclusive* with the *Match*, was to get *Render* of the *Palatinate*, which this way, or *none*, was to be expected.

And it appeared afterwards, That though the *Spaniard* did pretend it, yet he had other *Overtures* with the *House of Austria*, as a *double bow-string*.

All which, we suspected before; and therefore it was a *Prince-like boldness*, to bring it to issue by *himself*, or to break the *Bonds* asunder. Which at his being *there*, he soon *discovered*, and so returned.

Wherein, *Bristol*, a suspected *Pensioner*

Pensioner to that *State*, did not so timely unmask the *Spanish Counsellors*, to the *Princes advantage*, as he might and ought to have done. For which neglect, it had like to have cost him his *life*, when he came home to the true *Examination*.

But evermore we must expect a *bawdy tale* in our *Authors stories*. Which, to all *Men* that know the retired *custome* of the *Spanish Wives* (much more of the *Grandees Ladies*) from conversing, or sight of *their owne*, either *kindred*, or *friends*, (much more of *strangers*) must needs discredit this *Tale of Buckingham*, with *Olyvares Countess*, as absurd and feigned.

Nor hath our *Author*, either *Courtship* or *Civill breeding*. otherwise to understand, what the *Princes* behaviour should have been, towards so great a *Person* as the *Infanta of Spain*: but to al-

low him, his cap on his head, and
 privacy in her Cabinet.

But above all the Brains of im-
 pudence, Give me leave to marke
 out the Infamy which he endea-
 vours (oh horrid!) to cast on
 King James, as of many other
 which he aspers him, so this
Sans-parell; intimating thus much,
 [That, not glutted with the blood of
 his dear, and eldest Son (that most
 incomparable) Prince Henry, for
 whose death he should cunningly dis-
 semble with a feigned sorrow. So now
 to adde to that, and for hatred to
 Buckingham (whom the world
 knew he could have blasted
 with his breath) He should think
 it no ill bargain, to lose this Prince,
 his only Son, and Successor to all his
 Crowns.

And to illustrate the Kings
 weariness of Buckingham, he tells
 us a Tale of the Lieger Spanish Am-
 bassador *Marquesa d'Innoessa*, and a
 Spanish

Pamph.
 149.

Pamph.
 150.

Spanish Confessor, Padre Maiestre, which he sayes, was sent to reveal to the King, what he had received under seal of Confession, and on pain of damnation never to utter) which was, 153.
 That the King should be Murdered by Buckingham, or some body else, (or no body at all.)

Then, The Kings passion hereupon, (without any other proceeding, to secure his own life, that was so fearfull to lose it.) 154.

And then, That the Duke being challenged with the truth, durst not fight in his own defence; which certainly, had he bin so wicked to designe, the Devil might have assisted him with courage to have countenanced it.

Indeed, there was a Letter of Pamph. 155.
 Complaint sent to Spain, by advice of the whole Councell here, to demand of that King, how far he had Commissioned his Ambassdor in an affair of Consequence, which

Letter was inclosed and returned to him, with peremptory command, to give *satisfaction* to the *Prince* and *Duke* : or to be subject to worse *Construction*. Which to my knowledge the *Ambassador* did recant, (for I copyed the transactions;) and with much adoe, begg'd favour of the *Prince*, to be reconciled, upon *submission* ; which the *Prince* in Honor was pleased to accept, or it might have cost *Innocossa* his head, at his *comming home*.

Pamph.
151.

The former story is interlaced, with *Observation* ; [*How Buckingham shifed from trusting the King, as knowing his desire to be rid of him. And so the Duke wrought himself into the Princes poor spirit, with much regret of the old King, and every body else, Especially, when he should rather have call'd to mind, the bravery of his brother, who hated the whole Family, although, he sayes, none of them had*

had ever offended him.

Certainly, *Buckingham* was not in being, when *Prince Henry* died; And if he were, he was more brave indeed, than to hate the Family that never did him hurt. But sure our Author meant, *Somersets Ladies Family Howards*; For he tells us before, That *Prince Henry* would not leave one of them to pisse against the wall (the Male ones he means.)

And taking occasion before, to smell out something of suspicion of *Poyson* in *Prince Henries* death; we are promised in his page 84. that his discourse following will tell you the truth therof, and yet he never speaks word of him; no more, nor otherwise than in this place.

Pamph.
84.

Our Author proceeds, and says, [Now that we have heard, what made the King hate *Buckingham*, wee shall know the reason of *Buckingham*s

Paraph.
156.

hams extreme hatred to the King, which is believed to be the cause of his so speedy death.]

More poyson yet?

But first we proceed to the story of *Telverton*.

Pamph.
156.

Sir H. Tel-
verton,
Attorney
Generall.

Sir H. *Telverton*, was *Attorney Generall*; and by his place of *Im- ployment*, it was his duty to manage the charge of *Impeachment* against *Somerset*, or any Subject whatsoever, without dispute: which he refused, as receiving that place by his *Favour*; and this contempt to the *Kings service*, (not without suspicion of concealment of some passages concerning *Overburies death*) He was for those *Reasons*, (and deservedly) by the whole *coun- cell*, committed to the *Tower*, close *Prisoner*.

Where (we are to be perswaded [the *Lieutenant Balfore*, admits the *Duke* to treat with him in *pri- vate*, and then, to peece out a *peace*

Peace between them.

Certainly *Telverton* had Law to teach him, or any other *Prisoner of Reason*, that this was *treason* in *Balfore*, and in the Duke to attempt. And therefore to clear it, *Balfore* himself hath vowed to a *Prisoner*, sometime under his *Guard*, that there was never any such *act done* by the Duke, or by his permission to any body else.

But afterwards, upon *Telvertons* humble submission, for his former fault; and his Innocency cleared in the other *suspitions*; he was set at liberty. And in truth, according to the merit of the *Man*, otherwayes, he was afterwards trusted with the *Judgement Seat*.

And what was this secret information, which we are told he should tell the Duke, [*Forsooth, That which the King spake in Parliament*

Parliament [not to spare any that was dearest or lay in his bosome, by which he pointed to you; (meaning the Duke.)]

And must Buckingham adventure his, and the Lieutenants head to learn this News, which no doubt the Duke heard before, being then at the KING'S Elbow.

Pamph.
161.

After this impertinent digression (of great secret) he discovers (which none ever dream'd of) a wonderfull [failing of the Spaniards both wisdom and gravity], And why gravity?) forsooth. [That (which had bin against all Humanity, Commerce and Custome of Nations) the Spaniard mist of the advantage, to imprison the Prince] a sure pledge (no doubt) for the Spaniard, to have gotten the Heir-dome of England.

And this he tells us for truth,
[out

[out of their own confessions] But they were caught with a trick [having the Princes faith, and his Proxy to boot, remaining with Digby, which might cosen them into this kindnes, to let him come home again] Where at a Conference of both houses of Parliament, Bristoll is blam'd, and (it being truth) the Prince owns it, and Bristoll is sent for by authority, (otherwise it had bin petty Treason in him to return home from his Commission.)

The King of Spain (he sayes) dissuades Bristolls return, as doubting the successe, (as well he might, knowing him to be his Pensioner) who for his sake is like to suffer.

Pamph.
163.

But, he being come, and convented before the Parliament, endeavors to cleer himself, with a single Copy of a Paper (and a tawdry tale to boot) against Buckingham, but forbore to tell it out, for offending their chaste Ears.

In

Pamph.
165.

In this, the Author is so ingenious; as to be judged by the Reader, *what a horrible wound, Bristoll gave the Prince or Buckingham?* and yet by his Confelsion the wisdom of the *House* committed Bristoll to the *Tower*, but *some dayes after (not the next day)* he was set at liberty, nor durst any bring him to further tryall.

He was committed for his contempt, and might have lain there longer, Prisoner; But the Duke made means for his *Release*, lest it should move a *jealousie*, that it was his designe thereby to delay the Tryall. Which, to my knowledg, was earnestly pursued, by the Duke, and had that Parliament lasted, might have been a dear bargain for Bristoll.

Pamph.
168.

In this Parliament, our Author observes [*the Princes early hours to act by, where (he says) he discerned so mach juggling, to serve his*
own

own ends, that being afterwards come to be King, he could not affect them.

A notable Note, he calls that Parliament *Jugglers*, and gives it a reason, why the late King must needs disaffect all other Parliaments that succeeded.

Then have we a discovery of our Authors owne making, which is intended (he sayes) as a caution to all Statesmen, with a singular Commendation of the wisdom of the late Earl of Salisbury, (whom before throughout his Pamphlet he loads with singular disgraces.) Pamph. 163.

He tels us of a Treaty heretofore with Spain, for a Match with Prince Henry, where the juggling was discovered, that there was no such intention. And that the Duke of Lerma, the Favorite of Spain, leavs the Spanish Ambassador here in the lurch to answer for all; who
in

in a great snuff, against those that sent him hither; prostrates his Commission and letters of Credit, (under the King his Masters hand and seale) at the foot of our Councell Table; and so returns home, (and yet was not hanged for his labour) but liv'd and died, *bonus Legatus.*

Pam. 171.
King
James's
Sickness.

And thus, our author having hunted the King hitherto; blowes his death at parting; which he sayes: [*began with a Fever; but ended by a poysoned Plaister, applyed by Buckingham. For which being questiond the very next Parliament, it was hastily dissolved for his sake, only to save his life.*]

In the entrance of the Spring, the King was seized with a *Tertian Ague*; which to another *Constitution* might not prove *Pestilentiall*.

But all Men then knew his
Im;

Impatience in any pain, and alwayes utter *Enmity* to any *Physick*. So that nothing was administered, to give him *ease* in his *fits*.

Which at length grew *violent*, and in those *Maladies*, every one is apt to offer advice, with such *Prescriptions* as have been *helpfull* unto others; and in truth, those as *various*, as the *disease* is *Common*.

So it was remembered (by a *Noble, vertuous, and untaint Lady*, for *Honour and Honesty*, yet living) of a present ease, by a *Plaister* approved upon severall *Persons*, which, because the *Ingredients* were *harmless* and *ordinary*, it was forthwith compounded, and ready for *application*; not without serious *resolation*, to present it to the *Physicians consent*.

But the *King*, fallen into *slumber*, about *Noone* the *Physicians*

The Play-
ster.

took opportunity to retire, having watch'd all Night, till that Time.

When in the interim of their absence, the *King* wakes, and falls from a change of his Fit, to timelier effect, than heretofore it usually happened; which to allay, this *Playster* was offered, and put to his *Stomach*.

But it wrought no mitigation, and therefore it was removed by the *Doctors*. Who being come, were much offended, that any *One* durst assume this boldness without their *consents*.

But by *Examination*, they were assured of the *Composition*, and a peece thereof eaten downe by the *Countesse* that made it; and the *Playster* it selte then *in being*, for further tryall of any *suspicion* of *posson*. Which, if not *satisfactory*, it must, and ought to lodge upon their *score*. Sir *Mathew Lister*, *Doctor Chambers*, and others, who

who were afterwards examined herein, with very great satisfaction, to clear that calumny, and are yet living], to evince each ones *suspicion*.

It was, indeed, remembered the next *Parliament* following; and whereof the *Duke* was accused, as a *Boldness unpardonable*; But in the Charge, (which as I remember, *Littleton Managed*; at a Conference in the *Painted Chamber*;) it was not urg'd as *poisonous*, but only *criminous*.

But [ere the King dyed, it is told us, That *Buckingham* was accused to his face, by an honest servant of the Kings, (name him if you can) who valiantly tript up the *Dukes* heels (that his pate rung *Noone*) for which, he call'd upon the gasping King (no body being by) for Justice. And though speechlesse, we are told, what he would have said, viz. Not wrongfully accused.]

Pamph.
175.

175.

And here observe; he makes *Archbishop Abott* the *Kings Confessor* at his death; who before, he sayes (pag. 78.) lived in disgrace, and excluded the *Counsell Table*. And dyed in disgrace of this *King on Earth*, but in favour of the *King of Kings*. [*Bishop Williams*, then *Lord Keeper*, was the other *Confessor*] and in the mouths of two *Witnesses* consists the *Truth*. What regret and jealousy remains then in our *Authors* heart? that some *Mischief* should lye hid in the secrets of the *Sacrament of Confession*; which he could not learn, to out-live the *Honour and Fame* of his *Sacred Sovereign*?

How hath our *Author* patch'd up a *Pamphlet of State Notions*, pick'd up from the *Gleanings* of some *Smell-feast Guests*, at his *Table Diet*, afforded him by the bounty of his *Sovereign Master*?
and

and which, this *Man* hath as a *Rap-
sodie*, mingled with *Misconstru-
tion*, *Incertainties*, *Improbabilities*,
Impossibilities, In as much he can
to *poysen* the *Memory* of His *Ma-
jesty*, and blanch the *Govern-
ment* of the *State*, and *Court*.
Wherein, his *Fore-Fathers*, and
Himselfe tooke *Life and Livings*,
in the advance of his *Family*,
with some *repute* and *Fortune*,
to be what they are.

*But he is dead; Peace be upon
his Grave.*

Conclusion :

ANd thus have we done, with
our Pamphleter, and his
Book, My pen being dull'd with
disdain, to deale with such a
subject, were it not to enlight-
ten good *Men* with the knowledg
of a *Truth*; before that either

age, or longer time had wasted with too much *Oblivion*, or that the *negligence of others*, (of any) (more able I confesse) had given but too much way to *confirm the ignorant*.

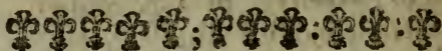
What I have don, may seem *defensive* in some part to some *Persons*; whose *Eminence in Court*, and years of *Experience*, could have limm'd the *Originalls* with a bolder *Pencil*.

However, I have adventured upon this *Copy*; not to *discour* Truth, by any *Concealment*.

A hard *Taske*, I confesse; When *Modesty* forbids the *defacement of Persons*, departed to their *Graves of Rest*, whom *living*, we should not dare to look in the *Face*; And whose *Posterities* enjoy the *merits of their Parents Vertues*.

To them I submit; *craving pardon*, that without their leave, I have bin bold to speak in their *Cause*; which might better become greater *Abilities* to plead.

O 4 The



THE
CHARACTER



IT may merit dispute, whether I shall Quarrell with the *Character* of King James, or let it alone, as the *Pamphletter* hath describ'd Him, wh ch (he says) *Is easier to doe, than to take his Picture*; and he gives the Reason for't, *His Character was obvious to every eye, I am sure His outward observations are so; infering that His Picture was Inward*; Tis true indeed, His best *Peecce* was His *Inside*, which wise men admir'd.

Was ever *I rince* thus *Limn'd*
out

out to *Posterity*, by His quilted *Doublets*, and full stuf *Breeches*? who reads His *Court*, needs none of this *Character*; so like they are in *belying*. But I spare the *Author*, and pitty the *Publisher*. — The *deficiency* of the *One*, could not make out the *Other*. For it becomes the *Wit* of *Man*, in truth, to apprehend *King James*, whose *wisdome* in His *Soveraignty*, had esteem beyond any *Contemporary Potentate*, with His *Reign*. Take Him in His turn, who had to do *with all* about Him. For at his entrance into His *Inheritance*, He was engaged to go through with the *difficulties*, in *Order as He found them*, Or to make *Bargain* with *All*, the better to *conserve it*.

Had He not done so, He might have found little leisure, to live in *Peace*, and to enjoy His *Realms* as He did, with as much *quiet* as
ever

* Who
bent all his
Counsell
and endea-
vours to
promote
that now
exploded
Motto of
*Beati Pa-
cifici.*

ever any King upon *Earth*, since
the Story of *Solomon*, * and yet
(in the like *Example* with us)
fell to *distraktion* in his Son that
succeeded. Compare them toge-
ther, and find me a *Parallell* with
more *even conclusion*.

I know it were to be wished,
That in *evill effects* we could find
out the true *Cause*; But like blind
men, we grope, and catch hold
of the neereft; not looking up to
Him who ballanceth *Counsell* with
His *Hand*, and disposeth the *Suc-
cesse* in the *future*, not alwayes by
the *failings* of the *former*.

In the Government of His *Birth-
place* at home, what *wisdome* was
there not, to preserve Himselfe
from *jealousie* of His *Predecessor*,
of being too hasty an *Inheriour*
here? what *Jesuiticall* plots in the
many against *Queen Elizabeth*, as
Defender of the *Protestant Faith*,
which because *Providence* prote-
cted

cted Her to the last, was not revived with more cunning designs upon Him, who was to act over Her part, with disadvantage against fresh plots to oppose Him?

What *Emissaries*, and secret *dispatches* by severall *Princes* addressed to prepare and gain Him, as an advance to eithers *Interest*?

With what *amaze* to all *Christendome*? how He could so easily enter His *possessions*, and then to *amuse* them all, how to *deal* with Him?

How He was *welcomed*, and *caressed*, by *Ambassadors* of each *Potentate*, upon severall designs of their *Own*?

What *Contracts* were made, and to be made, amongst His *Neighbours*, upon sundry *Overtures* in Case He should *doe*, even any thing but *what He did*, with what *difficulty* to any other, He maintained Himselfe in *Peace* against
the

the *Envy* of them *all*.

How was He by *Consanguinity* imbroyl'd in His *Son in Law's* too hasty *Accession* to the *Kingdome* of *Bohemia*, when as a *wise King* He forewarn'd, and prophesied His *destruction*, and *Christendoms* *distractiōn*?

VVhat *Ambassies* publick, and *Messengers* private He wisely disposed, for advantage of His and the *Peoples Interest*?

How he managed the *Genera'l* affairs of the *Church Protestant*, as a *wise Patriarch*, against the *plots* of the *Pope*?

How far His *Reputation*, reacht out, to *Ferraign Princes* far off?

How from abroad and at home, He *enriched* His *Subjects*, and encreas'd His own *Revenue*?

VVhat did he not doe without the *Pike*, if not with his *Pen*?

How He preserved *Himself* with *friendship* of *all*?

And

And thus in particular to put down in *print*, is the *work* of a *weighty Pen*.

But to take His true *dimension*, we have no *Scale*.

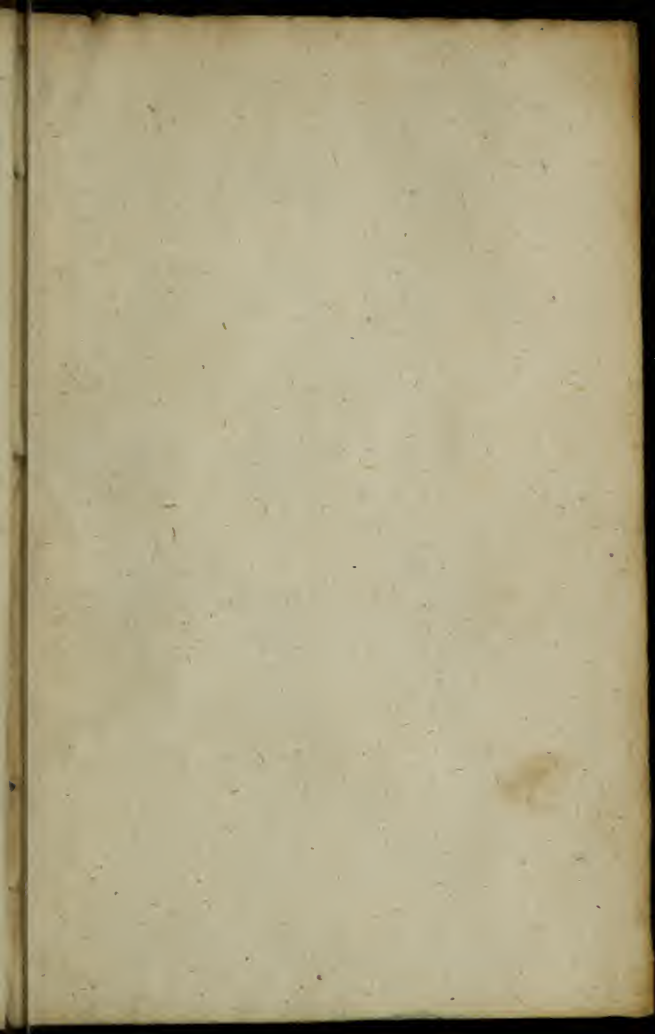
Nor can it be done without much *dishonor*, to patch Him up in a petit *Pamphlet*: We shall remit it to mature *deliberation*.

And for the *present*, leave Him so great a King to His continued *Memory*, by His own excellent *Impressions* in *Print*, that fame Him to *Posterity*; whom we did not *value*, because we could not *comprehend*.

F I N I S.

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THE HISTORY OF THE REIGN OF CHARLES THE FIRST

VINDICATION

OF THE

REIGN

OF

CHARLES THE FIRST

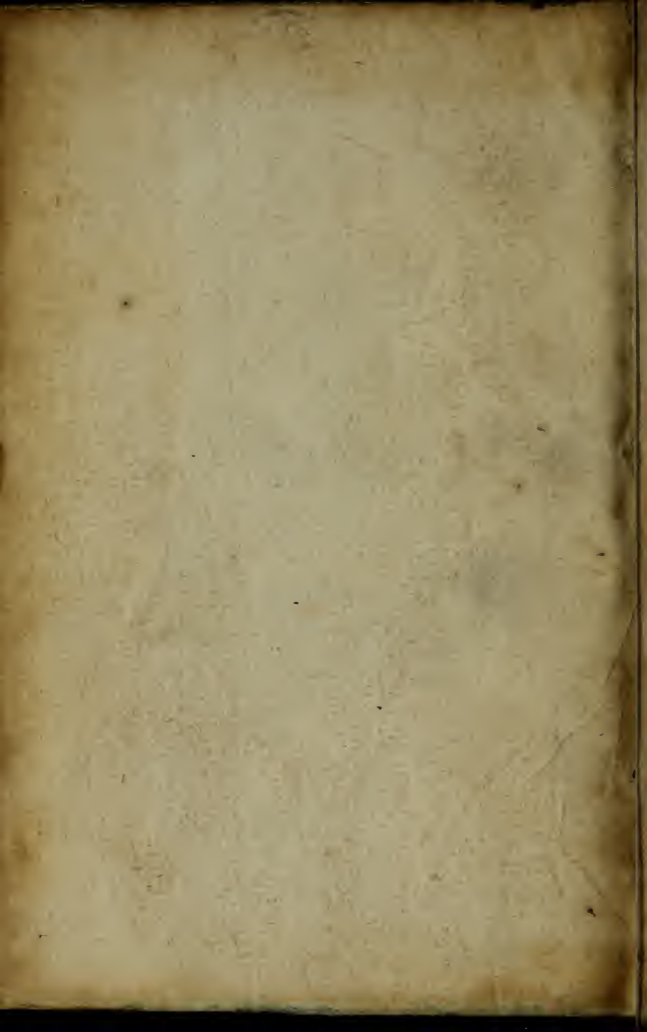
BY

JOHN BURNET

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IN TWO VOLUMES





TREASURE
ROOM

